

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!



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
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BOLIVIA

VIVA THE LIBERATION OF MAXIMO
QUINTANILLA OF THE BOLIVIAN SECTION
AND 29 POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM
COATI ISLE PRISON.

VIVA THE BOLIVIAN SECTION OF THE
IV INTERNATIONAL POSADIST.

LETTER OF COMRADE POSADAS TO THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL 3. 10. 72

The depth of the struggle of the masses in England & the tasks for the construction of the revolutionary leadership. J. Posadas

INTRODUCTION

The text of Cde Posadas that we publish on the situation in Britain and the tasks of the section comes at a most timely moment in the development of the revolutionary and class struggle. The process in Britain is a function fundamentally of the advance of the world socialist revolution. The savage bombings of Vietnam and the unequalled communist heroism of the Vietnamese masses point to the inexorable advance of the final encounter between world capitalism and all those forces in the world that desire socialism. The British working class feels all this polarisation and, under the influence of the world revolution, is filled with confidence and optimism to confront and overpower the oppressor class which conversely is now filled with despair and fear. The world revolution weighs on the British working class but the debris of past eras cannot be so quickly disposed of. All the malfunctioning of the Labour party, the lack of life in the trade unions, the hopelessly conservative sectors in the British CP, all these factors, the product of a previous period, mean an objective obstacle to the will of the masses to take power. In other words there is no leadership prepared beforehand in the mass organisations which has the understanding and the capacity to take the power and construct socialism. This is the principle problem to which the vanguard has to address itself and this document is designed to assist the understanding of the problem.

In the fundamental task of constructing a new leadership in the LP, based above all on the trade unions, the role of revolutionary marxism is decisive. Outside the texts of the International, there is no orientation which corresponds to the will of the vanguard. Imperialism and the soviet bureaucracy of Stalin and Khrushchev tried to eliminate the possibility of thought in the British Labour movement and substitute careerism and reformism. Hence now, there is the urgency for ideas, for a dialectical understanding of reality, and the old categories of empiricism are no use. Only the marxism of today can assist the vanguard in its quest for understanding and perspective.

But although the old leaderships are unprepared, the rapid dissemination of marxist ideas allows the construction of a new leadership in the course of the process itself because the receptivity for these ideas is enormous. The British working class based on the world relation of forces has smashed the attempted dictatorship of the Heath government, in spite of every prevarication and ineptitude of its leaders. The miners strike, the dockers strike, the release of the five dockers under the threat of a general strike, show the enormous potential of the working class. It is poised to crush capitalism.

More and more the forces of history drive towards the unification of all the forces of the world working class. The British working class acquires a European perspective on the struggle. Entry to the Common market cannot be combatted on the basis of "withdrawal" but only on the basis of an alternative and there is no escape from the slogan the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe, a marxist formulation. Without this approach, the Common Market is discussed on bourgeois terms. Similarly there is no longer the possibility of discussing the "Irish" question as something abstracted from the class struggle throughout Britain—and to solve this requires a common programme embracing the working class organisations of both countries which again cannot be found outside the texts of revolutionary marxism.

We salute this text of Cde Posadas which in its various elaborations on the profound crisis of British Imperialism, the weakening of the leadership of the LP, the need for a strenuous development of the class organs, factory committees and workers area committees and trade councils, the possibility of marxism reaching whole sectors of the worker and intellectual vanguard, gives a clear and powerful stimulus to the activity of the vanguard and the British Section of the IV International in the next stage.

We believe that the central preoccupation of the English Section must be to think what the Section's objective is in this stage, what it is seeking. When the objective is fixed then this determines its activity and the functioning that prepares the activity. The publications must be the centre of support on which this activity rests. And the central objective of the English Section was, is and for quite a long period is going to be, to regularise and increase the number of publications. To regularise and increase the number of articles on England, on Ireland, on the problems that are common to both England and Ireland.

In England, as in the rest of the world, the process of crisis of the Labour Party, of the trade unions, of the Communist Party continues without interruption. This is the Section's vital centre of preoccupation, and the trade union work—which is very important—forms part of this, and is a means of communication and development in the working class. But although it is very important—and it is necessary to maintain it broaden it—it must be accompanied by a campaign through the

Party's publications.

Where there is a process of crisis like in England the vanguard in the Labour Party, in the trade unions or Communist Party or leftist elements or groups seeks a political explanation, a unity of political explanation what is happening? Why? All the points of support they previously had are pulled from under their feet, they collapse and they are left without theoretical or political comprehension, they have no organs to intervene. Then they follow a routinist

activity of trade union struggles, parliamentary struggles or very general political struggles without objectives that respond to the will of the English and Irish masses to change the leadership of the Communist Party, the Labour Party, the Irish movement, and to do it now.

There is a numerous group of quite a weight and importance that shows its desire to intervene. We can see it from the results and conclusions of the Labour Party Congress and the Trades Union Congress. These conclusions and positions, that are well to the left in the Labour Party, are reached because there is a very great pressure which is expressed in England but whose source and origin is outside England. And it

is giving a unity of comprehension to a whole team within the Labour Party, the trade unions and the Irish movement and this is demanding a theoretical understanding and orientation. Which is to say, an elevation in the level of discussion, of struggle, and at the same time, of objectives. This is why the English Communist Party is paralysed. In such a revolutionary process as there is in the world, and which shows itself in pre-revolutionary conditions in England, the Communist Party does not have a single text. When they should be writing texts organising the actual struggle, they write "Marxism Today" on how cows live in India... The communist militants are seeking a comprehension to orientate themselves.

THE PROGRAMMATIC STRUGGLE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

The objective of the worker, political, class and revolutionary movement in England is the struggle for the new leadership, for the programme. All the struggles of the masses over the last period have led to Labour and Trade Union Congresses, which made very, very important decisions. They show the obvious inclination of a very important sector of the Labour movement which wants a new leadership, through the struggle for this programme which it wants to push forward. It is a

programme which breaks with the conservative leadership, it escapes them. Even this very limited programme of the Labour Congress escapes the control and capacity of the conservative leadership. The struggle the English workers made against Carr's Act, and the success which they have had, is a proof of what the forces there are within the class and the forces class against class. And this has served to disintegrate the monolithic nature of the Con-

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EDITORIAL

The retreat of Nixon, the retreat of Heath and the necessity to organise the workers offensive

On the eve of the announcing of the government's phase II plans to combat inflation, it is becoming clear that the capitalist government is preparing to make some partial retreat before the growing opposition of the masses. This victory for the working class, made without the organisation of any unified offensive on a national scale, in fact in a situation of complete passivity of the TUC and the LP leadership, is a result of the general pressure constantly exerted by the class in strikes, occupations and demonstrations organised by the local and regional workers organisms. But such a victory is not, and could not be, solely a product of the activity carried on by the class in Britain. It comes after Nixon has been forced to stop the bombing of Vietnam, after the condemnation of US Imperialism's actions by the Swedish government, by the Italian government, by the pope after the strikes and demonstrations in Italy, Germany, France, Holland, after the advances of the Popular Union in the opinion polls in France and after the meeting of the CPs and TUs in Moscow to mark the 50th anniversary of the setting up of the USSR. The capitalist class, of Britain as of the USA, feels isolated, alone, and to gain time it retreats and makes concessions.

It is not now the question of the crisis of one capitalist country or another, it is a question of the total crisis, political, social and economic, of the entire capitalist system which sees that it has to compete with and confront the development of the system of the workers states. For the capitalist class everything is collapsing. In the same meeting that Heath speaks of the "advantages" which are going to come because of entering EEC, Sicco Mansholt

announces that the Common Market has failed to overcome the disparities in the development of the countries of the market, and that the standard of living has not been substantially raised for the majority of people by it. It is an admission of the total failure of the EEC by one of its most important leaders, and it contributes to the general feeling of impotence and pessimism which the bourgeoisie feel. The European

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servative leadership. Because this monolithism was based on Heath being able to confront the workers movement—not the leadership of the Labour Party, which is a leadership that conciliates with them and makes agreements with them—but against the workers movement! The Labour leadership has already shown itself powerless to contain the advance of left tendencies and of the struggle of the Labour masses. This is not expressed in the leadership of the Party or the trade unions. The force in the programme brought out by the Labour Party and trade unions is only distantly expressed here. And also in the persistence in the struggle of the Irish masses. And in the combination that exists where there is already a tendency in Ireland for the unification of their struggles with those of the English proletariat. There is a programmatic ascent that breaks the conservative immobility of the Labour and trade union leaderships.

All this movement needs publications. Publications that give it a theoretical and political notion, which elevate its capacity of interpretation and comprehension and unite Ireland, England and the world with revolutionary literature. It is necessary to place England in the world and to bring the world into England. This has to be done in the Communist Party itself. All this sails straight past the communist leadership just as much as it does the Labour leadership. The Labour leadership has the Party and it tries to maintain its power. This is why in such a process that requires texts and programme it does not say a word. It just takes and coordinates actions in the expectation of forming a new government. It does not act as a class Party nor as a class leadership, it cannot do it and it is not going to do it. It does not respond to the needs of the intellectual vanguard, which is neither "Left" nor "Tribune" and it is seeking a coherent explanation which it does not find in "Tribune" or "Left" or in the leadership of the Labour Party, nor in the Communist Party.

The communists are paralysed. The communists work through the programme of "The British road to Socialism," the campaign against the USSR, against the intervention in Czechoslovakia, a determination that is national before being international and which goes against the USSR, which is to say the development of a tendency like Browder was in the United States in 1940. There are all the same characteristics, where a sector of the communists, obliged to advance and unify the struggle of the masses, the struggle against the government, to face a process of revolution, desert and abandon every communist function. There is a whole sector of the Communist Party that is going to go. We don't know who they are but it is enough to read their publications to see that there is a sector that is going to go. The Soviets are not going to do anything to keep them. On the contrary the Soviets are seeking a point of support to liquidate these tendencies. The external policy is a continuation of the internal policy. The struggle of the Soviets within the USSR against the planners, against the Liberians and against the Stalinists in Georgia, all this extends to the exterior too; the Soviets support to Berlinguer in Italy, the pressure on the French CP to progress in a programme toward

power in which they do not absolutely eliminate the possibility of armed revolutionary actions. They do not favour them or make propaganda for them, they do not base themselves on this objective of class and revolutionary actions, but neither do they annul them, and the process is going to make them take ever increasing account of them. The progress of Berlinguer is not the progress of a left parliamentarian, it is the programmatic progress of a man who is going toward communism. It is necessary to see that this process inevitably has to occur in England too.

We can intervene in this progress. We don't have many militants or material means but we have a theoretical and political capacity. For a whole period it is necessary to accompany the activity in the trade unions, factory committees and area committees. It is necessary to extend these committees, going from the factories into the areas, giving them a greater zone of influence. The English proletariat is well practiced in this. In the past three years there has been a constant increase in this activity. It is necessary to remember that it was the English students who invented the "sit-in." For all the first period of this the police underrated the importance of what the long haired students were doing, they did not see that they were representatives of an ascending state of public opinion; by the time they took account of it, it was already too late.

It is necessary to intervene, it is necessary to help the organisation and activity that leads and is developing the struggle for the new leadership of the Labour Party, the trade unions and the Communist Party. They need texts for this. Lots of publications, lots and lots of publications. The fundamental problem is not just a new leadership of the trade unions, but the combination of this activity with the struggle in the Labour and Communist Parties. They can be combined very well with publications that establish a stimulus to the discussion. It is necessary to discuss and base oneself on the experiences being made by the advanced layers of the proletariat, not only the intellectuals but the proletariat, to elevate the level of revolutionary cultural preoccupation. There is an ascent in the comprehension, in the revolutionary cultural level in which this vanguard finds a growing base of theoretical and political support, and a base of practical, organisational application. Although we are not successful in attracting them, this is the practical organisational conclusion.

There is a centre of support to direct oneself to broad layers of the intellectuals, leaders of the communists, socialists, trade unions and the Irish. It is necessary to establish a fraternal, but severe, polemic which does not disintegrate into momentary agreements with trade unions etc. . . but a very severe polemic. The vanguard of the British proletariat is impelling the organisation of a new leadership with all severity. Its force and its capacity of resistance have been increasing, it shows its decision and resolution to push forward the struggle without limit, and it is going to support every tendency that shows persistence, continuity and severity in its positions. Severity does not mean attacks, but showing the resolution to maintain such an activity and seek all the means to maintain it. Then this will give them confidence. It is this will give them confidence. It is necessary to place the world in England.

THE CRISIS OF ENGLISH CAPITALISM AND THE PROGRESS OF THE LABOUR VANGUARD AND MASSES

The crisis of English capitalism is very great, it is immense. There is a constant decline in English imperialism domination of the political and economic leadership of the capitalist world. There is a constant, constant fall. Instead, there is a constant centralisation and extension of its participation in a gigantic Yankee, English, German, French, world monopoly. To continue living, capitalism will need to make fascism everywhere. This is the CIA's intention. They tried to teach this in Vietnam. Imperialism began by teach-

ing how to invade, now it is showing how to escape! It is necessary to understand that capitalism is a gigantic monopoly that cannot live apart from the atomic war. It has no other solution. Financial investment, the expansion of trade and productivity is annulling small property. The figures show the concentration of small property passing to large scale property in Germany, France, Italy and in England too. The disappearance of small and middle industry that is absorbed by big industry, big restaurants, the big super-

markets. And since it has nowhere to invest, middle—but still gigantic—capital invests in property. This is why there are housing speculation scandals in every capitalist country. When capitalism cannot prevent or contain such a process, it is because it no longer has any force. They grab out in panic. And this is more in England than elsewhere. They have just thrown out a Minister who is like those in France, the owners of factories where wine is adulterated.

The mentality, the state of excitement of English capitalism is a constant process of deception, defeatism and pessimism. Wilson speaks like the future president and King of England. He speaks with the security of somebody who knows he will win if there are elections, and by a lot. But he is not looking for elections now. Because elections now would tie him up. But he has no way out. It is not necessary to orientate oneself to looking if he can find the means. He has no way out, it goes increasingly badly for him. They have had to make concessions and they have had to yield. They have not been able to prevent, by means of the Labour and trade union apparatus, these motions being presented and accepted in the trade unions and this is an enormous progress in the life of the Communist Party. They included the admission of the communists to the trade unions. When they decide in the Trade Union Congress to readmit the communists it is because there is already a layer that sees the world, it does not just see England. Otherwise they would not do this. Wilson has to adapt himself to this situation. He has no force to prevent it. He was the pig who made the anti-strike law and the Labour masses showed their capacity of action by defeating it. They preferred the defeat of their Party rather than admit such a law. Which is to say, they have a very elevated capacity of judgement and organisation. They are submitted to the Labour and trade union leadership which sets them at a distance from the world workers movement and places it in England. The essential cadres of the English workers movement live the whole world process of the revolution.

THE INDISPENSABLE ORGANISING FUNCTION OF THE PUBLICATIONS

For a whole period it is necessary to take the publications as a solid point of support, in the majority of our sections. Because the publications allow you to order the mind, give security and orientation to the cadres, militants and leaders of the Communist Party. The process is going to elevate them in their understanding. And they feel that to lead, it is not enough to lead one strike, one factory or one trade union. Although this is important, the solution is not in the strike, the factory or trade

If they lived enclosed in England they would not have such a force. They would just follow a routinist and conservative life and the Labour leadership would be all powerful.

On the other hand, the progress made by the Labour masses is still expressed in a limited way because the organs do not respond to the necessity. They are old structures, in which the bureaucracy can continue with its own opinion. But when they accept decisions and resolutions like the reincorporation of the communists in the leadership of the workers movement, and the proposals they made against NATO, it is because the vanguard of the English proletariat, in the trade unions and the Labour Party is impelling its link with the world revolution. England's isolation is already broken. Entering the European Common Market is a lifeline thrown out by English capitalism. It is not just determined by its representation of Yankee imperialism, but because it feels itself to be drowning.

If capitalism is to last ten more years it inevitably needs a gigantic monopoly. It cannot live in any other way. It has to go on concentrating. To be able to compete, it has to increase productivity; to increase productivity it has to increase its scientific, technical and electronic capacity of production, and the constant elimination of competitors. It has to eliminate competitors in its own camp so as to be able to compete with the revolution, with the Workers States and with the struggle of the masses.

This is the situation Wilson faces in England. There is no programme, no policy, no proposals to respond or take measures to face such a situation. Either they nationalise or the level of competition retreats and the whole capitalist system is dislocated. It is necessary to understand that it is not Nixons or Heath's policies that determine.

While the Soviets have learned a lot. They are obliged to learn. So they are learning class tactics, not because they did not know them before, but because now they are obliged to use them. They have had the tactic of the revolution since Lenin.

union. Factory, strike and trade union are elements that determine factors of decision, but they are not the ones that decide.

It is necessary to increase the capacity of publications, this is urgent. To publish publish, and publish. Publications that are better than they are at present. Publishing all the texts of the International and Posadas. Make an effort to publish during one year all the texts of the International and the Marxist

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bourgeoisie sees the advances of the left in the CPs, sees the organisational and programmatic advance of the workers movement which more and more attracts the petit bourgeoisie which once supported it and it has no way to win back that support. To maintain its social authority it has to grab hold of the workers states, but it finds that this only stimulates the actions of the masses.

Pompidou sees the growth of the influence of the Popular Union, (the united front between the CP and SP and left radicals in France) and wants to combat that authority; how can he do it? By a dynamic capitalist plan of economic and social development? No, there isn't one. He has to go to make a meeting with Brezhnev! So insecure does Pompidou feel as the elections approach that even the meeting of the Socialist International taking place in Paris, is thought by him to be an intervention in the electoral process stimulating support to the Popular Union. He feels correctly that the world is influencing and weighing in France, that the defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam, the meeting of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the USSR, all the advances in the world communist movement, the advances in the Social democracy itself, as expressed in the victory of Brandt in Germany, is attracting more and more the petit bourgeoisie to centralise itself around the Popular Union.

This process in which more and more sectors of the petit bourgeoisie withdraw their support from the regime, which is a fundamental aspect of the total crisis of capitalism today, was expressed last week in this country, in a beautifully clear manner through the strike of the civil servants. It is an historic event which cannot be underestimated. It is not any civil service, it is the civil service of the most structured bourgeoisie of the world, the oldest, the one with a greatest social authority. And today they demonstrate, close the British museum, hold meetings and threaten more militant action. It is not just one event more in a process of strikes and demonstrations, but a clear warning to the bourgeoisie that it is socially isolated, that there is a whole climate of anti-capitalist feeling which reaches the most marginal sectors. The workers movement has to draw all the conclusions from this civil servants strike, must see that it shows that the conditions are mature for it to organise all the discontented forces in society, that it has to put itself forward as a leadership of society which is capable of solving all the problems which capitalism has produced.

The solution of any of the problems facing the masses, rents, fares, the astronomical rise in the cost of living, the wage freeze, the repression against the TU movement, the fascist laws in Ireland, goes through the elimination of this capitalist government. Even though Heath has been forced to make a retreat, the capitalist class have to keep up

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Review and you are going to grow in the Communist Party and the Labour Party. In no more than one year.

The Labour and communist vanguard wants political, theoretical and programmatic orientations. English capitalism is breaking out, it has to integrate itself into Europe. The English workers have already been integrated in Europe for some time. Their link with Europe breaks all the historic isolation they have suffered. It maintains, transmits, communicates and develops an immense insecurity in English capitalism. It is an enormous step that creates difficulties for capitalism for as long as it exists.

English capitalism was built with the Commonwealth, with a zone of its own, with a world of its own. Now all the Commonwealth goes to hell. It has to readapt itself to the world capitalist system, not as the centre or the head but as just one more. This alters all the op-

timism, the security and perspective of English capitalism. The English masses have more notion of the process than English capitalism because they are taking the world influence of the revolution into the Labour Party and trade unions.

It is of very great importance that you agitate, write, insist on and republish Lenin's articles on the United Socialist States of Europe. This has an immense importance, they have to be found in the texts of the first congresses of the III International. But not just to publish them but making explanations as to why these texts which were made 50 years ago, continue to be valid. In this sense, it is very important that you read, discuss and assimilate the text of the International Secretariat on the referendum in France, in which all these problems are raised. They are problems that the Labour vanguard is going to have to live, the proletarian vanguard that wants a

revolutionary and programmatic explanation. "We struggle for power in a parliamentary way, so what do we do? Where are we going?" It is no longer the same situation as previously. This is why Wilson avoids going to the government now.

It is necessary to apply a programme of publications in which, apart from the Marxist Review with all the texts of the International and Posadas, you also publish articles that the section must write on concrete, trade union and general problems, on the changes or necessity of changes, of explanations for changes in the trade unions. So that the trade union, political, Labour, communist and Irish vanguard finds the explanations for all these problems. This is going to help them to mature in their capacity of marxist comprehension. And we are going to gain authority there because they are going to feel that they are elevating their capacity of interpretation through ours.

In England there is a small Communist Party, but it has some dedicated cadres. The proof is that they have militants, who are the ones that have maintained a continuity of confidence in communism, not these leaders they change every week.

The publications are going to have an influence on the communist, Labour, independent and left cadres. Even if the left movements themselves are not numerous the fact that Mandel has a certain influence indicates that there is a sector that is trying to put itself close to the revolution. And Mandel can attract them, or even Healy, and they have a certain attraction to intellectual and student layers, and in some sectors of the workers, because neither the Communist Party nor the Labour Party respond to the intellectual excitement which has a revolutionary orientation. And our movement still does not have the authority, the continuity in giving

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The meeting of the 50th anniversary of the U.S.S.R. in Moscow, the criminal bombing on Hanoi and the necessity for a smashing response

The yankees are bombarding Vietnam at the same moment as the meeting of commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union is made, in order to put pressure on Moscow. They are saying with this: "You are preparing something against me. You are unifying the Communist movement, you are centralising the forces of the revolution." It is going to be an increase in the capacity of action of the world revolution, or of the movement directed by the Soviets which in every way stimulates the revolution. Moreover the Yankees want to show that they are firm, and that they want to impose a negotiation on this basis.

The meeting of Moscow is a meeting of the Communist International. It does not have the conclusions, nor the functioning of the Communist International, but the structure of the meeting is of the Communist International. There are all the Communist Parties and all the Trade Unions there. And for what reason are they there? To launch themselves against capitalism. The Yankees see this, and because of this react with fury. This is an action of war of the Yankees directed at this war activity of the Soviets. Moreover, it indicates a movement to the left on the part of the Soviet Union, which accelerates the rhythm of the Partial Regeneration. All the movements of the Soviets, and all the mobilisations and steps of imperialism are of war. They are not discussions: they are all movements whose norms show that it is going to the war. The European bourgeoisie is desperate. The Yankees are wanting to drag all of them to the war. And the two Germanies signed the agreements yesterday, when they were going to sign in January. They have brought forward the date. With the bombing of N. Vietnam, the Yankees wanted to put pressure on the Soviets, to show them that they are decided and that they have to yield. It is not only to pressurise Vietnam.

Vietnam, constantly comes up to the outbreak of the atomic war. The language of Brejnev and the preoccupation of the world press, is because they see that this can be the atomic war. The response of Brejnev in the discourse of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet Union, is a response which tends to contain the Yanks. And the Yanks have taken these measures of bombardment to try to frighten this meeting of Moscow, saying: "No, in spite of this meeting, in spite of what you are resolving, we are going to respond with this. They are frightening them. It does not have a concrete military sense, and it is neither so that Vietnam weakens in its measures. It is directed to the Soviet Union and to this meeting of Moscow. The Soviets, like us, understand that it is like this. Because of this, Brejnev speaks in this language, otherwise he would not utilise this language. The Yanks have already made bombardments similar to these, before. Now, there is a greater quantity of bombings, but in the meaning they are the same: They are destroying, killing, assassinating. It is much more! But they have not passed from discussion to bombing, they have bombarded already before. When there was such a reaction, it is because this attitude of the Yanks in this moment, is directed to another question: It is directed at the meeting which there is in Moscow. It is directed to this. To show to the Soviets, that they are not going to be frightened by the meeting, by the United Front, by the campaign which the Soviet Union is making.

There are 14 Workers States, which favour, protect, and stimulate the world revolution, which weaken the Capitalist system, disillusion the bourgeoisie and makes it defeatist and this allows that the revolution advances, even without having a conscious leadership. This is a policy which the masses carry forward with this revolutionary action. It is not the leaderships that carry forward this policy. Because of the situation which there is in the world, the leaderships accept the policy which the masses carry forward. This is a very dynamic process. There are constantly confrontations which tend to go to the atomic war. What we are living in this stage indicates it. If the war does not break out, it is not because there are not the conditions, but because capitalism is indecisive and it is frightened. But the actions which they are carrying forward are actions of civil war. It is necessary to understand it like this.

This meeting of Moscow, is a meeting of the Communist International. It has neither the force, nor the programme, nor the objectives of the Communist International, but certainly, it has the structure. This is going to have a great influence in the world workers and revolutionary movement. Eleven Workers States were present, including the Yugoslavs, attending in an indirect form, and also the Yugoslav T.U.s. Tito did not go, because of the play of the internal struggle with the rest of the Communist Party, so as not to present himself submitted to Moscow or to offer resistance to Moscow to negotiate with them. It is because of their bureaucratic conception. But what is underlined in this meeting, is not the absence of Tito, but that

70 T.U. delegations who were present signed a resolution against Yankee imperialism and for the support of Vietnam. They signed a resolution of progress, that peaceful co-existence, did not imply leaving the struggle on one side but that it was an aspect of it. The decisive thing, is the ideological struggle of two antagonistic regimes. This Brejnev posed and it is indicating the depth of the divergences with the capitalist system. This does not have anything to do with peaceful co-existence or with interpenetration. It is an elevation of the relations of the Workers State with the T.U.s. of the world, including with the T.U.s which are not communist. And it is seeking relations with movements of non-communist origins, to organise the world United Front to carry forward an anti-capitalist policy. The methods, without being revolutionary, are going against the capitalist system. And it is creating all over the world, conditions of stimulus to favour the progress of the revolutionary communist political and workers movement. This meeting of Moscow is going to have profound and great repercussions all over the world. And it is necessary to count on this conclusion.

It is not just one more meeting, it is a meeting of United Front, in which the Communist Party of USSR, still with the part of the Soviet bureaucracy launches itself to organise this world United Front to confront capitalism. This is only done when there is a perspective of a development of the process of the war, otherwise it would not be done. The Soviet bureaucracy is animated to make the world United Front, which inevitably is going to clash with its policy of co-existence. It is giving a response to the preparation for war of imperialism. And the response of Imperialism in Vietnam is to try to weigh on the meeting and to show to world capitalism that it is not going to weaken, that it is not going to make concessions. This is the significance of the attitude of the Yankees: to pressurise world capitalism and to pressurise Moscow also. It is a response of the war, of method of war, which demonstrates that imperialism is going to respond with the atomic war. But the world workers and revolutionary movement is also going to respond as it is responding—with the world mobilisation. There are the conditions to make the appeal for a general strike against imperialism. These are the conditions which exist.

The response of the Soviets shows that they cannot be silent, but more important than the declarations of Brejnev, which are very limited, are seven B52s of the Yankees which the Vietnamese have shot down. For the Yankees it is a warning and a response as important as a declaration of Brejnev, because it indicates: "We have the weapons to go more deeply into the war." And the declaration of Brejnev, supports without limit the actions of the Vietnamese. In these moments they are making demonstrations for Vietnam, in the USA, France, Italy, in all the world. The press informs that there is a boycott of American boats in two ports of Italy. It is an event and possibly it will be generalised in all the world! There is going to be a tendency in all the world to generalise the boycott of the Yankees.

The Workers States, the Communist Parties, the meeting of Moscow, must call for support to the struggle against imperialism and for the triumph of Vietnam, making an appeal for a general strike in all the world against Yankee imperialism, uniting it to the local struggles for left governments and with an anti-capitalist programme. It is necessary to appeal for such a movement, so that they make an appeal all over the world, for the anti-imperialist world United Front, between Trade Unions, Workers Parties, Left Catholic Parties. Extend to all the world the appeal of Moscow, and discuss with the intervention of all the tendencies including the Trotskyists.

It is necessary to appeal for the formation and the sending of International Brigades to give all support of every type to Vietnam, and to call for a struggle to smash imperialism all over the world. Even if capitalism responds with the civil war, or with the world war. Profit from this process to drive imperialism into a corner, and to be able to advance in world economic, political and social positions in the class struggle. Call to the T.U.s of all the world, so that they call on the masses of the United States to unite themselves in the mobilisations to paralyse the country against Nixon and against imperialism.

Call for the Unity of the world Communist Movement, for the cessation of the Sino-Soviet dispute, and make a discussion to co-ordinate in a centralised way the planning of all the socialist countries, with the world workers and revolutionary movement on the basis of anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme. Call to the masses of all the world for a struggle to overthrow the capitalist system!

22nd 12. 72.

J. POSADAS.

Letter to the British Section

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explanations and developing the revolutionary interpretation of the process in England, by means of the publications. The work in a trade union or in an area is important, it is necessary to activate it and maintain it. But it only reaches very small circles. In these zones the preoccupation is for the immediate task that has to be made. You are preoccupied by this immediate task, which is important, it is very important but it is also very limited. It does not link up with the rest of the problems; the Marxist Review does.

The Marxist Review gives the security of understanding the process in the world and in England and it creates the conditions to understand the other smaller problems of the trade union or the area. It gains the authority for these tasks, because these are the central problems of humanity, they attract the vanguard which then attracts the rest. The central problem which has to be written on is the necessity of the revolutionary leadership in England. But giving explanations, elevating the revolutionary cultural capacity of the vanguard. This is not going to come from just one explanation or one appeal. The appeal and explanations have to be made, but for a whole period it is necessary to maintain all the publications which give a unity to the capacity of the Labour and communist vanguard to understand the world and local process. Then our section gains authority and at the same time applies it in the Labour movement.

It is necessary to dedicate an activity toward the groups that call themselves trotskyst and toward the students. The section must dedicate bulletins and texts to them. Making an analysis for the internal polemic amongst them, aiming at dissolving them and winning a base of support. The same in the university and student movement, to incorporate them into the workers movement, to collaborate and intervene in the struggle for the new leadership in England and for the active participation of each sector in the partial activities of the class. And also with the effect of preparing the United Front between the trade unions and the students and the population. Clearly, the United Front in England is already established with the existence of the Labour Party and the trade unions. But there is an important sector of the population which makes demonstration of struggle but is not integrated into the struggle. Make appeals to integrate all of them, and a public discussion in the university movement, in the worker and Labour movement of all the problems of Ireland. Showing that they can only be resolved through a socialist England. Attract the socialist wing of the Irish movement and make a national discussion.

FOR THE UNIFICATION OF A SOCIALIST IRELAND AND ENGLAND

There are new problems of the revolution in England. Ireland is a new problem. It existed before with one form, now with another but the solution is the same; The unification of socialist Ireland and England in the perspective of the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. The form of self determination or integration is not important. The more the process advances the less the self determination and the greater the integration. Because this indicates a revolutionary social progress of the masses. The problems of self determination are already resolved by the development of the world process of the revolution, by the world ascent and world unification which the revolution impels, because self determination is a problem of social cultural backwardness in history. The advance of the revolution is elevating its authority over the masses, removing the influence of the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie, showing that they are not the ones with any authority nor perspective, nor response to this necessity of history. They are won before the taking of power. And in the ascent toward the taking of power the national or regional aspects, the cultural or linguistic back-

With regard to the trotskyst groups, it is necessary to make a series of analyses and articles dedicated to them, showing them the necessity of supporting the struggle in the Labour Party for a revolutionary leadership, for the programme that we propose. Giving explanations to show that it is wrong to raise a struggle against the Labour Party. It is necessary to take action to support this interior struggle. Just calling Wilson bourgeois and stopping at that achieves nothing, there has to be the struggle for such a programme of United Front, putting all attention on this conclusion. Not just accusing Wilson and waiting for the workers to desert Wilson, but impelling the struggles that are actually being made, supporting them completely and unconditionally. We add to this support our considerations on the programme and policy. Showing that the attitude of these groups is wrong. Secondly, that this is how the movement advances. The base of these movements is attracted by the existence of generally trotskyst thought, which to them is still basically to oppose Stalinism. So make a series of local explanations showing that this is a conception that is no longer valid, that Stalinism no longer exists and that the task is to support the Labour and communist masses as they detach themselves from these leaderships. And also to understand the real course of the process, what the conduct of the Soviet Union actually is—that it is no longer reactionary, although here and there it has reactionary attitudes. It is necessary to make them understand, then they are going to feel attracted, and internally they are going to dissolve. This is another activity to be pressed forward.

Make appeals to the university movement, as we have done before. What future does the university movement have? As a university movement it has no future because it is not a class movement. It is a sector pertaining to the bourgeois camp, and with one foot in the proletariat. So explain that the solution and progress which the students struggle for, can only be included in and can only be realised in the struggle for power. So the problems of power are posed. Not problems of republics. Although in a short time it is possible for tendencies to appear in the Labour Party for the Republic, to avoid the problem of power, or through lack of previous cultural preparation and education, of class functioning in which case the slogan of the Republic may be a means of progress for them. But it is necessary to explain that the Republic is no longer a progress although it may be a means of agitation and propaganda of great importance. We support the struggle, not the slogan. It is no longer the struggle for the Republic in England, but for the socialist republic, which is different.

wardness is surpassed by the unification of the world, which is increasingly visible. There are 14 Workers States, not just one. The Soviet Union had to agitate on slogans that are no longer fundamental, it is necessary to continue to agitate on them, but it is no longer fundamental because this is no longer an obstacle to the development of history.

This is a stage in which, even now today, the communist movement feels obliged in Latin America to raise the slogan of the Federation of Bolivia, Peru, Chile and Ecuador. They do not agitate on it, they do not make a campaign for it, but there are now several articles from them orientated toward this course. They have no policy or programme, they do not make a slogan for it, but in three articles they have already questioned whether or not such a solution is necessary. Allende posed that such a solution was possible in a speech a year ago.

We have to see that the tasks of slogans raised in another stage of history are now made easier, even though the tasks were not resolved, like the incorporation of Ireland. We do not leap, it

is an ascent and a dialectical leap making these measures easier. Neither the Communist Party nor the Labour Party have been prepared, nor understood how to resolve it. The English masses want to know this. They want to know how to make the new leadership. They feel that they have no leadership. It is necessary to elevate the political and theoretical capacity of the leadership. But supporting oneself on all the great strikes and movements of the masses, on the great and on the small, on the great trade union mobilisations, because these elevate the security of the class to put pressure on their leadership. To do this we have to elevate our function, at the same time as

THE TRADES COUNCIL IS AN ORGAN OF DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION AND THE EXERCISE OF POWER

It is necessary to extend the functions of the trades councils with a work of publications and explanations, showing they are organs of dual power. This is essentially what they are. They do not function as such, but they have an historic base of dual power. They have to serve as instruments, it is necessary to make them serve as instruments of democratic interior discussion, with publications raising problems of the area, of the trade unions, of the region, and of power. The Labour leadership is going to oppose it. They are going to try to go against it. So it is necessary to find agreements with the communists. And make publications in which we say what role the trades councils must play. Not just saying it to the communists and leaving it to them to take the initiative, but we must make publications. Proposing conferences and publications together with the communists, with the Labour vanguard. Making an activity of conferences and meetings on all these problems, discussing the function of these organs and the process of ascent of the revolution in England and the world.

The trades council is an organism of concentration and exercise of power, of dual power. It rises with the initiative of the base, coming from below, trying to advance and the Labour leadership contains it. So it is necessary to base oneself on this in all the country, and posing; these are organs of power where the class is expressing what it wants. This, the abstention in the elections, the dockers strike, the miners strike, are all expressions of the will of the class which wants to exercise power. It is necessary to explain all this once, twice, five, ten times, and generalising the explanation, applying a series of interpretations. Making concrete proposals on the functioning to give an organic life, generalising these organs of power, of the area, factory and region. The trade councils are really regional councils which have to be given more force and programme. What programme? A programme which these councils can develop without waiting to be authorised by the leadership. That unite the problems of the area, lighting, housing, rents, post, prices, to apply and develop from two centres; sliding scale of wages and sliding scale of working hours. Which begins locally with price observation and is communicated to the factories. Although it does not begin in a centralised and general way, it can begin from regions where the trades councils have a force. Beginning by applying a sliding scale of wages. Making agitation on the sliding scale of working hours, reduction in working time. To discuss in all the workers movement; to discuss this! In each assembly, in each meeting, insisting that this has to be carried through, and we are going to carry it through. This is a concrete objective.

It is necessary to discuss and make a life of discussion, diffusion and elevation for this. To make general articles. For example, there is a strike in an area—direct oneself to the population, saying how the area must function with the trade unions and with the trades council, and immediately a programme. What programme? To combine the factory workers with the areas and neighbourhoods to form a power supported on the factory. These are or-

active trade union and political militancy, to publish, publish, publish and publish. This is going to elevate the worker cadres that are seeking to weigh in the Labour Party, in the trade unions, seeking a class and revolutionary solution to the problems of England, of the struggle for the new leadership, which is the struggle in this stage. To develop this programme, which is timid but which is an ascent in the revolution. And to develop slogans and activity that organise and develop organs of power in the workers area and in the trade unions. Democratic organs of discussion and leadership, whether they are by area committees or through the trade councils.

gans! Making assemblies, meetings, intervening in democratic organs of the base. To discuss all this and develop it. Making bulletins that explain, and then in the concrete case, intervening with leaflets and manifestos.

There is already a functioning and organs in which the class seeks to communicate and organise its decision to communicate with the rest of the population. It is doing this independently of the communists and Labour and us. You have to support yourselves on the fact that the class acts like this. This indicates that there is already the decision in the most important layers of the proletariat to replace the organs that prevent its functioning in the trade unions and Party. Not against them, but that include the trade unions and Party. They are bases of the revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions. They are organs of dual power. One cannot expect them to elevate their functioning of dual power without leadership, without a greater life, because they feel themselves to be functioning in a very isolated way, they do not feel the general national force, because they are organs of an area. But they transmit to the rest, and they communicate in every way with the population because anyone who reads, sees the functioning of this organism. So it has to be generalised. To generalise it in the form of cultural, organisational, trade union and political explanation. But the conclusion that must be drawn is the effort, the tendency, the inclination of the working class to make organs that directly represent their will of combat, and to communicate this to the rest of the population.

Our comrades can make courses and cadre schools explaining the actual degree of the class struggle in England. What conquests can the proletariat make? This could be a title. The conclusion is to show the necessity of a revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party and the trade unions. You can do this. There is ample possibility for this. You have to make a great task of clarification, of education, of elevation of the political level of the trade unions. And in England it is easy. The trades unions and Party are mixed, in the workers mind the one is mixed with the other. It is the bureaucrat who prevents the trade union having the function of political organiser of the life of the population. Otherwise they would have already done it. So profit from this to make this activity. Make a plan of work toward the trade unions. It is necessary to organise the trade councils where our comrades participate for them to have a life of discussion. For example, what are the United States of Europe? What is it? We can discuss. Can it be made? What difficulties are there? What objective conditions are there against it, and what favourable conditions? So this can be discussed. We are going to discuss a single European trade union centre. Why is it necessary? Can it be made? What possibilities are there? Discuss. Take the initiative in a series of discussions. The Labour leadership is going to be against it, but there are great possibilities to do it. Besides this is going to support and give rise to tendencies in all the leadership and middle cadres of the workers movement. Not all, be-

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Letter to the British Section

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cause they are bureaucrats, but they are going to arise.

So on this base, along the way, it is necessary to pose the problems of the struggle for the new leadership of the Labour and trade union movement. But it is necessary to publish the Marxist

THE LABOUR VANGUARD, THE COMMUNIST CADRES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT

There is a profound crisis of English capitalism, it is very great and very deep. The meeting of the Ten, the European Common Market, has meant an immense weakness has occurred and developed in the capitalist system, and at the same time the powerlessness of capitalism to govern with bourgeois organs. They need Willy Brandt and now the process in Denmark where the working class comes out with red flags to celebrate and sing for the "no," their intention is not simply to oppose the European Common Market, but to oppose the capitalist system. This is the intention of the working class and it is going to show it in a short time as a movement. Denmark is distant from the world, it has no trade union, political or social influence. When the workers of Denmark come out with the students to agitate with red flags it is because they are expressing along what lines they want to demonstrate, what they are looking for, what their objective is. It is not the "No" to the European Common Market, it is the "No" to the capitalist system. And what ever the final electoral result may be, the Danish masses have already found a centre on which they can mobilise in unity. "L'humanite" and "L'Unita" report this, and previously they did not say this. Now they say "What is of interest, what it really is in depth is not this concrete election but the state of animation of the working class in Denmark which is united to the European proletariat to struggle against capitalism." This is what they said.

One must think that the Labour vanguard must have the confidence of seeing this process. They certainly have a great resistance to the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Parties. Their experience with them was of dispute. They saw Stalins dictatorship, not the Soviet proletariat and the revolutionary policy. So the leaderships have based themselves on this to maintain their power over the class. But when the trade unions, against Wilson, turn round and incorporate the communists as a leadership in the movement it is because there is already a vanguard which thinks and reasons in a marxist way. It does not have a the marxist consistency or organisation, but it reasons in a marxist way. It does not generalise the application of marxism but it is a conclusion that is only possible when it is dictated by the experience of the vanguard, determined by the marxist education. This does not mean that they have studied it, but they are the conclusions that marxism must lead to: — it is necessary to incorporate the communists into the workers movement. It is an expression of the class united front. This decision means that the leadership of the English workers movement, that for years and years, for nearly fifty years, has had as one of its essential elements; preventing the entry of the communists to maintain the leadership and keep the English workers movement isolated, now has to yield. This is an indication of the state of animation of the vanguard. How to contact it? One cannot contact it with a mere trade union movement, it is with the publications. The publications are what put us in contact with the intellectual, scientific and worker vanguard. Because of this it is necessary to publish, publish and publish.

Relatively we are a small group, the smallest of the world, and relatively we are the most powerful, and we find the economic means to express ourselves politically and publicly. It is an immense source of resources and authority. Because there is no-one who explains this. One has to count with the fact that the Soviet bureaucracy is going to stimulate, is going to help,

Review in English. It is a deficit not to have done it. Not to send it to North America but for England. It is certainly not an organ that is only useful for England, it is useful for India, for part of Africa and for North America. But our immediate intention now is England.

directly or indirectly, the tendencies in the old leadership. If it can conciliate with the right, the bureaucracy does it, but it is showing that things pass it by.

It is important to see this change of Tactic of the soviets in the Middle East, and what they are learning, supporting Syria, to pressure Egypt, to impel it, and force it to liquidate the sectors of the right linked to imperialism. These measures they are making in Britain with the Communist Party, in France and in Latin America.

The Soviet bureaucracy published in "Pravda" and transmitted by radio, a criticism of the Argentinian Communist Party for not having understood Peronism. They are lying because it was not only the Argentinian CP who did not understand, they didn't either. They too were against it. But the soviets are throwing off their old clothes which the communists of Argentina are still wearing.

This struggle, this activity to carry forward is going to permit you to give order to the discussion, to give security. If our section publishes and translates everything consistently, the communist cadres who want to advance are going to feel secure, and they are going to seek out the section and say to it: "What is your opinion?" On the other hand it is necessary to avoid submitting yourself to solely individual discussions. You must avoid this. Because the communist leader listens and then he resolves. Not only is this a usurpation but it is a way to hide from his Party the capacity which we have. Moreover he cannot assimilate all the orientations we give, because he is on his own. Thus the discussion is determined by his limitation. On the other hand the publications reach a very great public, orders the thinking of intellectuals, and militant cadres, and transcends the Communist Party.

But jointly with this it is necessary to carry forward a struggle to strengthen a leadership, making a publicity campaign, of articles of propaganda and of agitation to help form the new leadership in the Labour Party, showing that this programme approved by the annual Conference needs a leadership which applies it. In order to apply it it is necessary to be based in the factories, in the workers areas, in the trade unions, proposing organs of functioning which guarantee the influence and the democratic participation of the base. Propose factory councils, in which meetings of each section are made. The organisation of the trade councils is very important and very progressive. But it is necessary to make workshop committees, this is the cell of workers democracy, where everyone feels with resolution and disposition, animated to intervene. This is where they feel themselves to be a leadership, learn to direct the factory, the trade union and the country. Explain why it is necessary to make these workshop and section committees. Each section delegate must assume responsibility for the positions which his section puts, by means of democratic assemblies of all tendencies, making meetings of the section delegates, which represent the thinking of each section. Each section delegate must be accountable to his section. Maintain without interruption, constantly, the slogan of the immediate recall of all delegates. Have as a decisive slogan and explain the slogan of workers democracy not socialist democracy, but workers democracy that is to say the democracy of the factory, of the trade union. There is no such thing as socialist democracy because socialism does not need democracy. For simplification and agitation sometimes we employ the term "socialist democracy. Lenin also employed it, as Lenin

said: "Socialism is electrification plus soviets." The basis was not the electricity, but the soviets which gave the electricity. It is very common that the communists agitate socialist democracy. We don't make a question of this. But it is necessary to make local texts explaining the difference between proletarian democracy and socialism. Because of this we don't say socialist democracy, because socialism does not need democracy. Democracy is a term about social relations. In socialism there is no class conflict to demand a differentiation and a regulation of rights. In socialism there is no regulation. It is necessary to pose the right for proletarian democracy.

The structure of the British workers movement has been determined by the Labour bureaucracy, which annuls democracy but sees itself forced to allow certain forms of democracy, and in relation to the rest of the world workers movement, Trade Unions see themselves forced to concede quite a few democratic rights. But as it has a powerful bureaucratic apparatus, this apparatus dominates all the control of democratic functioning. It has a form of democratic rights, but it has a functioning which is aristocratic and dictatorial, because they have the domination of the apparatus. Thus democracy is developed within the structure of the apparatus. It is necessary to explain all this democracy has to go to the factory, to the workers area.

It is necessary to make the population participate. It is necessary to make agitation and propaganda, the communists never do this, nor does the LP either. It is necessary to consider that there is a democratic structure in the trade unions, but it is democracy for them. It is a democracy of the apparatus. A whole apparatus has developed, and from this come the ministers, the deputies, and all the layabouts. Thus it looks like a democratic organ. It decides, it discusses in Congresses, there are assemblies. But they are assemblies in which they decide. This is the structure which cannot be broken for the moment, but on the other hand the world progress of the revolution, the crisis of the Communist Party, the incorporation of the communists with the right to lead trade unions, opens the road so that our comrades can pose discussions about how democracy must function in the British workers movement. This is the essential element for the struggle for the new leadership. And to unite this with all the demands and with Ireland. Show the necessity that the British workers movement and the Labour Party take resolutions of unconditional support for the struggle of the masses of Ireland. Call for the unification of a socialist Ireland and England. Make explanations about the difference of language, of customs, of traditions, but showing how the struggle of the masses, already bypasses the problem of self determination. We do not annul such a slogan, but we show how the struggle of the masses is overcoming the levels of differentiations of language, of customs, of traditions. On the other hand there is a furious class struggle between catholic and protestant Ireland.

Our Party has to make articles, many articles. This is educating all the British vanguard to elevate its consciousness of its historic responsibility in Britain. It is very important that our comrades discuss with the British proletarian vanguard, because it feels responsible for this. But it needs articles.

SUPPORT THE WORKERS AND LABOUR MOVEMENT FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The present stage is to intervene in this struggle, for changes of leadership in the Labour Party and in the Trade Unions, help them to organise the left, basing themselves on a part of the communist team. Intervening in the crisis of the communist party, in the trade councils, in courses of the labour party and of the Young Socialists. It is necessary to give a plan and programme towards this Socialist youth movement, preparation of courses, of revolutionary cultural elevation, in order to form a group. Not breaking with the young

texts, so that it feels capable of confronting the bureaucratic apparatus, it is necessary to give it revolutionary cultural orientation to be able to intervene. The texts of the International are going to serve, and must serve, to unify the comprehension of the proletarian and intellectual vanguard of Britain with the rest of the world, with the problems of the world.

But at the same time the incorporation of the communists to the leadership of the trade unions is going to produce a very profound basis of crisis in the communist movement, because a sector linked to the working class is going to try to push and take this as a measure of progressing against the right. And there is no time to domesticate them, or make a factory of bureaucrats, there is no time for this. On the contrary the present stage of the world and of Britain is the struggle against all systems of bureaucratic apparatus and functioning. The time which is taken does not depend on us, although in part it does, because we are the ones who transmit, generalise the experiences of the struggles of the masses of the world, the revolutionary cultural security, which will permit the British proletarian and communist vanguard to have confidence that it is going to have points of access and development against the bureaucratic apparatus.

The British CP is paralysed, it is over passed by the events. This ascent of the trade unions overpasses it, but at the same time, when the TUs permit it to form part of the leadership of the workers movement, it is because there are very dedicated communist cadres, linked to the class and with the adhesion and respect of the class. Small teams of cadres. It is necessary to gain them, and have access to them. Because they are going to weigh in the life of the communist party.

The Labour people, be it of the party or of the Trade Unions do not attract the communist party, in an abstract form. They are lively communist cadres and militants, who have a lively activity, and who in spite of the bad leadership of the communist party, have maintained a Communist functioning. Possibly with many errors but with a communist behaviour, seeking the sense of the class struggle. It is necessary to reach these cadres. The publications must reach them, a weekly paper of eight pages, making better articles. Improving the layout of the paper. You have already improved it, but it continues to have very big titles, columns with very big letters, giving much space to the titles and replacing reasoning. Reasoning does not need a big title, it needs space to write, because it seeks to explain and persuade, not to hit you in the eye like a big title. The big title is no use, it is like a blow, it is necessary to persuade, persuade and explain. Explain, Explain and Explain. It is necessary to make good editorials. Before writing an editorial, you should discuss: what is happening in Britain? What is happening in the world, how is this reflected in Britain, in the labour movement, in the TU movement and in the LP. What is the orientation from one week to the next? You have to discuss this. You have to discuss and accustom yourself to resolving that before making an editorial, you have to make a very good discussion. And to gradually elevate the capacity of the comrades to make conferences. So that the comrades rotate in giving conferences, writing texts, and giving plans of action.

socialists, but elevating in them the marxist understanding, explaining to them, and raising in them the understanding of the objective conclusion that the Labour Party has already entered into the course of the crisis of leadership. That there is no possibility that Wilson as before, comes to take the power and throws out the left. He can throw out one or two, but now they are throwing out the right of the Labour Party. They can't go back on this now, they have to throw out the right. And

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Letter to the British Section...

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the labour workers even at the risk of losing elections say "Out you go." This is indicating the decision of the labour base to impel the class struggle, but also to understand what is happening in the world. Thus it is necessary to give them a vision of the world, which is going to socialism. Giving them a vision not with definitions but with courses, discussions and moreover explaining the crisis of the communist parties which forms part of this ascending process of the revolution. It is going to give a lot of confidence to the socialist youth.

As it is seen also in Germany, or in Chile, the young socialists are very close to us. They feel impelled, elevated in their revolutionary will of understanding how to intervene. They feel represented by us. Because of this they need publications, publications and publications.

It is with a great affection and with a great complete fraternal sentiment that we preoccupy ourselves with the progress of the British section. And it is with a great affection and complete fraternal sentiment that it is necessary to take these conclusions, for you to unite yourselves and fuse with the British proletariat, to love the British proletariat, to love the British proletariat and the struggle of the British masses, to feel them as your own life. Not to include, or to allow, errors, or limitations, or superficialities. It is necessary to feel that the struggle of the British proletariat is making a very great, a gigantic effort for the social, cultural and scientific development of Britain. That it has had the historic patience of putting up with the Labour leadership, and it has not deserted its historic class function. It has been utilised, but one must see that it has been utilised because the stage of Stalinism came, and after it, that of Khrushchev. And when the British proletariat has been able to encounter a historic access which it can grab hold of, you see what is happening in Britain. British capitalism has to desperately seek sources of resources which replace those which they see are weakening; they see that the Labour leadership no longer can respond entirely as a leadership which defends the capitalist system. They are seeking a replacement. The Labour leadership continues to be an agent of British capitalism, but they can no longer use the Labour party as a direct instrument, submitted unconditionally to this leadership. And the biggest struggles in Britain are going to take place inside the LP. There, there is going to be the greatest struggle for a change of leadership and of programme. This is the party which is going to take power in Britain. There is no other party which can take power. The labour masses have been centralised and educated in all its existence in the LP and in the Trade Unions, but on the other hand the Labour masses can have an immense weight, weighing on the Labour movement by means of the Trade Unions. Because of this the importance of our developing, the combination of the small activity which we can carry on in the Trade Unions, in the Trade Councils, joined with the publishing activity. Combining the two things. This is going to help the formation of a new leadership, and it is also going to

Against the Fascist laws in Ireland

RESOLUTION OF THE P.B. OF THE R.W.P.(T) BRITISH SECTION IV INTERNATIONAL

At this moment the Tory government, on the basis of the Diplock commission report, is preparing legislation for Northern Ireland which will eliminate even formal bourgeois justice. These changes of law envisage trials without juries, trial in the absence of the accused and, in the case of arms or explosives being found in houses, the onus to prove innocence being placed on the accused. Already the Tory government have 'legal' instruments which allow an almost indefinite imprisonment without trial. In common with the legislation passed by the parliament of the Irish Republic which allows the word of a senior police to substitute for proof in the case of IRA 'suspects'—which means anybody who opposes the Lynch government—these measures are, in their character and in their intention, fascist laws.

In characterising them as fascist laws we are not raising the spectre of fascism. What the Tories are doing amounts to pushing fascist measures through parliament—where they have a majority—without any real hope of being able to impose them. They cannot impose such measures because they do not have the social base which a fascist movement necessitates. The bourgeoisie cannot mobilise sectors, in the main the petit bourgeoisie, which would, in the past, have provided the mass base for a fascist movement, against the working class. These sectors are now won to the revolution, are won by the centralised strength and confidence of the proletariat and, fundamentally, by the existence of 14 Workers States which demonstrate what the basis for the advance of humanity is—the destruction of the system of private property. The loss, by British Imperialism, of its social base is amply demonstrated by the strikes and mobilisations of civil servants against the Tory government's wage freeze policy. When for imperialism, the most reliable, the most structured civil service is attracted to the struggle of the workers and adopts their methods then the social crisis of British imperialism has reached an acute stage. It is true that the crisis of capitalism has not, as yet, found an overt expression in the British Army but

the numbers of desertions of British troops in Northern Ireland and the 'resignation' of some paratroopers who feared to return to Northern Ireland are preludes to a crisis on the level of the one which exists in the armed forces of Yankee imperialism.

Ireland is, as the International Secretariat of the IV International has analysed, the Vietnam of British Imperialism. On a smaller scale perhaps, but still British imperialism intervenes in Northern Ireland with the same intentions as Yankee imperialism in Vietnam—to try to terrorise, to assassinate the masses. Vietnam has demonstrated that the world balance of forces is with the masses and it is the world mobilisations of the masses which has forced the halt, by Yankee imperialism, to the bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. In the same way we have every confidence that the measures which British Imperialism are using against the masses of Northern Ireland are going to be defeated. However it is predictable that this Tory government is going to adopt measures similar to those used in Northern Ireland, and in the Irish Republic, in this country. Even the failure of the 'industrial relations act' and its virtual defeat over the wage freeze is not going to deter it but rather to make it more determined on adopting more repressive measures. It is clear that the measures, the fascist laws adopted in both parts of Ireland, are going to be proposed for this country and, since we are able to foresee this development, we are convinced of the necessity of launching a campaign for the prevention of any new, repressive legislation by the Tory government.

This is not, of course, to propose a campaign against the 'racist laws' in isolation from the whole process of the world revolution and its expression in this country. However such a campaign would add another point of mobilisation in the struggle for an overthrow of the authors of these laws—the Tory government. Equally it would provide a means of uniting the working class and other sectors of the exploited masses in Ireland—North and South—with those in this country. The demand for the

repeal of what repressive laws already exists—the 'fascist laws' in the Irish republic and the present repressive measures which already exist in Northern Ireland—and the mobilisations to prevent the passing of 'fascist laws' through the British Parliament must also be linked directly to the demand for the repeal of the 'industrial relations act', the wage freeze and all other repressive legislation. It is also necessary to note, in this context, the repressive nature of much of the immigration laws which now exist. Laws which allow, for example, the expulsion from the country of an official of the Socialist International to which the Labour Party is affiliated, and which can be used against other militants who are not of British origin.

It is also true that the campaign against the 'fascist laws' not only provides a means of stimulating the class and revolutionary struggle but, in the course of this, it can also play a role in the construction of the independent organisms of the class and in the impulsion of a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party. However, as an immediate, concrete objective such a campaign should aim at the organisation of a conference of all workers organisations, of all the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist organisations in Ireland and in this country. The trade unions and the Labour Party who already have an organisation in Northern Ireland, and the Communist Party who have a close relationship with the Irish Communist Party, have a particular responsibility to impel the organisation of this conference which would discuss the 'fascist laws' and all the other problems of the masses, and which would include the Labour Parties, the Communist Parties (British and Irish) both wings of Sinn Féin, the left of Fianna Fáil, all the Trade Unions, the IV International, Peoples Democracy and all revolutionary groups and tendencies.

We applaud the initiative already taken to organise a demonstration in Derry on January 27th to protest against the assassinations carried out by British Imperialism on 'Bloody Sunday' in Derry. It is an action which we support and in which we will participate. Clearly it is not a passive demonstration but one which will incorporate militants from the trade unions, from the workers parties in both Ireland and this country. It is an intervention of elements of the workers vanguard at a very favourable time because in Northern Ireland we are now seeing the beginnings of class actions which unite both protestant and catholic workers. In this the trade unions, as was foreseen, play an important part. Thus the proposal by the Northern Ireland Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers (Confed), which represents about 20% of the working class in Northern Ireland, to organise some form of workers defence committees, to organise protection against the assassins of British Imperialism. As representatives of the Confed, have said, already protestant workers defend catholic workers who work in protestant areas of Belfast and the other way around in Catholic areas. Also a conference is to be held of tenants organisations to bring together the tenants committees in catholic and protestant areas in a common struggle. At the same time the UDA—which has something of a protestant working class base, has warned that they will take action against the assassins. All this means that this demonstration takes place at a time when the struggle in Northern Ireland is taking on a more obviously class and revolutionary appearance.

It is possible to use this demonstration, this protest as a basis for the organisation of a conference, as we have proposed, which itself will be a step towards the concrete and organic unity of the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggle in the whole of the British Isles, for the overthrow of the Tory government in this country and the Lynch government in the Irish Republic.

We appeal to the Labour Party branches, trade unions, trades councils, to the Communist Party, to support with all their force, the demonstration in Derry on January 27th to publicise it as much as possible, to hold similar demonstrations in this country, to discuss the significance of Derry in their journals. And we appeal to these organisations to prepare massive demonstrations and strikes on the day that Parliament discusses proposed fascist legislation on N. Ireland, coming from the Diplock Commission.

We call upon all the representatives of the workers parties, and unions, in this country, intellectuals, students, etc. who wish to participate in a campaign against the fascist laws to contact us at, 24 Cranbourn Street, London, W.C.2. 14-1-73

theless, the British dockers demonstrated a conduct of historic security which did not come from them alone, but they represented the historic security which the world working class gave.

This activity which we propose has as an objective to weigh, to intervene, in the formation of the new leadership of the Labour movement of the trade unions of the Labour Party. There is a communist wing, which with us is going to accompany this struggle. It is necessary to make a planning and a division of work. On the bases of publications, publications. We organise so that the trade councils link the power of the workers area, power of the trade union, power of the factory. Make publicity, cadre schools of the party, learn languages so as to be able to translate and publish. It is on the basis of such a progress, that our British section must participate and form part of this struggle for the new leadership of the British workers and revolutionary movement.

help the communists. The communists, the communist sector is going to follow the road of helping the workers and labour movement, in the struggle for a new revolutionary leadership. Moscow has an interest in this, and is going to help and put pressure on for this.

In this path, in this process, there is going to be a crisis in the British CP, and it is necessary to intervene in it. The publications are also irreplaceable. The British proletariat is going to show, is showing that the struggles which it has carried on without interruption for the last four years, in different forms are all with the same objective. Not voting for its leadership, stimulating the general strike, occupying ports and making them function. This last requires an immense historical security; because the port is one of the places least accessible for communication with the population, less accessible to where the capacity of production of the function in the economy is felt. The port is a means of transport, even the shipyards. Never-

SUPPORT THE WORKERS AND LABOUR MOVEMENT FOR A NEW REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

VIVA THE APPLICATION OF THIS PROGRAMME, WHICH IN A PERIOD OF ONE YEAR WILL GIVE AN ENORMOUS IMPULSE AND PROGRESS TO OUR BRITISH SECTION

VIVA THE MARXIST REVIEW IN ENGLISH AND ALL THE OTHER PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH

VIVA THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Editorial

their attacks on the workers movement. They are forced to defend their profits, their competitive position, faced with European and US capitalism, and above all they maintain at whatever the cost, their repressive apparatus in preparation for the final settlement of accounts. To say that they are going to keep up their attacks does not mean to say that they are going to win, or even that they have the strength to seriously, at this stage, damage the workers movement, but they must not be allowed to keep the initiative. All the demands of the exploited masses have to be united and fought for in every struggle, so that every strike

becomes a point of centralisation for all the population. If the actions organised by the engineering workers union, as the one in all the big factories in Luton on the 15th, unified the struggle against the fining of the union, with demands against the wages freeze, against the price rent and fare increases, against the fascist laws in Ireland, uniting this also to a condemnation of the US action in Vietnam, they would attract and mobilise much greater sectors of the exploited population. We appeal for such a programmatic unification of the struggles together with an organisational unification by means of the trade councils. As Posadas has said in his letter to the British section, they are organs of dual power and they have to be developed as such, intervening in all the problems of the region, and of

the Trade Union and Labour Party. We appeal to the LP, the CP, the TUS, the shop steward committees, the tenants committees, the student movement, to build and extend and to elevate the political life of the trade councils, as a means of unifying the factories, the pensioners, the tenants, the students under the leadership of the working class, to prepare for the general strike, and to stimulate the left to take power in the Labour Party, so as to create the conditions for a left labour government, which will take anti-capitalist measures.

15-1-73

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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. 175

4th Friday of January 1973

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THE CEASE FIRE AGREEMENT; A DEFEAT

FOR U.S. IMPERIALISM INFLICTED BY

THE MASSES OF THE WORLD

Unite all the struggles in the country against "Phase Two" of wage freeze

The recently announced details of 'phase 2' of the Tory government's 'wage freeze' shows yet another retreat from their 'strong government' policy. It is a measure of the weakness of the Tory government that, in the face of the mobilisations of the working class, it is forced to give concessions on wage increases. At the same time as allowing wage rises of between 7% and 9%, the government has been forced to take measures against capital in the form of some restrictions on profit levels. It is true that these restrictions will fall most heavily on the smaller enterprises, but the immediate fall of prices on the Stock Exchange indicates that the big sectors of capitalism feel that the measures are not entirely in their favour. At one and the same time the Tories have managed to worry the 'city', provoke an opposition from the working class, and to widen the divisions within the Tory Party itself, with the Powell/Monday Club sector denouncing the measures as 'socialism'. Certainly by giving concessions on wages the Tories hoped to gain a support from the most conciliatory sector of the trade union leadership, thus leaving it free to use some of the tougher measures which are envisaged in the proposals—£400 fines for example—against worker militants. However, this manoeuvre is also doomed since no trade union leader has been able to express any support for these measures. Indeed all the trade union leaders denounced 'phase 2' with the leaders of the civil service trade unions well to the fore.

The weakness of the Tory government is part of the overall collapse of world capitalism, confronted with the advance of the class and revolutionary struggle of the masses. Thus Pompidou, faced with the strong possibility of a victory of the Popular Union (of the Communist and Socialist Parties) next March, can do nothing else but go to discuss with Brezhnev in the Soviet Union. The representative of French capitalism goes to discuss with the Soviet Union, when the Soviet Union is openly supporting the Popular Union! This is all that is left for capitalism—to attempt to gain some support from the petit bourgeoisie by showing that they also can negotiate with the Workers States. Capitalism has no social authority of its own, but has to try to borrow some from the Workers

States. It is no wonder that the first meeting of the council of nine ministers of the EEC—opened with a clash between the representatives of British and French capitalism. All the meetings of the 'nine' are conflicts, because they take place under the pressure of the mobilisation of the European working class, under the pressure of the gathering strength of the Popular Union—which the opinion polls show to have an eight point lead—in France, under the pressure of 20 million workers on strike in Italy, and under the pressure of the mobilisations of the British working class. Above all, the complete collapse of capitalism is provoked by objective 'international of humanity', that whilst being unorganised, is able to encircle the world with demonstrations against Yankee imperialism, and in support of the masses of Vietnam with demonstrations from Washington, to Madrid, to London.

Fed and sustained by this world process, the reaction of the working class in this country to 'phase 2' was immediate. As soon as it was announced a sector of the Ford workers called a strike in protest. A small sector of workers who acted with a confidence which comes from knowing that they expressed the feeling, the determination of the whole workers vanguard. It was an announcement that this sector of the vanguard, the Ford workers, is preparing to mobilise itself shortly. In the same way as the actions of the civil servants announced great mobilisations of the working class in the very near future. The Ford strike took place at the moment when the Ford shop stewards were submitting a new series of demands to the bosses. This was the answer of the Ford workers to the governments proposals—an immediate strike and a new series of demands!

The Ford claim is important, not only because it is demanding something like a £10 a week wage increase, but because it demands a 35 hour week, all profits of automation to the workers in the form of higher wages, and shorter working hours, and that no worker loses his job. In common with the demands put forward by the Vauxhall workers—actually they are the same demands—the Ford claim shows the confidence of the workers that they are perfectly able to understand and to control the enterprise. In so many words the Ford workers are saying to the bosses—this is how the factory must be run, for our benefit. The same confidence, the same decision to extend the struggle, and to develop it programmatically is shown by the fact that workers who launched a one-day

strike recently on Merseyside against the fine on the AUEW, incorporated into the strike workers from the Shotton Steel Works in North Wales, who are in struggle to prevent the closure of the works.

It is certain that the Ford-Vauxhall demands cannot be gained without a major confrontation with the government, and it is necessary to prepare now for this struggle. In conditions where we have had, in the last weeks, a General Strike—in bits certainly with 50,000 workers on strike in Luton on Monday, tens of thousands on strike on Merseyside on Friday, and so on, but what amounts to a General Strike nevertheless—a vanguard sector like Fords can act as a centre for a full national, General Strike to overthrow the Tories. Of course pres-

sure can be put on the TUC to organise national action. However, the immediate reaction of the trade union leadership was one of verbal opposition to 'phase 2' with no indication that they were prepared to take action. On the contrary this leadership is not prepared, neither by training, nor background to organise such a struggle. Thus it is necessary not to wait for them, but to impel them by action organised in the Factory. This is the best, the most effective, the most organised instrument of struggle, which the class has now—the factory.

As a first step in organising an all out struggle against the Tories we propose that a delegate conference be called,

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LETTER OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE
IV INTERNATIONAL TO THE FRENCH SECTION 7. 10. 72

The decomposition of capitalism. The crisis of growth of the French Communist Party & the struggle for power in France

The crisis in the French Communist Party is very profound. The liquidation of "Lettres Francaises" is a good example, which shows how the Soviet bureaucracy needs a communist party, which is free of all the old cob webs. It is necessary to liquidate it. The party requires a new team, or one which without being new, follows the orientation of the Soviets. But for what policy? Not to hand over Spain, not to be submitted to French capitalism, but a policy of advance towards power, which does not meet the obstacles which existed in Czechoslovakia, with Ota Sik and Dubcek, but which prepares for the development of the measures, to impel the Italian and French communist parties to take power.

For the first time, in a direct and clear form, French capitalism puts the USSR in the problems of France, without their hair standing on end. It puts it there as something quite normal. "If the communist win, will the Soviets intervene?", a thing which we have been saying for years: the Soviets are going to intervene. This is a world, not a local problem. It is not an election, it is the problem of the relation of world forces, which is preparing the atomic war. The Soviet bureaucracy is preparing itself with this consciousness, and with this resolution and although it speaks of peaceful co-existence, it is preparing for the atomic war. It tries to contain the levels in order not to depend on the revolutionary vanguard, on the Trotskyists, on the trade union struggles, but it is preparing for the atomic war, and the arms which they are making are for the atomic war.

The Soviets have an interest in this intervention in the French Communist Party, so that it advances towards power; hence they need to cleanse the French Communist Party of the backward sectors, the rightist sectors, who do not move with the advance of the revolution, who do not have an interest in combating capitalism, and want to continue accommodating to it. The Soviet bureaucracy already sees that it has the strength which allows it to advance without the

risk of the revolution, which escape its control, but also without annulling the possibility of the revolution.

As we have written previously in particular on the changes in Egypt, this process is teaching the Soviet bureaucracy the revolutionary tactic. The revolutionary tactic depends on a revolutionary objective. They do not have an integral revolutionary policy, but their revolutionary tactic, even when simplified, because it helps the revolutionary states, forces the bureaucracy towards a revolutionary policy. The tactic is to serve the policy. The revolutionary tactic of encouraging, arming Syria, contained the the Israelis, who were going to invade. Three days before the Soviets announced that they were sending arms, and that there were Soviets, who would be in charge of them, the Israelis had been preparing to invade Syria. One of the Israeli generals said: "Our plan is to invade Syria, Lebanon and part of Egypt". This was their programme. The crisis, which existed in Israel arose, because this sector was winning the majority, and Dayan and the Yankees contained it in order not to enter into conflict with the Soviets. The Soviets won and gave modern arms to the Syrians, operated by Soviet technicians, and gave

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Viva the liberation of Francisco Cuadrado imprisoned in Spain for 4 years

We salute with immense joy the liberation of our comrade Francisco Cuadrado, imprisoned for the second time for his militant activity as a member of the POR(T) the Spanish Section of the IV International.

Four years ago he was arrested and after 4 months detention was tried and condemned to 8 years imprisonment. Having benefitted by several reductions of his sentence, as a result of the struggles of the Spanish masses and the actions of solidarity for the liberation of all the political and TU prisoners in Spain, organised by the IV International, our comrade has just been released.

We salute the activity of all the trotskyist-posadists in prison, and will continue the action for the liberation of all those still detained, and for all the political prisoners among which there are many communist militants and leaders.

We salute the activity of the POR(T) Spanish Section of the IV International-Posadist, for its struggle in clandestinity for the construction of the new revolutionary leadership in united front with the Communist movement to smash Franco, and for democratic rights and socialism in Spain.

Letter to the French Section....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

arms to Iraq, and at the same time that they signed the agreement with Algeria, Syria and Iraq, they forced a change in Egypt again. Our analysis and prediction have been confirmed. The Soviet Union has been obliged to make a world policy, which does not now depend only strictly and exclusively on agreement with capitalism, and now escapes their control, in a very acute form, which includes the danger of war on account of what they are doing in Syria, Algeria and Iraq.

French capitalism through forty per cent of its economic structure, depends on the sale of arms. It is a country which lives on this. But at the same time when a country lives on the sale of arms, it means that its economic structure is very weak, because the solid structure of the capitalist system does not depend on the sale of arms; this comes afterwards. It normally depends on the internal market, and exports to serve the

THE ADVANCE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER THROUGH THE CRISIS IN THE P.C.F.

Our party must intervene as an essential factor in the crisis of French capitalism, and at the same time as an indispensable element to push forward the urgent activity to change the leadership of the Communist Party. All the advance towards power effects changes through the medium of the struggle in the Communist Party. As it is a parliamentary electoral process, the intensity of the struggle, is diminished. It is done visibly, externally, because of electoral aspects. The conflict and the discussions are hidden, because the electoral struggle concentrates all the tendencies around parliamentary interest. But in any case the crisis expresses itself in the same way.

The liquidation of the newspaper of Aragon "Lettres Françaises" is an aspect of this. They are getting rid of the carrion, because this character has nothing to do with the revolution, either in his person, character or personality. The same is happening in the Italian Communist Party. The Soviets are intervening in the essential centres of the party and analyse, give advice, and participate to liquidate the right. The Soviet delegate, who spoke in the festival of Unita, gave a left speech, in which he posed that the problems of Italy and of the world revolution are a unity: the world struggle to construct socialism, and he appealed to the communist parties to fulfill this objective. Berlinguer continued on this same line: "The problems are not Italian, they are world wide, and it is necessary to see how they express themselves in Italy". This is the sense of what Berlinguer said; not with this theoretical formulation, which is precise, but this was the line in which Berlinguer made his intervention. He made an intervention, but he did nothing in order to organise it. This indicates that the changes which are being produced in Yugoslavia, in the USSR and in the rest of the world must influence the crisis of the French Communist Party.

The crisis in the Communist Party is directed to cleanse the party of its indecision, of its conciliatory policy, of reformism and of the lack of revolutionary political decision. It does not feel the masses, does not understand them and thus there has to be an interior struggle. There is an accentuation of the crisis of the French Communist Party. For the tasks which it has to do, through the necessity of the advance of the struggle against capitalism, must produce internal differences, resistances, rejection, because there is a whole bureaucratic apparatus already in interpenetration with capitalism. At the same time, it is obliged to respond to the worker base, which it has, its communication and source of credit with the exploited masses. It is through this that they receive all the influence, all the value, all the progress of the policy of the Soviet Union, which is based essentially on support to the struggle of the peoples against imperialism. They collect this through their worker base, but there is a whole structure of leadership of the party, a clientele passive, conservative, fearful. All this has to be broken. The leadership does not seek to break, to free itself from it by force, violently, because it fears to fall into the hands of the left in the hands of the proletariat. Then it tries to replace it and pushes forward a whole interior and exterior policy for this objective. It is necessary to intervene in this process, learning to see how such a situation expresses itself in the PCF, because it is the communist vanguard, which is expecting orientation to understand what

markets. When it depends on war market, insecurity and instability follow, and the value of money is constantly affected, stimulating outbreaks of inflation, crisis and recession in the capitalist system. The fact that capitalism must live in this way is shown in all the struggles that take place. But even so, without dealing with the dependence on the sale of arms—they sell a great deal, the structure and the contradictions of the capitalist system, cannot be sustained. The same is happening in Britain or Germany. This process is going to influence the Communist Party, because it obliges it inevitably to clashes over power, parliamentary or extra parliamentary. This is going to produce a process of crisis in the Communist Party. Besides, a very great percentage of the French economy depends on the Workers States, and it depends on them in its world diplomatic game. From the industrial point of view, France is one of the most backward of the great capitalist countries.

is happening; it wants to understand, it needs an orientation, which it does not have.

To intervene in the crisis of the Communist Party, it is necessary to elevate the capacity for understanding. The crisis of world and French capitalism finds expression in the Communist Party, because although the CP is not a party of capitalism, the function of the FCP serves to contain the masses, and it was a link with the capitalist system. It was not an agent nor a representative of capitalism, but through the means of a sector, of the clientele layer, of the leaders of the right and part of the centre, through instability, they were linked to the capitalist system. And through them the capitalist system contained the Communist Party. This cleansing, which they want to make in the FCP of the mayors in the municipalities is the same as in Italy, in Belgium, in Britain, the same in all parts of the world. The Communist Party wants to cleanse its apparatus of agents, of politicians, of militants, communist representatives in whatever branch of the bourgeois parliament, who represent the alliance with capitalism, and not the Communist Party against the capitalist system. They want to proceed in an interpenetrative way, not with a revolutionary policy. All these people cannot endure this; hence they explode, hence there are schisms. Hence directly in "Unita" on the same day, when the assassination against the Fedayeen took place in Munich, there were two editorials, one of the leadership of the party supporting Israel and another of Berlinguer posing that it is a whole world process, in which the struggle is against the capitalist system, and terrorism forms part of the exasperation of the oppressed peoples, and that the problem is to finish with the capitalist system, which is the origin, the roots of the evil.

All capitalist Europe is in crisis: England, Germany, France and Italy, the four pillars of capitalism are in crisis. It is a decisive crisis. And the socialist and communist parties are in crisis. To emerge from their crisis the Communist Party debates in an uneven form in Italy and France, in an internal struggle against the right. Such a struggle is uneven, it does not have the same rhythm,

the same dynamism, but it is an internal and very profound struggle. It is part of the crisis in the Communist Party in which it is necessary to intervene, to impel the left to power, which is the objective of these struggles, combined with the activity to go to the government, for the government of the left or of Popular Union; and for the government of the left in Italy. This is what marks fundamentally the activity. For this it is necessary to be based on the world process. The Soviet Union has had to intervene saying: "No ideological and political conciliation, but conciliation in other aspects, for the development of the country, against the combining struggles with agreements". It is an erroneous formulation, but which starts from a centre which is not erroneous. They have to live with the capitalist system. They call it peaceful co-existence. In practice it is shown that there is no such peaceful co-existence. All this world process is expressed in each country whether in Italy or France, and feeds and nourishes the communist militants, and decomposes the leadership.

The workers of Berliet, when Gierke visited the factory, received him with the clenched fist, singing the International shouting "Viva socialist Poland", they found the effort and the decision for this, from all the process. Humanity is united and it was expressed in Berliet.

The ascent of the struggle for power passes through the crisis of the Communist Party. The apparatus is going to make a resistance. The communist base, the middle cadres, no; these are in agreement. This is shown above all in the trade union sphere, in the general social struggles, in culture, medicine, in the petit bourgeois sectors, in transport, in all the places where the masses can express themselves. On the other hand, in the party apparatus, no. Hence in the party apparatus there is not expressed

THE LACK OF LIFE IN THE F.C.P. AND THE BEHAVIOUR OF A COMMUNIST MILITANT

The base of existence, the base of life for us is to understand this process, because it is the base on which the present structure of the leadership of the Communist Party is going to break. From within it cannot break. There has to be a force which allows the militant sectors and leaders of the party, who want to change, who feel themselves encouraged, to be points of support, which are not given by the party. The decisions are rapid and in a short stage. Hence the crisis in the communist parties bases itself always on trade union struggles. The trade union struggle is not the basis of the crisis in the communist parties. It is so now, because it supplies the force which the Communist Party cannot express. There is no life, there are no congresses, there are no conferences, no meetings, cells, no organised party life. Then it has to express itself in this way. And it is vital to intervene. The Communist Party has no life of organisms, then the cadres and militants take trade union struggles as points of support to struggle within the party. What other life is there in the Communist Party. The central committee meets, it is interesting and important but... how is the central committee prepared? What previous life does it have? Do these members of the Central Committee express the will of the party? In what form?

the power, which the masses express in the factory and in the trade union.

It is necessary to be based on this process. The masses receive the world influence of the revolution. This strike at Michelin indicates the world level of the struggles. It is necessary to unite: Michelin, Berliet, Festival of Unita, Festival of Humanité. It is a whole process which expresses in depth and extent, that the masses seek the centres where they can express themselves, to free themselves from the rigid control which their leaders imposed on them. The masses seek a road where they can express themselves directly, and communicate with the rest of the population. In a limited form, they do so in the factory, in the union, or to the maximum, in the workers areas. They have no means of communication with the rest of the population. This should be given by the party.

Hence this limits the decision of the proletariat to take power. It is not that it fears, or is indecisive, or vacillating. It feels the precariousness, and the limitation of the trade union apparatus, hence it tries to make the leaderships and the great trade unions, organs of power compete with the party. But it feels at the same time its historic responsibility.

When the communist leadership says there are these rash, idealist, irresponsible strikes, it lies. The proletariat is the most responsible of all the classes in history. It acquires capacity for judgement, analysis, capacity for reception, deduction and expression. It acquires them in a direct, constant, permanent form. And there are various strata in the proletariat, the vanguard, the militant team and the less active sectors of the population. The proletariat has no homogeneity: there are various sectors and layers, distinct levels of action.

Some, yes because they have individual, personal relations, but they are not relations of organisms. The communist militant has no organic life of the party.

These changes, which the communist announces, which Marchais poses should be discussed in the cells. That the leadership be elected under the control of the cells, is to yield to the least evil. But also it is a level of profundity that indicates that the communist base is controlling its party. It feels itself stimulated. In the Communist Party there is no political life, no life of organisms. The political centre of the life of the PCF is "Humanité", the political centre which educates the militant. But Humanité does not have debates, does not discuss. There is a meeting of the Central Committee where 0.55 percent of the party discusses. And before this discussion, there was no previous preparation. They have documents and resolutions which indicate an up to the minute maturity where do they find it? It is the world process. They read, have contacts, have discussions, but it is the world process which has an influence, among them our texts. The newspapers, which our party sells, it sells them to a public which needs such a level of political orientation. Hence the profusion in the sale of Lutte Communiste. This shows that there is a public, which needs such a level of orientation. This public cannot come to our party, because it demands a high level. Quite correctly, it does not abandon its own party.

The French bourgeoisie debates on its internal crisis, caused fundamentally by the world social crisis of the capitalist system. Together with this there is the crisis of the economy, and on this depends its capacity to maintain a certain internal stability. This economic crisis still has not broken out. But there is a progress in advance of this phase of the economic crisis, which is united to the national and world social crisis. This is disarming, disintegrating, drowning the morale, the optimism, the perspective of capitalism as a class which is retreating constantly. It cannot abandon its defence as a class, it is going to do it with the atomic war, with repressions of strikes and counter revolutions. But capitalism shows more and more its impotence to act.

Not because it does not have means: it has the same army as before, it has more arms than before, more concentration and centralisation than before. But it is losing the capacity for social authority in a vacuum, which becomes bigger and bigger. It is disintegrating constantly.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

VIVA THE PARTICIPATION OF OUR FRENCH SECTION IN THE MEETING OF THE POPULAR UNION ON 1. 12. 72

We salute the magnificent participation of the PCR(T) the French Section of the IV International Posadist in the great meeting of the "Union Populaire" in Paris on December 1st. Carrying an immense red banner on which was written "Viva the first meeting of the Union Populaire. Down with capitalism! The left to Power—workers parties, trade unions, factories, schools, offices, neighbourhoods, all united and mobilised for the triumph of the left government, for the unity of the world communist and workers movement, for the world united anti-imperialist front, and the victory of the Vietnamese revolution". The delegation of our party marched behind the ranks of the Young Communist followed by numerous factory delegations.

Inside the immense hall, where the meeting was held, the banner was unfurled, and was greeted and approved by tens of thousands of participants. It was the sentiment of the communist masses, which allowed our party to be present, and because the programmatic struggle is elevating inside the CP, and a tendency wants our intervention, uses us as a point of support in their struggle against the right.

We salute the French Section, and the French C.P. vanguard, who allowed their participation.

CAMDEN: THE CONCLUSION FOR THE TENANTS STRUGGLE

The decision of the Labour Councilors of Camden to finish with the struggle over the rent increases of the Housing Finance Act is understandable, when there is no leadership in the Labour Party nationally, which is prepared to support the councilors in the struggle. Now the N.E.C. has come out openly to disassociate itself from the pledge, to which it was committed by the Conference of the LP to support the councilors in struggle against the Housing Finance Act. The Labour councilors of Camden have shown great decision and courage, and have made some gains, for example not having to pay the arrears now owed to the government since the beginning of the struggle. But, in the end, it is the government that has the upper hand, as it has shown in threatening to cut off the housing subsidies. The councilors give in, because now they don't know what to do; it is not a question of their courage, they have

shown this, but of their comprehension. It shows that however successful a movement of the kind, of the Camden tenants, or elsewhere, is, it cannot of itself solve the problems of housing, of lack of money, of profiteering, of exploitation in capitalist society. It can make gains, but the tenants movement cannot be fully successful without the overthrow of the capitalist Tory government, and thus by organising itself, together with other more determining centres of the class who are working for this downfall, the trade unions, the trades councils, and the organised workers in the factories, it has a role to play.

We salute the call by the Camden Branch of the Communist Party to the Camden tenants, and to "the 22 militant councilors in Camden to work with the Action Committee and Camden Federation of Tenants and Residents Association to develop opposition to the Act." We also greet the very important con-

ference, which the Greenwich Trades Council and the South East London Action Committee against Factory Closures and Rising Unemployment is going to make with the Greenwich Tenants and Residents Campaign Committee. All these calls and actions point in the right direction, but fundamentally they must be made in the framework of the programme to overthrow the Tory government, and impose a Labour government in which the left has taken power, which is pledged to implement LP Conference resolutions. This means then, immediately discussing in the tenants movement, in Camden or Greenwich, Clay Cross, Walsall or Conisbrough, the programme to impel the left councilors, the left M.P.'s (particularly the 22 left councilors in Camden, and left M.P.'s who have aided the tenants struggle such as Denis Skinner of Clay Cross), to aid the formation of an organised left tendency in the LP on at the minimum the programme of conference resolutions, which included the nationalisation of the bank, insurance, land etc. to be sustained by workers control, and factory committees.

The process which is already taking place in Britain, is that each struggle, each militant stand by any sector of the population, workers, students, tenants, and even civil servants, leads to a weakening of the right inside the LP. The resignations of Jenkins from the Shadow Cabinet and of Taverne from the LP in Lincoln, or the recall of Geoffrey de Freitas in Corby, shows that the sector of the LP that is not supporting the struggle of the exploited masses can no longer act freely inside the LP, and is being pushed out of it. It is in part for this reason that D. Skinner, MP for Clay Cross, finds the confidence and support for saying that the NEC of the LP should resign. The capitulation on which the NEC has made over its opposition to the Housing Finance Act, going against the Conference decision of the LP, is going to be another element in the crisis, which there is in the LP, a crisis which will soon have an effect on the leadership of the party as in the move by Barbara Castle to the Bank Benchers, and voting with the left, and the recent speech of Wilson, where he stressed the necessity of nationalisations—and will lead to a process, where all those who

refuse to advance in the LP will be thrown out, and replaced by new elements coming directly from the struggle.

We appeal for all the tenants committees to link themselves with all the struggles of the class in their areas, with the workers from the Scunthorpe steel works, with the workers from the Ford factories, to make a common programme of struggle, an immediate end to the wage freeze, out with the Industrial Relations Act and Housing Finance Act, no more workers to be unemployed, work sharing without loss of pay. There is a possibility of linking the tenants movement with the organisations of the class, in the various "Action Committees" or "Labour Movement Committees" for example. In these committees with representatives of the trades union movement, with representatives of the political parties of the class, the tenants committees can transcend their initial objectives and play a role in the bringing about the downfall of the Tories. We appeal for these committees to be extended, for them to include representatives of the trades unions, the trades councils, the tenants committees, members of the Labour Party, Communist Party, of the IV International. Becoming committees which will organise a whole district, will let all the population participate, from the housewives to the TU. and political leaders of the area.

Camden has been an important milestone in the struggle it has shown that the Labour councilors can be an arm in the anti-capitalist struggle, that a sector of the councilors are open to the pressure of the base, and want to fight for socialism. But it has also shown the limits of a method of struggle, which remains inside (even if being supported by mass mobilisations) the capitalist machinery of local government. Refusing to implement the rent rises was an action of dual power, either it had to develop or it would decay. To develop it needed wider, more political perspectives, which in turn would have allowed it to attract much more powerful sectors of the class. As it was limited to the council chamber, and having to confront the National leadership of the LP as well as the government, the councilors could not see the possibility of continuing the struggle. This conclusion has to be drawn in Clay Cross and all the other rent struggles.

Letter to the French Section....

The communist base, the communist militant, the cadres of the worker and revolutionary movement see and feel this process, and have a self discipline in which they behave in agreement with the necessities of the revolutionary process, without leadership, against their leadership, and organise their activity, their life in the factory and outside the factory in the way, which can maintain the constant link, the uninterrupted link, between the proletarian vanguard and the rest of the population.

The French May was an expression of this process, but with the intervention of the students. However when many students moved, no one else came out, when Renault moved, all the proletariat came out and attracted the whole country. The student was the detonator, but the proletariat was the force which had the arms.

This is the situation, there is no discussion possible. We live and function for this process. Then we have to organise the understanding in relation to this process, which already exists, and is on the march. Our intervention, our activity as a party, the activity of the International, Chile, Berliet are different points and actions, which lead to and arise from

the same priority, the revolutionary will, the revolutionary decision to smash capitalism. This exists throughout humanity. With the same objective, it is necessary to have the disciplined class life. Hence the working class does not disintegrate. Hence the students, making heroic actions do not attract the workers. The workers are moved to see the students, hence there is no attitude of insult, of aggression, or of insults against the students. They have had admiration for them, but organisationally they do not see that this is the solution. The class does not see it as mature nor as leadership, nor representing the decision of society. The working class feels itself master of society, because it determines the economic life of the country.

This reality exists and influences the Communist Party; an influence with such magnitude that the Communist Party has to advance in the decision to go towards power. And it goes arranging its programme to work. What is in discussion is this: Where is France going? It is going towards a decisive encounter. It is possible that it may have electoral appearances, although this is still not certain. But even if it happens electorally it is not going to finish there.

THE ELECTIONS, THE CRISIS OF FRENCH AND EUROPEAN CAPITALISM, AND THE SLOGAN OF THE UNITED SOVIET STATES OF EUROPE

After the elections, the process of the struggle for power in France is not concluded. The elections are a phase of this process. Although the government may win through a narrow or relative majority, what is evident is that French capitalism is entering into a crisis in which it cannot maintain equilibrium. And this is not through internal, but through world problems. To respond to the necessity, which arises from the struggles of the masses through the increase of salaries, for full employment, for better social conditions for the masses, means to develop capitalism by at least 50% more than the present level. To develop it means to invest financially, to export three times what it exports. This is excluded. It is obliged on the contrary to increase the cost of living, and to effect a procedure which develops and centralises more productivity, diminishes the cost of production, at the expense of employment, to pay the costs of the war and for inter capitalist competition. It is the form in which the crisis of capitalism develops in this stage. But before the crisis breaks out, they are going to make the war. Capitalism cannot sustain a crisis. Now the crisis is not a base of which capitalism makes use via fascism. The crisis now is the world fall of the capitalist system. Hence capitalism avoids unleashing the crisis. The capitalist state intervenes in the economy, and has a leading function far more than in the past. Hence in the meetings at the summit, there are four or five people, the great financial companies who decide.

French capitalism has no perspective of economic stability. Whatever might be the electoral result, the conditions of the social crisis are maintained, develop and are going to increase in France, Britain, in Italy and Germany. Hence all the tendencies to the left. Hence in Denmark there is an apparently contradictory process. The referendum is made to resolve the entry into the Common Market, and the "yes" wins by a very small margin. But the most outstanding aspect of this process is that the majority of the social-

ist youth and of the socialist party, particularly in the proletarian zones, voted for the "no" against its party. It is like the British proletariat when it abstained from voting; but here it intervened, showed a social decision, which electorally it could not demonstrate, because the proletarian sectors of 18-19 years (those who intervened in the great strikes) did not vote. It is in no way contradictory that the prime minister who was a partisan of the "yes" immediately after the election, resigned his post. In appearance it is contradictory through the fraudulent electoral arrangements of capitalism. But the resignation was right because they won 57% against 47%, a very small margin. Taking into account the sector which did not vote, they are a minority, and besides layers of the population, which electorally had not intervened, express themselves socially, this shows that an equilibrium and a medium of containing the masses of Denmark, has been broken, and this is going to express itself now in the social struggles, showing that what is in question is not "yes" or "no" in the European Common Market, which is secondary, because behind the ECM is NATO, the military bases and the preparation of the war. The reaction of the masses of all these countries is against the war. They do not want to be sources or bases to sustain capitalism. Hence the crisis and the pre-occupation of capitalism, which dedicated pages of its periodicals, to an election in a country, which has three million inhabitants. This shows the level of profundity of the crisis of all the capitalist system.

It is necessary to analyse the role of Nicoud. The French bourgeoisie is making a policy, directed to the petit bourgeoisie, the small business man, the employer. It is taking a series of measures directed to this electoral public. They are electoral measures: control of prices, lowering of prices, to make sectors of the population in certain sectors of the economy intervene. They pose a type of

PARTICIPATION OF THE PARTY IN THE VIETNAM DEMONSTRATION OF JANUARY 20th.

Together with many hundreds of thousands of workers, students, petit bourgeois and intellectuals, who demonstrated throughout the world last weekend against the bombing of Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam, a delegation of the party marching under a banner carrying the slogans "For the Victory of the Vietnamese Revolution", and "For the Unification of the World Communist Movement", participated in the meeting and demonstration organised by the British Campaign for Peace in Vietnam.

Comrades of the party carried the banner, which also displayed the name of the party "Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International—Posadist", and the symbol of the hammer, sickle, and the four during the entire meeting and marched in the middle of the Communist Party delegation. During the meeting party comrades sold Red Flag, and the latest document of Posadas, "The Defeat of Imperialism, the suspension of the bombing, the historic social courage of the masses of Vietnam and the struggle for socialism," dated 31. 12. 72. In addition a leaflet of the Section based on Posadas's document, and drawing the conclusions for this country, was distributed and very well received. Many dozens of papers and bulletins were sold, many important discussions were made with Communist Party militants who showed a great sympathy and fraternity to the party.

It was important that for the first time the leftist groups and the Communist Party agreed to make a joint march, although it was an expression of sectarianism of these groups as well as of the leadership of the Communist Party that they held separate meetings before the march. If the leftist groups had wanted to influence the L.P. and C.P. militants without wishing to compete with these organisations, they could have done it a hundred times better if they had not made their own meeting, but gone to the square with their banners, and their leaflets and making discussions.

All the demonstrators were using this meeting to express their disgust and hatred at the bombings of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, and above all to put pressure on the leadership of the Labour Party, Communist Party and trade unions to make a more aggressive policy against U.S. Imperialism, and the British government, which supports its actions. In Trafalgar Square there was a lack of interest in the speeches, discussions were going on all through the speeches, and in the march itself the slogans of "Sign Now" were not taken up by the marchers. The slogan which found the greatest echo in all the march was "Victory to the N.L.F."

Thus on that day throughout the world, in Sweden, the U.S.A., in Britain, in France, humanity concentrated itself in support of Vietnam as a way of expressing its determination to go towards the elimination of capitalism and imperialism.

Letter to the French Section....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

society, of share owners, where the workers have zero, nothing, and the bosses have everything. The Yanks did this and also German capitalism. The mentality of capitalism says "If they are all bosses, they are not going to go against the management".

French capitalism is obliged to take such a measure of electoral protection, in which they make quite a few concessions in the form, but they are concessions, which show that capitalism cannot answer these problems, and takes measures, which are not capitalist. The economic concessions are minimal, without importance. But on the other hand, it makes concessions, which affect the authority of the capitalist system. They are not going to fulfill, or go towards any practical action, nor are they of importance, but they have to go in this direction. They are not going as before to increase the central authority of the state apparatus. This means that the petit bourgeoisie is feeling the influence of the revolutionary world, and workers movement, and the French workers movement. It is feeling the influence of the 14 Workers States. The bourgeoisie is trying to contain this process; hence Nicoud. The movement of Nicoud in no way intervened in all these struggles, and besides it showed that it would not support any candidate which was directed against the Popular Union.

All this interests the communist vanguard and leaders. But they take what is convenient to them. The communist leader bases himself on interpenetration, on conciliation, and he does not take

FRANCE GOES TOWARDS A DECISION FOR POWER

We must intervene to show to the communist vanguard the world point of support, which it has to struggle within its party, and that it has to make the layers of the population, intervene who do not intervene. There is no reason not to prepare a general strike in France; why not? There are sufficient reasons; pensions at 60, minimum salary of 1000 francs, reduction in the hours of work. The British proletariat has just finished defeating the anti strike law, and besides now proposes the 36-32 hours work. And at the same time it must be posed that one cannot push this forward without the struggle for a government of the left, in France.

There exist a difference between left government and popular union. That of Popular Union is close to the government of the left, but it is not the same thing, because it intervenes with a limited programme, and does not support itself on the trade unions. We pose; it must support itself on the trade unions and with a programme which nationalises, which plans and makes workers control intervene. This it can do now.

The bourgeoisie is prostrate, but the prostration of the bourgeoisie is not inanity. It is prostrate, because it does not find nor has arguments. It cannot resort to fascism, nor resort to breaking the strikes, nor unemployment. It has to maintain employment at whatever cost, because if there is a chain reaction of unemployment, a whole great sector of the population, which is the petit bourgeoisie, and part of the peasantry, which they still dominate, would unite itself to the proletariat. The bourgeoisie has no policy to respond to this process. And the Communist Party has no policy to take the power, but they have to go advancing quickly towards power. It is necessary to see that there is a progress in the movement, and in the communist militant and the progress lies in the fact that it is decided to advance towards power. There are different manifestations: the fiesta of Humanité, and the song of the International with Gierk are obvious public manifestations, bells which cry out: "We want power! We want power!"

Capitalism cannot now sustain itself as before with the socialist party. The socialist party is the key for them. Hence the acuteness of the crisis of the capitalist system. Now it cannot sustain itself on the socialist party. Before, they held it as an intermediary. Capitalism invented Servan Schreiber, and he goes around now desperately without his trousers, goes naked through the streets, has nothing to offer, and is thrown out everywhere; what is he going to offer? Capitalism has no points of support which communicate with the working class, and which might be a point of re-

account of the balance of forces to deduce the necessity of a revolutionary policy, seeing the mobilisation of the masses, but to see what parliamentary, electoral effects, what conciliation can be secured from capitalism. But at the same time as conciliation making progress to substitute for capitalism, and on this route, the leadership receives the support of the youth, the old etc. There is an immense quantity of electors but they do not count socially on this, it does not interest them. They do not support themselves on this, to appeal for the general strike, a general strike, which shows who has the majority socially, and who decides in the country; the "yes" which hardly wins by 10%, or the "no" which is against NATO, and for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. The same in England, the same in Germany.

A central slogan, which it is necessary to pose, is the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. Then, while we struggle for such a conclusion, for such slogans, it is necessary to pose the unification of all the workers movement, and the United Front of all the workers parties with the trade unions. It is necessary to agitate these slogans, and there is quite a progress revealed by the Spanish workers, by the workers commissions, who appeal for the first time for an active support of sabotage, solidarity, and who have had a limited echo, but have been welcomed. But the perspectives are the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. Behind what impels the workers of Denmark to vote for the "no" in the Common Market, is that they oppose themselves to Imperialism and Capitalism; this is a base for the United Socialist States of Europe.

straint. The crisis in Germany, Britain, France and Italy is the same crisis. They do not have the capacity to organise, and decide a blow, as Nixon wanted to, and he finished by making a trip to Europe, imploring the bourgeoisie to support him. They have reached such a level of weakness, that they have to discuss the possibility of the Soviet intervention in France, and try to frighten Mitterand with this. But Mitterand, who before made a policy with capitalism, now makes a policy with the Soviets and is silent. He does so, because he sees where history is going, and if he does not take steps, he does not have access to it.

It is necessary to have the complete conviction that this is going to finish in four or five years. The behaviour of capitalism is saying this. Whilst they make plans to see, who the new president is, they have to say: "the Soviets are going to intervene. And the Soviets show clearly and precisely what they are going to do. In Syria they have given arms of the most modern types, operated by Soviet specialists. They are showing that they have decided to intervene, that they have to intervene, because if not, they themselves are smashed. It is a dynamic progress, very dynamic. From the discussion with Sadat to what they are doing now in Syria there is an immense decision which is not based on Brezhnev, nor on the apparatus of the Communist Party, but comes from a structure, which obliges them to act. There is advance, advance and the Israeli are stopped. The Israeli are discussing with the Yanks, to see how to make a new government, because the Soviets stop them. This has stimulated in the Arab countries confidence in the USSR, and has obliged Sadat to send the ambassador and the vice President to the USSR. It is necessary to see what agreement they have arrived at, or if once more the Egyptian government is interested in new agreements in the USSR. But it is evident that they will stop the reactionary wing which had decided to make the revolution in the Middle East retreat.

France is going to a decision for power, as Britain also. Whatever might be the government, which arises now, it is not going to last. Capitalism now cannot put up with this situation any more. Hence there is a sector of capitalism which is coming to see how to adapt itself, foreseeing that the communists can influence the new government. They do so, to contain it, while they prepare the atomic war; but differently from before when they could decide and strike, now they cannot do so. Now there are not the conditions for capitalism to strike.

Capitalism does not have the means to sustain itself, and now NATO enters into question. The communist try to develop in order not to have to take the

road of revolution. They hope to go winning positions, and advance dislodging gradually reactionary governments. Capitalism is not going to accept this. It is going to make the war before. But in what conditions! We reiterate; not only France, Britain, Germany, Italy which are the centres of capitalism, but Norway, Denmark are affected by the process, and on the occasion of a vote for the Common Market, the proletariat intervenes when before it did so through economic motives, economic co-ordination and organisation. Now the proletariat intervenes taking this centre to manifest anti capitalist decision.

In France, as throughout Europe, the

process will be defined in not more than four or five years. Within four years, all France is going to live in this way. Whoever does not realise this now, is going to be completely disorientated afterwards! In four or five years, all France will be like this. The French May was not something by chance. It was an attempt by the proletariat to take power. The next time, it is not going to be any more a French May; it is going to be a May, with the simultaneous decision to come out in the streets, but it is going to be October, a gigantic October throughout the world. The masses prepare for this, and we have to prepare for this.

7th October 1972

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EDITORIAL

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with workers from Vauxhall and Fords primarily, but inviting delegates from all other major industrial centres. This conference should adopt a programme, which will widen the struggle, which will incorporate greater layers of the population, a programme which goes beyond the factory demands—even those as advanced as the Ford/Vauxhall claim—and a ready made programme already exists. This is the resolutions of the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, which included the demand for the nationalisation of the land, all major industry, the Building Industry, Banks, Insurance companies etc. This is the basis for mobilisations to throw out the Tory government.

The example of the Miners strike should be taken, and the Ford and Vauxhall workers must appeal not only to other sectors of the workers vanguard but also to the rest of the population. The miners used the 'flying pickets' as a means of putting themselves in touch with the rest of the population, and the construction of organisms, which serve the same purpose is essential. These links can be made using the Trade Councils and Tenants Committees, which already exist. Thus on this basis organisms can be constructed, which link the factory with the trade unions in the area and the workers districts. In many areas this is not such an enormous task, since the links already exist through Action Committees already organised to fight the Tory Rent Act.

To speak of a struggle to overthrow

the Tory government—and even without a leadership from the Trade Unions and Labour Party, it is already developing—poses the question of what is to replace it. What will replace it will be a Labour government, but a Labour government with a Labour Party, from which all the pro-capitalist elements have been purged. The problem, then, is exactly how this task is made. In a general way, of course, all the mobilisations of the class weaken the pro-capitalist right and strengthens the left in the Labour Party. Even Wilson who has little desire to put forward an anti-capitalist policy, and who is insulated from much of the pressure of the class by the apparatus of the Labour Party, is not indifferent to this pressure and, in the last days, has been forced to speak about nationalisation of the North Sea oil etc.

However, an immediate way of intervening in the Labour Party is by mobilising in support of the Labour councillors of Clay Cross and other Labour councils which are defying the government's rent legislation. Since these councillors are officials of the Labour Party, and in a position of being refused support by the Labour Party leadership—in defiance of the decisions of annual conference—support for them not only confronts the Tories, but is a means of directly intervening in the crisis in the Labour Party; giving an impulsion to the left to organise itself as a tendency on the basis of the programme adopted at Annual Conference. The slogan should now be raised—For the General Strike, Full Support to all Labour Councillors Defying the Government. Out with the Tory Government and Out of the Labour Party all those who refuse to implement the decisions of Annual Conference.

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The defeat of Imperialism in Vietnam has given an immense sense of triumph to the world masses, and a feeling of overpowering failure to the forces of world capitalism. Heath was unable to give open public support to Nixon, and now he goes to meet him in a situation where Yankee imperialism is hoping to regulate disputes in the Imperialist alliance, as a preparation for the nuclear war. The competition between Common Market and US Imperialism is accelerating, but at the same time European capitalism is obliged to rush to defend the dollar. At the moment when world capitalism needs centralisation and confidence, its political and economic divergences increase. There is a constant crisis of the dollar, because capitalism has no perspective of economic development and social progress. It is racked by doubt and indecision. A remorseless inflation destroys its social supports, ruins the small capitalists and the shopkeeper, accelerates the opposition of the working class. British capitalism still comparatively strong, nevertheless shows all the agony of decomposition. Capital takes flight abroad, or into property speculation. Productive investment declines. Heath gestures in the direction of a controlled economy only evoke crisis on the stock exchange. In spite of the lack of a firm proletarian class leadership, all the world factors enormously the initiative of the masses, as against the inertia of the apparatuses, and the complete incapacity of capitalism to offer alternatives that can regain the petit bourgeoisie to its side, and impose its own policies. And the victory of the Vietnamese masses has dealt as heavy a blow to British capitalism as it has to American imperialism.

The potential for a massive working class offensive taking the form of an unlimited general strike, remains as yet unrealised, but at the same time is constantly posed. Thus the TUC is obliged to oppose the whole line of the prices and incomes policy—whereas the parliamentary Labour Party connives at Tory policy, and Wilson stressed quite openly respect for the law. Scanlon and Jones say that the trade union movement cannot take on the government, but at the same time the TUC states that unions which try to break through the government's policy will receive advice and support. All this shows that the concentration of the masses around the unions is immense, but the leadership is hopelessly unfitted for the tasks facing it, in the same way that it is distinguished only by the most miserable cowardice in face of the situation in Northern Ireland. To demand a recall conference of the TUC is legitimate, as is the demand for the TUC to launch an anti-capitalist programme. But the workers cannot wait on these leaderships, they have develop initiatives from the base. The CP has an especial role to play here.

There is no question that just as capitalism is weak, and defeatist in spirit, so the trade union leadership at this stage is incapable of stemming the resolution and determination of the new leaders and cadres in the union, who constantly mobilise their various sectors. The vanguard has to be prepared for a situation, as when the TUC—against its desires, hopes and will—was obliged to call a general strike against the imprisonment of the five dockers. The will of the vanguard won a permanent victory, and on this it builds. The violence of the steel workers in breaking the police cordon when they marched on Parliament, the continuous strike actions recently in the car industry, the series of powerful local strikes by the engineers against the Industrial Relations Act, throughout December and January, the strikes of the gas workers, the strikes of hospital workers, confrontations between government and miners and railway workers, the calling of the conference of unions in the public sector, all show the enormous forces prepared to centralise themselves at any moment to cripple and overthrow the government.

It is true that the path towards the construction of a new leadership in the Labour Party is a relatively tortuous one but even with its present leadership, the LP can no longer serve satisfactorily the interests of the capitalist class. Wilson has been obliged to re-emphasise over the last period the need for nationalisations, and even on the education front—however inadequate—there is the outline of an approach to education differing from purely capitalist interests. But at the same time that this is done, the LP

leadership tries to maintain the pro-capitalist team as much as possible. Wilson talks mystification about the advance to fascism, and at the same time of the need to respect "law and order". Like his whole rotten team, he twists and turns to contain the uncontrollable. The weakening of the LP apparatus is shown by the resignation of Heffer, objecting to the line of Prentice, and the respect for "law and order" in industrial relations. The parliamentary left does not represent the new forces that are being mobilised in the unions and the workers areas, to establish a new leadership in the LP, but it possesses a transitory value while the conditions mature for a stage when the LP will throw out, under the weight of the proletarian intervention, all the careerists and bourgeois windbags who make up the main body of the parliamentary LP.

In this process, which is so rich, and where the working class attracting to itself, civil servants, students etc., sectors of society formerly committed to capitalism, works with a vigorous optimism, it is above all necessary to galvanise the intervention of the trade unions, and extend the weight of intervention of the trades councils, together with the factories, tenants committees, developing a superior life, and intervention in the workers areas; making the anti-capitalist programme and policy a reality in all the discussions and interventions in the workers areas. As Cde. Posadas stated in the most recent text on the British situation "there is already the decision

in the most important layers of the proletariat to replace the organs that prevent its functioning in the trade unions and the Party. Not against them, but that include the trade unions and the Party. They are bases of the revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions". We appeal to these organs, witnessing the headlong decomposition of capitalism, and the crisis of the traditional structure of the LP, to pose in their areas the need for an unlimited general strike, on the basis of demands that deal with all the needs and preoccupations of the masses, posing nationalisations of factories about to be closed down under workers control, posing the need for price committees of workers, housewives, shop workers to impose price control over necessary foodstuffs, posing sliding scales of hours and wages, national minimum wage, equal pay for women, organising rent and rate strikes etc., intervening against the reactionary sectors of the LP, ie. careerist councillors, preparing to intervene with their own councillors in the local elections, linking the struggles for the masses, all the time with the need to smash and throw out the right wing bourgeois sectors in the Labour Party. On this basis, it is possible both to decompose further the capitalist class and its policies, and impose changes in the LP, to open the way for a left Labour government, which on the basis of mass intervention, and the expulsion of the right wing, will carry through fundamental policies to expropriate capitalism.

5-2-73

INTERVENTION OF THE POSADISTS IN THE 'BLOODY SUNDAY' COMMEMORATION

Towards the unity of the British and Irish masses

The ceasefire in Vietnam which is, in fact, a retreat on the part of Yankee imperialism, forced on them by the world mobilisations of the masses has, in its turn, given an impulse to all the masses of the world. This is not less true of the struggle in Ireland. Many of the delegates to the commemoration for those assassinated by British imperialism in Derry on 'Bloody Sunday' drew the parallels between the struggle in Ireland and Vietnam. The intervention of delegates from the British Labour movement, from the Labour Party, the Communist Party, the Trade Unions, Trades Councils, the IV International in Derry marks a beginning of the construction of concrete, organic links between the struggle of the British and Irish masses. It is true, of course, that the delegation had negative features, not least the tendency towards pacifism but, on balance, it was the class attitude and spirit which predominated. Many of the delegates, including comrades of the RWP(T) spoke of the necessity of building the links between the British and Irish workers movement, and this is a process already developing. Indeed immediately the Irish Congress of Trade Unions has announced a conference to which the Irish and British workers movement is invited to discuss common problems.

It is clear from the intervention in Derry that the Irish masses do not need the British working class to mourn the dead. The spirit of the Irish masses was demonstrated in the march—of over 10,000—organised by the 'provisionals' and the stoning of British troops by the children. No, in welcoming the British delegates they sought to link themselves with the centralised weight of the British proletariat, and sought the socialist programme, and perspectives in order to elevate the struggle. The sales of the

literature—and the reception given to the leaflet—of the Posadists amply demonstrates the latter. The intervention of the delegation of British workers took place at a very favourable time, at a time when the struggle in Ireland is taking on a more working class appearance, with the intervention of the trade unions, and the tenants organisations on class rather than sectarian lines. Of course this tendency has existed for some time since the Belfast Trades Council, for example, which represents a majority of protestant

workers has long supported the civil rights movement, which has a largely catholic base.

Many of the British workers delegates in Derry felt that not enough had been done by the British workers movement in relation to the struggle in Ireland. As one communist comrade said "if we had done as much for Ireland as we have for Vietnam, the struggle would be much more advanced". This is true, but the blame does not lie with the mass of British workers, it lies with the leadership of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party. It verges on the criminal when the LP and TU leaderships protest at the actions of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, and have nothing to say on Ireland. Not that we are against the protest on Vietnam, but in Ireland they have the organisation to actually do something, to intervene directly, but this leadership has produced no policy, no programme, and organised no action in Ireland. It is, then, clearly necessary for the workers at the base to go forward from the delegation to Derry, to organise a series of actions in support of the Irish masses. For example, as we have constantly urged, to organise a conference of workers delegates from the British and Irish movement on a programme for the solution of the problems of housing.

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The total crisis of the capitalist system, the uncontrollable development of the world Socialist Revolution and the necessity for the unity of the world Communist Movement J. Posadas 21-10-72

This is not a stage of electoral struggle, strikes and disputes, but of the general struggle of the class, and its inevitable conclusion is either taking the power, or the world atomic war, or rather even with the power it is the atomic war. Capitalism needs to pass through this stage, this short period, in order to launch the atomic war. It needs to pass through it, and it is dislocated. It is fragmented, and needs to structure itself. It is looking for a minimal hegemony, so as to be able to launch the atomic war. This is what capitalism is looking for. This is why any important action in any country ends in civil war, or the announcement, or preparation for civil war. Capitalism has no more force to respond to the process, or make concessions either economically, socially, or politically. Any event, any important action of the working class, peasantry or petty bourgeoisie, escapes its control. They escape and it cannot control them.

If it is true that in a few days they are going to sign the peace in Vietnam it is because they are seeking an agreement with an electoral sense, because they hope to win the elections. But if so, it is necessary to see why they do this. If they really wanted peace, if they were seeking peace, so as to improve the economy, why didn't they do it before? Why didn't they organise this activity? If they make an agreement for a certain withdrawal of troops, they will cancel it after the elections. They are trying to gain time to reach the elections, to win the elections, and to have a team there to organise the specific tasks, leading to an agreement with the Soviets and the Chinese, in order to share out the few zones that imperialism can still control, or to make their preparations for the atomic war. Their preparations are not going to be announced. Economically and socially imperialism has no other solution. Resorting to the Nine is a resource, which is only going to last a short time.

What has happened to imperialism over the past two years? Three monetary crises; when a monetary crisis occurs, it means a very profound weakening of the structure of the capitalist system. It is not important if there is a monetary crisis in Bolivia, but when there is a monetary crisis of the pound sterling, of the dollar, which are pillars of the capitalist system, it is because the economy of the capitalist system can give no more. And it is enduring and accumulating factors of crisis that are suddenly going to explode. Capitalism is analysing how to contain this process, to try to control it, and make the atomic war before it explodes. Even if they sign the peace in Vietnam, it is with the aim of preparing the atomic war. They have no other solution. They have no force.

The contradictions of the capitalist system leads it inexorably, to the accumulation of factors that inevitably lead to the war. In a short time. If it has not launched it, and does not do so in the coming months, it is because of its fear, its indecision, and the sentiment that this is its end. This is why it doubts and vacillates.

There is a re-concentration of forces within the ruling class, which does not have the security to dominate and decide. They vacillate. They vacillate constantly and extensively, because they feel that it is the last act, the scene ends and the curtain closes, and it's all over. Capitalism feels that it is the last stage of its existence. This is why there is the doubt. But apart from the contradictions in the capitalist system, one of the effects of which is intercapitalist competition, there is the internal contradiction whereby capitalism accumulates an immense wealth, which it cannot use. The working class, the petty bourgeoisie, cultural circles in general, see that it can be

used. This is why tens of scholars, scientists and teachers constantly break from imperialism. They detach themselves from capitalism and leave. They feel the pressure in their mind, in their consciousness of such a scientific wealth, such a technical capacity that the system can send people to the moon, but they are not capable of resolving the problems on Earth. If the Workers States did not exist, all these scientists would follow the capitalist system. As 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, and the ascent of the world revolution exist, they see that there are the social forces to use this scientific and technical wealth better, for the benefit of humanity; the Workers States and the masses of the world.

Capitalism feels suffocated, it has no means to escape. It cannot avoid the situation. It prepares inexorably for the atomic war, and in a short time. The situation in Vietnam itself is an indication. It is not just a manoeuvre they are making in Vietnam. Nixon wanted to make concessions and the CIA has stopped him. The bombing shows it. Even if they make an agreement simulating peace until the elections, they are not going to permit it, they are not going to endure it. The CIA cannot permit this. It cannot permit the liberation of South East Asia. This is McGovern's policy. But when McGovern has to make this policy, it is not just an electoral resource. It is a measure of a sector of Yankee imperialism that is trying to avoid the final system against system encounter, lengthening the stages. It is the inertia of the capitalist system, it has no initiatives.

Capitalism would previously have resolved this situation by a war with its rivals. Why doesn't it make a war now? There have been ample reasons for French or German imperialism to make a war against Yankee and English imperialism. So why haven't they made this war? Yankee imperialism could have made this war and smashed its rivals in Europe. When it has not done so, it is because in their consciousness they know that any confrontation amongst themselves facilitates the ascent of the revolution. They have already realised that it is question of war, system against system. They have no possibility to extend the economy, to broaden the integration of new layers of the masses into the economy. They cannot distribute the wealth and the productivity that greater and greater scientific and technical capacity produces. They cannot do it, because they need to pay the costs of the counter-revolution and the war. They need to compete with the rest of capitalism and the Workers States. They have no perspective to be able to foresee, or condition their attitude towards an economic competition with the Workers States. This is annulled.

ion between classes. And before the decisive historic confrontation, half of them are already gained socially by the revolution. They are gained by the revolution. Capitalism hesitates. There is not a single military work of capitalism, and they should have already written on these themes. When they talk about military works they talk about Churchill, who burst from eating too much. Or they talk about the memoirs of de Gaulle, still they continue to believe in the old landmarks.

They have no military works, they draw no experiences from historic events, and so they have to make use of pelicans. And the pelican is a stupid and useless bird... They have to make use of pelican and other rubbish in Czechoslovakia. They have to gather the scum off the Workers States and capitalist regime. They have no force of their own, they do not manage to stimulate heroic actions or heroic enterprise, initiative or decision.

The Workers State, in spite of its bureaucratic leadership, has an authority that emanates from its historic superiority, which means that, beginning from nothing, in 25 years, it has eliminated crisis, hunger, poverty and unemployment, elevated culture and science, reached the level of the capitalist system and surpassed it. As the development of science, of technology, social development, express themselves in the capacity of the mind, of intelligence, so entire sectors are gained by the revolution, and this disintegrates the enemy, capitalism. This is the historic interpenetrative form in which the superiority of the Workers State penetrates the capitalists system, disintegrates it and attracts it. It attracts a part that was previously prepared to lead the capitalist system, and now it breaks up. It breaks up in the big capitalist countries as much as in the small: Bolivia, Chile, Peru, Mexico, Colombia, half of Asia, even the Princes in Cambodia, where they have to appear very democratic in order to continue to be Princes, and in the name of the Prince they overthrow the dynasty and the capitalist system to be able to live.

Previously, it was all the opposite. The capitalist system has no force. As a system—not one or another country, but as a system—it has no force. The Communist Parties and the leaderships of the Workers States do not base themselves on this conclusion. And it is necessary to base oneself on this conclusion, because this is the base from which all the world process of the class struggle arises and is impelled. It is not the capitalist system which determines. It is the world ascent of the Workers States, which influences and develops in the masses of the world, in the intellectuals and scientists, the confidence and security that it is possible to eliminate all the factors of antagonism, of contradiction, of human conflict, that it is already possible to do it. Not to improve existence by a better production or productivity. No! To eliminate the factors of human antagonism, dispute and aggression. They can be eliminated. There are still only 14 Workers States, but it is on this that it is necessary to base oneself, and concretely in this stage, in

these historic conditions, on the concentration of factors that lead to revolutionary outbreaks.

In France, Italy, England, Germany, the heights of capitalism in Europe, there is an ascent of a revolutionary process in all four countries. This means that capitalism cannot resolve the problems of employment, wages, improvements for the masses. The masses are disposed to eliminate it. The contradictions of the capitalist system itself, the competition with the Workers States and the masses, reach a limit, which the capitalist system cannot pass. As it does not have the means to make the war now, at this moment, it hesitates and doubts, it is afraid. As it does not have the power to organise fascist forces it has to try to conciliate, it has to try to last out. There is the example of England. They made the anti-strike law, Labour made it, and the Conservatives took it up and applied it. The law is useless. Who was it that sent it to hell? The masses. Against the leadership of the Labour Party and against the Conservatives. This is a decisive example. In England, where respect for the law is supreme! When the Labour masses struggle against their own Party, against Parliament, against the law, they are disposed to take power! Even when there is still the monarchy. And they are going to pass from the monarchy to the Workers State.

It is necessary to begin from this consideration; we are entering the stage of the final settlement of accounts, the last act. It is necessary to have consciousness of such a world situation. In every important action of the class, this situation of decisive confrontation is going to be reflected. This means the constant disintegration of the social forces that sustain capitalism, and the constant tendency to solutions by means of force, by the taking of power; the constant situation passing from dual power to the dispute for power, and the constant situation of a process of gigantic civil war, passing directly to resolution by insurrectional means. This is the situation, and this influences the Communist Parties and the Workers States. It is the masses with their will, with their own initiative that have created such a situation. The historic base is created by the capitalist system, which is incapable of resolving its problems, and which in its contradictions has already reached the end. But if the masses did not intervene, capitalism would find a solution by making fascism. As the masses have known how to gain the petty bourgeoisie, and have done so, as there are 14 Workers States that impell them and act as a point of support, the bourgeoisie has no other solution. And as there was no revolutionary solution at the opportune moment, as in Italy two years ago, six months ago and tomorrow, as in France, when there was no revolutionary solution in May '68, the same situation goes on. Capitalism has not improved its social, economic or political situation. This is why there is a constant disequilibrium, permanently impelling revolutionary situations. This is what we have to base our activity on.

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Folk concert in aid of Brazilian political prisoners

We salute the comrades of Goole YS and Mineworkers Internationale, for the organisation of a 'Concert of Northern Folk Music' on the 27th of January in Doncaster in aid of the political prisoners in Brazil, for their families and dependants. We salute the artists, who gave their services for nothing, and all those who participated.

About 150 people attended the concert, the audience being composed mainly of miners from the Doncaster coalfield, factory workers from in and around the town, and some students, who had travelled from Leeds to be present. The singers had travelled from Newcastle, from Oxford, and Hull.

This concert, and its great success, is an expression of the capacity of organisation of the Cdes of Goole YS and Mineworkers Internationale, as well as the response, which the world campaign for the political prisoners in Brazil, organised by the IV International, has found, and is finding in the labour movement, and among artists and intellectuals.

THE INTERIOR DISORIENTATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE ASCENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN EUROPE

This is why such an interior disorientation exists in the capitalist system. In the structure of the capitalist system they are disorientated, they lack the capacity of decision, they vacillate and doubt. They do not have the same decision as German imperialism, which prepared consciously for the war. Now they prepare silently. Yankee imperialism prepares the war clandestinely. And it shows that it is afraid of the war when they say they want to make a professional army in the United States, because they are afraid of the existence of an army based on military conscription. They are afraid of the population, so they try and make a paid selection. But even so, the professional army is not secure or stable in this stage of history.

And the greater the revolution, the progress of the Workers States, the struggles of the masses, the incorporation of the children, old people and women in the function of being leaders of society; then the more this influences and attracts more sectors of the population,

including the army. This is decomposing it. They have to change structure. The army was made for assault, expedition, for the investment of capital under the army's protection, and to fight other capitalist armies. But they were not prepared for a decisive historic confrontat-

The total crisis

THE PROCESS OF PARTIAL REGENERATION AND THE TASKS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

This is the base of influence in the process of partial regeneration. We cannot measure it from the outside, but within the Communist Party there must exist wings, currents, and unorganised, ungrouped tendencies. There are individuals and sectors that one sees, they discuss and talk, but they are not organised, and they do not have the programmatic proposition of struggling for a programme.

The task is not to influence, or win one or two, five or ten, or to impel the success of a strike, or factory occupation, these are tasks that have to be made along the way. The objective cannot retreat, because there is an indestructible support; 14 Workers States, the will of the masses identified with the Workers States, the process of ascent of the revolution, where the working class leads the petty bourgeoisie, the office workers and shopkeepers. It is necessary to base oneself on this to constantly influence every action. In the five years from '68 to '72 the Communist Party has still not taken power in France. The bourgeoisie was incapable of taking back control of the capitalist system. It dominates it economically, but no more than that. It does not have control of the country. It has to polemicise with the communists as with the future boss of the country. And it tries to contain them, because it does not have the military forces to oppose them! If it had the military forces it would already have used them. What did it do in Algeria? It resisted with all the means it had to hand. Why doesn't it do the same in France? It does not have the means to oppose them! But it is going to oppose. It is going to repress. But with no security of triumph. It is logical that they are going to make all this show of strength, it is the capitalist system trying to preserve itself. But, what does it produce? What effect does it produce? In the masses, nothing. In the police, they see that they are increasingly hated and repudiated. Previously too, but today the world level, the world ascent of the revolution reaches their family, their children and themselves, they feel that the capitalists system has no future. They see that it has no future. They see that it has no future! The policeman is not a mere servant of the state, he feels himself increasingly a functionary, and he sees that tomorrow it is no longer them, it will be others in charge. It is necessary to base oneself on this for our perspectives. It is a gigantic process of civil war, which is developing unequally in England, France, in all Europe, in Latin America, in Asia and Africa.

Together with this process there is the process of partial regeneration, which is not independent of the crisis of the capitalist system. It is all one process. But it does have a functioning independent of the capitalist system. It is an unequal process. In Yugoslavia, the USSR, Poland, China the changes are different. But the thing that dominates the functioning of all the Workers States is this process of partial regeneration. It sharpens the interbureaucratic struggle. It deprives the bureaucracy of historic supports in the world to sustain and develop itself. It takes from capitalism the means, the support and possibility of agreements to redivide the control of the world with the bureaucracy of the Workers States.

If the Communist Parties have still not taken power it is because they did not have this conception. It is only recently, over no more than the past four years, that there have been changes, beginning from the manifesto of the French CP after May '68. There were changes that were already being prepared, but as they are not conscious leaderships they had not prepared the Party for the change. The Party went without changing, but it wants to change. It wants the power. And there is other solution than the power. To intervene in the electoral campaign to get more deputies, to increase their parliamentary representation, would be political suicide. The masses themselves are displacing the CP and Socialist Party. This is why they combine the electoral campaign with a dispute going toward power, going to the government. And the trade unions affirm that they want to go to power.

On a world scale, capitalism has no force to resist. The French masses have world support, the struggles of Italy, of all Europe, of Africa, of Asia and of Latin America, and the support of the Workers States. There is a process of empirical centralisation, of centralisation of the will of the French masses with the rest of the world. It is not a programme that is led, it is not a programme, but it is a process that has substance. Capitalism has no solution, it has no capacity to resolve things. The masses want power. The leaderships do not want it. And in this historic contest it is the

masses that triumph. Because they support themselves on the Workers States. Because capitalism has no solution. Because the petty bourgeoisie, and part of the peasantry that support the capitalist system, are breaking with it, and are gained to the masses. This is why Nicoud fails. Because the petty bourgeoisie are already gained by the proletariat. There is no place for a Poujade.

The deficiencies in the Communist Parties in Europe are monstrous. It is necessary to appeal to the comrades of the Communist Party to see that this slogan is necessary; a single Centre in Europe, united front of all the workers parties of Europe, united front of the workers parties and trade unions in the struggle for power, support and solidarity to overthrow Franco's fascist regime, the dictatorship in Greece and Portugal. A single Centre in Europe would multiply the forces, there are by a hundred! We have to intervene on this, we have a magnificent task to develop. These are the slogans that have to be raised, that respond to this necessity, and the slogan for the unity of the world communist movement with the programme of overthrowing what remains of the capitalist system. It is necessary to do this with a programme of support to the world revolution, to the struggle of the masses against imperialism! Appealing to the armies not to carry out the orders of the commanders in their country, appealing to the soldiers, sergeants, officers, to struggle for the progress of humanity. To eliminate all the bases of antagonisms, of dispute and war. We want human beings in the uniforms of human beings, not the uniforms of monsters, which is what the army is.

We appeal to the soldiers to stop this function, which annuls them as human beings, and to integrate themselves in the struggle for socialism, which allows them to participate in the development of intelligence, of culture and sentiment. As soldiers they are rigidly submitted to killing and dying, to struggling against and opposing, ideas, sentiments, notions,

associations that they do not know or understand. Meanwhile the Workers States already show that we can know everything, resolve everything.

We appeal to the police too, that they refuse to repress the workers, and that they unite with the workers, explaining that there is no need to fear loss of work, or the customs they have develop-

ed working as police, tomorrow the Workers State is going to compensate them with a work that is infinitely better than now—where they live under the hatred of the people.

We want human beings for the development of society and the economy, science and technology. The Communist Parties have to make these appeals now.

THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION IN ALL EUROPE

Overthrow Franco, the dictatorship in Portugal, the semi-dictatorship in Greece, the struggle of each country is combine with stoppages; which will stimulate the Spanish masses very much. Fuse the students, peasants, workers and intellectuals—of which the worker base is the leadership—with a programme of struggle for democratic demands, together with a programme overthrowing what is left of Franco, and all the repressive laws, all the anti-democratic laws, and a policy of nationalisation of all the principle sources of production, of workers control, of the participation of the masses in the planning of the economy, introducing the revolutionary right to struggle for the construction of socialism in Spain today. This can be done today. The bourgeoisie has no force to oppose it. On the contrary the bourgeoisie remains quiet, because it feels that any movement of the masses passes it by.

On the other hand, it is in the publications that there are in Spain, where the bourgeoisie already shows a fatalist consciousness of being unable to contain the petty bourgeoisie. It is necessary to direct oneself to the Communist Party, they have the force and means to direct themselves to the masses of Spain, to the parties in Spain. They are not correct to make the stage of bourgeois democracy, it is necessary to struggle for bourgeois democratic demands, but struggling, along the way, to surpass them. The bourgeoisie has no force. There are nine Spanish publications that pose socialism as the solution, they are defeatist, pessimistic. Spanish capitalism has no force. So what is the bourgeoisie going to invent? Already, in 1936, the bourgeoisie showed that it had no force, and none now either. What is lacking is a centre, a united front in Spain, between the peasant masses, the intellectuals and professionals, that would unite them to the struggle of the proletariat in Europe.

It is necessary to see that Spain is a centre of European capitalism, it is a stronghold it uses, as a way to contain the advance of the revolution in Europe. Otherwise it would have already liquidated it. If capitalism did not have an interest in maintaining Franco, it would have liquidated Franco long ago. Franco is a result of capitalism's interest in maintaining a strong power, and also as a result of the lack of a Party with authority over the masses of the country. Otherwise Franco would have already been

overthrown. One must not just see the situation as it is, the absence of coordinated movements of workers and intellectuals. There is no leadership. This recent congress of the Spanish Communist Party shows the disorientation of these comrades. It is necessary to discuss and draw conclusions.

Every event in the world has repercussions in France, as it does in Italy and all Europe. Because European capitalism is linked with all the world, because Yankee imperialism is not decisive outside North America; it has lost force, it is not what determines. It has an economic, financial and military capacity. But it has no social authority. And the struggle within the capitalist system, between the distinct capitalist countries is sharpening. It is necessary, consequently, to dominate this process, and to intervene seeing that it is a process that goes to civil war. Not yet civil war in all the world, but it is a gigantic world process of civil war. In which the forces favourable to the revolution are preparing themselves; capitalism retreats constantly, and the forces of the revolution advance. So it is necessary to be prepared to intervene, understanding that this sharpens the instability of the old leaderships of the Communist Parties, because they must face this stage they are not prepared for, nor represent, nor do they have the objective interest, or means, or comprehension. If there is not a sharper crisis it is because the Party is not prepared for it. But this process inevitably continues in ascent, and is going to sharpen the crisis in the Communist Parties. It is necessary to foresee and intervene to help the leadership of the Communist Parties to understand, to mobilise and attract all the layers of the putschists or ultralefts to incorporate themselves in this movement in all the countries of Europe.

Belgium is an essential base for the policy to raise, and it is important for the Communist Parties.

This crisis of growth in the Workers States is reaching very great magnitudes. Tito has to pass to a public attack, and to depend on the worker base. He is not impelling the working class to take the leadership of the Party, but he has to support himself on it. Yesterday he obstructed it, today he has to make it advance. It is a level that shows that the bureaucracy can no longer be decisive. It is obliged to turn to the working class. Consequently a better political preparation is required, to live in a more direct way, joined day by day to the process in the Workers States.

And also in Algeria. Algeria is not a Workers State, but the masses behave as if it was a Workers State, and it is closer to a Workers State than to a Revolutionary State. They are only a few metres from being a Workers State. And there is a struggle occurring in the summits of the apparatus. The struggle is not occurring in the house, trade union—it occurs partially but the life is limited—it occurs in the summits and it is necessary to intervene. They are going to allow us to intervene. It is necessary to measure to what extent we can intervene, but it is necessary to intervene with documents, with texts, with analysis, intervening in the discussion above, in the summits. Algeria is the closest to a Workers State. And of all the Arab states it is the one that has most resisted Muslim chauvinism, and rejected it. There are 300 thousand Algerian workers who were educated in the class struggle in France, and that have transported this experience to Algeria. Boumedienne does not say this, he hides it. But the Algerian workers educated in the class struggle in France, are soon going to say it. In a short time, when the Algerian workers have the

Salute to the Soviet masses on the 30th anniversary of the victory of Stalingrad

The RWP(T) the British Section of the IV International, salutes on this 30th anniversary of the victory of the Red Army at Stalingrad, the Soviet masses, who defended the Workers State, in spite of the crimes of Stalin, who smashed the once all powerful nazi military apparatus, and gave a stimulus to the development of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

As Posadas has analysed in his texts on the process of Partial Regeneration, this heroism, and moreover, this scientific consciousness, which was the basis for the heroism, existed, because the Soviet Workers State had profound historic roots. The USSR is the only Workers State established under the leadership of the Bolsheviks, and Lenin, and Trotsky, which had the functioning of Soviets, the independence of the Trade Unions, the setting up of the III International. In the heroism of the Soviet masses at Stalingrad, was present the first seven years of functioning of the Workers State, which gave them the unalterable security that the Workers State was a legitimate form for the advance of humanity towards socialism. Thus they thought; 'Now we must smash Hitler, later we can settle with Stalin'.

In his way the masses compensated for the mistakes of Stalin, and the Soviet military leadership, whose most able cadres had been liquidated by Stalin. After Stalingrad came the impetus to the revolutionary movement in countries occupied by the nazis, the resistance movements of France, Italy, Belgium, in the main led by the Communist Parties. But it was not only in the occupied lands, or in Europe, that this was stimulus, but throughout the world. The nationalist movements of Latin America, like Peronism, for example, received a tremendous impulse from this movement, began the process from nationalism to the Workers State, because the masses and the petit bourgeoisie and bourgeois leadership saw that the Workers State held firm, that German imperialism had failed in its historic objectives, and that the form of the Workers State was quickly going to be extended. In this process of advance, ended the conditions, which had given birth to stalinism; soon there were 14 Workers States, and the balance of forces had changed against imperialism.

We salute this 30th anniversary of Stalingrad at this particularly beautiful moment of history; when humanity has inflicted another, even more crushing Stalingrad on Imperialism; the cease fire in Vietnam.

The total crisis

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

means to show it, they are going to express this experience. And they are going to be an immense point of support

The partial regeneration is a process, it is not a determined programme. It is necessary to intervene in it as a process, and in this process the base that nourishes it, that weakens the bureaucracy, and impels the political revolution, is the world course of the revolution. It is necessary to direct oneself as much to Chile as to the Popular Union, for them to base themselves on this process. To take account of it, and base themselves on it, and take resolutions, audacious decisions, supporting themselves on this world process. Capitalism cannot dominate, and cannot contain the ascent of the revolution. The force of each country has its point of support in this process, which later shows itself locally. Capitalism cannot confront or coordinate its forces to smash, or contain the revolution. It bases itself on the conciliatory, or passive policies of interpenetration of the Communist Parties.

It is on this that the polemic with the Communist Parties has to be raised, at the same time helping them to understand.

It is necessary to intervene in the discussions within the French Communist Party, and within every country. Because here is where the plan of struggle is made, and in this process the means and bases are developing for the political revolution, to reach greater heights. It is necessary to intervene immediately. It is necessary to be preoccupied to intervene, to explain to the communist militant. And to make a constant, uninterrupted campaign for the unification of the world communist vanguard, giving the programme. Understanding that it is difficult, understanding that there has been a process of loss of confidence, of separation, and the development of individual and regional interests. So posing in each country the necessity of discussions for the unification of the world communist movement. And analysing and raising the comprehension of this world process that attracts all.

And it is necessary to intervene in a world process of civil war, which may pass from the general strike to power. It may pass from the general strike to power! Like the French May. The conditions in France and the rest of Europe are a permanent May. France, Italy and England, Germany too, but with less immediate possibility, but it is in a process, which has the same roots, and which is developing with the same quality, towards power. This is why the German bourgeoisie has made such concessions to the proletariat. It has gone as far as giving a choice of the hours worked in the factory, the workers can go in at any time between seven and nine in the morning. When the bourgeoisie goes, as far as making concessions like that, it is because it no longer has the force to determine, it is the lesser evil for it to try to see if it can contain the proletariat. It disorganises all the plans of the capitalist system, it disorganises its plans of competition.

Willy Brandt proposes making social improvements in Europe according to the most elevated level, which is Germany. Previously, on the other hand, they made war. Now they have to propose raising the standard of living according to the most elevated level, which is against the capitalist system. This is to save itself but it effects the entire capitalist structure. This marks the situation of capitalism in Europe.

It is necessary to be ready to intervene with more decision in the crisis of growth of the Communist Parties. This gigantic process of civil war is going to be accentuated, it is going to spread. Capitalism is going to continue to lose force. It still has points of support, because the communists do not animate themselves to take power. This is why capitalism lives. If the communists decided to take power, capitalism would have less than one year of existence left to it. Even with the atomic war. And one must expect that within a few years this situation is going to be posed. Capitalism cannot endure this situation for much longer. Nor can the masses. And the masses in France, in Italy and in England are showing that they want the power, and they are going to take the power. They are taking it slowly, because the leaderships do not move to destroy capitalism. They take it in the factory, beginning by determining what time they are going to start work, how to plan the work, the hours, the reduction of working hours, restructuring the installation, restructuring everything. The workers are determining the entire course of functioning of the economy!

And in a short time, this leads to power. It is necessary to develop the consciousness that the Popular Union is an expression of this process. And that as much in France as in Italy, in Germany, in England there is an ascent of the struggle for power. And that this phase of history is going to end in a

for the development of the revolutionary struggle in Algeria to liquidate the right and move the country forward as a Workers State.

few years with the destruction of the capitalist system, not in one or two countries, no; all the capitalist system will be destroyed!

One must not be guided by the apparent solidity of Japanese or North American capitalism. There is no solidity. To win votes, Nixon has to talk about peace in Vietnam. That's sufficient. To whom does he direct himself? If the North American people were indifferent and supported their president, Nixon would not have this policy. When he has to make this policy, it is because the North American people are receiving the world influence of the revolution and the progress of the 14 Workers States. And they are waiting the opportunity to intervene. They cannot move, because they do not have the organisms. But they are already in contact with the world process of the revolution, they already receive the influences, and transmit them within the United States. This is why Nixon feels obliged to promote peace in Vietnam to gain votes, and because he does not have the force to smash Vietnam. In Cuba, he threatened to invade Cuba, why doesn't he do the same in Vietnam? Because he does not have the force, he does not have the capacity to invade or resist, neither atomically nor socially.

Capitalism supports itself at its own cost. The social area of the capitalists diminishes, the economic concentration increases, but it loses force, and social and political effect. This is the course taken by the capitalist system. While the Workers States grow and develop, the revolution, and our intervention increases the process of political revolution. We are intervening, not deciding but intervening in the factors that decide; Italian Communist Party, part of the French Communist Party, the Spanish Communist Party. We still do not have the capacity to decide, but we influence the centres that decide. We do not decide, but we impel currents and tendencies to have a marxist security, the historic and concrete security to animate themselves to progress, and push forward the interior struggle. And prepare our intervention later. This why the Marxist Review is irreplaceable.

This gigantic process of civil war is combined with the political revolution. And in the Workers States it is combined with the process of ascent of the political revolution in the form of transformation, where the old leading layer does not want to lead. And the new layer that wants to advance, does not have the custom, nor capacity, nor the tradition, nor the decision to be able to overthrow this old layer. So it is necessary to help it to understand—all this layer—to understand and reason.

The problem is to learn to manage concepts, tactics, slogans that permit us to get close to the communists. Not to yield, or adapt ourselves, but to get close to them. For us to be able to progress. The International is intervening in the Communist Parties in all the world. The most important thing is not to have intervened in one or another Party, but that as an International there is a world team that intervenes in all the activities of the Communist Parties, of the Workers States, and participates in the political elaboration, the analysis, conclusions and organisational measures. Even if on a limited scale, but already on a world scale; in Italy, Argentina, Chile, Mexico, France.

The International participates as the organising centre of ideas, programme and policy that serve for the progress of the revolution and our own progress. To maintain such an activity, to intervene with more precision, with more means, and more concentration, the Marxist Review is necessary, and more publications, the publication of the texts of Posadas, resolutions of the International Secretariat, more resolutions of the Sections; this is the base of our strength. We have the capacity to do it.

J. POSADAS 21-10-72

BRIANTS

We salute the fight, which the workers of Briant Colour Printing are making against the desperate efforts of the liquidator, the courts etc. to close their works. We support the call, which the workers are making for mass pickets, and a demonstration at the works on the 13th February, the day on which the liquidator is threatening to invade the works, claim the presses and the possession of the buildings and land. We appeal that support be given to the workers of BCP by all the local trades unions, trades councils, Labour and Communist Party branches.

All the lessons of the UCS occupation can be used in the fight to keep Briants open. Sympathy strikes, general strikes in the area, the support of the local population, financial support from factories all over the country, delegations going to all parts of the country: all these actions are needed in support of the Briant workers.

The nationalisation of Briant Colour Printing is a demand, which has been missing from the campaign to keep the works open. Now the demand for nationalisation under workers control of the press, keeping the presses running, to ensure that all the workers are kept in full time employment and on full pay, must become a central slogan.

It is true that a massive demonstration and picket can prevent the liquidator and his accomplices from entering the works on the 13th, but how will it be possible to extend this support, and continuously keep the liquidator at bay? Open up the works to all the local population, let them, and all the trade union movement see the factory operating under workers control now, extend the programme of the struggle from simply that of keeping the works open to demanding its nationalisation under workers control, taking a stand against the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, against the wage freeze. Giving support to all the sectors of the class, who are preparing each day to make strike actions against the Tories, the gas

FIGHT FOR ITS NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

workers, the teachers, the civil servants, the hospital workers. It is possible to use the press, which they control, to make publicity for all the actions of the class, as was done at the time of the dockers imprisonment, to make news sheets, to produce publications for the trade unions and workers parties.

The Briant workers fight is not an isolated one, it is a struggle which all the class are fighting against this Tory government. The only sure way in which the Briant workers can win their fight is to link it with all the struggles, incorporating other sectors of the class in their struggle, extending the programme of their demands so they are seen by the class to be fighting for demands common to all the class, and using the press, which they have under their control as an instrument in the struggle.

It is necessary to extend the programme of the Briant occupation, link up with all the class, who fight for the overthrow of the Tories, invite all the workers supporting the occupation, and all the local population into the factory to see the presses working, and to see and participate in the experience of workers control, make appeals for a constant flow of workers to the press, so that each day the factory functions like a soviet, becomes a centre for the class to meet, discuss, and plan its offensive against the Tories, in this way it will become increasingly impossible for the liquidator to invade the factory.

FOR MASS PICKETS AND DEMONSTRATIONS OUTSIDE AND INSIDE THE BRIANT COLOUR PRINTING WORKS.

EXTEND THE PROGRAMME OF THE OCCUPATION TO INCLUDE DEMANDS FOR ALL THE CLASS, WHICH FIGHTS AGAINST THE TORY GOVERNMENT.

FOR THE NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL OF BRIANT COLOUR PRINTING. NOT ONE WORKER TO BE DISMISSED.

IRELAND CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

unemployment etc., based on the expropriation of major industrial enterprises. At the same time to link, in all the struggles in this country, the demands of the British with the demands of the Irish masses.

In the same way it is a matter of urgency to organise in this country a campaign against the 'fascist laws' already adopted in the Irish Republic, being pushed through the British Parliament for the six counties, and to prevent the imposition of such laws in this country. This is a demand, which must be raised in all the struggles, which are now developing. To this, also, must be linked the demand for the removal of all British troops from Northern Ireland. The Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers has already taken steps for the defence of the masses of Northern Ireland, the construction of a form of workers defence committees. This example can be taken by all the masses of Northern Ireland to organise their own defence, based on committees which incorporate the organisations in the workers areas, the tenants committees, the trade unions and the factory organisations.

The sudden spate of brutal assassinations, which followed the 'Bloody Sunday' anniversary demonstration, is the answer of British imperialism to the developments in Ireland. They react in panic fear, because they see the increasing unity of the British and Irish masses, the increasing unity of the working class in Ireland, the crisis in the protestant organisations, which signals the development of working class tendencies at the base, which the leadership cannot control and because they see the intervention of Marxism in the form of the documents of the IV International, of Comrade

Posadas. British imperialism sees and fears these developments, and reacts in the only way that it can in this stage of the total crisis of capitalism and imperialism on a world scale, with terror and assassination. We call on all the British workers movements, on the Trade Union Branches, on the Local Labour and Communist Parties, on the Shop Stewards Committees and Trades Councils to denounce these assassinations as the work of the agents of British Imperialism, and to demand the withdrawal of all British troops from Ireland.

The conference called in Dublin by the Irish Confederation of Trade Unions is, despite a very limited programme, an important step in the right direction. Therefore we urge full support for this conference, we urge all the workers organisations to intervene in it, to elevate the programme by demanding a solution to housing, unemployment etc., based on the nationalisation under workers control and without compensation, of all major industry, the land, banks etc., the removal of all British troops from Ireland, and their replacement by workers militias, based on the trade unions, and other workers organisations, and the setting up of permanent committees of workers delegates from Britain and Ireland. In this way the conference can be made a first step toward the of the workers of Britain and Ireland in the struggle for the overthrow of the Heath government in Britain and the Lynch government in Ireland.

LABOUR TO POWER IN BRITAIN THROUGH A LEFT GOVERNMENT WITH THE LEFT HAVING TAKEN POWER IN THE LABOUR PARTY!

FORWARD TO A WORKERS AND SMALL FARMERS GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND!

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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**



FOR STRIKES, FACTORY OCCUPATIONS

AND A MASSIVE LOBBY, TO PUT PRESSURE

ON THE MARCH 5th T.U.C. RECALL

CONFERENCE

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 177 4th Friday of February 1973 PRICE 3p

Use the Ford strike to organise a massive class offensive to bring down the Tories

The decision of the Ford shop stewards to go on unlimited strike on March 1st is of historic importance. It is an expression of the confidence of the class in the big factories, which seeks to communicate its decision to the rest of the class, attracting them to an all out struggle against the policies of the Tory government and against capitalism. The Ford vanguard know it is not a simple question of a wage increase, but a question of challenging, head-on, the whole 'hard-line' policy of Heath. They see that the union leaderships, the TUC especially, are not prepared for such a struggle, but nevertheless they feel supported on the whole climate of anti-capitalist feeling, which exists in the country.

But such a feeling has its roots in the world situation, in the advance of the world revolution, and the Workers States. Posadas has analysed the class fire in Vietnam as an event comparable to the Russian Revolution of 1917, which stimulates the whole world proletarian and communist vanguard to say 'We won there, why can't we do the same here'. The cease fire in Vietnam, is followed by the dollar crisis, by the coup of nationalist officers in Uruguay, by the further advance of the Popular Union in France; it is followed by a greater dislocation of the world capitalist system, and a greater progress of the world workers' movement. Even if the Ford van-

guard at their conference did not mention the Vietnam cease fire, it was nonetheless present in their resolution and decision.

What must now be discussed in the workers movement is: how can the Ford strike be profited from by all the working class in its struggle against rising prices, unemployment, the anti-trade union laws, rising rents, lack of housing, schools, hospitals, transport etc. The strike is coming at a moment when the gas workers are striking, the railwaymen are banning overtime and going to strike, the teachers are planning strike action, the miners have had their wage claim rejected, the hospital workers are going

to strike, and when all this pressure has forced the TUC to recall conference to co-ordinate the opposition to the Tory policies. The Ford workers have shown that they are not against the official leadership, they have made an appeal to the TUC recall conference for the organisation of the 24 hour general strike, but they have not waited for the leadership. They have the organisation based on the factory, which makes them feel confident that they can resolve everything. Even the bourgeoisie grudgingly admitted that the Ford workers' wage claim, was a 'closely argued document'. The Ford workers are showing that there are no mysteries of production, which can only be interpreted by capitalist technicians, managers and experts, but that the workers understand everything, can run the factory, and do it better than the capitalist class. Thus the Ford struggle raises not only the question of the struggle against government policy, but the question of workers control of the factory, and also, all profits of automation to the working class. The Ford workers claim analysed the profits made by Ford in the last period, and called for shorter hours, longer holidays, and

higher wages, based on those profits. This has to be applied by other sectors of the working class; examining the books and ensuring that the profits go to the workers. And if there are no profits, then the other demands of the class must be put forward, making capitalism pay for its crisis, ensuring that no worker loses his job, that wages have to rise with the cost of living, and if this means bankruptcy for the owner then nationalisation of the factory under workers control.

Heath knows that this strike can mean the death of his government; if his incomes policy is smashed, the right wing will want him out. But it is unlikely that they could get over the crisis just by a government reshuffle, as in the last Tory government, because now the tensions between the right wing and the pessimistic sector, who would like to make concessions as the lesser evil is very much more acute. A defeat now on this policy would most likely lead to the resignation of the Tory government, and the coming to power of the LP which, even if there has not been important changes in programme or leadership, is in a process of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Salute to the Swedish Section

With immense revolutionary joy we greet the publication of 'Kommunistisk Kamp', the organ of the Revolutionary Communist Group, the Swedish Section of the IV International, containing the article of J. Posadas on 'The revolutionary Process in Europe, and the alternative of the Revolutionary State for the construction of the Workers State', an editorial, and other articles on the international and national situation.

Already the young Swedish Section has produced several bulletins of Posadas, and these have had a very good reception among the Swedish Communist, Socialist and TU vanguard. The section is intervening in the process of the class struggle in Sweden, winning an authority partly by this activity, but fundamentally because of the authority of the ideas of Posadas in the world communist movement. Last year the Gothenburg regional of the CP, after a discussion with the comrades of the section, issued a condemnation of the repression in Brazil, while in the last weeks the section was invited to sign, as a party, the demand organised by the Socialist Party, that US Imperialism stops its bombing of Vietnam.

We salute this first issue of Kommunistisk Kamp, and the Section which produced it. This paper is going to play a fundamental role in the central task confronting the Swedish vanguard; the construction of a revolutionary tendency, the structuring of the left wing as a tendency in the Socialist Party. The articles of Posadas, as the one which we publish in this issue of Red Flag, and the articles, of the section itself in Kommunistisk Kamp, are a necessity for this task, helping it to see that the CP cannot develop independently as a party, but that it has a role helping the socialist vanguard make the revolutionary tendency in the SP. Kommunistisk Kamp is going to find a very great reception in wide layers of the youth, the petit bourgeoisie, which has shown its total opposition to the war in Vietnam, as well as among the TU, Socialist and CP vanguard.

We salute the Swedish workers and petit bourgeois vanguard, we salute with all our revolutionary warmth and communist affection the comrades of the Swedish Section, and we salute Cde. Posadas, who has organised and constantly orientated and stimulated the development of the section.

VIVA THE SWEDISH SECTION!

VIVA CDE. J. POSADAS!

Proletärer i alla länder, förena Er!

**Kommunistisk
Kamp**



"Utan Partiet
är vi ingenting,
med Partiet
är vi allting"
TROTSKI

ORGAN FÖR REVOLUTIONÄRA KOMMUNISTISKA GRUPPEN (trotskistisk-posadistisk)
Fjärde Internationalens Svenska Sektion

- MOBILISERINGAR PÅ EN VÄRLDSSKALA FÖR DEN VIETNAMSKA REVOLUTIONEN
- SOVJETUNIONEN OCH KINA TRÄD, FÖR ATT KASTA UT IMPERIALISMEN UR VIETNAM
- ORGANISERA ARBEJDE, STUDENTKOMITTEER, KOMITTEERNA FÖR HEMMABUAR, KOMITTEER I ARBEJDSOMRÅDEN, MED D.N. ANTI-KAPITALISTISKA PROGRAMMET FÖR ATT FRAMDRIVA KONSTRUKTIONEN AV DEN NYA REVOLUTIONÄRA LEDARSKAPET BASERAT PÅ FÖRKÄMPNINGARNA, VPK OCH SAPI

Vi hälsar med revolutionär glädje de vietnamesiska massornas fortsatta kamp, den enorma solidaritetsaktionen bland arbetarna, studenterna, och massrörelserna här i Sverige och i hela världen, och USSR, Kina och alla arbetarstaternas fortsatta, massiva stöd, IMPERIALISMEN UT UR VIETNAM

Inför den nya krigsinferna, bombningen som Nixon gett order om, är det nödvändigt att svara med en världsmobilisering. Nixons beslut vid årsskiftet att intensifiera bombningarna av befolkningsområden i Hanoi och Haiphong, gör en del av en världsprocess av konfrontation mellan imperialismen och världsrevolutionen och arbetarstaterna. Detta kommer att nå sin kulmen i atomkriget som imperialismen koncentrerar alla sina styrkor på att förbereda. Världsarbetarbevörelsens svar måste vara att inte bara fördöma imperialismens kriminella handling och att organisera sig för att bekämpa den, utan också att förbereda alla mänskliga krafter för att främja arbetarstaterna och alla de revolutionära massorna i världen för att krossa imperialismen en gång för alla.

Attackerarna kom efter de nederlag som tilldelades de reaktionära krafter som är i militär allians med yankeimperialismen i Japan, kapitalistiska Tyskland, Australien, Nya Zeeland, Holland, Norge, Danmark och Sverige. De kom efter den djupa anti-kapitalistiska utvecklingen i Frankrike, Italien och Storbritannien och efter den revolutionära chilenska statens seger. Men denna aktion av förstörelse

VIETNAM, THE CRISIS OF THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION, AND THE

One must measure this manoeuvre of the Swedish bourgeoisie through Olaf Palme, because it is aimed at containing an independent movement against imperialism. There has been in Sweden several important strikes against the trade union leadership, which indicate this. But at the same time, this indicates the irritation of these sectors of capitalism, which see that imperialism wants to send them to the slaughterhouse, and they want to resist. There are both aspects together.

The resistance they make to imperialism is very dangerous for these sectors. They are stimulating a class movement. They are opposing the war. Opposing imperialism. And moreover, they are recognising Vietnam, they send Vietnam money and hospitals. They are paying a lot to defend themselves from the revolution. This is an expression of the world relationship of forces, which is different from the stage of Lenin. These sectors have to feel that on one side they have the proletariat, which can smash them at any moment together with the Workers States, and on the other side, imperialism which is precipitating the situation, and they seek to continue maintaining themselves in this way. This is the state of mind, world capitalism is in. The same as Pompidou expresses. None of them have an aggressive, or anti-communist, language, they don't say "the future is to smash communism", no, they are disputing in an interpenetrative form with the Communist Party. This is their anti-communism. They say "communism is not going to resolve anything, it hasn't bases, what are they going to do?". This is all they are saying. They do not put forward "capitalist civilisation" as superior to communism. No; They see that the world has reached the understanding that the Workers States are superior.

When Palme does all this, it is because there is a deep opposition to imperialism in all these countries, and above all in the working class, and also in a large part of the petit bourgeoisie. There is powerful impulse in the Scandinavian countries towards the left. There is an inclination to the left. And today it is going to come back re-enforced by the triumph in Germany. In Finland also the left wing triumphed. There is a whole process, which previously was given in an interrupted form, and which today is a consistent line, consistent. Because this process asserts itself through corrections, the improvement of social and revolutionary relationships inside the Workers State, the better position of the WSs towards the world revolution—like the attitude of the Soviets, which is much better than before, more favourable to

the revolution, and to the process of the struggle of the masses against imperialism. Allende's attitude expresses this also. If Allende did not count on the support of the Soviet Union, he would not have this attitude: it is a resolution and a decision of the Chilean people, it shows the Chilean people's security. And Allende shows the secure point of support he has, which is the Soviet Union, the Latin American masses. This is also reaching Sweden. And when Chile, such a small country, which lives on copper, where 40 to 70% of the budget comes from the copper, and which depends on the world market, on the shipping companies, and the banks, animates itself to make such a confrontation, it is because it feels, receives and supports itself on this world process.

THE ENORMOUS IMPORTANCE OF THE ELECTORAL VICTORIES

The triumph of Willy Brandt, the triumph in Norway, in Denmark, in Austria, in Holland, in Australia and in New Zealand is going to have enormous repercussions in the Swedish Socialist Party. All this electoral triumph of the masses of the world—which is expressed electorally through the triumph of the Socialist Party—is going to have a great influence on the left wing of the Swedish Socialist Party and also on the Communist Party.

This world process is determined by a current of history, which is the most legitimate current, the current which arose from October, and which is going to illuminate the world. And this is going to influence the internal struggles inside the Socialist Party, already this influence is taking place. There does not exist a current, a tendency, a group, or a leadership, disposed to base themselves on this process, because they do not understand it. They see it, they feel the stimulation, but the progress is slow, very slow indeed. Not because the effect is slow, or weak, and therefore produces a slow process, no, no. Its effect is very great, but there is nothing to welcome it, nothing to receive it. Hence it is diluted. Instead of concentrating, to impel, it disperses, and loses strength. It is possible to extend and increase the forces, when there is an intervention in all aspects of life, the life of the country. Neither in the trade union, nor in the Socialist Party is there a tendency, which seeks to organise a left wing in a conscious way, if there was, it would already have come out.

It is a world effect. When after 25 years in Australia, and after 28 years in New Zealand the votes for the socialists nearly double, and the conservatives, who were in power, lose, this is because it is a current of history. And a current means: the working class, which communicates with its struggles, meets bases of access, of influence, and gains the petit bourgeoisie. The roots of all this route of influences is in the Workers

States, in the better policy of the WWSS, in the corrections, and in the "cleaning" taking place inside the Workers States: the cleaning in Yugoslavia and in the Soviet Union. The world proletarian vanguard feels secure, transmits to the class the security it feels, and sees itself impelled, and the class transmits this to the petit bourgeoisie, communicates this in thousands of ways. For this reason we say it is a current in history. It takes a parliamentary expression, but not only in parliamentary successes.

In the Socialist Parties in the Scandinavian countries—which are the political centres for the activity of the class—these triumphs are of enormous importance. New Zealand is the end of the world, there they have no contact with the rest of the world. Not only for geographical conditions, but also because their links with the rest of the world are broken. The workers, political and trade union movements in Australia and New Zealand have very few links with the rest of the world. And yet without doubt, the working class of New Zealand and Australia votes in the first rank. They receive the world influence.

There is Vietnam, the purification of the WSs, the discussions inside the WSs, the coming out into light, of the necessity of correction in the WSs, and of the elevation of democratic rights: greater justice, greater proletarian democracy; the effects of these in the WSs, without yet modifying the way, which generally remain bureaucratic, but correcting bases, which remove the bureaucracy's authority—give the basis for the impulse of this stage of history. And this reaches Sweden. Today this must already be in Sweden in the Socialist Party, and in the Communist Party. This process is the basis for the constitution of the left wing. It is a seed, which has been put there, nothing carries it, it came impelled by the wind of the revolution.

In Sweden and in Norway they are discussing to establish co-management.

This is aimed at weighing on the workers movement to contain its independent class functioning. It is also the way to seek to incorporate part of the workers aristocracy inside the bourgeois apparatus. They're showing the working class that capitalism is incapable of governing. They seek to use the workers aristocracy, but this has a very short perspective, because the world process does not favour it. It is a lesser evil for them. Capitalism sees that the petit bourgeoisie is living it, and to retain them, it makes them participate—in part—as if hoping to show that it was going to progress in the sense of going on suppressing capitalism's exploitation and being more "just". This is the sense they wish to give.

The measure is above all directed to the workers aristocracy. The proletariat is not going to be taken in by this, because it sees that in this way it is not possible to control factories and society. And if the proletariat does control factories it is not going to do it for the benefit of the boss. And the boss cannot control the factory submitted to the proletariat, because that would mean not competing on a world scale. The problems of price, of profit, of the cost of production, of profitability are all a problem of interest.

This measure is of lesser evil to capitalism, whose aim is to contain the enormous pressure of the world movement of the revolution, which is weighing and expressed in the Swedish and Norwegian proletariat. Before they used fascism, made prisoners, came out with laws to assassinate the workers. Today they have to make concessions, they have to create a "perspective" for tomorrow. But the perspective for tomorrow is that each time there are more WSs, still more WSs. This measure of co-management is one that liquidates capitalism. The workers aristocracy is going to seize this to make careerism, but it does not have enough field of action, there is no perspective for the development of careerism. Capitalism also seeks to resist world competition, and the pressure of imperialism, because imperialism is seeking to oblige them to have a more active policy towards the war. And they seek support in the working class, through the workers aristocracy, so as to put forward a front of resistance to imperialism.

This is the demonstration that capitalism has no initiatives, and no capacity to lead forward the policy of defence of its own system. They have powerful weapons, they have economic means, but each time they have less social capacity and less social structure to decide.

Among the students, in the sectors of the middle class, this is going to stimulate a discussion, showing the impotence of capitalism. The social pressure compels them to incorporate part of the workers movement inside the enterprises' management. It is true that the workers aristocracy has individual interests. But neither the world structure, nor the per-

spectives enable it to collect advantages from it for very long, and are not favourable to such a development. On the contrary, all this is in favour of bringing down the capitalist system.

The most important discussion is going to take place when the workers are going to try and improve their relationships with the machines, with the time tables, with the noise, with the steam and with the management. They are going to improve all this, they are going to do it. The workers in the Kiruna mine have shown this. In Sweden there is petit bourgeoisie and intellectual layer, which could not intervene, but which gave its support to the social democracy. Today they see that capitalism does not work, and they are going to make pressures to make the revolution advance. The small weight of the proletariat is going to meet the support of the world revolution, which impels the consciousness, the mentality and the intelligence of the petit bourgeoisie, in seeking that "this is the way". It is the world revolution which influences them, which draws them closer to the proletariat. And the small number of the proletariat meets a solid basis to lead.

There is a whole previous, immediate experience, which shows that this is the way for the ascent of the intervention of the great masses. Because they are large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, scientists, artists, intellectuals and employees. It is the same mass, which is in the government's apparatus, in the governments intellectual apparatus, which now joins together against imperialism. On these sectors there is the pressure of the moral superiority of the WSs, and the masses' behaviour in the WSs, and the world proletariat's behaviour, and they are gained by this. And also, something which previously they did not see, they now see the bourgeoisie's behaviour, they feel it. It is in the air we breathe, you can see it in the people. There is between people a superior course of human relationship.

In Sweden there is a very great and constant inclination to the left. The day Sweden does not move to the left, it collapses. This is a very old tradition, comes from a long way back. In Sweden there is no leadership. There is no revolutionary party, but there is revolutionary eagerness. There is not in Sweden a strong class activity, it is very general. For this reason Vietnam is a centre. The bourgeoisie and the social democracy are using this to distract the class. They blame the Yankees for Vietnam, and that gives them quietness. But it is a passing quietness. One must expect that in a short time there is going to be an intensification of the struggles. The movement for Vietnam indicates a very important preoccupation among the intellectuals and the workers movement. This shows that they are occupied with living the world process of the revolution. Otherwise they would not support Vietnam.

CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY

There are no great internal struggles yet, because there is an aristocratic structure, which dominates the country. The behaviour of the workers aristocracy can develop ambiguous impressions, because they are supporting Vietnam. They are supporting Vietnam, because they realise that otherwise a worse movement will arise, which will sweep them away. And moreover, imperialism is placing their own stability in difficulty, therefore they try to contain imperialism, so as to maintain things as they are. There has been the strike in Lapland, and other strikes against the trade union leadership; therefore, the workers aristocracy has to continue in this way, otherwise it is swept away. It is necessary to see that, in Sweden, as in Norway, and in Denmark there is a workers aristocracy, which is the basis of the structure, on which the bourgeoisie takes support: the social democracy and the control over the masses.

In all the socialist parties the left is triumphing, in all of them. All the soci-

alist parties are obliged to go to the left. If they do not adopt this position more to the left, then they separate themselves from the masses, they relinquish them, as in Italy. In France, in Italy, in Belgium, in Chile, in Holland and in Germany, there is an inclination to the left—included in Sweden. In Sweden there is also a progress to the left, which finds an expression in the programmatic formulation, in the policy and in the opposition to the war in Vietnam.

In previous stages all these socialist parties were direct representatives of Yankee imperialism, they supported the war in Vietnam, as before they supported Czechoslovakia. Today they are all against the war in Vietnam. This is because their base influences the party, and has created currents, which are very powerful inside the socialist parties, which imposes on them to adopt positions against the Yankees. This is happening in all the socialist parties of the world.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 3

DEMOCRACY, THE WORLD SOCIALIST CLASS STRUGGLE IN SWEDEN

2 JAN. 73

J. POSADAS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

there is a whole inclination to the left. This is firm and secure, even if it is not yet visible today. But everything is going to the left, everytime more and more.

This inclination to the left shows the triumph of the left wings in the socialist parties, which are no longer social democratic. Their historic function ceases to be social democratic. They are socialist parties. The basis and the social structure of these socialist parties is of a workers and petit bourgeoisie composition. But the weight inside the Socialist Party is no longer the wealthy petit bourgeoisie, or the wealthy peasant, or the workers aristocracy. Their weight is still there. But it is the workers base, linked to the communists, and to the independant masses with anti capitalist interests and resolution, which influences the life of the parties. This can be seen in Germany. When the German Socialist Party made its campaign, they held meetings in all the factories. Before this, Allende went to the United Nations to say: "The workers of Le Havre and of Rotterdam are giving me their support." Willy Brandt had mobilised the factories. Even before Willy Brandt had said anything, the workers had moved and intervened on a problem, which had nothing to do with the trade union, nor with the programmatic conception of the trade unions. All the trade unions and the factories made meetings, deciding to support the agreements with the German WS. Willy Brandt went to seek this support. This is not a feature of a diplomat, of a bourgeois politician, it is a phase of the class struggle.

When Willy Brandt acts like this, he no longer is social democrat, he is socialist. He is much closer to the influence of the revolution than to the Socialist Party itself. He is resorting to social relationships, which introduce into the proletariat, which impose and exert an influence on it, to make it feel that it decides. Before it was the contrary: the Social Democracy's function was to leave the proletariat on one side, reject it, and it was the workers aristocracy, which determined the life in the trade unions. Today it is the opposite: Willy Brandt is

going to mobilise the trade unions, to make them intervene in the life of the country, so that they weigh directly, and attract the petit bourgeoisie. There is no fascism, no perspective whatever of fascism. This breaks and smashes any attempt from the fascists.

One of the conclusion on the basis of which fascism developed, was the immobility of the trade unions, the lack of combative and class response from the TUs, the inequality between the struggle of the masses and their leaderships, which maintained them bound hands and foot. Today this is not the case. And Willy Brandt tells the TUs: "mobilise". The TUs pronounced themselves and made meetings of support for the unification of the two Germanies, and now they are going to make other activities.

The Swedish Socialist Party is not an isolated party, it is not apart from the world relation of class struggle. They are living all these problems inside the Socialist Party, and also inside the Communist Party, in Sweden. It is a world process, which goes from North to South, from East to West, everywhere, and it is a process, which seeks organisms which respond to this necessity. Hence the left inside the Socialist Party. And one of the most important facts is the defeat of all the right wing tendencies inside the socialist parties. In Germany Schiller broke with the Socialist Party; All the capitalist press brought him forward as the "prima donna", as the great star, and they sold tickets to go in and see him! Schiller and six other socialist deputies left, in all, around ten of them did, expecting and believing they were going to attract the masses. And the bourgeoisie the Christian Democrats believed they were going to attract a great mass of people, and they did attract, but it was a whole right wing sector. It is like the water in the sea, which drags the muck out and leaves everything clean. Schiller, attracted many people, all the right. With him left a huge quantity of right wing socialists. But in the Socialist Party came all the youth, the new ones, who voted for the left wing, the left wing Christian Democrats and part of the left wing liberals.

and to the contradictions of the capitalist system, and to the advance of the revolution. What they wish to do is to place themselves in the middle, so as to contain; But this goes against them. Everything the Swedish government is doing, is against them, because it simulates the resistance to imperialism's policy.

The world revolution has a concrete, organic influence in Sweden, which are the officers trade unions in the army, the centres of reception, of stimulation, of propaganda for abandoning the war in Vietnam. This has educated the Swedish people: "The war is not determined by those in command, but by reason." This is what they are saying. They are telling the soldiers: "Come on, desert, come over here!" What are they saying? "The war is not determined by those in command, but by reason. We are right, this war is of no use, come over here." This is what they are saying. "If tomorrow there is the war against the USSR, we do not fight." They are preparing themselves for this. And the king has to tolerate this. These are the forces, the points of support to go much further in Sweden. The essential task for Sweden is a left wing in the Socialist Party, and in the Communist Party: a left wing, which discusses what is the struggle for the development towards a socialist state in Sweden. This is the objective.

The Swedish government's proposition to have workers delegates participating in the capitalist enterprises, is an effect of the world class struggle. It is an attempt to contain the pressure on the workers by incorporating, integrating part of the workers aristocracy to the apparatus of the capitalist state, to give advantages and participation to the workers leadership. So that it seems to the working class that it is integrated into the leadership of the factory, and that through this, it is possible to advance in the demands, and to obtain improvements in conditions until the replacement of capitalism. It is a great concession which capitalism is making, it is the effect of the world and local class struggle. It is a toned down, a concealed form which expresses the very great elevation of the class struggle.

When capitalism sees itself obliged to make such concessions, it is because it needs to integrate part of the workers leaderships, in a much higher form, much more intimately with the capitalist apparatus. But at the same time this entails a great danger, because it makes the workers see that they have the right to participate, to control, to be integrated to those who do. This stimulates and elevates the workers' decision to increase the kind of demands. It is a measure, which tends to contain the pressure of the mass struggles, but in a form, which only has circumstantial effects. It is the expression of the world influence of the revolutionary and class struggle, of the mobilisations for Vietnam, as are also the initiative of the Swedish government in favour of Viet-

nam, and against Yankee imperialisms. They are measures aimed at gaining an influence on the petit bourgeoisie, at showing themselves controlling the process in front of the petit bourgeoisie. It is an expression of the world class struggle. It is not an expression particular to Sweden.

It is also a way to defend themselves from the world influence of the class struggle. It is the same as with the Swedish government's declaration against imperialism to make them leave Vietnam. These are defensive measures. They are not measures of progress of the class struggle in favour of the masses, or of the liberation of the masses. They are measures aimed at containing imperialism, so that it does not create worse difficulties, and so that it contains the reaction of the world masses. Among them the Swedish masses. Because they see that Yankee imperialism is placing the whole existence of the capitalist system in danger. They believe that in this way they are going to manage to contain the masses. This is a false conception which Swedish capitalism has.

This proposition of integrating the workers delegates into the management of the enterprises, must be discussed by the workers movement in public assemblies, in all places of work, in all the factories, in the country, in the houses, in the offices, in the barracks, and in the police. The conclusion is that such a proposition is a fraud, because the workers have no way of deciding, of resolving. They hardly have one or two representatives in the administration, when the bosses have the majority and decide. This creates an illusion in front of the proletariat that it can decide and control, and therefore it contains the class struggle, it makes pressures and influences on the layers most isolated from the proletariat's political activity, it makes the workers aristocracy weigh on them, so as to contain the class struggle, the revolutionary positions, and to prevent the influence of Vietnam from impelling the masses to power. This is the illusion they want to create.

The workers aristocracy tries to make them believe that it is a better way of achieving demands, a better control of capitalism. This is impossible. Capitalist finances, commercial secrets, investments and plans of production are not decided in meetings, where the workers participate. The decisions are taken before. They determine the prices, the benefits, the investments and the orientation, beforehand. All this is determined by the interests of capitalism, which is determined by the world course of competition, by the interior contradictions of the capitalist system. It is world competition which determines the investments in the capitalist system. The workers cannot correct, nor contain any of these measures in favour of the proletariat. It is an illusion, which capitalism wants to create in the proletariat.

THE DEFEAT OF ALL THE RIGHT WING TENDENCIES IN THE S.P.

There is a process of polarisation, and where the Socialist Parties are the majority, this polarization takes place between the socialist parties and the bourgeoisie. In Germany there is a process of polarisation, mature for the struggle for power. Today's Germany as it is, lives a process of polarisation, which is determined in the world, but which comes back to Germany. It is this process in the whole world, in the whole world!

In Chile it is the same process inside the Socialist Party, but more of an advantage, more favourable to the revolutionary process, because in Chile the Socialist Party never was to the right, the leadership was on the right. Today Allende speaks in the UNO and not to request justice by jurisprudence, in the laws, in the civil codes: on the contrary, he says: "I support myself on the dockers". Allende from the UNO, appeals to the world working class. This is orientating. And it is going to have an impact on the crisis of the socialist parties, on the left wings. It is going to lead to the formation of groups, to a polarisation.

This is an indication of what the structure of the world process is. It is on this that one must take support. This is going to influence the Socialist Parties. Allende's attitude of resorting to the working class, indicates that Chile, United Nations and the world working class are all being taken as instruments of agitation to mobilise the masses. This is what we proposed to the Chinese. We weren't against their being in the United Nations. But also what are the United Nations going to resolve, when they do not stand for anything? They're all bandits! Therefore use it as a tribunal! And Allende has used it like this. And we said to him: "use it like a tribunal!" Not adapting to the jurisprudence of the right. This is going to have an enormous echo, it is going to reach all the other countries of Latin America and Europe, and is going to impel the Soviet bureaucracy also, the Communist Party of the USSR and Brezhnev too is going to use it in this way.

The Soviets are also acting like this. In the Helsinki meeting, the Conference for the European Security, the Soviets said: "We agree with the agreement, but we support Vietnam and the Middle East too. We are going on giving weapons to all the people who struggle for independence."

What Palme is doing is to contain the development of an independant tendency which was influencing. But also at the same time it expresses the irritation of the bourgeoisie, faced with imperialism's policy, which puts everything in danger, because the atomic war means the disappearance of all of them, their immediate disappearance! And they try to preserve themselves. They do not have the policy appropriate to respond to the crisis,

THE NECESSITY TO SMASH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The only way to have a real effect on the capitalist system is to overthrow it, so that the workers take power, and transform the capitalist system of production into a system of production in favour of humanity, eliminating the system based on profit.

The workers aristocracy tries to deceive the masses by making them believe that it is possible to participate, and to obtain demands and control. The workers must declare that it is necessary to destroy the capitalist system, and to organise the worker-peasant government. Whereas the bureaucracy is going to create a whole activity to attract and develop the possibility of deceiving the masses, and showing that it is possible to integrate workers leaders into the capitalist apparatus, controlling, and participating in the capitalist administration, so as to tone down the exploitation, and to improve the workers demands. It is necessary to reject this. And declare

that the capitalist system hasn't got any way of correcting itself, but that it has to be overthrown.

To this proposition it is necessary to oppose the organisation of factory committees with the integration of the workers leaders and the employees, on the basis of a programme of class demands, state ownerships, workers control, planning of the production, State ownership of the main sources of production, of the bank and of trade. A workers and peasants government. There is the necessity for the centralisation of property in the hands of the State, and that the State be controlled by the masses on the basis of a programme of socialist development.

This program of the government for the integration of the workers leaders, who are all bureaucrats, leaders of confidence, and elected by the bureaucratic

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B R A Z I L

VIVA THE PUBLICATION OF THE BULLETIN OF 'FRENTE OPERARIA'

In spite of the criminal repression which last April was aimed at the Brazilian Section of the IV International, and in the course of which our comrade Rui Oswaldo was killed by torture, and twenty other comrades imprisoned and tortured, the section continued its activity in clandestinity. It recently published a special Bulletin No. 1. of "Frente Operaria" inside the country, demonstrating in this way the superiority and force of ideas, and of intelligence and reason in this stage, and the conscious maturity of a team educated in the struggle for a construction of the revolutionary leadership in Brazil, with a Posadist conception.

This new publication is a blow at the murderous dictatorship of the government of Garrastazu M. di for it is an expression not only of the determination, decision and courage of our comrades, but of the social and political conditions, which allow the vanguard to give its sym-

pathy and agreement to the activity of our Brazilian Section.

More than 10 comrades of the P.O.R. Trotskyist-Posadist, with hundreds of other revolutionary militants are still in prison, and under the permanent threat of torture and assassination. We appeal to all the British workers movement to maintain its participation in the campaign of freedom for all political prisoners in Brazil.

C H I L E

VIVA THE 100th EDITION OF 'LUCHA OBRERA', AND THE MEETING OF THE 4th OF FEBRUARY MADE BY THE SECTION "TO SUPPORT THE TRIUMPH OF THE POPULAR UNITY, AND FOR PROLETARIAN POWER."

We salute with great revolutionary joy the publication of the 100th number of the organ of our Chilean Section of the IV International—Posadist, "Lucha Obrera". We salute its weekly appearance, which is in process of playing an irreplaceable role in the organisation of the forces

of the Chilean revolution, and the construction of the revolutionary leadership, and for the single marxist party in Chile.

We also salute the meeting organised by the Party on the 4th of February in Santiago, which was held under the slogan "Support the triumph of the Popular Unity and for Proletarian Power. For the Unification of the World Communist Movement, for the Single Party of the Working Class and for Organs of Power." Press communiques were distributed to all the papers, radio stations and T.V. Apart from the

comrades of the Party, comrade Fidelma Allende of the Socialist Party, and comrade Nieves Yankovich of the Christian Left, spoke at the meeting. The meeting, which was a very great success will be followed by other meetings in Concepcion and Valparaiso.

I T A L Y

VIVA THE PUBLICATION OF "LOTTA OPERAIA LIGURIA", THE ORGAN OF THE REGIONAL COMMITTEE OF GENOA.

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

crisis of growth, and will be pushed to take anti-capitalist measures. The capitalist class sees this, and sees that it must at all costs, using its laws, defend and uphold the 'counter-inflation' policies.

For this reason Gormley is right, in part, when he says it is the question now of a general strike, or submission to government policy. It is true that it would be 'suicide' as he put it for one union to take on the government on its own. But it is not a question of one union now. When Fords come out they will have all the other sectors: railwaymen, hospital workers, gas workers, teachers etc. already at their side, it will be as Sid Harraway said a type of 'mini-general strike'. But Gormley's reasoning is correct in as much as it is necessary now for a class against class confrontation, unifying all the struggles around the Ford strike.

It is necessary to discuss in all the factories, transport depots, offices, in the Trade Unions, the significance of the decision of the Ford Shop stewards. All the sectors in struggle must make direct organisational links, with the Ford workers, so as to co-ordinate their actions, and issue appeals to all the class to concentrate around the Ford strike, raising their own demands, extending it into a general strike.

The capitalist class, in spite of its hard-line policy, is weak, it needs a fascist movement to support it, and smash the

workers movement, but now even civil servants go on strike. In Ireland the assassination squads don't intimidate the masses, and the tendency in the Protestant working class to impose a working class line and policy against the bourgeois unionist leadership, continues. The blow to US Imperialism inflicted by the cease fire increases the insecurity and pessimism of the right, not only the Tories, but the pro-bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party. Now there are expressions of an advance in the LP; the programmatic points on nationalisation of land, of oil, the proposal to form neighborhood committees, the programme of the LP for the GLC, calling for the abolition of private landlordism in the metropolis and the perspective of free public transport, are symptoms of a much deeper process, which is going to express itself clearer in a short time. But without the intransigent struggle of the working class, its programmatic and organisational advance, together with its abstention in the general election, and the recent bye-elections, such an advance would not have been made.

We call to the working class, the students, the LP and CP, to extend the Ford strike into a unlimited general strike, to bring down the Tory government, raising demands such as all profits of automation to the working class, sliding scale of wages, work sharing without loss of pay, all pensions and grants to equal the average workers wage, and to rise with the cost of living, 35 hour week leading to 32 hours, nationalisation without compensation and under workers control of all factories about to be closed, and all the key sectors of industry, linking these demands with a programme for Ireland, which has as its centre the withdrawal of troops. It is possible to achieve this now, by a general strike, by the construction of committees in the factories, linked to the workers areas, by bringing to government the Labour Party, which facing the crisis of capitalism, carried forward by independent mobilisations of the class, already in a crisis of growth, in which the right is being weakened, will be forced to implement the above programme.

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S W E D E N CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

apparatus, is going to represent conciliation and submission to capitalism. To this must be opposed a programme of expropriation of capitalism. The planning of the production according to the interests of the life of the masses. It is the most complete and best way of elevating the capacity to produce. The example are the 14 Workers States, which started from nothing and, in 50 years for the USSR, and in the others 30 years, bypassed all the capitalist countries, which are still in the same conditions. Their progress was tripled compared with the capitalist countries. Whereas India with all the support it has, has been incapable of coming out of backwardness and poverty; in not one WS is there backwardness and poverty. There still exists a bad political leadership, but there is an immense economic, social, political, scientific and technical and military progress in the Workers States.

In case the bureaucracy succeeds in imposing the entrance of delegates in the administration, the trade unions must be made to determine with a programme of discussion of prices, of wages, and of profits. So as to discuss publicly in all the workers movement. To lead forward, in the workers movement, a programme of defence of the interests of the population, on prices, on conditions, and the quality of products favourable to the population. At the same time the trade unions must go on developing the struggle to bring down the capitalist system, and to establish a W.S., as in USSR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and the other Workers States.

This is the programme it is necessary to make to face this proposition of the government to integrate the functioning of the workers movement in the capitalist apparatus.

One of the points of the programme it is necessary to develop is that all progress of technology, of automation which diminishes the socially necessary time of production must go to the benefit of the masses. Capitalism cuts down the socially necessary time of production in rivalry and competition so as to improve its capacity to accumulate. Then the proletariat disputes: "no, this goes to the benefit of the masses." Then propose: "cutting down of working hours, increase in the breaks, better working conditions, better safety in work. All technological and scientific progress, whatever it be, to go to benefit the masses, and not to the benefit of capital accumulation. At the same time to develop and maintain the struggle to bring the capitalist system down.

If the workers representatives go to the employers councils, it must be independent, and apart from the struggle of the masses, who continue without any interruptions, and who put forward a programme of investments, and orientation of the economy to benefit to the population and not the capitalist. This is going to show that it is not through the integration of the workers delegates in the employers organisms that the capitalist world is going to change, but that it has to be overthrown. Their measure is to contain the workers movement

and to block the class struggle.

It is necessary to support concretely the demands and the conquests of the workers movement in the iron mines and to generalise them. It is necessary to support the struggle of the immigrant workers, so that they get the same statutes as the Swedish workers, the same trade union and political rights: that they can vote, decide and elect delegates. The relationship between individuals and society is determined by their role in the economy. Problems of fatherland and of nationality are an invention of capitalism to decide and to impose. At the same time capitalism's investments go in any part of the world, and form part of the decisions by means of economic strength. The workers have the labour power. Therefore all immigrant workers, who are working here, have the same rights as the native workers from all points of view. Already in part in other capitalist countries, they have achieved such rights as in Germany.

It is necessary to direct oneself to make appeals to sectors of the middle class, to students, to professionals and to the technicians, to make them intervene in a discussion on the progress of the struggle for socialism in Sweden. This means a socialist regime of property, of planning and of distribution, and not a capitalist one.

It is necessary to make a programme of unconditional support to Vietnam. To call for the formation of militias in the whole world, to support Vietnam militarily, economically, technically and materially. To show that capitalism is responsible for the backwardness and the poverty of the country. To progress it is necessary to eliminate capitalism.

Make appeals for the formation of the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe, and for the planning of the production in all Europe according to the interests, and to the necessity of the masses. To eliminate the pollution of water, nature and air. To eliminate the production of armaments, all atomic weapons. To dedicate all efforts in production to goods of public benefit: houses, roads, transports, nutritional food for the population. Expropriation and state control over the main sources of production in the country; Planning of the economy and monopoly of foreign trade. Planning of Europe through the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe, combining, allying and programming with all the WSs. A single workers centre in Europe with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme; One of the centres for this stage is: expulsion of imperialism from Vietnam, to confront it and to defeat it militarily, making appeals for the military mobilisation of all the masses of the world led by the Workers States.

Together with these struggles put forward partial, immediate demands, based on the mobilisation of the masses, on conferences, meetings, assemblies in the factories, in the neighbourhoods, in the trade unions, in the schools, in offices and in the barracks to push this programme forward.

J. POSADAS 2-1-1973

LOTEST DOCUMENTS BY COMRADE POSADAS ON VIETNAM

Because of lack of space in the paper we have had to publish the last two very important documents of Posadas as duplicated bulletin. These are, "The Defeat of Imperialism with the Suspension of the Bombings, the Historic Social Courage of the Masses of Vietnam and the Struggle for Socialism." 31. 12. 72., and "The Triumph of Humanity in Vietnam against Yankee Imperialism, the Extension of the Socialist Revolution, and the Unity of the World Socialist Movement." 27. 1. 73. All the regular subscribers to Red Flag will have received them, but they are available at the address of the Party, and we appeal to all the vanguard to read and discuss them.

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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. 178 2nd Friday of March 1973 PRICE 3p

THE DECISION OF THE RECALL
CONFERENCE—A VICTORY FOR THE
WORKING CLASS.

PREPARE NOW TO MAKE THE T.U.C. DAY
OF ACTION A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE
WITH DEMONSTRATIONS, MASS MEETINGS
AND FACTORY OCCUPATIONS

THE DEEPENING SOCIAL & ECONOMIC CRISIS OF CAPITALISM & THE NEED TO DEVELOP THE ORGANS OF DUAL POWER

The world crisis of capitalism and the constant advance of the world revolution find their expressions in a tremendous ferment of class mobilisations in this country. In the last weeks, Gas workers, Teachers, Students, Car Workers, Hospital Workers, Train Drivers, Civil Servants and Water Workers have all mobilised in direct confrontation with the Tory Government. All the events of the last period have confirmed the analysis that whilst the Tories can legislate against the working class in Parliament, they haven't the social strength to impose these repressive measures in the country. All this takes place in the context of the continued struggle of the Irish masses, and the total crisis of world capitalism which finds its expression in yet another 'dollar crisis'. The financial crisis is an expression of the total crisis of world capitalism which, in its turn, deepens this crisis. At a time when Yankee imperialism seeks to draw together the world capitalist system in preparation for the launching of the war against the Workers States, the crisis of the dollar tends to stimulate inter-capitalist competition. World capitalism finds itself in an enormous contradiction, because on one hand, it wants to take advantage of the weakness of the dollar, and on the other hand it is forced to support it. For example, West German capitalism has to spend £300 million in order to support the dollar, because if the dollar collapses, then the whole capitalist system goes with it. This total crisis of capitalism results from a world situation when there is a great possibility of the electoral victory of the Communist/Socialist "Popular Union" in France on a programme for the nationalisation of the major centres of French capitalism, and when millions of workers launch general strike after general strike with social demands in Italy. At the same time the victory of the world masses in Vietnam has been followed by an agreement in Laos, which favours the forces of the revolution and which eliminates great sectors of the pro-imperialist right.

The development of the class struggle in this country takes place in this context, and the decision of the British masses comes not simply from its own considerable internal security, but from the world advance of the revolution. The last period of intense mobilisations of the class have served to deepen the acute crisis in the Labour leadership, which has proved itself to be completely insufficient for this stage of the struggle. For example, whilst the TUC leadership is forced to organise a recall conference by the pressure of the working class, it refuses to allow any real discussion on the methods

of struggle necessary to impose even their own limited programme. Thus the call for concrete action, for a one day General Strike by Lawrence Daly of the NUM and Alan Sapper, received no support in the General Council of the TUC. However, the recall conference is going to take place with thousands of workers on strike, and demonstrating outside the conference, and it will be extremely difficult for Feather and Co. in these conditions to maintain a passive policy. Whatever the outcome of the recall conference—and we will comment on this elsewhere in this issue of 'Red Flag'—it will only serve to deepen the crisis in the Trade Union leadership, and advance the process of the removal of the right wing. The resignation of Anderson of Nalco is an expression of this. The right capitulates, because it feels that it has no support, no base in the Trade Unions.

In these conditions, it is no surprise that sectors of Ford's Workers refused to support the three day strike. This decision doesn't result from a lack of militancy—even the bourgeois press says this—nor does it result from a lack of consciousness, but it does result from a lack of leadership and the necessary forms of organisation. The Ford Workers are aware that their mobilisation, as a vanguard sector, goes towards a general strike and, in its turn, a general strike, as Cde. Posadas has said, poses the struggle for power.

All these factors weigh in the consciousness of the Ford workers in their decision not to support the three days strike. On the other hand, some sectors of Ford workers feel the security to launch strike action at this time, and his will serve to stimulate other sectors of the class.

Coming at this moment, the policy agreement between the TUC and the LP leadership has a certain importance. It is true, of course, that the programme is no advance on the TUC's own programme, and is greatly inferior to the programme adopted by the Labour Party Conference. It is equally true, that since the Trade Unions are integrally part of the Labour Party, and can decide, through Conference, its policy, there is no necessity for a special policy statement. Indeed this form of functioning limits the intervention of the base even more than the form of the Annual Conference of the LP does. Also, this document does not propose the means, the organisational means by which this programme is imposed. However, it is a demonstration of increasing domination of the LP by the working class through the medium of the TUs. Thus the horror of the bourgeoisie, who are saying that the LP is becoming no-

thing but an instrument of the TUs. In all, it is a manoeuvre by the apparatus of the LP and the TUs, but it is a manoeuvre which favours, however limitedly, the advance of the process of the transformation of the Labour Party.

The attitude of the class towards the leadership of the LP finds an expression in the recent bye-elections. At both Chester-le-Street and Dundee-East the class were able to register a protest against the policy—or lack of policy—of the LP leadership, without giving any comfort to the Tories. At the same time, a sector of the Middle Class, who are neither attracted to the passivity of the LP leadership, nor to the Tories—voted liberal. In general it was a normal reaction from the masses in bye-elections, and entirely different from the attitude during a general election, which actually decides the government. Lincoln is different, in as much as Taverne obviously gained the votes, and the active support of Tories, Liberals and the right wing of the LP. No doubt also, there was a certain abstention as a reaction against the bureaucratic functioning

of the Lincoln LP, which correctly threw Taverne out, but which did not base itself directly on the working class in doing it. The working class were not asked if they wanted Taverne, in the first place, and they were not asked if they wanted him out. However, in the final analysis the official LP candidate didn't actually lose, a lot of the traditional LP support. In all, these elections are not particularly significant, certainly not on the level, which the bourgeoisie poses them. The militancy and security of the class has to be judged not in bye-elections, but in the present level of mobilisation.

The level of mobilisations is, in fact, that of a General Strike. Not co-ordinated nationally, without the necessary organisms or leadership, but in actuality, the class has, in the last period, been engaged in a General Strike. Whatever the decisions of the TUC recall conference these mobilisations are going to continue to elevate, to stimulate and to incorporate more and more layers of the working class and other sectors of the population. We are not seeing

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THE DEFEAT OF FIANNA FAIL DEEPENS THE CRISIS OF BRITISH AND IRISH CAPITALISM

The election in the Irish Republic which resulted in a narrow victory for the Fine Gael/Labour Party alliance, basically doesn't change anything radically. It is, however, an expression of the weakness of the Irish bourgeoisie, when a major bourgeois party cannot form an alternative government without the support of the Labour Party, which, without being particularly left wing, is linked to the working class and to revolutionary nationalist sectors. Also the change of government does not solve any problems for the Irish bourgeoisie, since the Fine Gael/Labour Party government has no means of solving the inherent problems of capitalism. There is no doubt that this government will find itself in an immediate crisis particularly over the problem of the small farmers—probably still a majority in Ireland—in the Common Market which tends to a centralisation of agriculture at the expense of the

small farmers. Equally without a programme of nationalisations the new government cannot solve the problems, common to all capitalism, of unemployment, inflation and lack of housing. Faced with these problems it is inevitable that a conflict will develop in the government between the conservative Fine Gael and the Labour Party. Another, and immediate, source of conflict will be the question of the continuation of the 'fascist laws' adopted by Lynch's Fianna Fail government against the revolutionary nationalist sectors in particular and the masses in general.

It is necessary to see that the reason why the Fine Gael/Labour Party alliance actually gained a majority was that they proposed some kind of social policy—taking VAT off Food prices, holding down prices in general, raising welfare benefits, building more council houses, reforms in the laws on divorce and contracept-

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THE NATIONALIST MILITARY STRUGGLE

This Uruguayan process, this nationalist military coup, is indicating that there are the conditions for a class policy, for the population to be able to advance, and that the elections were a very distant expression of the power of the will of the masses, to overthrow the bourgeois government. The strikes themselves indicated it. Not the elections, because they were not made to mobilise the masses, to overthrow the capitalist system, the bourgeois government.

It is the beginning of the opening stages in the overthrow of the capitalist system. One and a half years from the elections, there is a nationalist military coup, which has a programme, which is against the capitalist system. And it indicates who it represents.

If it was an abstract nationalist movement, it would act in agreement with wanting simply to clean out the layabouts from the public administration. On the other hand it poses three points which demonstrate that their intention is to change the economic and social structure: Agrarian reform, control of the monopolies, intervention of the workers in production.

This is indicating the depth of this process, that the will of the masses is developing, to overthrow the corruption, the policy of the government, the more and more constant repression; the centralisation of property, of riches in fewer and fewer hands. There are the conditions to do it. Even without the political parties mobilising, neither the communists, nor the socialists, nor the so-called left nationalist tendencies of the Blancos or the Colorados (the two bourgeois parties), the masses were far ahead of all these, and because of this they made the general strike. The parties did not call for mobilisations, the masses went on strike, there were complete mobilisations of general strike! It indicated that there was the will of the masses to go much further than the limitation of the political parties. This nationalist military coup is based on these conditions. It was not a coup made with the direct support or alliance with the organisms of the working class; but it is based on this relationship of forces, and in this combativity of the masses. It was made seeking the support of the population, counting on it, basing itself on the support of the population. Because of this it was successful. At the beginning the government called so that "public opinion, the Uruguayan citizenry will mobilise in defence of civilisation". There were 200 people. Neither was there a movement in support of the nationalist military coup. But the government had to show that it had support. It called in the name of the institutions, democracy, liberty, rights, justice, and 200 people turned up.

The experience showed that the masses of the capital, and the interior were disposed to mobilise. They did not mobilise because there was no one who would mobilise them, who would call them to mobilise. A simple appeal was not sufficient, it had to be organised. The Communist Party, the Trade Unions, should have made organisations, meetings of the factory, of the Trade Union, of the workers areas, of the houses, mobilisations, finishing with a general mobilisation to overthrow the government. This could be done.

The government calls for 'defense of civilisation', and nobody turns out. The masses did not move against the coup. The army began by changing a minister; they were weighing things up. The workers parties did not understand this process, except for the trotskysts, who foresaw it, and had already anticipated it. The military coup expected the support of the population. It was still not directed towards the population, because there is an internal struggle in the military team, and because of this they made the coup feeling their way. When they saw that the population did not mobilise in support of the government, nor against them, they were encouraged, and they went on increasing the demands. This is the process, which is developing. Within the army there is a wing much more resolved than what appears now.

First of all they posed to change a minister, then they change the government, after this they change the policy, after this they change the programme. That is to say, it is a movement, which has much more pronounced objectives, much more profound than what is shown here. And one which is taking positions whilst they discuss internally, and which is gradually resolving the internal dispute. But in the military, the sector which is in the supremacy, the one which

dominates is the sector more to the left.

Our Party, and all the Workers Parties, have to make an appeal to the population to support this movement, accompanying it with a mobilisation and a popular assembly. So that all the people discuss. All the people discuss the programme. This is going to encourage the left of the army; because there are wings, which even being disposed to make profound changes, do not see where to go. Therefore, make a popular mobilisation, a mobilisation of support, mobilisations and assemblies, discussions in the factories, in the trade unions, in the workers areas, in the offices, in the barracks to discuss a programme with a series of measures. For example, against the monopolies, explaining to us as to advance. What to do against the monopolies? It is necessary to take their power away from them. To take away their power of functioning. As the power can only be taken away from them in one way, it has to be done in this way, it has to be expropriated. Without posing it now this is not far away. It is necessary to give time, so that the tendencies in the army can mature, feeling the influence and being gained. Moreover, Peru and Chile are going to intervene immediately, and also the Peronists. The nationalist wing of the Argentinian army must be interested in this.

The military coup has not finished. We consider that by the way in which they act, there is a very great internal struggle in the military team. Beginning timidly with a request, they continued with a programme, and they have to finish up being in the government. They do not finish by getting rid of Bordaberry. In one day they lay siege to everything. "Change the minister; we want to change all the cabinet; we want everyone to clear out, and accept this programme". They are advancing, advancing. One sees that there is an internal struggle. In as much as they progress, it is going to increase the internal struggle, and they are going to increase the demands, but also they are expecting the support of the population. We appeal to the communists, to the socialists of Uruguay, that they must support this movement, to open a public discussion about: where to go? How to respond? Annul the elections, and the parliament, it is a false lying parliament, it is a swindle of the population. They make this parliament, and the next day all of Uruguay mobilises in a general strike. Parliament does not reflect the will of the masses. The Army comes out to draw advantage from this situation.

The military coup still has not finished, and it must end with the military in power, or in an agreement for power. The military coup is a conclusion of the general strikes, of the triumph of the Frente Amplio. When after the elections, the communists became depressed, we were the ones who wrote: it was a triumph. It is the first time in history, that in Uruguay the hegemony, the monopoly of the two parties, the Blanco and the Colorados was broken. The first time, and they tripled their votes. Adding up separately the votes which the parties which made up the Frente Amplio got before, and comparing it with what the Frente Amplio won in this election, it got three times as much. And this was a Frente Amplio, which showed itself to be timid, which feared to damage the capitalist system, or to speak of big strikes, or simply of respect, of morality, of the population which suffered and worked. And even doing this, 240,000 voted for the Frente Amplio. In total the parties, which made up the Frente Amplio never succeeded in getting 90,000. If one takes account that the electoral fraud robbed the Frente Amplio of 70,000 votes, (it is a calculation, which they made themselves) that is to say that the Frente Amplio got more than 300,000 votes, which indicates that there is already a very solid base for a social, anti-capitalist movement.

The strength of these military movements, are the general strikes, the development of the revolution in Peru, the

process of the revolutionary state in Chile, now in Bolivia, in Mexico, in Italy, in France, the triumph of Vietnam. It is not the conclusion of the triumph of Vietnam, it came from before that, but Vietnam accelerated it.

Apparently there are no great changes after the defeat of Yankee Imperialism in Vietnam. All of humanity considered that Imperialism was defeated in Vietnam. The concrete form of its going has been formulated. But still it has not gone and it is not going to go. It is a defeat which they have to admit, because they don't have the historic strength to sustain themselves in the way that they did sustain themselves, making continuous assassinations and invasions. Imperialism has been defeated by humanity. In humanity we also include the American masses. This shows that in the communist parties there is not the concern to discuss, to draw conclusions, to measure the immense progress of the possibilities: to bring down the capitalist system. There is a preoccupation of replacing the capitalist system, and this is expressed in Italy, in France, partly in Japan, partly in Latin-America, proceeding by accumulating, utilising gradually, circumstances actually, temporarily the force of opposition to the capitalist system, in order to go to power. But as they do not analyse the process of history, nor see the effects which the revolution has in the smallest to the biggest countries, they cannot see Uruguay. They cannot see that the Uruguayan army is capable of giving a blow, for the same reasons that the American masses supported Vietnam, that the Italian masses supported the Communist Party, and the Socialist Party, it is for the same reasons! As there is not a party in Uruguay, which exerts this representation, the army does it. They are the same conditions, the same base, the same dynamic material conditions of history, which determine this behaviour.

The communist parties do not understand, they are overwhelmed by this. We appeal to the Communist Party, so that it puts order inside itself. It is inadmissible that papers such as Humanite of the French Communist Party, say that the coup of Uruguay is "a fascist movement, of apprenticeship for the coup d'etat". When there was Peron they also said that he was a fascist. Ceausescu and the Chinese now receive Peron. And Peron gives a programme, which is the opposite to fascism. It is not a proletarian, nor an anti-capitalist programme, but it is a programme, which is opposed to the capitalist system, inevitably it is opposed. The communist parties cannot understand this process. It bypasses them, because they don't have either theoretical or political, or programmatic preparation, and this is going to be a very strong interior blow, which is going to shake it up, to make it feel that it is mistaken because it doesn't have the instrument to interpret, nor the cultural marxist preparation. It is not an error, it is incapacity, because they don't have the method. With this there is no place for errors. One is only mistaken when there is no method of interpretation, and they believe that they represent history. In order to represent history, they have to have the programme, the policy, the tactic and the necessary objective. In Uruguay, in the middle of the campaign of the CNT (Confederacion Nacional de Trabajadores, the workers T.U. centre), which mobilised against the directives of the Communist Party, the military made a coup, basing itself on these mobilisations.

The military did not invent the masses. The military demonstrated that they have quite a political sense, because basing themselves on all these mobilisations, on the strikes and the stoppages, they came out, certain that people were not going to be against them. The military didn't rise just to see what would happen. They didn't have this decision—they could do it in the war, but they don't make wars anymore either. But they rose doubly confident—because they had seen the masses, the strikes, the stoppages, the mobilisations, the factory occupations. In the midst of all the repressive laws, all Uruguay stopped, and they have just made a complete general stoppage. The military say, "We are rising." They rose because they were certain that the masses were going to accompany them. There was no room to be mistaken, or to act with closed eyes.

One must take into account that this

is Uruguay. It has little weight economically, but politically it has quite a weight. One must consider that the military coup has been made with the participation, with the support, with the good complicity of the nationalist military of Argentina. It is a blow in Uruguay, which reaches Argentina. It modifies the relationship of forces in Argentina. It is going to impel Allende, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina above all. And it is going to impel Brazil as well. It still has a timid programme, but it is "Peruvian", there is no room to doubt that, and they propose one point, which even not being very important, in itself is going to have enormous consequences; investigate the illicit wealth. This signifies making a judgement against the capitalist system. It already did this once before. It is a judgement against the capitalist system. This must be a point of agreement with all the military. Because of this they insist on this point as being fundamental. There has to be a whole lot of people who are in agreement with this and unify themselves; but in addition to this they say: agrarian reform and workers participation. And they pose that they would intervene only in some cases in the student movement, but they don't say whether they are for or against. They have a programme of government, which they cannot carry out staying on the sidelines. Which indicates that they are going to go much further.

We appeal to the Communist Party, to the socialists, to all the popular movement, to support this movement; to create a general mobilisation, and a public discussion, to extend such a programme, to develop a campaign for democratic liberties immediately. The elimination of all repressive laws, full and complete democratic and TU liberty, discussion of an economic programme for Uruguay, against the monopolies, against the wealthy, for the agrarian reform, and for the expropriation for all those who illicitly enrich themselves in the capitalist system. Uruguay is one of the countries, where the most trade in contraband has been done in the last period.

It is necessary to make a public discussion. Not demanding of the army that it transforms the economy now, but discuss it. To make a discussion, a public popular assembly, and discuss; where is Uruguay going? Bring out the experiences of Chile, and of Peru: a discussion in which all the population participates, for economic restructuring. An appeal to the Argentine military, so that it does the same thing. Appeal to them! Make a whole mobilisation in which is posed the mobilisation of the masses, so as—in a later stage to advance the level of the slogans. Not to make the slogans of overthrowing the capitalist system. Posing the highest democratic slogans which can be reached. It is necessary to make the internal discussion in the army mature. The strikes, the stoppages in Uruguay have been the most important ones in all history.

The nationalist military coup, which proposes measures, which are an obstacle, an opposition to the capitalist system, open a new stage. It doesn't open a process, but a new stage of the process is in the constant growth of the Communists, of the Socialists, of the crisis of the Socialist Party, which divided some years ago into two parties, and one leaned towards revolutionary positions, getting closer, or tending to understand better. And from the Frente Amplio up to now has been a stage of the most continuous, most consistent, most victorious strikes of the Uruguayan masses. The government triumphed in the elections. The Frente Amplio drew scarcely 20% of the votes. But in the strikes, the Frente Amplio mobilised 80% of the population. The police, the government, unleashed the most powerful repression.

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RY COUP AND THE CLASS IN URUGUAY

11 February 1973 J. Posadas

jailing, violating, murdering in the open streets. But they didn't succeed in intimidating. The so-called Tupamaros did the greatest inquiries. In the middle of the strike movement, of expropriation of the Frente Amplio, of triumph and ascent of the strike, the incorporation of greater and greater layers of the population in strikes; in spite of the low percentage in the elections, it was an immense success, because it was twice as much as the votes won by the whole of the participants of the Frente Amplio, previously. There was a whole quantity of strikes, uninterruptedly, attracting all the sectors of the population, from the peasants, up to the teachers, the doctors, the scientific leaders, everyone, and continuous solidarity communication and intercommunication developed between all the strikes. And the Tupamaros rose up to repress, kill one bourgeois or another, one policeman or another. The police wanted to show that the Tupamaros was the axis of the mass mobilisations. But when the big strikes began, it put an end to the Tupamaros.

The Tupamaros never made one strike, nor tried to make one strike. They did not mobilise a single sector of public opinion. They were not capable of making a single mobilisation, which would interest the strike movement. They were all movements, which were distant from the class, which did not serve, nor help, nor influence, nor extend the strikes and mobilisations, which were the most complete of the whole history of Uruguay. The Tupamaros were distant from all this. When there were all the conditions for a movement, starting from protest origins, to have somewhere to join up and include itself, they were distant from all this. The army liquidated the Tupamaros without having denounced, who the Tupamaros were. To liquidate them they showed that they had no origin in the working class.

The military coup in Uruguay already has led to a definition. If the Bordaberry government accepted it, it is because the highest levels of capitalism, have deliberated, and have opted for the lesser evil, so that it (capitalism) remains, that parliaments remain, trying to disintegrate the cohesion of the coup, this is their strategy. But on their side, when the military does not go further, it is because they do not encounter the support of the civilians, in the Communist Party, and in the Trade Unions. All the forces, and the conditions are for progress of this revolution. The military did not make the uprising in an improvised way, they were impelled by favourable conditions, impelled by the struggle of the masses, by the stoppages, by the strikes, by the world situation, by the process of Argentina and Chile. While the government only has the capacity of manoeuvre, basing itself on the timidity of the military movement. Therefore it is necessary to make an appeal that the population rise, that it supports the coup, and posing the elimination of all the restrictive and repressive laws, calling for complete democratic rights, a plan of production, which all the people discuss. This is a deceitful parliament, which is selling the economy, breaking up the country. What is the parliament for? The timidity of the military in dissolving parliament is, because they feel that they don't have any civil strength. It is a fault of the trade unions, of the Communist Party and the Socialists.

It is necessary to make an appeal so that this movement, this organism, which has given such an impulse continues it and carries it further forward so that the civilians, the parties, the trade unions, participate with this anti-imperialist programme of elimination of all the repressive laws, of terrorism against the workers movement, against the rights of democracy, full democratic liberty for all the masses, programme of increase of salaries, sliding scale of wages, workers control, workers councils, a programme of nationalisations of sharing out the land, of appropriation by the state of the principle enterprises. A series of points which coincide with what the military wants, starting from there in order to go further forward.

It is a coup, a lesson for, and moreover an accusation against the workers, communist and socialist parties, which have been incapable of understanding the situation which there was. Our party, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)

Uruguayan Section of the IV International has been saying systematically, since the formation of the Frente Amplio: there is just such a situation of combativity, of combative will. It is necessary to appeal for a mobilisation, but it's necessary to give them confidence that in effect there is a decision to mobilise. It is necessary to give them confidence. It is necessary to intervene, and appeal to the Communist and Socialist Parties to make a rectification of their errors, of not having understood what was in process of developing. When, if they had organised a movement, calling for a rising, it would have animated sectors much before the uprising of the army. It shows how the historic intervals are lengthened because the socialist and communists do not understand this. This was already there, it didn't happen from one day to the other. It is a process, which was already there with the triumph of the Frente Amplio. The only ones who saluted the votes to the Frente Amplio in the elections was us. The Frente Amplio itself was depressed.

It is evident from every point of view, that there was a force superior to what the working class was employing, which didn't have a leadership. Because of this the military based themselves on the big strikes, in the continuity in the decision of the strikes. It is necessary to take into account these strikes, which go from the smallest agricultural workers, to the highest functionaries. The doctors, the greatest medical chiefs, made strikes and with good reason. They have made interventions, and given free medical attention out in the streets. They met in a public square, and gave public courses. And with this action it was demonstrated that they had no need of the class rooms or the great buildings to teach, or to learn. The masses learn in this way, in the area, in the street, in the factory, in the party and in the TU. This event influences in the form of organisation, in the education and activity. This nationalist military coup of Uruguay is an event of very great importance. Still there is not a coup d'etat, but there is a state such that the coup

is going to inevitably lead to a programmatic ascent.

From the first proposals, which were of changing ministers to the present programme, it has to be accompanied with: who directs this programme? They cannot give it to Bordaberry, so that he does it. It is impossible. One cannot give it to the president of the big monopolies, so that he makes a government against them. Neither is Bordaberry going to accept it, nor are the military going to permit it. They have to overthrow him. Thus it is necessary to see: that in the next struggles they will overthrow him. It is necessary to intervene in this, for a government, which represents all the popular tendencies based on a programme. A programme, which goes from a series of economic measures, of expropriation, of control of the masses, of sliding scale of wages, of sliding scale of hours of work, of investment, of production, of sharing out the land, of expropriation of the great riches, which is part of the agrarian reform. Monopoly of foreign trade intervention of the workers in production: planning of production, for an elevated and complete democracy in the country, the right of press speech, ideas, right of discussion and of organisation.

The IV International, the Uruguayan Section of the IV International makes this appeal to the military comrades.

This nationalist military coup in Uruguay is going to influence a lot in Chile, in Peru, in Argentina. It has a direct link. It is necessary to be based on this for all our activity in Argentina, of the Argentine Section, and of the Argentine masses, who are going to feel more animated to centralise themselves to liquidate those candidates which don't have a programme, which as a minimum is like that of Uruguay. This coup is going to push the Peronist wing and Peron to the left. One must take into account that Peron is in Rumania.

In Brazil there is a judge in the supreme court, who has been a member of ARENA (a bourgeois party founded by the military, after the coup of 1964), who posed fundamental changes in the laws,

because he says they are unjust, and that they are repressive laws, which can no longer be permitted. When this guy shouts out it is because other people are shouting, and he is an echo of this.

This coup of Uruguay is a very important event, which shows how very small countries, like Uruguay can develop with a very great economic crisis, where for two months they didn't eat meat, through the incompetence of capitalism to develop the economy. It is impotent. It is not only incapable of governing, incapable of leading—with all the means, which they have—but moreover, it is leading agriculture to a complete disaster. Uruguay is a country, which lives from the export of meat. Now they say they don't have any meat. It is a lie! They are tricks which they do. In Uruguay some years back there appeared, what they called, the paper cows. A man had a quantity of cows, he sold them to someone else, and he signed passing over the cows on paper. This was then passed on to another one, and then on to yet another. There were 300,000 cows, which were circulating on paper, but which did not exist. For the state, for the administration they were cows on paper nothing more. The Communists brought this out to the light afterwards. This shows at the same time, how in countries with such complications and economic crisis, it is the working class, its action, and its will, which expresses the world progress of the revolution, dynamises, maintains constantly the energy, the conscious, constant, dynamism and activity of the masses, and it prevents capitalism finding the means to be able to strike at and divide the population. It is the working class with its struggle which unifies. At this moment it has been the working class and its struggle.

The petit bourgeoisie, who voted for the government, for the Blancos, made the struggle against the government and against the Blancos. This indicates, as in Italy, that the Catholic workers masses vote for the government party, but in the strikes, they go on strike with the others. Because the workers parties don't

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Extracts from Nham Dan the paper of the Communist Party of North Vietnam

We publish these extracts from Nham Dan, organ of the North Vietnamese communists, which show a remarkable level in their communist spirit and understanding. They show that partial regeneration in some respects reaches a level almost of total regeneration, and this article reflects not just the situation in Vietnam, but a whole tendency throughout the Workers States. The objective needs of the world revolution, of the further development of the Workers States, the struggle against imperialism demands the communist way of life, demands proletarian internationalism, and the continuous spirit of optimism, and identification with the struggle of humanity everywhere to be rid of private property, and the social relations it induces. The extracts show that the inevitable advance towards socialism requires marxism, and the inevitable logical conclusion of the line of NHAM DAN is the complete and organic incorporation of the IV International, the Posadist-Trotskyists within the international communist movement, for the total victory of world communism.

An important international, political event of a profound significance, has just taken place in the conference of foreign ministers of the non allied countries in Georgetown, capital of Guyana. ... The movement for independence, which has developed without ceasing, is already an historic tendency, which forms with the two other tendencies—towards socialism and towards peace and democracy—a great revolutionary current, and is shaking imperialism and colonialism to its foundations. The revolutionary torrent continues to develop in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Neo colonialism is an important part of the global policy of US imperialism. From the end of the second world war, it has been its objective to substitute its neo colonialism for the old colonialism of the other imperialist powers in Asia, Africa, Latin America, to transform these great areas of the world into rearwards of US imperialism, and into platforms to contain and attack the socialist countries. Nevertheless this strategy is an anachronistic one existing in a situation, where the world is undergoing final changes; the system of the socialist countries is already the factor which determines the road of development of human society. Imperialism and colonialism, condemned by history, are in

complete crisis, and on the path of disintegration. The subjected people have risen up to recover their independence and liberty.

We live in an epoch where the invincible revolutionary ideas of marxism/leninism have won the mind and heart of hundreds of millions of people, where scientific socialism has become a living reality for more than a thousand million people and influences profoundly the line of development of history.

Our generation for whom history has reserved a special happiness, has been witness to great successive revolutionary changes, which have not been seen for hundreds or thousands of years. In the space of a few years one has seen the explosion and the triumph of a revolution, and the birth of various independent countries.

But the expansion, which has been produced at this moment, is a product of a world situation which changed; the revolutionary forces, although they must overcome many difficulties in their march forward, continue growing, whilst imperialism has to confront a new period of general crisis. At all levels; the crisis develops acutely at the present moment in the United States, the principle bastion and ultimate support of US imperialism. The numerous failures suffered on all sides by US imperialism, among

which are the failures in Vietnam, have transformed it into a "colossus with feet of clay" in the United States itself, where the popular masses, above all the youth, demand a change of policy.

For the American imperialists, reconciliation is only a perfidious policy to realise its objective, of aggression, coercion, subversion and of a peaceful evolution for new activities, that is to say, for the application of the Nixon doctrine. The imperialists apply a policy of reconciliation in relation to some great powers, to have their hands free to consolidate their forces, to oppose the revolutionary movements in the world, to repress the internal revolution, to oppress the small countries, to break the movement of national liberation without abandoning in any way the plan for the preparation of a new world war.

For the socialist countries the defence of peace, of peaceful coexistence cannot be separated from the movement for independence, democracy and socialism throughout the world. When one is only concerned with the 'immediate egoistic interests' of one country, it not only prejudices the revolutionary movements of other countries, but also, in the last instance, prejudices immensely the high internationalist obligations. The vitality of Marxism/Leninism, and of proletarian internationalism transmits itself above all through revolutionary actions, and not simply through words. At the present moment in the world we have many examples to show that the opposition between the authentic interests of one nation, and the common interest of the world revolution almost does not exist.

The existence and the development of the world socialist system is the factor determining the tendency of the development of history. Nevertheless this tendency will be a reality only with the persistent revolutionary struggle of thousands of millions of human beings.

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do anything to gain them. They do some things, but with an erroneous policy. Thus as it is necessary to define the attitude of the class and of the catholic sector, it is not through the votes for the government, but through its class attitude, which it expresses more completely through the strikes and the stoppages. In the vote for the government, it is not the class which votes, it is the social conclusion of the necessities which it has, and to which it does not see a reply on the other hand. It sees it as if it is a problem of number, of quantity, of parliamentary development. But not in the strikes. It sees that it intervenes and decides as in the factory and in the trade union. But not in the voting.

In Uruguay, on a parliamentary level the Frente Amplio was a minority, while socially it had triple the majority. As the socialists and communists do not utilise the TU and political force, which they have to mobilise the masses for the taking of power, the army did it basing themselves on this. The army based themselves on this, not on its own forces. It is a same as this in all the world. As now the coup, which is coming in Argentina is the same. With the advantage, in Argentina, that there is already an organised workers movement with tradition, and which is straining to intervene.

This nationalist military coup in Uruguay, is the drop, which makes the glass overflow—in Uruguay all the water of all Latin America has accumulated. Part of this water is the recent decision of Allende to correct his relation with the masses. The economic correction doesn't have much importance, but his correction with the masses, has stimulated more decided open attitudes of the masses against the capitalist system. This event of Uruguay contributes in a very pronounced form to the partial regeneration, but in a critical form, and one of crisis.

This event of Uruguay shows that there are forces, which are not communist, and which have a great usefulness and strength for the progress of history. This appeal we make to the Communist Party, to speed up the rhythm of the process; this is a process which came from before, you didn't see it, communist comrades whilst we did. The letters and articles of Frente Obrero, of our section say, take into account the will of combat of the masses, communist comrades.

The communists were insensible to this. This is going to have an effect, and we will seek that it has a clear, pronounced, public and open effect in the communist parties. One must take this example, be it for France, Italy, for all the world. The communists do not understand this process and squander the events which dynamise and elevate the progress of the world class and revolutionary struggle.

It is necessary to intervene in the communist parties. Their position on Uruguay is not an error, it is a lack of marxist preparation to understand the process of history. It is a bureaucratic interpretation of the process of history, this coup of Uruguay is going to have an immense influence, and is going to weigh on the communist parties. One must understand that there is movement and forces, which are based on, which emerge from the world relationship of forces, favourable to the revolution constantly. From all points of view. And this animates forces to intervene, in such small countries, with such small means, it animates forces to be decided to intervene, counting on the strikes, the stoppages, the opposition of the masses to the government. As the Uruguayan army did. They support themselves on this strength. Their decision is not their own, their decision comes from this process, which the Uruguayan masses transmit with their security and necessity for progress. The Uruguayan masses express the world process, the relation of world forces synthesised in Vietnam, and it is necessary to assess on this basis.

Whatever might be the immediate consequences, this nationalist military coup in Uruguay will go forward. There is an internal fight. We appeal to the communist parties to intervene publicly, supporting the left wing of this movement, appealing to it to progress, appealing to it to call upon the population with the programme, which we have said. Let the masses intervene directly, as they intervene directly in the Argentine, in support of the left tendency of Peronism. Let them intervene directly!

This movement in Uruguay is much more profound than what is now expressed. When the military do this, it is because in their minds, they want to go much further, but they do not know

how. It is necessary to help them to do this. It is necessary to come out in support, and win a sector rapidly. If now there was a mass mobilisation in Uruguay, it would have an immense transcendent importance, when it could be seen that a small country may influence all Latin America: Chile, Peru and above all Argentina.

Our small Uruguayan Section, which publishes so much, is maintaining in all the numbers of Frente Obrero appeals directed to the Communist Party: "Communist comrades, you must support yourselves on this magnificent demonstration of the will to combat of the Uruguayan masses, who in the full spate of repression, without leadership call strikes and occupy factories". The party sent an open letter to the CNT to develop a plan of strikes, and of occupations and the CNT supported. The CNT made a whole campaign of mobilisations of the Uruguayan masses, which prepared this military nationalist blow.

This influences the communist parties and favours our intervention. It intensifies the internal decomposition of the right, of the timid sectors, of the oscillating sectors, and affirms the tendency which seeks to stimulate revolutionary measures. It is necessary to be based on this process to intensify, to deepen our intervention within and outside the communist parties. Intensify it! Intensify it! It is a total process. The will of the communist masses expresses this process. They do not explain it consciously, but they are an expression of this process. The communist party expressed it in a distant way, but also supports itself on this. As it does not have the method, does not have the prepared party, it cannot draw these magnificent conclusions which give as a result the nationalist military coup in Uruguay.

It is necessary to appeal to the communists: you do not have the party prepared to understand, what happened in Bolivia, what happened in Peru, where six months afterwards, they came to understand that it was not a gorilla blow. Neither in Bolivia, or Peru, has the communist party an importance, the process passes them by. It is necessary to take this for intervention, internal discussion in the communist parties. Not to criticise the fact that they do not understand, because they do not have the interpretation of the forces of history. But they lack the method. There is no marxist party, they lack method. If not, they would have seen that such a revolutionary process influences and stimulates the military to intervene.

Through its nature, the army is a servant of capitalism. But the nature of the army arose, developed, was structured when the capitalist regime was the only one. Now, there are 14 Workers States, 16 revolutionary states, the masses of France and Italy who exert pressure on society, the defeat of Imperialism in Vietnam; all factors which disintegrate the centralisation, and the structure of the army. And it has reached countries like Bolivia, like Peru, and soon other countries. Undoubtedly, it is a slow struggle, very timid, because they were expecting that they would reach stages through military. But before they used their post to repress, now they used them to throw out reactionaries or the timid.

When the military decided to intervene, it is because they saw the climate, saw it in the barracks, in the street and in the trade unions. The declaration of the military in Uruguay is fundamental, when they say "with respect to the strikes we will not intervene, save in very exceptional cases", they are seeking the support of the working class. It is saying to them "we are not against you". At the same time there is another sector which says "Eh a moment!" They are speaking in a very clear language. It is necessary to welcome this decision, this language.

This is going to have a great influence, a very profound influence on partial regeneration. The bases of the changes of the influences in the communist parties, of the will of the masses of the world must be considered as an expression of the centralised world process, without leadership. In not having a conscious leadership, it does not have a process of advance, of extension that might have points of support, that might foresee and organise the mass of events, but it is empirical. It does not have in consequence all the power of the elements, of the factors which constitute, which are the will of the masses, science, technique, the progress of the crisis of capitalism, all the factors, which determine a continuous progress. And at the same time in the communist parties the power of this is not expressed. It is expressed in a very distant way. But the essential base is the world structure. In this we reiterate; contradictions of

IRELAND

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ion etc.—which was more than Fianna Fail did. This also explains the failure of the revolutionary nationalist sectors (Sinn Fein etc.) to gain votes. A policy for a united Ireland without clearly formulated social policy is clearly not enough. Nevertheless, the whole tradition of anti-imperialist struggle in the twenty six counties is by no means dead, witness, for example, the votes gained by Neil Blaney and Charles Haughey, the two ministers of the Fianna Fail government dismissed in 1970 over the supply of arms to the North, who represent a militant wing of Fianna Fail. The results of the elections show that the Irish masses are aware that the question of a United Ireland cannot be considered outside the context of what would be the social character of a United Ireland.

Also the twenty six counties of the South of Ireland cannot be considered outside what is developing in the rest of the British Isles and, beyond that, the whole world process of the revolution. The repressive measures taken by Fianna Fail are related to the crisis of British imperialism, which still has an extensive economic control over Eire. These measures were a preparation for an extension of repression, which exists in the six counties of the North. A level of repression, which even sectors of the bourgeoisie cannot stomach, because they fear the reaction of the masses. Thus 'The Times' (3/3/73) carried a report dealing with the existence of assassination squads of British troops in civilian clothes. It also produced a mass of evidence, showing that these squads, who are directly responsible to the General Officer Commanding the British Army in the North, were responsible for the 'Chicago' style shootings of unarmed workers. In all 'The Times' produces sufficient evidence to show that the 'sectarian' murders of the last period are the work of British Imperialism. The fact that a bourgeois journal like 'The Times' reveals this indicates the level of internal conflict and disintegration of British Imperialism.

The attitude of British Imperialism and its intentions to use similar methods in Britain is revealed by the statement of Whitelaw, who said that there is no difference between workers on strike in this country and 'extremists' in Northern Ireland. The implication being that the same methods should be used against both. This is supported by the statement of Prof. Clutterbuck (a sort of university Kitson) who said that the 'Diplock' proposals for Northern Ireland would have to be used in Britain eventually. There is, clearly, a necessity to unify the struggle in Ireland (North and South) with the workers struggle in Britain. The conference of the ICTU (Irish Congress of Trade Union) in Dublin recently was a reaction to this necessity. They invited the TUC and political organisations from the North to discuss 'common problems'. The preoccupation to formulate a common working class policy for the whole of the British Isles is a correct one, even if the conference itself was limited in as much as only the most 'respectable' political organisations—those who were represented in Stormont—were invited.

the capitalist system, the world weakness of the capitalist system are intensified. As it does not have a political, social, military solution, it has to struggle internally. It is this, which it is necessary to see clearly and it is decisive to understand. It is the combination of the process of the revolution and of the process of decadence, disintegration and crisis of the capitalist system. The two together. It is not one, or the other, or one and the other joined together, or parallel, no. It is a symbiosis, where the process of the revolution influences the capitalist system.

J. POSADAS 11-2-73

ed. This conference of the ICTU and the intervention of a delegation of British workers in Derry in January are steps towards a unification of the struggle of the British and Irish workers.

It is clear that a comprehensive anti-capitalist programme is necessary, a programme which envisages nationalisation of the land, major industry, banks etc. as the basis for the solution of the problems of the masses, as the basis for the unification of the British and Irish masses. However, an immediate demand which, even if it is transitional, can serve to unify the struggle is a campaign for the end of the 'fascist laws' in the twenty six counties of the South and the six counties of the North, and the prevention of their being adopted in Britain. This is an immediate and common problem facing the masses of the whole British Isles.

We appeal for the calling of a conference of all the workers and anti-imperialist organisations in Ireland and Britain—the Trade Unions, the Labour Parties, SDLP, both wings of Sinn Fein, the left of Fianna Fail etc.—to discuss and organise a campaign against the 'fascist laws'. In particular we direct an appeal to the Irish Communist Party to take an initiative in this, working closely with the British Communist Party. We appeal for such a conference, such a campaign not as an end in itself, although it is a necessary struggle, but as a step towards the unification of the struggle of the British and Irish masses, for a United Ireland of 32 counties as part of a United Socialist Britain within the system of a United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

4th March 1973

EDITORIAL

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a series of economic struggles, but a process, which goes towards the struggles for power. This means that the prime task confronting the workers vanguard is the construction of organisms, which answer the need of the situation. As we have said before, there is a necessity for the construction of committees, which link the factory strength of the class with the TUs, and with the population in the workers areas. Already the Trades Councils play this role in a limited way, and there is a necessity to raise in these organisms a discussion on how dual power—which is in the consciousness of the workers—as the factory occupations show, can be imposed. A major confrontation with the government is inevitable, and the lack of organisms is not going to prevent it, but the construction now of these organisms is going to make the process more rapid and less costly to the class. With the construction of the organisms goes the formulation of a programme, which needs to incorporate demands, which attract all the exploited population. Primarily, in conditions of rising unemployment and inflation, are necessary the demands for a sliding scale of wages (all wages to rise with the cost of living), and a sliding scale of working hours (a reduction of working hours, work sharing without loss of pay, no sackings). The demands put forward by the TUC/LP document can be supported particularly in respect to control of prices, but with committees of workers and other sectors of the population to impose it, and the nationalisation of building land. However, the programme of the LP is far superior, containing as it does, demands for the nationalisation of major industries, the land, banks and insurance companies, and it is on this programme that the General Strike, which is coming, and all the mobilisations of the masses must be based.

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With the Party we
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TROTSKY

The substitution of
the bourgeois state
by the proletarian
state is not poss-
ible without violent
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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 179 4th Friday of March 1973 PRICE 3p

**Viva the victory
of the Peronists
in Argentina**

MAKE THE T.U.C. DAY OF ACTION A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE WITH FACTORY OCCUPATIONS, DEMON- STRATIONS & MASS MEETINGS

The resolution for a Day of Action, taken at the recent Recall Conference marks a historic advance for the whole of the working class movement. The defeat for the leadership of the TUC in not being able to pursue their policy, the changes in procedure, which took place within the Conference, the resolution proposing a national Day of Action, shows that in all the organisms of the class, the rank and file is now being able to gain more control over its leadership, is making its leadership do more what the rank and file want it to do. With all the strikes, which develop in the country, the process goes inevitably towards a general strike. But still there are limitations in this process, it is not organised, it has no leadership, it is empirical. But nevertheless, this is the way the process goes, and all the actions of the class strengthen this.

Each day the new strikes and actions of the class push their leaderships into making new, more audacious policies, into calling more official strikes, into supporting and uniting strike actions as has never happened before. For instance, a good example of this is the support, which the hospital workers are receiving from all the class, the call which the TUC has made to all the Trades Councils in the country, calling on them to make demonstrations in every town in support of the hospital workers, calling them to make strikes, to collect money etc. This call comes after many successful strikes by the hospital workers, who nevertheless feel that they don't control any of the vital centres of the economy, and therefore can't hurt the government directly by their strike, and therefore to extend their strike in the best possible way, they see the necessity of appealing to the miners, the dockers, the car workers, the engineers etc., those sectors who can have an immediate effect upon the government.

This appeal by the TUC must be utilised to the full, we appeal to all Trades Councils to call emergency meetings to discuss how best they can organise, strikes, demonstrations, collections of money, how best they can help the hospital workers. It is necessary to see that it is not only a question of hospital workers, but of all the sectors in struggle against the Tory government, and that all the actions organised in support of the hospital workers, will not only be of benefit for them, but will be a stimulus and encouragement to all the class for the National Day of Action. At all the meetings of the trades councils and union branches in the next week resolutions must be sent to the TUC, urging them to announce when the Day of Action is to take place, calling for a 24 hour General Strike on that day, with factory occupations, and massive public meetings in every town throughout the country. The leadership of the TUC has called this Day of Action, but it was not an action, which they wanted to take, and they have shown a great reluctance to announce a date for it. All the organisms of the class must weigh on this question, so that the TUC is forced to call a date soon. And even before this date is announced preparat-

ions can begin. Discuss in the Trades Councils, Action Committees, TU branches, in the factories, in the shop stewards committees, in order to make a plan of action, of co-ordinated demonstrations, occupying the factories, and inviting all the local population to the factories, public meetings in every town, where the Labour Party members of parliament and the local labour councillors are invited, so that the positions they have taken in the most recent period, can be discussed. Prepare now to make the Day of Action a day of celebration of the class, with banners, slogans, red flags, decorate the factories, organise for massive demonstrations.

What stands out in this spate of strike actions at the moment is the way in which the Tories, are, at least on the surface, almost ignoring them. There are no rushed meetings, between TU leaders and members of the Cabinet, meetings between TU leaders, employers and government ministers. The Tories are hardly intervening at all—apart from making vague threatening speeches—they have nothing to offer, they know that when they give in to one sector of the class, then their Phase Two will be finished, and so will they, and so they have to hold this position at all costs.

They have no social authority with which to intervene, they have only the forces of intimidation and repression. This was seen at the court in Shrewsbury last week, when the building workers were in court, and hundreds of workers came to demonstrate outside the court, and the police outnumbered the demonstrators. It is seen in the proposed Diplock Commission of "fascist" laws, which the Tories are preparing to bring in for N. Ireland and which inevitably they will bring in here as well, and with the methods which they have used against the 10 young people, whom they arrested at Heathrow Airport, and held in Ealing police station for 4 days without letting them see a solicitor, or even having contact with anyone, the struggle is now becoming more openly, and the bomb explosions, for which they are held, are crude police provocations class against class, and the working class has to use new and improved methods of combat to prepare to meet this. In order to organise in face of this type of

police repression the class has to co-ordinate its actions more, make more use of the mass pickets and the flying pickets, unite one sector of the class with another, so that the police cannot simply pick off one sector at a time.

The weakness of the Tories is a product of all the world defeats of Imperialism. From the retreat of US Imperialism and its allies from Vietnam, to all the latest electoral successes of the Socialist and Social Democratic parties, the latest examples being Chile and France. In Chile Allende increased his popular vote to 44%, thus showing that not only the working class and poor peasantry approve of his policies, but also wider

sectors of the more prosperous petit bourgeoisie, who see that the only way forward for them and for Chile, is in a progress which goes towards the creation of a Workers State, where more and more of the economy is nationalised, where there is control of the export and import markets, and where there are increasing links with the Workers States. Also in France the bourgeoisie has suffered a tremendous defeat, a defeat from which they will never recover, they officially govern the country, although the alliance of the Communists and Socialists won over two million more votes than they won, already there has been talk

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The triumph of the popular union expresses the will of the masses to struggle for power in France

The results of the French elections are a tremendous blow against French and World Capitalism, and a triumph for the working class. They have shown the existence of a powerful anti-capitalist social movement, lead by the working class, which wanted to win the elections, not for reforms, but as means of advancing towards power. It is a part of the world historic tendency, which has expressed itself in all the recent elections as an advance for the socialist and communist left in Germany, Japan, New Zealand, Australia and Chile. Since the French elections this tendency is reinforced by the crushing victory of the Peronists in Argentina, on a programme, which includes nationalisation of the banks and recognition of North Vietnam.

If the Popular Union (the alliance of the Communists, Socialists, and left Radicals) has not succeeded in going to the government in France, it is because the elections are certainly a swindle, but also because certain sectors of society, the abstainers, and those who voted for the centre reform party, and who expressed in this way a lack of confidence, and even a hostility to the bourgeoisie, still feared to pass completely to the camp of the working class. They could have been attracted, their lack of confidence could have been overcome, if the Popular Union had called more meetings, more mobilisations, so that the working class could have shown its decision to go to the power. This wavering sector could be attracted by mobilisations, not by polemics, but there were no mobilisations. Since the enormous demonstration of the 1st of December not one big national meeting was called in the name of the Popular Union, when in particular the week between the first and second round of the elections should have been week of triumphant demonstrations. During that week all the European bourgeoisie was terrified; they kept the money markets closed during that week because they did not want to show their insecurity, particularly to those sectors of French society who still were wavering in their decision to support the bourgeoisie. This showed the favourability of the conditions for the working class to have attracted those sectors.

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The new crisis of the dollar, the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and the necessity for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist world united front

14-2-1973 J. Posadas

INTRODUCTION

This new text of Cde Posadas is of fundamental importance in placing the dollar crisis within the total perspective of the struggle of system against system. There are many diagnoses of the present dollar crisis, which deal with the various technical aspects of reserve currencies etc., but none give a clear perspective on the outcome of these problems, and the relation between the financial and the socio political and economic aspects of the crisis of the whole of capitalist society. It is of prime importance to understand why it is that capitalist society has to endure such crises one after the other showing all the inability and feebleness of the system, has to tear itself to pieces in trade wars because it cannot afford the luxury—what was at one time a necessity—of inter capitalist military wars, but in the worst conditions of inter capitalist commercial conflict has to prepare for the only war it must have—with the Workers States and the world masses. Posadas points to the gravity of this conflict, and that it will inevitably lead—whatever pump priming is undertaken—to persistent attacks on the standards of life of the masses, and in one or other country mass unemployment.

Britain bears out all this prognosis—massive inflation to reduce the standard of life of the masses, large pockets of unemployment, vicious competition with other capitalist economies. Above all we see sectors of the capitalist class sedulously trying to encourage fascist currents, inside and outside the state apparatus, preparing repression jettisoning all the normal restraints of bourgeois law, as part of the international efforts of capitalism to prepare the ground for national and international repression.

In this situation, however, which is one of the crisis of decay of the capitalist system, and of the crisis of growth of the Workers State and the world socialist revolution, the vanguard has the full opportunity to open the way to the transformation of the Labour Party into a real revolutionary workers party, based on the trade unions, and to apply through its own independent functioning in its class organisms the measures to combat capitalism's attempt to unload its own crisis onto the backs of the masses—all wages to rise with the cost of living, all the profits of automation to the workers, imposition of workers control over hiring, firing, and the rhythm of work, no worker to be dismissed etc. All this must be associated with the organisation of massive general strikes, linking together all aspects of the anti capitalist programme, all the organisms of the class to impose a left labour government on the anti capitalist programme, with the organised left leadership, taking power in the LP, and liquidating competely all remnants of capitalism in the Party.

18. 3. 73

This currency crisis is the crisis of the world capitalist system. Capitalism is preparing the atomic war, because it does not find a solution in the commercial war. Every commercial war is the anticipation of war by military measures. But as they cannot launch the war between themselves, they are going to launch it against the Workers States. Thus they are going to do what the fascists did: to seek the support of the rest of the capitalist countries to throw themselves against the USSR. This is the general conclusion, which must be anticipated from this crisis of the monetary system.

It does not have an economic solution. There is a mass of money which is the product of the crisis of the capitalist system. Previously for less dollars a war was launched. Now they have to swallow it. They wanted to eat Vietnam and they failed. Now they have to make a dollar invasion. And the invasion of dollars is going to produce inevitably—there is no thing, which may stop it—an alteration in the present relations of the capitalist system. This invasion of dollars means that the North American economy has an unhealthy base, which means a devaluation of at least 30%. And North American capitalism wants to make the rest of the capitalist world pay for the war in Vietnam, the counter revolutionary war, and also its own weakness in competition with stronger capitalist powers, as Germany and Japan, are in part.

It is an intensification of the contradictions of the capitalist system, which in not being able to resolve them with the war (because there are the Workers States, and they fear a war among themselves, which would favour the Workers States) is going to express itself in every way in very deep internal crises, in fascist tendencies in North America, Japan, Germany, Britain, to make strong governments to impose in the

name of big capital, what in Vietnam they were not able to do. And they are not going to be able to do it now. The crisis in the capitalist system is going to intensify enormously, and it is going to favour all the intervention of the masses. It is necessary to foresee this process, this course in a short stage.

They cannot maintain the level of the dollar. Expenses of Vietnam are between 80 and 120 million dollars. It is not only the case of Vietnam, it is the contained crisis of capitalism which it defers by means of administrative and economic measures. The contradictions and the inter capitalist competition are intensifying. The competition is expressed in the invasion of the dollar. North America does not now decide history, hence the resistance with which the invasion is received. It is not the capitalist system which decides history. This is clear. Their competition takes place in the form of an intensification of the brutal trade struggle, including the export of agricultural products. These contradictions of the capitalist system are constantly intensified by the class struggle, by the progress of the revolution, which intensifies their internal contradictions. It is not the product of the normal crisis of the capitalist system. The essential basis of this crisis, which the dollar expresses is that capital-

ism cannot contain the progress of the revolution.

It is not animated to respond with the atomic war, because, although it is preparing it, it has to swallow and endure all the consequences of this crisis. It imposes on it an infinitely greater expense. And it can only take two measures; to export dollars everywhere, drowning the others and preventing them advancing, impeding Germany and Japan, and if competing the United States comes off best, it weakens the two essential centres of the capitalist system, and the later crisis is going to be infinitely worse. For something like this before they launched the war. Now, no because if the Yanks make the war on German, French and British capitalism, the Workers State wins.

Capitalism cannot decide on a world scale, as in the time when there was no Workers States, when the revolution did not exist. Now it is forced into a concentration of internal contradictions, and can launch one blow, which is atomic war. No doubt the Workers States seek to utilise to the maximum in a competitive way this situation. It is not incorrect. Hence the policy of the Soviets to make concessions in Europe. But they have made no fundamental concession. They are trying to utilise the contradictions of European capitalism against the Yanks. They are making every type of policy to attract Europe. This is not incorrect. And the Yankees take account of this. Hence Heath went to New York and said; "either you help us, or half of us are going to negotiate with the Soviets". This is to say the capitalist camp weakens. The Yanks to threaten them said; "We withdraw the troops from Germany and from all Europe". Heath said to them that if they withdrew the troops from Europe they leave it into void politically, not for the troops in themselves. They are troops that do not have any value, that disappear in half a second, a fraction of an atomic bomb will make them disappear, they are troops for repression, an army already over size, sitting, tranquil, a passive army.

The world monetary crisis, although it may not have an affect immediately, is going to be an immense pressure for unemployment in the capitalist world. Where will this unemployment begin? This is another thing. It can be Britain, Germany, Japan, France or Italy. But it is a process where one, two or three capitalist countries are going to have unemployment.

They cannot resolve the problem of currency. They either pull out all this money, and lose all this wealth or they have to invent commodities equivalent to this money; and besides who is to consume, who is to buy? there isn't anyone. This must be reflected in every way, in a later crisis of unemployment. And it is going to be an accentuation of the crisis of competition, and of the commercial war within capitalism.

Vietnam broke a containing wall. The crisis of the capitalist system was contained by Vietnam, and now it comes out in a commercial war, which does not have a candidate to pay it. In the capitalist system this was resolved with war. How to launch the war among themselves is to facilitate the development of the revolution and of the Workers States. They are going to try to impede war among themselves. Disputes

among the big capitalists are not excluded, but monetary, commercial, banking disputes. They cannot make the military war among themselves. It is necessary to expect the development of a tendency in capitalism to organise itself on a world wide scale to launch the war against the Workers States. But this is going to intensify the whole world situation, and in place of being able to prepare as the Nazis did, it is going to mean the acceleration of the course of the world revolution. It is going to accelerate this course, because it is going to accelerate unemployment, the great battles, inflation. They are going to make the masses pay by lowering wages, and are going to intensify the struggle of the masses. This is going to weigh in the communist parties. The USSR is going to try to use a sector of capitalism to appease struggles in sectors to which it is allied against the other capitalists. But the masses are not going to accept such an appeasing and they are going to continue the struggle, because there are all the conditions to do it; Trade Unions, great workers parties, great mobilisations, the petit bourgeoisie won to the anti-capitalist mobilisation, and for the socialist and revolutionary solution to the social crisis.

It is necessary to take into account this world process of the crisis of the capitalist system. This monetary system is the reflection of the crisis, and weakness of the capitalist system. It was expressed primarily in the fact that Yankee imperialism was left almost alone in Vietnam by the rest of the capitalist system, which knew how to use the concern of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam to encourage a great economic and commercial development.

The Yanks obliged to withdraw from Vietnam, now have to confront this offensive. As they cannot make war on the Workers States, as they fear, hesitate, vacillate, doubt, they are obliged to take economic measures, to try to stabilise the economy and to contain the process of inflation and of the deterioration of the monetary circulation to be able to trade with the rest of the world, and to be able to find a solution to the immense deficit, accumulated in the Vietnam war.

And also through the accumulation of the normal crisis of the capitalist system, which leads now to a currency war, which has no solution in itself under a currency form. All the currency arrangements cannot substitute for the fact that this quantity of currency does not represent an accumulation of commodities. And a quantity of commodities which they make are commodities of war, which lie outside the circulation of the capitalist system, which goes to consumption, so that the normal crisis of the capitalist system, of production, of the system of capitalist exploitation is intensified by the war in Vietnam. This has a limit. The rapidity with which imperialism passed from the war in Vietnam to the currency war, shows that there existed a contained crisis, if not, it would not have emerged immediately. It would have lasted months and months before emerging. When the war in Vietnam finishes, and this economic war appeared, it is because one of the factors, which imposed the cease fire on capitalism, is that if agreement was not reached, the crisis

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The new crisis of the dollar

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would have exploded. And exploded with an immense unemployment in the United States.

It is urgent for Yankee imperialism to resolve this problem. The rest of the capitalist system also, hence they struggle among themselves. The internal contradictions of the capitalist system are intensifying, because the Workers States exist. And it is the struggle of the masses in the rest of the world, which resists and confronts the capitalist system. If there had existed similar conditions to those in 1936, 37, 38, there would have been the war and fascism. But they do not exist.

Imperialism cannot resolve the currency differences without a consequence, which it cannot impede: Inflation. This which is very great raises the cost of production, unemployment, and intensifies the struggle between them, and one or other country is going to have to pay. Although the crisis may be delayed, they are going to have to suffer the consequences. An enormous amount of money is in question, which although they store it, is an accumulated wealth, which is going to burst out. And in consequence this intensifies the crisis of the capitalist system. Even being the product of the accumulation of wealth, this sum would have produced unemployment. Because if there is such a sum of money, it is because it has been the fruit of production, and if there is insufficient consumption, there is unemployment. As the bourgeoisie cannot make a mass unemployment, because it has fear of the social consequences, it is going to try to continue making currency manoeuvres. But these are manoeuvres and nothing more. They cannot substitute for the production and the wealth which is produced with work. And this will produce a very profound crisis, which can lead to mass unemployment. They can contain it but transitorily.

This crisis of the currency system is going to continue, and although they can contain it, there is no solution, because to confront this currency crisis, capitalism needs the war. The commercial war or the military war. The commercial war is the preamble to the military war. The commercial war is of short duration, and means that one of the contenders has to put up with the consequences, and has to decrease production, has to be eliminated, has to destroy its commodities. They are going to do this, but then they open the gates to the development of revolutionary struggles. Then they are going to seek all together as a capitalist system to throw themselves against the Workers States. And Yankee imperialism is going to try to persuade the rest of the capitalist system that this is the solution, it is going to try to show that there is no other. Without doubt, Yankee imperialism runs the risk that sectors of Imperialism in Europe see that it is leading them to the atomic war. They fear, and they know that they are going to disappear, and they are going to try to negotiate, and to make a policy of trading arrangements with the Workers States. They can do this and the policy of the Soviet Union can fav-

our this tendency. The Chinese use this situation, offering themselves as a market at a greater commercial level. It is the stimulus, which the right wing sector hopes for, the conciliatory sector of the government and the Chinese Communist Party. But it has no perspectives, because they alone don't decide, it is the masses, who are struggling and want power. This is the ascent of the revolution throughout Latin America, Africa and Asia. And it is the ascent of partial regeneration, which prevents capitalism finding stable conditions to solve the currency crisis,

and at the expense of the masses, in the form of unemployment, lowering of wages etc., and increasing automation, which is another of the resources which it has. The bureaucracy of the Workers States, the communist parties cannot contain the masses, because these bypass every device, which tends to contain and smash them. Their struggle shows that they are advancing towards power. And on the other hand, there is a good condition for a world united front of the workers parties, of the communist parties, socialist parties, left Catholic parties, nationalists,

trade unions, to finish with what remains of the capitalist system.

This economic crisis is going to deepen. And it is going to increase the inter capitalist trade struggle which will have the tendency to go to a decision by war. As they cannot launch the war among themselves because it weakens the capitalist system in front of the Workers States, then they will seek by means of Yankee imperialism to co ordinate all the capitalist states to launch themselves against the Workers

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The intervention of the trade unions stimulates the advance of the left in the Labour Party

The constant mobilisations against the Tory government of the working masses in this country, with gas workers, railway footplate men, hospital workers, civil servants and students creates the conditions of a General Strike and, inevitably, the pressure of the class expresses itself in the Labour Party. At the same time the electoral victories of the left in Germany, Australia, New Zealand and in France encourages the working class and the left of the Labour Party. It is true, of course, that the gerrymandering of the Gaullists robbed the Popular Union of a majority of seats in parliament but, in terms of votes, it was a victory of the left. What is more important is that the French masses are going to see it as a victory. The present crisis in the parliamentary Labour Party is a very pale reflection of the world class, and revolutionary struggle as it expresses itself in this country. In these conditions the statement by Roy Jenkins that the Labour Party has to be won away from the left is immediately answered by Barbara Castle. She pointed out that the last election was not lost because the Labour Party was too left, indeed she, in common with the mass of workers who abstained from voting for the Labour Party, recognises that the Labour Party leadership lost the election, because it was seen to be pro-capitalist. Ron Hayward—secretary of the LP—echoed Castle, when he made it clear recently that the Labour Party lost the last general election, because it was not left enough. It is not accidental that this discussion develops after the French General Election. The conclusions are being drawn in the Labour Party that the Popular Union won votes because it adopted a profoundly anti-capitalist programme. It is also a powerful expression of the crisis of disintegration in the leadership of the LP that Jenkins and Castle, who were after all of the same team in the last Labour government, are now at each others throats. The pressure of the workers at the base of the Labour Party, through their abstention in the general election, and through their constant mobilisations since, are disintegrating the whole pro-capitalist structure and leadership.

What disintegrates the pro-capitalist right of the LP is the fact that they are forced to react to the pressure of the workers at the base, which is constantly against the interest, that this sector has, of maintaining capitalism. For example in the last days the parliamentary Labour Party's 'shadow cabinet' have proposed cuts in the arms bill, and pledged that a future Labour government would treat housing as a social service, with need being the deciding factor. Previously even Wilson has been forced to talk

about the nationalisation of North Sea oil and urban building land. Also, in a recent major speech, he said that the depth of the present struggle of the workers was their desire to control their own lives and, therefore, industry. He went on to propose a form of workers participation, but whatever the limitations of his proposals, they are no comfort or support for capitalism. However, perhaps the most important expression, of late, of this process of disintegration of the right wing of the Labour Party is the joint economic statement made by the Parliamentary LP and the TUC. This statement poses a programme which, in many ways, is inferior to the programme of the LP conference, but it was the programme of the TUC. This is what bothers the capitalist press which sees the parliamentary LP being submitted to the trade unions, which are much more sensitive to the pressure of the workers at the base. This joint economic statement is another expression of the weakness of the pro-capitalist leadership of the LP. On the face of it, of course, it is non sense that not six months after the Annual Conference of the LP, in which the trade unions have the majority of votes, formulated its policy, the parliamentary leadership makes an agreement with the TUC on a vastly inferior policy. The parliamentary right of the LP does this, because it feels the pressure of the LP itself, which transmits the pressure of the working class, and it seeks to find a point of support in the TUC. It is a manoeuvre but it is a very dangerous manoeuvre for the right in conditions where the representatives of the workers can, as they did at the March 5th recall conference, submit the TUC leadership to their wishes.

It is, clearly, not enough for the unions to criticise the Labour Party every so often. It is both possible and necessary that the Trade Unions make their weight felt, to impose their policy at all levels of the LP. Whilst it does not negate the necessity to change the structure of the LP, it is possible for the trade unions to intervene much more than they are doing in the present structure of the LP. The decision by a branch of the TGWU to discontinue their sponsorship of Reg Prentice for not supporting the unions policy, and their campaign to prevent him being adopted as a parliamentary candidate for the LP is correct. It is a limited action, but it indicates the desire of the workers at the base of the unions to throw the right wing out of the Labour Party, to impose their control over their party.

It is in this context that we have to consider the statement of Ron Hayward who says that clause 5 of the LP constitution is of prime importance now.

Clause 5 states that the annual conference of the LP is the body that decides policy. Hayward expresses the pressure of the working class to gain control within the LP and the fact that a leading official does this is a measure of the pressures, which exist inside the LP. It is beyond doubt that the desire of the base of the LP to confront the government over the Housing Finance Act and the failure of the leadership to support them has been an important factor in this process. The joint economic statement is an expression of the weakness of the pro-capitalist sector in the LP, but it has many limitations, not the least being that it proposes no action to impose even this limited programme. The danger to the right of their present manoeuvres is highlighted by Anthony Wedgwood Benn, who draw the logical conclusions by proposing that the LP actively supports the one-day General Strike called by the TUC. Wedgwood Benn may not be the most lucid, or the most left member of the LP, but he is often a good barometer of the process in the Labour Party.

Whilst it is true that the right is in the process of disintegration, and the left gains strength, this balance of forces does not find its full expression in the LP. This is because the left lacks a real structure and because it does not have strong, organisational links with the working class. This is not surprising since the means for them to link with the class does not exist in the present, bureaucratic structure of the LP. It is necessary, therefore, that the left structures itself on the basis of the programme of the annual conference of the LP and the means—strike, factory occupations etc.—to impose it. A step in this direction would be to support the proposal of Wedgwood Benn that the Labour Party supports the TUC's one-day strike, using this as a basis to organise its support. However, the left cannot impose itself in the LP, or expel the right within the limitations of the structure of the party. One of the limitations of the left is that it continues to involve itself solely in the parliamentary struggle which favours the right wing, and which is not decisive. Indeed we can say that the new leadership in the LP is not going to come from the parliamentary left but from the base of the party. All this demands a transformation of the LP by creating the organisational forms, which allow the working masses to intervene directly. This is the strength, which the left has to draw on by using the one-day General Strike to speak at workers meetings, to organise meetings at the factory, by proposing the creation of committees, which link the factory

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

LETTER TO THE MEXICAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
THE FUNCTION OF THE CELL AND THE FORMATION OF THE
MILITANT FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND THE CON-
STRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS 21. 11. 72 10p

THE HISTORIC CAUSES OF THE PARTIAL REGENERATION, THE
ECONOMY IN THE WORKERS STATES AND THE CONSTRUCTION
OF SOCIALISM.

J. POSADAS 20. 8. 1972 15p

STOP PRESS

AS WE GO TO PRESS, THE DECISION OF THE T.U.C. TO MAKE
MAY 1st THE DAY OF NATIONAL ACTION IS BEING ANNOUNCED.
THE ACTION IS WEAK, AND THE DATE A LONG WAY OFF, BUT
IT MUST BE PREPARED NOW, FROM THE BASE THROUGH COM-
MITTEES, TAKING THE ORGANISATION OUT OF THE HANDS OF
THE UNION LEADERSHIPS. THE VANGUARD SECTORS, IN ENGIN-
EERING, MINING, DOCKS ETC., MUST LAUNCH APPEALS NOW,
TO MAKE MAY 1st A DAY OF GENERAL STRIKE AND
DEMONSTRATIONS.

The new crisis of the dollar....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

States. They do not have nevertheless the historic conditions to triumph and on the contrary there are all the conditions for them to be smashed. Hence the appeal at the same time to the comrades of the British Section to make this policy in relation to Ireland. An appeal to the Workers States, so that these appeal for a united front of all the oppressed colonial and semi colonial countries against the crisis of the capitalist system. An appeal to all the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, so that the Workers States offer them help to confront the capitalist system, offering aid and planning for the economy of these countries, a united front of the Workers States, and a co-ordination among them, a planning of the Workers States with all the revolutionary states, with the trade unions centres, with the communist parties, socialist parties, left Catholic movements, nationalist movements for a united front, for a programme of economic development of all countries. And to pose that it is necessary to develop the economy of all the countries against the war programme, against the manufacture of atomic weapons, so that all the wealth be used to develop the economy of these countries.

Make an agitation and campaign accompanied by the struggle to smash capitalism, to expell imperialism, and to appeal to the North American people to continue activity made in defence of the masses of Vietnam, to make an appeal and a demonstration, as for example, with demonstrations, assemblies, conferences, meetings, agitation throughout the world against imperialism, against the capitalist system, and for the planning of the economy to resolve the problems of the crisis which the capitalist system causes; saying that in the socialist countries there is no such crisis, that it is characteristic of the capitalist countries, to come out now to show that the capitalist system was defeated in Vietnam, and through the Workers States, and through this the conditions are prepared for the launching of the war.

Then make an appeal to the CPs, SPs, left Catholics, revolutionary nationalist movements, to the oppressed countries of America, Africa, Asia, for a united front to plan the economy, to develop it, and not put up with the consequences of the crisis of the capitalist system. Appeal to the North American masses for this planning, and appeal for the united

front in the capitalist countries with the central workers centres, CPs, SPs, left Catholic, nationalists, in the struggle to go towards the power with left governments, with the object of liquidating the capitalist system, and in the revolutionary struggle to finish with the capitalist system.

This is the appeal which it is necessary to make to the Irish masses, to the British trade unions, and to the workers parties; it is necessary to appeal to the European trade union centres to unite, for a united front to answer with this front, and with a programme to the crisis of capitalism in Europe, acting so that the trade union centres, together, and in particular every centre in the specific struggle of each one, may make a united front with the workers parties to answer to the crisis, which the capitalist system is preparing, and to answer with the soviet socialist united states of Europe. But whilst pushing forward this campaign, to respond in a specific way from each sector, from each plant, unifying themselves in Europe for their demands. The same in Latin America, Asia, to answer to the pressure, which imperialism is going to make, in proceeding to unload the crisis there, because Yankee imperialism is going to give free way for the export of capital, that is to say, it is going to flood the world, Latin America, Asia etc. with capital, making concessions to try to compete with the rest of capitalism, to ruin it, and to increase the organisation of gigantic monopolies throughout the world. It is a way to confront the crisis of the capitalist system, but this will be a cannibals struggle between them, which is going to eliminate capitalists, and increase Yankee power. As it lacks the strength to repress the world, it is going to prepare the war. They are all motives of war. Hence the Yankees clear the way for the export of capital. It is a measure of defence, to alleviate the conditions in which it does not know where to invest, because the war policy in part restricts it, hence it has to invest in the rest of the world. And still with the policy of war it has to do this to try to meet the deficit of thousands of millions of dollars which it has annually, on its balance of payments. It is another of the motives, which is going to intensify the inter capitalist competition. This can last for a period, but the objective is to achieve the preparation of the war. The other previous crises prepared wars. Before the last war

to organise it, Fascism and Nazism, made the Spanish civil war. Now they go to the war also, but they have to do it with 14 Workers States, or with the civil war in each country. Hence they defer all this process, but they do not annul it. And the crisis and the explosion continues to accumulate.

We appeal to the workers movement, to the Workers States, and to the communist parties to confront this possible perspective—a short stage—with its threat of unemployment, and of a great pressure against the workers movement, to make it pay for the consequences of the currency crisis of the capitalist system. There is no direct relationship between the monetary crisis and mass unemployment, but it anticipate it.

It shows how the phases of crisis of the capitalist system are advancing. We appeal to the Workers States and to the communist parties to make a plan; that the government pays for the results of the crisis; to struggle for a government of the left, with a programme of statifications. The 13 points of the programme of the Popular Union in France, should be generalised in depth. Nationalisations, workers control, planning of the economy. Appeal to the petit bourge-

oisie to do this with a government of the left, which is the base of the workers and peasant government. They must come out and answer to the crisis of the capitalist system, with a programme of nationalisations, planning, control of production, defense of democratic liberties, united front of all the tendencies, trade unions and workers parties to advance to the conquest of power.

This is the reply, which it is necessary to give immediately, uniting it to the unconditional support to the masses of the world in the struggle against colonial oppression, to expel imperialism everywhere, and to make programmes of development and nationalisation in all the capitalist countries; to pose the united front with a programme of statifications, to foresee the course of the general crisis. It is necessary to call for a conference of the European CPs, so that they organise a united front with the trade unions and the SPs, to offer a workers programme for an anti capitalist restructuring of Europe against the crisis, unemployment, and for European socialist unification.

J. POSADAS 14-2-73

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CORRECTION

In Red Flag No. 174, in the letter of Cde. J. Posadas to the British Section, page 5, third column, end of the 3rd paragraph there is a mistake which we must correct.

It says "...there is a furious class struggle between Catholic and Protestant Ireland" whereas it should say "within Catholic and Protestant Ireland". We apologise for this error which gave a wrong sense to the sentence.

... THE ADVANCE OF THE L.P.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

strength of the class with the trade union branch, local LP's and the workers areas. Using the advance made in this respect by Trades Councils and Action Committees in the course of the recent rents struggles to advance the process of the construction of organisms, which will be the means of transforming the LP into a Revolutionary Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

One of the central problems of the transformation of the LP is the one of leadership. Already the LP has a programme which, if applied, would mean the end of capitalism, but the leadership is lacking. There is no tradition of marxism in the LP and, in the process

of the creation of a revolutionary leadership, marxism is essential. We urge all the LP militants etc. read and discuss the documents of Cde. Posadas and the IV International, to base themselves on the marxism of today, which these documents express; the marxism, which is the necessary instrument in the process of the transformation of the LP. The conditions are ripe for the expulsion of the right wing, which has already started with the removal of Taverne—and the proposal to expel Andrew Faulds for sponsoring Taverne in parliament—and for the taking of power within the LP, by the left.

16/3/73

The triumph of the popular union in France

But in spite of this failing, the Popular Union won the majority of the votes, and the Gaullists lost a hundred seats. They will not be able to govern as they did before, they have got to make concessions, they feel this, and as a result they have made not a single declaration of triumph. The working class through the Popular Union, in spite of the timidity of the leadership, feels it is the social majority. The Communist Party has grown qualitatively, gaining votes in the centres of the class which decide; while the Gaullists have the votes of the parasitic sectors, sectors which don't intervene in production, or the social life of the country. Now the masses are going to feel stimulated to win by strike action, what it could not achieve electorally, there is going to be a resurgence of the TU activity, but now for more elevated demands, and a sector of the CP is going to lead this struggle. A new May 68 is being prepared, but now led by organisms of the class and by the CP.

This victory is going to sharpen the crisis in the Workers Parties, and above all in the CP. The left wing is now going to feel more stimulated to struggle against the right, which tries to restrict the party to merely electoral perspectives. This struggle is going to be impelled and supported by the masses and by the Soviet Union.

The British working class must draw conclusions from these elections; the middle sectors of society are attracted by the decision of the proletariat, which is expressed through mobilisations. Thus the working class is going to influence the petit bourgeoisie very strongly in the coming 24 hours general strike called by the TUC. Therefore this day must be prepared now through factory meetings, election of committees, so that the strike converts the country into a vast public assembly and demonstration, in which the vanguard communicates to everybody its will to go towards power.

EDITORIAL

of 1 million workers on strike being able to do more than 11 million voters in the elections.

As we have said previously in this editorial, on the Day of Action, make public meetings in every town, and invite all the local Labour Party members of parliament and local councillors to these meetings. There is a process of discussions going on throughout the Labour Party, over the policies of the Labour government during the period 1966-70, on why the LP carried out such anti working class policies when it was the government, on why now so many of the Labour MP's support the Tories, for instance the support, which Prentice gives to the Industrial Relations Act, and the condemnation, which he made of the dockers when they were arrested, or the Nazi statements of Paget on Ireland. It is not by chance that a sector of the TGWU, the union which sponsors Prentice, wants him to be removed from the list of MP's, which the TGWU sponsor, and is urging other unions not to sponsor him. It is necessary for the whole of the right wing pro-capitalist sector of the

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

LP to be thrown out. The struggle is not only to get rid of the Tories, but to impose a left Labour government in which the left has taken power, and this cannot be done without expelling large sectors of the parliamentary LP. The more the TU's intervene in the process of expelling the right, the faster the process will go. The recent joint programme of the TUC and the LP is important, and it brought home to a wide sector of the bourgeoisie just how closely the TU and LP movements are linked. But these links must be strengthened in the course of the struggle. The speech of Wedgewood Benn, when he urged the LP to unite with the TUC on the Day of Action was very important, because it shows that there is in the LP a strong sector, which wants to make this alliance much more concrete, a sector in the LP, which sees that if they base themselves on the TU movement, they will have enough strength to throw the right wing sectors out of the party. The 24 hour General Strike will give a tremendous impetus to the process of cleaning out the right from the Labour Party.

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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
dynamic activity
in the elections of
the Chilean and
Argentinean sections

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

NO. 180

2nd Friday of April 1973

PRICE 3p

MAKE MAY DAY A 24 HOUR GENERAL STRIKE

MOBILISATION OF ALL THE POPULATION—MASS ASSEMBLIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

MAKE CAPITALISM PAY FOR ITS OWN CRISIS

The May Day demonstrations and mobilisations must be made the equivalent of a massive general strike. They will take place in many other countries of the world, and take on a significance they used to possess earlier in the international workers movement before being emasculated by conciliatory communist and social democratic leaderships. Now they will take place in a world fundamentally revolutionised by the process of partial regeneration of the Workers States, the emergence of a number of revolutionary states and the immense renovation of the workers movement in Europe, with the 1968 May revolutionary general strike in France, the struggles of the Italian workers, German and Spanish workers, with the historic objective of liquidating capitalism. The massive vote for the alliance of the left parties in France is another lethal blow at capitalism, further demoralising the world capitalist class. The historic defeat of imperialism in Vietnam has placed humanity a stage nearer the triumph of world communism.

Despite the lack of a firm lead by the TUC, the engineering and transport unions have called for all out participation in May Day, giving the equivalent of a possibility for a massive general strike. The TUC have called upon the trades councils to mobilise support for May Day in their areas, and this allows a tremendous intervention of the revolutionary vanguard all over the country. Capitalism hoped that the struggle against the policies of the Tory government would be diminished with the return to work, or rejection of strike action by railwaymen, miners, gas workers etc., but what is fundamentally in question now is not just the question of wage rates but the overthrow of the capitalist system, and this requires a firm and decided leadership. And it is precisely this problem of a new leadership in the LP, which delays the immediate overthrow of capitalism in this country.

As Trotsky long ago analysed in the Transitional Programme of the IV International, capitalism is in its death agony. After a post war recovery, the international capitalist economy is now irrevocably sliding into disaster. It is no longer a question of minor recessions, but of major economic catastrophe, reflected in the continuous currency upheaval, leading to fierce inter capitalist competition, unemployment and a massive inflation leading to the ruination of small businesses, and the attempt of capitalism to shift the burden of the crisis onto the backs of the masses by wage freezes and astronomical price increases. **MAKE CAPITALISM PAY FOR ITS OWN CRISIS.** It is a crisis brought about by the hopeless contradictions inherent in capitalism and exacerbated, because capitalism has to arm in preparation for the war against the Workers States and the world masses. Whilst the Workers States increase their levels of production, even with bureaucratic management, thereby showing the immense superiority of nationalised over private property relations, capitalism only gives to the workers and the mass of the petit bourgeoisie the perspective of a decrease in the standard of life.

and the fantastic mortgage rates for the purchase of houses show that capitalism can only now contract the range of its social support.

The Tory Party is in an inevitable crisis over their class perspectives. The sectors of the right want a policy of no concessions whatever. The reintroduction of hanging—the symbol for an increase in repression, as can be seen generally, with the organisation of the "Special patrol group", for example, which has provoked division in the Tory Party is just the tip of the iceberg around the application of Tory policy. The hard sectors wish to encourage fascist elements as in N. Ireland, with the Diplock laws, the others fear the full encounter with the working class and vacillate. These divisions in the ruling class come at the worst moments for capitalism, when it lacks the historic resources to multiply its own social support.

It is necessary to make a full preparation for May Day all over the country, not in a defensive way against price increase etc., but **FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT WITH THE LEFT TAKING POWER IN THE LABOUR PARTY.** and if one general strike is not sufficient, then an **UNLIMITED GENERAL STRIKE.** Everywhere all the organisms of the class, trade unions, trades councils, Labour Parties, factory committees, workers area committees must make **MAY DAY** a massive and complete **GENERAL STRIKE.** Not just a general strike but a general strike accompanied by mass assemblies, slogans, factory meetings, discussions, demonstrations. A discussion must be imposed on the various Labour, trade union leaders, MPs etc., who speak at such meetings. Trades Councils must use the opportunity to develop permanent links with the workers areas, and the factories in their areas, so that the conservative functioning of the trades councils is transformed, and they become real centres of working class discussion, where politics is discussed and not administrative pedantries. Trades councils will inevitably be

looked to by the vanguard as centres of discussion and organisation, as when for example, the hospital workers came to the Luton trades council for aid in their struggles. They must use the opportunity of **MAY DAY** to involve the **WHOLE OF THE POPULATION**, workers, professional people of all categories, the children, the so-called old people.

All this mobilisation is going not only to stimulate the mass of the exploited population, but deepen the pressures to smash the present conservative structure

of the LP, and render it more of an instrument for the taking of power and construction of socialism. The fact that the LP has been obliged to support the demonstration on May 1st, shows the weight of these pressures already—the rightest sector of Callaghan were isolated. May 1st will give the militants of the CP an opportunity to exert a powerful weight also—but not on the conceptions of their leadership, which emphasise a mass communist party as the next task in Britain—but on the basis of a

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Salute to the Swedish Section of the IV International

We denounce in front of the British workers and student movement, the attack made by a sector of the Mandelist group in Sweden (RMF) on Comrades of the Swedish Section of the IV International (Posadist), while distributing a text of Comrade Posadas relating to the film at the doors of the cinema showing "The Assassination of Trotsky".

Such an attack in such a condition of the world revolution, of the ascending class and revolutionary struggle in Europe, where even the sectors most opposed to the anti capitalist struggle are obliged to accept United Front as in the case of the radicals, socialists and right wing of the C.P. in the Popular Unity in France, shows the backwardness of this sector. It also shows the crisis of disintegration of the ultra leftist movements, because of their lack of understanding of the process of Partial Regeneration and the Historic Re encounter, still maintaining a sectarian line in relation to the interior changes in the world communist movement, and the role which the class struggle in Europe is playing in this process.

So we take the opportunity to launch an appeal to the base of the IMG, SLL, I.S. here to discuss the significance of this event, and to condemn it, elevating the discussion on the role of these leftist groups, discussing with us concretely the programme, the policy, and the tactic, and the best means to intervene in the ascending struggle of the British Proletariat to Power, to make the maximum use of the historic decision of the TUC and the LP, profiting from the 1st of May general strike to prepare for the overthrow of the Tories and the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the LP.

With all our revolutionary and fraternal affection we salute the dignified Posadist conduct of the comrades of the Swedish Section of the Posadist IV International, which could only happen if they were working with the conception of representing the necessary ideas for the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the Trade Unions, the Socialist Party and the CP. and not simply as a group that thinks only of itself.

This attack is indicative of the authority which our comrades have won working on this basis, in publishing the texts of Posadas on Sweden, and the other texts in Kommunistik Kamp, and the other Bulletins, all of which are necessary for the formation of the marxist thinking and programme of the ascending new revolutionary leadership in Sweden.
**VIVA THE SWEDISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
VIVA THE INTERVENTION OF THE SWEDISH SECTION IN THE
TASK OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN SWEDEN.
VIVA THE STRUGGLE OF THE EUROPEAN PROLETARIAT FOR
POWER.**

The masses voted for Socialism in the progress of the Popular Unity in Chile

J. Posadas 8. 3. 1973

INTRODUCTION

We salute this text of Comrade J. Posadas which analyses the profound revolutionary significance of the electoral victory of the Popular Unity. This victory was foreseen by Posadas in the face of all the pessimism of the left, because he understood the Chilean masses, who fed by all the advances of the world revolution want to go to socialism, and centralise themselves around the Popular Unity as a means to advance towards that objective. We appeal to the vanguard to read not only this document on Chile but the previous ones of the 2. 10. 72. and 3. 11. 72 which made an analysis on the failure of the counter revolutionary bosses strike. The study of the whole of this process is fundamental for the understanding of the Labour and Trade Union vanguard who can draw important conclusions from it in relation to the next Labour government which is going to be forced by the weakness of capitalism and the pressure of the masses to take fundamental measures against capitalism.

10-4-73

Chile has voted for socialism. The triumph of Chile is not a triumph numerically. Numerically the right won, it got more votes. And therefore why do we say "triumph"? and why does all the world press say that it is a "triumph for Allende"? Why? Because the right expected to smash the government of the Popular Unity. It was class against class. The triumph of the Popular Unity, the obtaining of a lot of votes for the government of the Popular Unity to continue, means to continue the policy of anti-capitalist measures. Because of this it is a triumph; this line triumphed.

The masses in Chile voted for socialism. They did not vote for Allende, nor for the Communist Party, they voted for socialism. It is very important this new election, which is an irrefutable proof that two hundred to three hundred thousand illiterates voted for the Popular Unity. Not knowing how to read, they know how to decide. These illiterates are won not by reading, they were gained by the programme, by the objective and by their own intervention. This is going to stimulate the intervention of the class.

Now another problem is posed; the government has triumphed, so, as to be able to maintain itself, but it cannot carry through the programme as Allende hoped, making a single Chamber. The bourgeoisie has quite a bit of strength. It is necessary to form organisms, develop organisms, of social power of the masses. Once more the polemic between Teitelboim, Millas, and the Socialist left, MAPU, MIR and the Trotskyists is going to be taken up again. It is a public struggle about the extent of the programme of the government.

This election demonstrated that the masses of Chile want socialism. It is not true that they obtained 43.5%. It is 45% because one should add the votes for the small socialist group, USOPC. And moreover, they still have not finished the calculations.

Even 43% is a great increase. One cannot measure it against the Presidential elections of 1970, in which the Popular Unity won 36%, but with the last election of deputies and senators during the time of when the Popular Unity got 28%. Now they get 43%, which is to say they have increased by 15%. It means that the change and the progress is very profound. One has to take it in this way. It is very profound, and as the roots of the progress are very profound these are going to take charge of attracting the rest. If this progress was superficial, it would not have roots. These roots are very profound, peasants, petit bourgeoisie, military types, technicians, all are involved in this.

Even in this way the left is not going to reach an electoral majority. It is possible to win an electoral majority as is shown in Germany and England. But there is a difference. In Germany and England the electoral majority was for a social democratic programme. In Chile it is for a socialist programme. In Germany and England sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are attracted by the social democracy, which makes a policy which responds better to these popular sectors, without posing any communist danger. In Chile it is communist. There is no communist danger, but there is a danger of communism. Thus it does not have the same power of attraction, and neither does it have the possibility of having a greater extension, in such a way that it reaches the majority winning over the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry. Neither is there the historic time, nor

can they have the possibility of having a majority waiting for a new election. On the other hand the masses can gain these sectors socially today. The rise in the votes for the popular unity have been gained socially, with the mobilisations of the masses in the workers areas, in the streets, in the demonstrations.

The 18% abstentions are not the bourgeoisie, they are peripheral sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, of the peasantry. All the proletariat voted. But this 18% is not bourgeois. It is a sector of the population which did not have the audacity to vote, which did not vote for the right, and which means a percentage of support to the government. If it had been of the right or of the bourgeoisie it would have voted against. All the bourgeoisie have voted, because it tried to defend its bank account, its class interest, while the masses voted for socialism. When there is such a polarisation, it means that the 18% of abstentions is a lot, which shows that there is a non-conforming sector, which has not been attracted by the lack of a more profoundly anti-capitalist policy. But this

sector is not from the bourgeoisie, because all of them voted. When it does not vote, it is because it is from our camp, even being indecisive, and vacillating. Therefore it is necessary to see how to attract them. Organising the activity of the proletariat, by means of demonstrations, meetings, discussions of the programme, of intervention of the masses in control and planning, these sectors would be gained. Of this 18%, as a minimum 12% would be gained.

In the elections there intervene sectors who have nothing to do with production. They are worthless, parasitic types. While the votes, which went to Allende, are all those who produce in the economy of Chile. If these stop, the country stops. If those who voted for the bourgeoisie stopped, the country would continue going. As was shown in the strike of the "saucepans" in Chile. These fat bourgeois who go out shouting 'there's no ham what a barbarity', and they wear expensive rings and ties, and shouting 'It is chaos...'. They are parasitic sectors.

Sectors who don't decide economically and socially, intervene in the elections. The bourgeoisie intervenes, of which 30% don't have anything to do with the process of production. The right for all to vote is false. There is no right that everyone should vote. For example: the bourgeoisie says "Criminals and murderers cannot vote". And why should some layabout of a president of a factory vote, who socially is more of an assassin than the others? What function does he exert? And all the team, and the family of the bourgeois what function does it develop in the economy? What difference does it have from the type who is in prison? That he is the one who gives orders. But he does not have any function. This weighs on society, and for this reason it is not possible to resolve electorally. It is necessary to propose the development of the organs of the masses in the next stage. Workers, students, clerks, petit bourgeois, peasants, so that they make organs of organisation of society to decide in the forms of organisms, which way the economy is going to go. Advancing in socialist measures by means of workers control and dual power in the factories, in the trade unions, and in the workers areas. The JAPS (Juntas de Accion Popular) must be extended.

The fact that the Popular Unity has 45% of the votes indicates that there is a whole sector of the working class and the peasants, who have voted for it.

And now, there is a sector of the army which has been gained. Because of this it is necessary to make a plan on the basis of this new favourable situation. Because of this the bourgeoisie does not lie when it says 'triumph of the Popular Unity', and afterwards it says "Really the right has won, but it cannot do anything against Allende, so therefore Allende won". That is to say, they have to invent a false reasoning in order to say: "We lost"

The triumph of the Popular Unity in Chile—even winning fewer votes than the bourgeoisie—has strengthened the decision of the proletariat. It shows, at the same time, the very great influence of the socialist measures, which have attracted more than 70% with respect to the elections of 1970. The socialist measures have attracted this. Millas wanted to give back 45 factories, but the socialist left, the Trotskyists, the MIC, MIR and MAPU were opposed to it. They made a public scandal, a public discussion. This reached Allende who was making a trip around the country, and Allende stopped, and said: "We are not giving back any factory". The communist right said: "This is going to make us lose the elections". The bourgeoisie said: "Aha, they are retreating, we are going to win". The result was that the Popular Unity won 45% of the votes. The policy of maintaining the nationalisations won. The working class saw it, and that is how it happened. This is going to be a very great influence to the rest of Latin America, among it Argentina and Uruguay.

Chile demonstrates once more, even by electoral means, that a government with the support of the working class, with powerful communist and socialist parties and small groups of revolutionary tendencies, can do the task of dealing blows to capitalism, and preparing the conditions for the Workers State.

This triumph in Chile is going to influence in a very powerful way within the elections in Argentina, and it is going to show that the road forward is the Chilean one, only improving it. The Chilean masses show what the road is with the area organisms they have formed, with the TU organisms, with the area committee, with the strikes they have made against the bureaucracy, like those they have made at Chuquicamata and the

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Immediate action by the working class movement to secure the liberation of all the political prisoners in South Vietnam

We denounce in front of all world public opinion, before the workers and revolutionary movement, the risks which are weighing on all the political and trade union prisoners in South Vietnam. There are hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries, men, women, and children who are in danger of death. The violation of this point of the Paris agreement on the liberation, and the safeguarding of the lives of the political prisoners of S. Vietnam, shows that Thieu and his clique will not retreat before any crime to try to survive, to avenge itself for the defeat, which the Vietnamese people have imposed, and continue to impose on them.

We appeal to maintain the functioning of the world united front, realised to support the struggle of Vietnam against imperialism. In this sense, we salute the next meeting in Hanoi of the world Trade Union Federation, to discuss the reconstruction of Vietnam. We appeal to it to launch an appeal to all the trade unions of the world, so that they maintain the action in solidarity with Vietnam, for the immediate expulsion of Imperialism, for the application of the Paris agreement, for the unification of the

country and the construction of socialism. It is necessary that demonstrations and mobilisations are organised to prevent the crimes, which Thieu prepares to commit, and which already he has begun to perpetrate, with the massacre of the political prisoners in his camps and prisons.

The world workers and democratic movement can prevent these crimes. We appeal to the Labour Party, to the trade unions in England, to all the organisations, which have united in the mobilisations for Vietnam, to organise demonstrations in the streets in all the towns of Britain to demand the safety and liberation of the prisoners in South Vietnam. We appeal that in the demonstrations of 1st May, linked to the slogans against the Tories, are slogans in solidarity with the masses in Vietnam, and that from the meeting on 1st May go resolutions demanding the liberty of the prisoners in South Vietnam. We appeal for actions co-ordinated on a European plane, so that there are meetings of delegations of trade unions of the workers parties of England, of Italy and of Belgium, of Germany, and France, and of the Scandinavian countries to organise common and simultaneous actions.

It is necessary to maintain complete active solidarity with the masses and revolutionaries of South Vietnam, with those who in this instant find themselves in prison, in danger of death. All the conditions exist to stop the assassin hand of Thieu and his clique, to make it respect the points of the agreement with a national and world mobilisation, and of the Workers States, so that they also exert a pressure on Yankee Imperialism, to oblige him to abide by the signed agreement.

This mobilisation is moreover urgent to link to a denunciation of the current plans of imperialism, and its threats to start the bombing on North Vietnam again. It is by an incessant and uninterrupted world interaction that it will be possible to thwart the plans of war which Imperialism continues to ferment in Vietnam, because it cannot, as comrade Posadas has analysed, admit this defeat.

LONG LIVE THE HISTORIC VICTORY OF THE MASSES OF VIETNAM AGAINST IMPERIALISM, IMMEDIATE LIBERATION OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN SOUTH VIETNAM, FOR A WORLD ANTI IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT.

Revolutionary consequences of the electoral triumph of Peronism

J. Posadas

14. 3. 1973

INTRODUCTION

This text of Comrade Posadas while being a complete and precise analysis and plan of activity for the Argentinian section and for the vanguard in Argentina is also of great importance for the vanguard here. It is not the same situation because in Argentina there is no workers party, but there is a powerful trade union movement and the workers have centralised around this trade union movement and used it in spite of the limitations of the leadership, in part at least as a workers party. It is a movement which all the left misunderstood rejected and insulted, but Posadas and the IV International have understood it, have intervened in it and contributed to the programmatic elevation of it, participating in the formulation, of the anti-imperialist and in part anti-capitalist programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda.

We appeal to the vanguard to read and discuss this document in order to understand this phenomenon which is an objective support for their struggle against British capitalism. In the fifties Peron expropriated British investments in railways, the underground, and other sectors dealing a blow at the social, political and economic power of British Imperialism. Today this victory for Peron is going to signify a hammer blow to American imperialism in Latin America, is going to weaken the British bourgeoisie and therefore weaken the pro-bourgeois sector of the Labour Party leadership. We salute this document of Cde. Posadas and appeal to the vanguard to read it and to make resolutions saluting the Argentinian masses and communicate them to the CGT (the trade union centre) of Argentina.

10-4-73

The triumph of the masses in the elections in the Argentine is a result of the world process of the revolution. The triumph of Vietnam influenced this action of the masses. Although in the Argentine there were few movements in support of Vietnam, because the trade unions led by the Peronistas, the right wing were against, they were not able to prevent various trade unions making collective meetings, assemblies, and resolutions of support to Vietnam in their publications. The trade union leaderships, whether Peronista or the small, so called socialist or revolutionary groups did not bring out any declaration of support to Vietnam. In spite of not having intervened directly, because they were not organised, nor appealed to by their leaderships in defence, and in support of Vietnam, the masses have felt, and lived all the life of Vietnam. The daily newspapers of the Argentine have publicised the whole process in Vietnam and in factories, in workers areas, in conferences, in meetings, in football stadiums, in all the activity in which the masses meet, they discussed Vietnam, which was present in their feelings, in their consciousness, and it impelled them, gave security for this action which they have carried out. This triumph is part of the process of decision of the masses of the Argentine, received from the triumph of the masses of Vietnam. Vietnam impelled the masses of the Argentine to vote against the capitalist system. Vietnam has weighed and influenced in the Argentine also, stimulating the masses to intervene against the military junta.

The Argentine masses did not have a leadership, nor a political life. There was not a party, which would give orientation, texts, line, programme, but only very general declarations, without programme, without anti-capitalist struggle. The masses pushed forward these struggles, elevated themselves, structuring themselves, in the class consciousness and will, and they changed the structure of Peronism. The masses made it change. They gave to Peronism the form, which it has today, which is the programmes of Huerta Grande and La Falda and the general anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme. It is not the programme of the official leadership of Peronism, but the masses have obliged them to push forward these programmes.

This process in its turn changes the Peronista leadership. Hence the struggle which was very considerable, which liquidated leaderships such as those of Paladino and Coria. These changes have to be for us a base to persuade part of the Peronista leadership. Not treating them as a bourgeois leadership, but as a leadership, which has a very timid programme, but with very large ambitions. All this announces internal changes which can be very important.

This ascendancy of the Peronista masses is impelled by the world movement of the revolution, and in that, the triumph of Chile, of Peru, Mexico, Panama, which are part of this process of the world revolution. It is necessary to insist a great deal on this to show the nature of the process in the Argentine. All the bourgeois parties failed. This election showed the maturing of all the population of the country, led by the proletariat expressing the world revolution. Of the four principal candidates, three candidates had the anti-imperialist programme, and Manrique had to present a programme which was called "populist". None came out to defend anti-peronism, none of them! It shows their failure. The masses were capable of maintaining themselves integrated, cohesive, structured in the class movement, without dispersal and inside, without breaking their class unity made combative trade unions and movements of opposition against the bureaucracy, in the

workers centre. The proletariat made great strikes, great mobilisations, great stoppages, which have maintained the cohesion of the class, and this received the influence of the world revolution. The triumph of the masses in the Argentine is the result of the world revolution.

This process shows that the Peronist masses—basing themselves on this process of the world revolution—have been capable of maintaining themselves, of receiving the influence and communicating it to the rest of the country. Eighteen years without leadership, under pressures, and military coups with the daily assassination and repression of the army and the police, the masses maintained their cohesion, their class centralisation, and attracted the country to vote for Peronism, maintaining their trade union organs, and moreover, entering into the triumph of Peronism with these trade union organs. This is going to have a decisive weight on the next phase, a thing which was not the case in the stage of Peron. We are linked to all this process.

The IV International has consciously guided this process, has been intervening and now intervened in critical support of FREJULI. The communists refused to intervene in the Peronist trade unions, whilst we have always integrated ourselves in the Peronist trade unions. The communists formed the inter trade union block, and the MUCS. They showed that they had failed with the MUCS, with the "National Meeting" of the Argentine, had failed with other previous groupings, because they were incapable of understanding the nationalist process and the Peronist masses. The communists were incapable of feeling that the Peronista masses were revolutionary, and sought the revolution. The Peronista leadership could not impose on the masses the bourgeois programme as in the leaderships of Paladino and Coria, but the Peronist masses imposed an anti-imperialist programme on their leadership.

This is the confidence in the class which has been capable of changing the course of its leadership. It can do it, because on a world scale there is a revolutionary process, and be-

cause there were previous conditions of the Peronista proletariat, which were anti-capitalist. This shows the failure of all the tendencies, which believed in the disintegration of the Peronista proletariat. In the 18 years from the exile of Peron, they believed that the proletariat had disintegrated. The proletariat showed that it had maintained its class unity. In the world workers movement, in Italy, in France, in Britain, there is the same process; the masses maintain class unity. This is the new phenomenon in history, which generalises itself everywhere. It was always like this, but never as in this stage with such profundity, and directly with the process towards taking power.

In the Argentine the masses without leadership, push forward the struggle on the trade union plane. The trade unions exercise the function of the party, replace the party. For this reason the trade unions are those who won the election of Peronism. Our party developed in this process, it has authority, and has influenced marxist tendencies, and the organisation of marxist tendencies. Whilst the communist party has isolated itself from the masses, believing that the masses were stupid and that Peron was fascist.

It is necessary that the communist party draws conclusions from its failure. We appeal to its leadership, and all the party to change, they have to take account that in the party they have people who are destroyed, who have a false conception of the policy, who have not been capable of preparing themselves in the marxist understanding of this process. The communist party did not understand that this is the process of history. It did not understand Peronism. It does not have the marxist instrument, it analyses in a bureaucratic and arrogant form. Then it does not understand that the masses have not been to the communist party, and that nevertheless they are revolutionaries, anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist. And the proof is this triumph in the elections, while the communist party was incapable of growing an unsupported candidate like Alende-Sueldo. The communist party has to revise its policy, to prepare and to organise itself to understand this process, and to study marxism.

It is the function of the trade unions which has attracted and maintained the class in full activity, maintaining the influence among the petit bourgeoisie. The Peronist leadership made no party activity, no activity of the class party, nor agitation of an anti-imperialist party, but campaigning very empirically. Nevertheless within it, tendencies arise, which are anti-imperialist, and go towards the anti-capitalist programme. And now they develop the appeal "national socialism". This means the influence of the world revolution. If it was not like this, they would have maintained themselves on the plane of Peronism. This already is not Peronism of the general stage, it is Peronism of the first stage of Peron, in which he posed a programme of expropriation of imperialism. Now, this advances, is supported by the direct intervention of the masses, supported on a world and Latin American process infinitely more favourable. This shows the necessity to intervene, taking into account and expecting this perspective underlining the function of the trade unions. And also the function of our party which has oriented itself in this process of support to the Peronist trade unions, developing revolutionary tendencies in the Peronista camp. While the communist party isolated itself in its own trade unions, like sectarians, and moreover, mistaken politically and organisationally. The communist party finished by supporting a candidate (Alende-Sueldo) who won 7% of the votes, without any perspective. While the masses organised in this process, are going to weigh and to decide.

This expressed the weight of the world revolution, the influence of Chile, of Peru, of Mexico, of Uruguay. But also the Peronista movement influenced the rest. If the Peronist movement had succumbed in the Argentine, if they had been disorganised in front of repression, all the rest of the Latin American bourgeoisie would have felt strong and Imperialism also. The masses supported them-

selves in general strikes, in stoppages, were divided internally in the Peronist trade union movement in various tendencies, but without breaking the class cohesion. Even if divided in various tendencies, with public confrontations, they maintained class cohesion, general strikes, complete strikes by zones, in Cordoba, Tucuman, Buenos Aires and the whole country. The masses maintained all this. This shows the very elevated maturing of the masses for a worker and peasant government. There were the conditions for the Popular government based on the trade unions. Good, what is this? Who is Camparo? A popular government based on the trade unions. It is a popular government based on the trade unions! and develops the conditions for the worker and peasant government.

While we analysed the popular government based on the trade unions, all the other tendencies, the communist and others, aspire to make alliances with sectors outside the support, and the interest of the masses, with old political careerists, like Alende, who want to make a career with an anti-imperialist appeal, because the bourgeois policy has no solution. It is the same as Frondizi and the others; they are careerists. None of them has been an organiser of the mass movement.

It is necessary to outline the activity of our party, which has been very great. The party appealed for the programme and the class organisation, for the programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda. And it has agitated, for years, this unification, and this anti-imperialist programme. While the "National Meeting" of the Argentinian communist party maintained a programme of democratic rights which do not go beyond simply the legal right etc. vote for the communist party. The Argentinian communist party and the communist parties of the world must revise all their false outlook, which has not been prepared, intellectually, theoretically, politically to understand this. And they are at the tail of this process. While programmatically, they were against it. They have promoted "NATIONAL MEETING" of the Argentinians and ignored, returned their on the mass moment; the latter triumphed against them, and the Posadist IV International has developed.

Our party is the only one which understands this process. The rest of the Trotskyist movement disintegrated and made a guerrilla, idealist or careerist policy. All those who adopt guerrilla policies, and the groups of Moreno, the old socialism of Coral, that of Abelard Ramos, all have failed. They thought the proletariat was stupid, and was going to run behind them, agitating an anti-capitalist programme, anti-capitalist declarations. They are charlatans, who have been incapable of doing anything of understanding, of organising, of feeling the masses. They have not given ideas, programme, policy, nor have they understood the process of the world revolution. The masses yes understood it. They have felt the advance of the revolution, hence the masses have felt strong in the Argentine.

These groups were fisherman, who believed that they could hook the proletariat, who according to them, were disorientated. They were incapable of understanding that the proletariat was very united and centralised. Hence they sustained isolation for eighteen years, and did not wander about. While all of them, wandered about; the Radical Party, the nationalists, these guerrilla groups, all wandered about. In such process, where are the guerrilla groups, the bomb throwers, the kidnappers? what effect have they? What did they secure with the kidnapping? What did they achieve with the bombs?—to serve as the agents of provocations of Imperialism. While the masses in their trade unions, have routed the army, which is the only instrument which capitalism has in the Argentine. This opened the process, which is going to advance very rapidly, because, the army is the only force which capitalism has. The division, the disintegration of the army is going to facilitate the process within Peronism of revolutionary tendencies, very conscious revolutionary tendencies.

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ARGENTINA

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

The triumph of the masses in the Argentine, which supported Peronism is a very great blow against the army. After 18 years which they tried to destroy the masses, and showing that the army was the only one capable of leading, this triumph through the election shows that the army is incapable, impotent. This is a knife stuck in its chest which injures and disintegrates it. And on the other hand, it is animating the nationalist tendencies of the army, to make them feel that they are right, and they are going to develop nationalist tendencies towards anti imperialist, openly anti imperialist positions. Hence it is going to be a process of decomposition, and disintegration of the army.

It is necessary to expect coups from the army. The right is not going to admit the Peronista triumph. Imperialism is going to try to utilise part of the army to try to contain the masses, and at the same time to negotiate to contain the advance of Peronism. Hence the trade unions must intervene in an independent form, showing all the rejection of the intervention of Imperialism, not accepting any participation of Imperialism. Imperialism is going to try to contain with promises, with help, try to put itself there, utilising any current—even within Peronism—to try to contain. The trade unions must reject this attempt.

The way to reject it, is a programme of nationalisations, of planning of the economy, of workers control, of intervention of the trade unions in the function of the economy, impelling the interest of the people—not the profit of the capitalist—but always the interest of the people; to develop commercial interchange, and to unify Latin America with a process of revolutionary states, giving an impulse to the economies of Latin America; to make an appeal to the Brazilian masses to overthrow the assassin military dictatorship.

It is necessary to expect the reaction of the Brazilian bourgeoisie, of Yankee imperialism through Brazil, which is going to react seeking to make a front against the Peronist triumph, including an attempt at war. The Trotskyists-Posadists were the only ones who maintained that the civil war was the most important measure, to which imperialism was going to resort in Chile. And it is preparing civil war. Although it does not make it as it would like, it is going to undertake actions of civil war, just as the "march of the saucepans" was an action of civil war. And it is necessary to expect that Yankee Imperialism through the Brazilian bourgeoisie, is going to launch actions of pressure, of provocation against the bourgeoisie and the Argentinian army, in such a way as to weaken the triumph of Peronism. Imperialism is going to do this.

For the single Latin-American Trade Union Centre

It is necessary to make an agitation, directed at Brazil and to all Latin America to unite Latin America against Yankee imperialism, appealing for a world anti imperialist united front to throw out imperialism from Latin America; to appeal to the Brazilian masses, to the Brazilian military, to the Brazilian intellectuals not to let themselves be used by Imperialism leaning on the Brazilian army to make this provocation; to appeal on the contrary for a United Front to overthrow imperialism and unify the economies of Latin America. Let the Peronista masses appeal for a movement of the Latin American workers, peasant, petit bourgeoisie, student centre, to make appeals to the armies and all the technicians, the professional workers in the service of the state, to collaborate and integrate themselves in this anti imperialist united front to unify Latin America, to plan their economies to be able to develop. It is necessary to show that this is the road for the development of Latin America; a single centre of the Latin American workers.

It is necessary to support the triumph of the masses in demonstrations, making appeals to these demonstrations, meetings, meetings in the factories in assemblies, to make workers area committees, factory committees, so that they hand over power to the masses, based on the workers areas and the factories.

It is necessary to discuss that the masses weigh in the form of organs within the Peronista movement. The bourgeois sector is going to seek to prevent the masses weighing, so that they do not voice their opinions, it is going to make the youth push forward a separate life. On the other hand, it is necessary that the youth weighs more, in the life of the movement, with the programme, which it has now, which is to the left. They are the ones who distribute these leaflets, which say "national socialism", "For the expropriation of Imperialism", which is a programme that is quite advanced. It is necessary to undertake a task of persuasion, to educate the Peronista movement, taking into account that it is a leadership of bourgeois origin, that is bourgeois, but is weakened in confidence in the bourgeois future, like that of Peru. Then, even being a bourgeois leadership, it has to give way to sectors, which now do not admit only a bourgeois future. It is necessary to see that the leadership fears to confront the army, the bourgeoisie, the oligarchy, but that it is going to see tendencies with very elevated resolution. Then it is necessary to exert a pressure so that the youth may intervene through the trade unions, that the trade unions weight directly as such within the Peronist movement, that they do not negate themselves. It is necessary to emphasise the fundamental and absolutely decisive role of the trade unions. It is the trade unions who will decide this. There is no other organism of concentration of the masses than the trade unions.

It is necessary to maintain trade union independence, so that the elected candidates of trade union origin continue functioning as a trade union movement, to weigh in the Peronist movement, impelling in the chamber of deputies, anti imperialist laws of expropriation, planning of the economy, the monopoly of

foreign trade, the Latin American unification to expel Imperialism.

We congratulate and salute our party in the Argentine for the beautiful electoral campaign, which it has sustained, and for its great decision shown to intervene in this process, such as it is. Then it is necessary to pass to a stage of activity superior to the next. It is necessary that the party prepares itself politically, deepening its understanding to intervene so that the Peronista masses, the trade unions, the youth don't allow themselves to be expropriated of the triumph which they have obtained. And they are preparing themselves to resist and overthrow, appealing for the overthrow of the army, if it does not want to give them the power. And if they give them the power, organising themselves in such a way that the masses weigh with an anti imperialist programme, with the expropriations, and with the programme of Huerte Grande and La Falda. It is necessary to see that the programme of Campora is applied, it has some aspects of Huerte Grande and La Falda. Without posing that everything is immediately applied, it is necessary to agitate for it, to impel this programme, so that the youth and the trade unions are the ones who control this, so that it is not parliament. Although Parliament functions, it must be the trade unions and the youth who push forward this programme. It is necessary to make a programme of social demands, labour demands from the trade unions, together with workers control in production. The trade unions must dispose of themselves to control the economy, to propose the necessary investments, to control and plan the process of production, commercialisation, organise a control over all this. The trade unions must intervene in a form, independent of the apparatus of the government, supporting the Peronist government, but maintaining its independent functioning.

It is necessary to appeal to the whole of the population to the petit bourgeoisie, who voted for Alende-Sueldo, who voted for those sectors of the left, who voted for the Radical Party.

J. POSADAS 14-3-73

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

marxist orientation, to stimulate a new leadership in the LP on an elevated anti capitalist programme, and developing a genuine proletarian democracy in the factory and workers area committees, so that the working class can elevate organs of dual power to accompany the Labour Party in the struggle for power.

In front of the lunacy and the incapacity of capitalism, let May Day be a day of mass mobilisation, putting forward the programme, which poses the alternative to capitalism. FOR THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL WITHOUT COMPENSATION. FOR A WORKERS PLAN OF PRODUCTION TO MEET THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF ALL THE MASSES. FOR THE SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS, TO MEET THE CAPITALIST POLICY OF PRICE INCREASE AND UNEMPLOYMENT. NO WORKER TO BE DISMISSED. NO FACTORY TO BE CLOSED DOWN. FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PRICE COMMITTEES TO BE COMPOSED OF THE WORKING POPULATION. TO CONTROL THE PRICES OF THE BIG MONOPOLY STORES, AND TO SEE THAT THE NEEDS OF THE POPUL-

ATION ARE MET. SMASH THE PROFITEERS WHO EXPLOIT THE BASIC NECESSITIES OF THE POPULATION. EXPROPRIATE UNOCCUPIED DWELLINGS OF THE PROPERTY SHARKS. TAKE OVER THE LUXURY HOTELS TO HELP MEET THE CRISIS. ALL THE PROFITS OF AUTOMATION TO THE WORKERS. ALL PENSIONS TO BE RAISED TO THE LEVEL OF THE AVERAGE WAGE, AND TO RISE AUTOMATICALLY WITH THE COST OF LIVING. FOR WORKERS, TEACHERS, STUDENT GOVERNMENT OF ALL THE EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. OUT WITH BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND. ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS TO BE RELEASED. END THE FASCIST LAWS IN N. IRELAND. FOR A WORKERS CENTRE IN EUROPE TO INCLUDE THE PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORKERS STATES. OUT OF NATO. FOR THE SOVIET SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE.

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CHILE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

other mines. They were strikes, which did not effect the policy of the government or its objectives. They were strikes made by the working class against the bureaucracy. The other strikes, which were made, to which went sectors who were not moved by interests of impelling workers democracy, were only half followed, were practically ignored by the masses. On the other hand, in the previous strike they cleaned out a whole leadership. The proletariat does not have any objection in the preparation for the civil war. It is necessary to create organs of the population, of the intervention of the districts, the factories, the trade unions, the peasants, all organs joined together with a programme of workers control of the factories, of the areas, of the distribution of food, and also of planning. One must show in a great task of agitation that it is necessary to plan production, without which the economy cannot increase much more. With planning it is possible to make a great increase in production, a great increase in export and better conditions of life. But for this it is necessary to nationalise. And to nationalise and plan, so that there be no new source of bureaucratisation workers control is necessary, the intervention of the masses, the education of all the people, with respect to the construction of socialism. All the people must intervene, as it is intervening today, as it intervened in the elections. The fact that they have voted in this way demonstrates a very elevated maturity of the Chilean people, a very, very great maturity.

It is necessary to organise the organs of power, extending the JAPs, the industrial class and the community councils, taking on functions of organisms of power. It is necessary to unite these committees of organisation and control with the trade unions, the workers areas and the factories, to apply the programme of nationalisations, and stimulating greater economic and social transformations in the country. It is necessary to pose appeals to the military to integrate themselves fully in these commit-

tees, and that they take the political discussion in support of the programme of the Popular Unity back to the barracks.

A much greater process of unification of the parties of the Popular Unity is necessary. It is necessary to make a plan of actions of all types, in common with the effect of elevating the militants, the cadres in the necessary function of the United Front, to reach in later stages, the single party. Integrate all the revolutionary tendencies, among them our party, the trotskyist Posadists, and also the MIR.

What defeats capitalism is the development of proletarian democracy, where everyone discusses, everyone speaks and concentrates with the proposition of elevating the country, gaining the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry, and disorganising capitalism, showing that we have a superior programme, and that socially we are superior. It is necessary to demonstrate a democracy in which we don't have any fear of discussing all the problems publicly.

The workers have shown their understanding, their capacity, their intelligence and reason to understand the programme, the policy and the necessity of an effort to overthrow capitalism. They are already making the effort in the economy. What it is necessary to do, is to take away the power, which still remains with capitalism, in the factories, with the judges, with the law, all the juridical structure. It is necessary to take away this power. On a world scale this power retreats, and the Workers States advance.

Capitalist power still maintains itself in Chile, and it must be taken away. The more the intervention of the masses advances, the more the possibility of taking the power from the capitalists is increased. It is necessary to develop the organs of power of the masses, which unite factories, areas, trade unions, to nationalise everything, plan the economy in a centralised way, take away the political, juridical, social and military power from capitalism, and make a socialist constitution.

J. POSADAS 8-3-73

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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

Viva the mobilisation of the world masses on Mayday.

Viva the mass Communist International

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 181

4th Friday of April 1973

PRICE 3p

Manifesto of the 1st May of the political bureau of the RWP(T) British Section IV International — Posadist.

Make this 1st May a gigantic demonstration in all the Country to prepare the unlimited General Strike

On his 1st May, the RWP(T) British Section of the IV International—Posadists, salutes the British working class movement, the students, the pensioners, the exploited petit bourgeoisie, the masses fighting against British Imperialism in Ireland, and appeals to all these sectors to make this May 1st the most formidable demonstration of working class power that has ever been seen in this country.

This May 1st comes as a period of civil war begins in Europe, as the final settlement of accounts between imperialism and capitalism and the world revolutionary forces approaches. Capitalism and imperialism are in an ever deepening social, political, and economic crisis. As Posadas has analysed: it is a total crisis, the crisis of the loss of support from all those social sectors which were once the social base of capitalism. Today the crisis of the dollar, the trade war which is developing between Japan and the U.S.A., the refusal of the European bourgeoisies to carry the cost of supporting the dollar, are monetary expression of total crisis. Now the conflict between the big capitalist power is so great that only their fear that the revolution and the Workers States would benefit, stops them from making inter-capitalist wars. And as they cannot do this, they prepare for war against the Workers States, because they see that these are the centres which simulate, help, show the way forward, even if they don't orientate directly and programmatically, all the revolutionary forces of the world.

Today Imperialism has exhausted its capacity for making political initiatives. In the past, after the second world war for example, it could make the Marshall Plan, it could construct mass parties with petit bourgeois support, like the Christian Democrats, it could, profiting from the conciliation of the Soviet bureaucracy make the United Nation Organisation, but today these possibilities are at an end. Now it can only make military adventures, gangster actions, of the type of the Israeli raid on Beirut, or the shooting down of the Libyan airliner, or the American bombing of Cambodia and Laos, or the British armies terrorism in Northern Ireland. And when all these actions fail in their historical objectives of terrorising, demoralising, and of producing passivity among the masses, it is because already humanity has seen that it is possible to live in a better way, a more human, fraternal way, once capitalism, imperialism, and all regimes of oppression are eliminated. Vietnam has shown it, and that is why the defeat of US Imperialism there is an event, which is equal in importance to the triumph of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

As Posadas analysed in the document on Vietnam of the 27. 1. 73: "The Vietnamese masses have shown to the masses of the world, that neither the bombs or the destruction have intimidated them, that their historic will is determined, because they want to construct socialism. Hence, after each destruction, they reconstruct immediately, independently of the fact that tomorrow the Yanks are going to bombard them again, because this ceasefire is very fragile. But the masses have already seen that it is not the bombs that win, it is the socialist will to triumph." Humanity has entered a new stage in history with the triumph of Vietnam, because in Vietnam there develops a team in the Communist Party, which understands and is conscious of its function and the function of Vietnam in history,

and which directs itself to influence the world. The recent speech of Pham Van Dong says in effect, 'follow our example, this is socialism', and this is going to influence more and more in the world communist and workers movement.

Vietnam has influenced all the course of advance of the world revolution in the last stage. It has been present in all the electoral advances in the last period: in France, Chile, in Argentina, as well as the victories of the left in Australia, Japan, New Zealand, Germany immediately previously. In all these elections, in which the workers parties advanced the will of the masses to take power is expressed; at this moment they lack the leadership to take power, but they show their will to do it through strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations, the united fronts formed between workers parties, and advances in the elections, in which they attract wider and wider sectors of the petit bourgeoisie.

Imperialism sees this situation, and prepares to confront it, in the only way it can, which is by military means, preparing a select team of assassins, preparing the nuclear war against the masses and against the Workers States. But at the same time the Workers States, and particularly the Soviet Union, which has the responsibility of the defence of the system of the Workers States, and which has the most profound roots and traditions of all the Workers States, also prepares. The Soviet Union sees that the war is coming, and no longer speaks of it as a nuclear holocaust, which will destroy humanity, but as a class against class, system against system, confrontation which the forces of socialism are going to win. And its preparation is not only military, it is also political. It has an interest in helping currents and tendencies within the CP's to understand these realities, and to base their activity on them, pushing forward the struggle against capitalism in each country.

All this world structure of the revolution weighs in Britain this May Day. The vanguard have shown that it wants power, that it can make the factories function, that it can solve the problems, which capitalism has no interest in solving. It has constantly maintained the struggle against the governments anti working class policies, inventing new forms of struggle, like the flying pickets, occupying factories and making them function under workers control, demonstrating and striking. By these actions it has given confidence to even the most marginal and distant sectors of the class, and of the petit bourgeoisie to utilise the same forms of struggle. When the hospital workers make such a combative strike for such a length of time, against all the pressure and blackmail of the press, radio and television, it is because they feel supported on the whole climate of anti-capitalist sentiment in the country, otherwise they would not have found the strength to do it. And it is this anti-capitalist sentiment, which is going to be given concrete organisational form on May 1st.

inspite of the opposition of Feather and the TUC right wing leadership, and the limitations of all the union leaderships in general. Only a few days after Feather had said in the USA that one day general strikes only happened in France and Italy, the TUC General Council were forced to respond, in part at least, to the demand of the vanguard for a 24 hour General Strike on May Day. Feather has to call a 'Day of Action' because he has no other way to contain the development of revolutionary currents in the trade union movement, and even if it is limited, this formula gives the vanguard the opportunity to give it the form, which it wants: general strike, demonstrations, mass assemblies and occupations.

In a similar way the struggle of the masses makes itself felt in the Labour Party, animating left sectors to advance with more audacious positions, and putting pressure on the right. Now it is the right of the LP, which is in process of

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The engineering union continues the line of confrontation with capitalism, but needs a more elevated programme

The engineering workers are key sectors in the centralisation of the working masses for the struggle for power to dispose not just of the Tory government but to liquidate the capitalist system. This conference of the engineers has shown that in spite of a prevaricating leadership which speaks in passive tones about the possibility of an explosion over prices and the evils of government policy, the line of confrontation with capitalism continues. Throughout the whole spate of factory occupations in the North West in 1972, the engineering leadership remained inert and incapable and it atomised the whole wages and conditions struggle, by refusing to wage a national fight, but sustained by a whole world situation, the engineers retained their will and capacity for action. There remains a margin of manoeuvre for the leadership to delay the consequences of the policy of confrontation but it cannot prevent the inexorable process going forward to topple capitalism, because this finds its basis not just in the social forces at war in this country but in the international advance of the socialist revolution, the victories in Vietnam, France, Chile etc. and the permanent total crisis of the capitalist system.

The conference placed the emphasis on a struggle for the 35 hour week, and equal pay for women now, demands which, if very limited in the context of the process now at work, completely defy the needs of the capitalist system, to reduce the standard of life of the masses. And the total rejection of the Industrial Relations Bill was decisive. It is also clear from the interventions of delegates that a process of continuous maturing is at work in relation to the objectives of the union. Speeches underlined the need for a massive support for May Day and the need to provoke the collapse of the Tory government this year, by the direct pressure of the working class. And there has been a strengthening of left sectors in the executive.

Nonetheless it is also clear that this conference shows how remote the union structure and policy remains from the will of the membership to conduct an all out fight with capitalism with a much more elevated programme of demands.

In the first place it is absurd that at a major conference of the union the situation in the Labour Party is not discussed. It is no use saying that if one discusses the need to throw out the right in the LP, this would provoke trouble

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'GAUCHISM', PUTSCHISM, THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

J. POSADAS 12 Nov. 72

INTRODUCTION

This document which we are publishing is a very profound analysis of the phenomenon of Gauchisme; what it is, what are the historic conditions which have given birth to it, what is its significance in the present stage of the struggle for socialism. The analysis has a fundamental importance, because it is directed to explain to the world communist movement, not solely what gauchisme is, but what is the policy and the tactic to gain these sectors who are stimulated by the complete disintegration of the capitalist system, but are not won to the communist movement, because of the failure of the CP leadership to make a revolutionary struggle for power. At the same time it shows to the gauchiste groups that they have to incorporate their strength, their passion in the fundamental activity of the construction of a new leadership inside the communist parties.

In the last weeks, in the demonstrations in France against the Debre law, it is possible to see that the conclusions of this document have been assimilated by the worker and student vanguard. In the immense demonstration of the 9th April there was a powerful united front of workers-students-pupils, of the Gauchistes with the French Communist Party and the CGT. The Gauchistes are abandoning their previous attitude of competition with the CP, and the CP instead of opposing the movement of the students, put itself at their head.

We appeal to the members of the 'groups' in this country to study this document, particularly relating it to the latest developments in France, and to understand that they have no future in competition with the Labour Party and TUS. We appeal to the workers vanguard in the LP, the CP and the Trade Unions to study it, so as to elevate their capacity to intervene in the process of construction of the new leadership, elevating the functioning and programme of the LP, so as to gain the groups.

We salute Cde Posadas for this analysis, which is already weighing and changing the reality of the process of the class struggle in France.

Ultra-leftism is not the same thing as gauchism or putchism. Extremism, leftism, and putchism are representations of similar, but not identical activities. Extremism is constituted from positions tending to organise the activity to overthrow the capitalist system. However, in France, at the moment the so-called 'ultra-left' groups have not either established nor are establishing the organisation of the activity to overthrow the capitalist system. There have been movements of protest, of accusation, of turmoil, of revolt, but no programme. Of 'Rouge'? What is its programme to overthrow capitalism? Where is the extremism? Extremism had a programme, it is true, a programme and a policy. What is the programme of these sectors? None of the three categories that we are quoting—'gauchists', 'Extremists', as the Communist Party calls them, or 'putchists'—have any programme or policy. They are categories of the same process: it is a question of demonstrating discontent, anti-capitalist reactions, on the part of layers that are not organised politically and in the trade unions with the proletariat.

It is a question of layers that have escaped the control, the influence of the proletariat, and that have escaped under that form. But if they occur, it is because in the present stage, between the immense maturity of the working class and the petit bourgeoisie, and the immobility, the passivity and the conservatism of the leaderships, a vacuum has formed which has been filled by these people; mainly among the students and in a part

of the petit bourgeoisie. These, do not feel the Party, they do not understand, because they have not been educated in the Party life, and do not see either the Party, or trade union leaderships capable and determined to take power. In all these movements the conception has arisen that it is a matter of a problem of individual decision, and not of scientific organisation.

NONE OF THE GAUCHISTS ARE CONCERNED WITH THE PROGRAMME

The bureaucracy of the Workers States remained inert faced with the revolutionary needs; in spite of the limited progress of the Workers States, this had not translated itself into a revolutionary programme, policy and objectives up to May 1968. Until then, there had not been in the leaderships of the Workers States the decision that there is now. The meeting of all the Communist Parties in Moscow took place in 1969, that is to say, after May. This situation left the field open to all these currents, that erupted, full of vigor, against the capitalist system, and which demonstrated that the petit bourgeoisie, in all its circles, the students, in the universities, and in secondary education—was won to the revolution.

The fact that there was not a party or a centre, which organised the struggle for power has developed individual inclinations among them all. This is the reason for which all these groups are associations of individuals, and it is for this reason that they also have no pre-occupation with programme and policy. And 'Rouge' arrives at the abnormal conclusion of suspending its Congress for a month, on the very day, when it was to hold it. It is absurd! One does this when there is neither policy nor programme, nor objectives or unity established on the basis of the political programme and revolutionary objectives, but only an internal dispersion and a unity established on the basis of the common participation in demonstrations and indi-

main impassive! This shows the inveterate empiricism, which exists within these movements. And empiricism that submits to nothing, not even to the experience of life, if not they would have organised themselves a long time ago.

The process advances, extends itself develops. There is a real programme, effective progress the working class sees it, and the petit bourgeoisie is won by it. This robs these groups, in consequence of the base for the independent formulation, of an individual and subjective protest. It is why they disintegrate. The

progress goes towards intelligence and reason. It is necessary to formulate a programme and policy, and to base oneself on specific facts that show that there is, in the Workers States, in the Communist Parties, a progress, limited, but real, that makes them elaborate, and there develops within them an internal struggle for a change of leadership to imply the revolution. It is hence necessary to intervene in this process, and to take part in the development and the future of the Workers States.

WE ARE NOT INDEPENDENT OF THE WORKERS STATES

Humanity has in the Workers States instruments for its progress. These groups remain alien to this, independent, it is absurd! The life which they lead is a life foreign to the process in development. How is it possible to remain foreign to the course that the development of the Workers States follows? To the progress that they are making? We, ourselves, we live, we share all the development, and the progress, which the Workers States are making. We do not share the political limitations, their errors, we criticise them, but we share their historical objective, the development, and the historical future of these instruments of progress that the Workers States are. We look at the mass communist parties as instruments for the progress of humanity, which it is necessary to aid to reconstruct, to organise themselves, and we intervene for this. It is for this reason that everything, which happens there is part of our own interests. We share and live all this process. These groups do not do this, they are foreign to this, independent.

Form all this movement, a small circle has remained. It is necessary to take into account that this phenomenon has not occurred in the whole world, but only in France, and very little in Italy. It is not a world process. It has occurred in these two countries, because of conditions that are peculiar to them, because it is a matter of countries having a profound petit bourgeois base, influenced by the revolution, by the proletariat, and which by reason of the absence of leadership, of revolutionary functioning, and objectives on the part of the Communist Party, has permitted the development of these so called; 'ultra-lefts'.

None of these groups speaks of the world rise of the revolution, or of the crisis in process in the Workers States, or of the partial regeneration, because they do not understand, and do not pre-occupy themselves with understanding them. They say: 'The bureaucracy is a liar, and it always will be.' Agreed, it is true, but is it the bureaucracy, which represents the Workers States? Has at the faculty and capacity to do what it wants? To speak affirmatively, is to give to it an absurd historical power! If the working class, the scientific and technical progress of the Workers States, the union the combination and the objective programming of the working class, and of the technical progress of the Workers States, if the progress of these wasn't demonstrated under a superior form, by liquidating this bureaucracy, then there would be no future for humanity. Then the sole future would be the atomic war and the death of everybody! Hence, all these people should liquidate themselves, buy their own tombs, and shut themselves in them, and depart!

What is the future of humanity? The present stage is short. Imperialism prepares for the atomic war. It already has the necessary arms at its disposal to launch it. The concentration and the decision for this are already acquired. The cynicism of Nixon about Vietnam demonstrates

progress puts in communication science, intelligence and society, and leads all these sectors to feel themselves to be

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NEW PUBLICATION OF THE SECTION

THE DECISIVE FUNCTION OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN THE FORMATION OF THE LEFT IN THE GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY

J. POSADAS 17-3-73 10p.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

the parasites of history, to feel inferior. They no longer feel themselves as masters of society, but as parasites. This exercises a pressure on them all, and they show themselves to be influenced by the revolution, by the intellectual progress. This latter wins them, and tends to dissolve the basis of the capitalist structure.

THE PROCESS PERMITS THE RATIONAL IDEAS OF MARXISM TO DEVELOP

In the Workers States, the world progress of the revolution acts also in the same sense, weakening consequently the points of support, and the supports of the bureaucracy. This opens necessarily the road—it is no longer possible to prevent it—to the elevation of the intervention of the masses, and it is this, which produces these changes! In Poland, changes in the T.U.'s, in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, where the same change is verified, and the workers rise against the making of the market economy, against the system of profit. Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, the USSR, Cuba are so many Workers States that elevate themselves impelled by this process, which weakens the points of support, the supports of the bureaucracy, which weaken and break the bases of the historic and concrete argument for the bureaucracy.

The process permits on the contrary, opening the way to develop the rational ideas of marxism, the progress of marxism in the framework of this movement. The bureaucracy is a structure solidly linked to the economic, commercial, scientific and technical apparatus, it has in its hands the levers of power, but to sustain itself, it has no longer the force of justification. The progress in the bureaucratic team itself weakens and breaks, and within the bureaucracy tendencies are progressing that abandon the bureaucratic conception.

But, more important still, than these changes inside the bureaucracy, is the fact, that the working class and the intellectuals stimulate the rationalisation of the utilisation of the Workers States, impel it to be rational, with Marxism! New layers, important sectors advance, weakening the domination of the economic, scientific, and technical apparatus. They open the road to new sectors. This aids, consequently, the gaining of con-

science to understand and analyse, to resort to Marxism. Between the advance of these layers and the utilisation of Marxism, there are no longer conflicts, there are limitations, delays, but there are no longer conflicts, at least not essential ones. This permits us to have a better support and a greater base of support to exercise our influence on the Communist Parties. The bureaucracy finds itself weakened, and is then forced to change.

In the course of this very process, the power, the force and the capacity of capitalism diminishes. It disintegrates internally. The elections in the United States are the proof of this, and the most complete one. Only half of the electorate has voted and from this half, almost 40% votes against the war, this leaves Nixon with about 20%, and this is the sector of the large bourgeoisie, and the upper layers of the well off petit bourgeoisie. Capitalism has no base to negotiate with the Workers States. It has no more terrain, margin or means for agreements, because the course of the negotiations no longer depends either on the bureaucracy, or on capitalism. The masses advance, they want to take power. They provoke changes in Poland, in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, the USSR! Changes, Changes, and still changes, all favourable to the development of socialist measures. Capitalism has no longer any base to negotiate with the Soviet bureaucracy, which, on its own side, has no longer the means to negotiate with the capitalist system. The bureaucracy can no longer dispose of the masses and capitalism has no longer the means to negotiate. Such is the base of the partial regeneration. This process does not express itself in the same way in the concrete T.U. field, or political field, but it is the base, which feeds all the present process.

THESE LEFTIST MOVEMENTS LOSE MORE AND MORE THEIR MARGIN FOR ACTION

These layers which feed 'Rouge', 'Lutte Ouvriere', and all these groups, are from a student, intellectual and professional workers origin. There are very few workers among them. They are groups fed by the world process of the revolution which stimulates these layers, which the Communist Party cannot organise, because its policy does not respond to the subjective and individualistic empiricism of these groups. But at the same time that there is subjective and individualistic empiricism there is the revolutionary aspiration of all these people. And between individualism, subjectivism, and the revolutionary desire, what is it that decides? The revolutionary desire! This is the reason why all the leftist groups continuously renew themselves, but also and at the same time, disintegrate. They retreat, and not all of them are won to the Communist Party.

We exercise an important influence on this process, by aiding them to understand. Dutschke, Cohn-Bendit, have disappeared. They were the echos, the expressions of a very short stage, in the course of which they could have developed themselves as a revolutionary movement. But they drowned themselves because they counted on the spontaneity of this process, of which they aspired to

groups. But the revolutionary aspiration of these petit bourgeois masses sought to overthrow the capitalist system, expressed the fact that a whole social layer was arising, furious, against the capitalist system, because it could see it was incapable of giving anything. It saw it as responsible for all the evils of society, and it was right. But this mass has not found the necessary instrument to accomplish what it wanted: to smash the capitalist system. More than smash the capitalist system, it was a form for an important sector, above all intellectual, for a whole mass of individual protesters, to demonstrate their contempt for the capitalist system, for the bosses, for the owners. They were not scientific organisers of the struggle against capitalism. They were more the representatives of individual aspirations, rejections, rancours. They did not seek a scientific organisation to eliminate an obstacle put in the way to the fraternal development of humanity, but they constitute a powerful, very strong base, an important social weight, in conditions to be won by the revolution. If they have not been, it is the fault of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party. If these two parties had fulfilled their revolutionary role, this strata would not have been organised nor would the 'French May' have taken the form which it took.

On the contrary, the same causes which led to the 'French May' would have provoked and led to the struggle for power in France. This stage is being ordered in a new way. The crisis of growth, the partial regeneration of the Communist Parties, is putting order into the Party itself. Our intervention weighs inside these movements (as 'Rouge', 'Lutte Ouvriere'), even though in a very limited way. We think and we orientate. The process in ascent in the Communist Parties continues, even if it is in a limited manner. The internal changes continue within it. The T.U. policy, without being still what it could be, comes closer to the necessary policy. All these changes limit the capacity of action of these groups, and their power of attraction over the petit bourgeoisie. All, on the contrary, are more and more won to the T.U. movement, by the Communist Party, by the Socialist Party. This is the reason for which they now speak of not present-

ing themselves in the elections. They give themselves their death certificate, for nobody doubts that they are going to die out. None of these groups has any future.

At the same time as this movement develops, even in the framework of the Popular Union, even under the form of an electoral response, to the necessity for the struggle for power, these groups lose any margin for action, given that the petit bourgeoisie is very large in France, and has a very great social weight, there always remains a certain base, a certain margin, for the petit bourgeois demonstrations, but it is not possible to repeat the tumultuous movements, like those of the past. The movement which has engendered 'Rouge' is dead. And it is the reason why 'Rouge' fades away, without knowing it, and without being conscious of it. All the groups also fade away. The fact that they can gather 1,000, 2,000 or 5,000 people in a demonstration does not signify that they have a future or a perspective. In France, there is the basis for similar movements, of thousands of people, because of the very limited policy of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party. What is fading away at the moment, is the nature, the force and the perspective of all these movements.

The essential base is that, even though the reason which have given birth to the 'French May' remain, the policy that the Communist and Socialist Parties are making, the United Front—even limited, to the T.U. field—provide a response to the will for struggle of the student masses, and exert an attraction over them. In the first stage, it was still passive. But the demonstrations of the youth for Vietnam has demonstrated that there is not in fact any passivity. It is necessary, consequently, to intervene in this process.

We appeal to all these groups to intervene, to learn, to understand that the changes in the Communist Party are real changes, which come from the fact that the leadership, without becoming revolutionary, is obliged to progress by defending itself, by applying a policy nearer to the class necessities. This opens the way for being able to intervene and exert a weight in it, from outside and from inside.

J. Posadas 12-11-72.

EXPLANATORY NOTE

'Gauchisme' is a term used by the French Communist Party to define the revolutionary groups of Trotskyist, Maoist, and Anarchist origin, which led the student agitation in May 1968. In this country the CP calls them "the groups". Ultra leftism or extremism refer to the tendencies in the Communist

Parties, which Lenin analysed in "Left-wing communism the infantile disorder".

Putschism, which comes from the German word putsch, signifies the conception of groups who make the struggle against capitalism in an individual form.

Posadas defines the 'Gauchistes' more precisely as Putschists.

Rouge and Lutte Ouvriere refer to two groups of Trotskyist origin, the first led by the capitulators from Trotskyism, Mandel, Frank and Maitan.

Cohn Bendit and Rudy Dutschke, the first in France, the second in Germany were at the head of the student movement of 1968.

TO BE PUBLISHED IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG

Manifesto of the 1st May of the International Secretariat of the IV International

OBTAINABLE NOW IN BULLETIN FORM FROM THE ADDRESS OF THE PARTY

The manifesto of the 1st of May....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

being expelled, as has happened in the German Social Democracy or the French and Italian CP's. Taverne has gone and now the pressure is on De Freitas, and Prentice, because of their openly anti-working class position. Moreover, if capitalism showed itself capable to developing the economy, this would encourage the right of the LP, but now the leadership sees the crisis and collapse of capitalism, and no longer acts entirely as a prop to support this system. Now the LP makes difficulties for capitalism; it is in process of transformation from a Social Democratic Party into a Socialist Party, as is taking place in the S.P.s of Germany and Scandinavia. Now the LP makes an agreement with the TUC, a programme for government, in which it promises to repeal the Industrial Relations Act and the Housing Finance Act, and to control prices, and now the LP issues a plan which proposes to take over, partly or completely, with limited compensation the 25 biggest and most profitable private companies. These are not measures to prop up an ailing capitalism, these are measures which impede the functioning of capitalism and weaken it. They never proposed such a programme before, but now they do, stimulated by the programme of the Popular Unity in France, and by the incapacity of capitalism itself, but without the intransigent struggle of the vanguard, which never accepted to carry the costs of the crisis of capitalism on its shoulders, the LP leadership would never have adopted such a programme.

In a moment when the class was preparing to concentrate itself in this action on May Day, came the local elections.

And they result in a rout for the Tory Party. The class has used this method even if it is a limited one (and it understands that it is limited), to deal a blow at the capitalist class. In the coming period these labour councils can play an important role, as the Red Councils in Italy have done, confronting the central government on question of housing, rents, education, social services, transport etc., mobilising the masses to support the reforms, which the councils made. In the next period, the same can be done in Britain; mobilisations, meetings, participation of the masses in the council meeting to impose the programme of free transport, council house building etc.

If in the last months, Heath can claim some successes in holding down pay rises within the £1 plus 4% norm, it is because the union leaderships have not been prepared to organise a united struggle against this policy. But this doesn't mean a retreat on the part of the working class, for the class struggle does not just advance by a simple arithmetic addition of strikes. The vanguard can see the limitation of all the union leaderships, can see that the leaderships are not prepared to make a struggle, which now has revolutionary implications. And so it seeks to deepen its understanding, to improve its organisation, improve its links with other sectors, to prepare the conditions for a new leadership. And now it fixes its intention on making May the 1st, a means by which it can put itself in contact with other sectors of the vanguard, other sectors of the population, communicating to them its confidence and its will to go to power.

British Imperialism responds to this situation with force. The Special Patrol Group, armed, and now used against pickets as at St. Thomas's Hospital, the immense shows of police strength against demonstrators in Shrewsbury and Plymouth, the bomb explosion in London and the holding of suspects without access to lawyers, or to their families for a number of days, are expressions of this. British Imperialism is preparing to do in Britain what it has already been doing in Ireland, and it will have as little success in Britain as it has had in Ireland. The Paras can murder people, "shoot them whilst they are trying to escape", torture and beat suspects, but the will of the masses and the confidence of the masses remains unbreakable. On this first of May in all the demonstrations, in all the meetings it is necessary to unite all the slogans and demands for higher wages and better conditions of life etc. to the demand that British Imperialism should withdraw its troops from Ireland, making direct appeals to the soldiers to desert and to turn their guns on their officers.

This May Day is going to signify a great step forward in the struggle of the British working class, but in itself it is not going to be sufficient to get rid of the government, or even make it give up its anti-working class policies, but it can be made a means of preparing the leadership, the organs, the programme to launch within a short period of time, the unlimited general strike to bring it down. There has to be discussions in the factories, elections of committees in the neighbourhoods, which link with the factories and the trade unions, and trade councils, and discuss how to resolve all the problems of the neighbourhood. Two essential demands, which can attract all the population in this period of inflation and unemployment must be generalised: all wages to rise with the cost of living, and work sharing without loss of pay. Every factory, every trade union branch, every trades council, must make a struggle around these immediate demands. But it is necessary also to make discussions on the T.U.C./L.P. agreement, and on the latest nationalisation document of the LP,

extending and deepening their conclusions and inviting the local Labour MP's and councillors to participate in these discussions, so that the class can hear and judge their positions, and reject them if they go against the interests of the class. In these meetings it is necessary to discuss a complete programme of nationalisations, workers control, monopoly of foreign trade, house building, programme for health services, transport, education, pensions etc., to be applied by the next Labour government.

In this way steps will be taken to change the programme, and the structure of the Labour Party, making it much more linked to the base, and thus preparing the way, so that the left from principally the trade union field, but incorporating elements of the existing left, can take power in the party, to transform it into a Revolutionary Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

The CP can help in all this process, with its militants, with the authority, which it has in the factories, and its authority from being linked to the Workers States. On May Day and all the subsequent demonstration it is necessary to unite slogans for nationalisation, workers control, with anti-imperialist slogans, demanding the end to NATO, for the end of the dictatorships in Spain, Portugal and Greece, for demonstrations, actions to prevent the massacre of the prisoners held in Thieu's jails in S. Vietnam, to call for the single trade union centre in Europe, and for the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe, and the world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist World United Front.

24-4-73

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

*) The Triumph of Humanity in Vietnam against Yankee Imperialism, the Extension of the Socialist Revolution, and the Unity of the World Socialist Movement.

Life of the International

FRANCE

OUR PARTY IN THE DEMONSTRATION OF 2 APRIL

(From Lutte Communiste)

We salute the participation of our French Section with banner and leaflets in the demonstrations in Paris and Marseilles, on the 2 April to support the demands of the students against the Loi Debre, to show the necessity of elevating the united front of the parties and workers trade unions with the student movement not only to impose these demands, but to make the common programme triumph with the left to power. The delegations of our party found a great echo among the demonstrators, the people gathered on the pavements and the slogans were commented upon extensively, as were the orientations of the leaflets on the organisation of the united front to advance in the struggle against the regime.

We denounce the incorrect attitude of some comrade stewards in Paris who opposed our participation in the middle of the demonstration and acted bureaucratically to place us at the back of the demonstration. This is not a correct position to refuse the participation of political organisations. We do not ask an exception be made for us, but we struggle so that in all the demonstrations in defence of rights and demands, whether economic or political, of the masses, all the tendencies, currents parties, trade unions, supporting the demands, the struggle against the capitalist regime, can participate. That is democracy and democratic proletarian functioning of the workers movement.

One cannot make a separation between the workers movement, the student, trade union and political movement. It is capitalism which acts in this way to hinder the most capable and the most organised from influencing the others; and also the bureaucratic apparatuses who wish to seal off the movements the better to dominate them. There is no separation in the struggles; there can be different motives, but all converge towards the same objective, to overthrow capitalism. Hundreds of thousands of demonstrators in Paris did not struggle only for their particular problems, but against the regime.

MEXICO

The 8 National Conference of the Mexican Section was held in December on the basis of the most recent text of the Cde Posadas. On the basis of all the world perspectives, the advance of partial regeneration in the Workers States, the victory in Vietnam etc. The conference was necessary to prepare the party to intervene in a process of the revolutionary state towards which Mexico is going, although it may be of very short duration. While maintaining the task to construct the workers party based on the trade unions, it is necessary to dominate the development of the revolutionary nationalist movement and to impel it, not to leave it in the nationalist framework, where it has no solution, but to utilise it as a transitory means to develop the independant organisms and to pass from the stage of the revolutionary state to a Workers State. The conference saluted the work of Cde Posadas and the International Secretariat, the activity of all the sections of the International and the historic triumph of the masses of Vietnam.

The engineering conference....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

from the right wing in the union, so it will, but it is necessary to liquidate all these sectors, who have no basis to sustain themselves in this stage. It is possible to do this. The Labour Party is founded on the support of the Unions, it is necessary that engineers take resolutions on the process of the LP, intervene on the need to change its structure, appeal for mass meetings to be called by the Labour Party; to discuss party policy as part of a whole campaign to dynamise the functioning of the LP, and if the latter does not call such meetings, then the engineers should. It is outside all reason to have a major meeting of the engineers and not discuss the LP. The trade unions have to intervene on political issues; to continue on the line of discussing only trade union affairs is to give a weapon to the moribund right in the union, when there is no justification for their existence. The fact that a resolution supported the left press ie. Morning Star, Tribune etc. shows the growing need objectively for a political press not just a union press. The engineering vanguard wants a revolutionary press, it is true that the papers quoted in no way represent the needs of the present situation, but the fact of seeking to support a left political press shows the steady maturing in the union, even if it finds no adequate representative.

And we appeal for the union in its interventions on May Day (and not only on May Day) to utilise its own programme of nationalisations, but to link them up with demands for workers control (again not discussed in the conference), and demands TO MAKE CAPITALISM PAY FOR ITS OWN CRISIS, emphasising particularly the SLIDING SCALE OF HOURS AND WAGES to meet the capitalist process of unemployment and inflation.

It is necessary that future meetings of the union, whether at regional, local or

national level intervene much more systematically on political issues. It remains scandalous, and we condemn it, that the engineering union leadership refuses to discuss what is happening in Ireland, although it affects thousands of their own members. It is not possible to develop a policy for Britain, which pays no attention to Ireland. We appeal to the engineers to intervene on the problems of Ireland, countering the superficial efforts of capitalism to pump money into N. Ireland with a programme of public works, a workers plan of production, to develop the economy there, and demanding the withdrawal of troops.

The intervention of the engineers in May Day is going to give an immense stimulus to the struggle for power in this country, to throw out the capitalist government, and replace it with a left Labour government, committed to the implementation of a full anti capitalist programme. It is also going to give a great stimulus to greater local initiatives by engineering branches and regional committees to compensate for the inertia in the leadership of the union. It is going to prepare the way for superior conferences at local and national level. On this basis we appeal for a superior intervention of the union branches, aimed at the Labour parties, and trades councils, with the objective of stimulating a greater life with the masses in the factories, in the workers zones, discussing all the problems, and issues which face the masses, developing publications, which disseminate ideas and experience, thus transforming the life of the engineering union, making it a source of organising power for the working class, making its conference a real orientation for the construction of a new leadership in the Labour Party, and the construction of the organisms of dual power, factory committees, zone committees, mass assemblies, to overthrow capitalism and construct socialism.

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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. 182 2nd Friday of May 1973 PRICE 3p

FOR MEETINGS AND DEMONSTRATIONS
IN SUPPORT OF THE LEBANESE MASSES
AND FEDAYEEN IN THEIR REVOLUT-
IONARY STRUGGLE AGAINST THE
CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT IN
LEBANON

Go forward from MAY DAY to the preparation of the unlimited General Strike to overthrow the Tories

Despite the frantic efforts of the bourgeoisie, using to the fullest extent radio, television and the press, despite the sabotage of sectors of the Trade Union leadership, May Day 1973 has been a triumph for the vanguard of the workers in this country. Without a national leadership, without organisations the vanguard, the flower of the working class mobilised in all the major proletarian centres. In Birmingham, Liverpool, London, Glasgow, Manchester etc. tens of thousands of workers—and their families—launched strikes and demonstrations, often, as with the electricians in London, in direct opposition to the instructions of their national union leadership. It has been an enormous victory that for the first time—or at least the first time for decades—the working class has made May Day a day of mobilisations, strikes, a day of celebration and, in so doing, has overcome a lack of national leadership from the Trade Unions and from the Labour Party. Of course the bourgeoisie has reacted by lying about the figures, about the number of workers on strike. They say 1.6 million, but the AUEW—who mobilised the majority of their membership—has 1.4 millions alone, and it is nonsense to imagine that the rest of the working class only mobilised 200,000. The bourgeoisie lied, and it is a measure of their panic fear of these magnificent mobilisations of the workers vanguard that they had to lie. They are aware that the class did not mobilise simply for a one-day strike, or to impose a holiday, but as a preparation for further mobilisations to overthrow the Tory government. Workers in London, for example, made this very clear when they opposed speakers who tried to limit the mobilisations to a perspective of imposing May Day as a public holiday. We are not opposed to May Day as a public holiday of course, but this is not why the strikes and demonstrations were called. Even the Trade Union leaders at the TUC recall conference did not propose a 'day of action' to impose a public holiday, but to oppose the policies of the government—and they only weakly reflect the spirit of the working class.

The vanguard mobilised on May Day not simply in opposition to the government, but with a spirit of the struggle for power. Faced with the total world crisis of capitalism, faced with the unwillingness and inability of capitalism to solve any major problem—housing, employment, education—the vanguard used its mobilisations on May Day to show itself as an alternative leadership for society, to attract other sectors of the population. In this context it is important that students in Oxford joined a picket of workers to prevent buses leaving the garage on May 1st. Thus May Day was a preparation in the sense that the class in mobilisation showed itself as an attractive force for such sectors as the teachers in the National Association of Schoolmasters (not previously a militant body), who are proposing strike action against overcrowded classes. It is necessary to draw for this country the conclusions from the Revolutionary General Strike of May 1968 in France, which was prepared by a series of one-day and half-day strikes. It is necessary to prepare with the anti-capitalist programme, with the organisms for the greater mobilisations, which this May Day has signalled.

It is clear that the mobilisations on May Day surpassed the trade union or economic level, they were on the political plane, and this was expressed by the fact that the NEC of the Labour Party was forced to support it, and the local Labour Parties mobilised in the demonstrations; they did this without the support of the national leadership of the Labour Party, who organised nothing and—with certain notable exceptions—didn't even appear on the demonstrat-

ions. It was the base of the Labour Party which mobilised itself, and it is significant, that one of the best anti-capitalist speeches in London came from a member of the Labour Party Young Socialists. It is significant, because it expressed the growing crisis within the Labour Party which is constantly deepened by the mobilisations of the class.

If the vanguard received little from the Labour Party leadership, it received very little more in the way of leadership from the Communist Party (CP). It is true, of course, that the CP militants played a full part in the organisation of May Day, in the factories, trade union branches and trades councils, but the leadership remained at the level of pointing out the problems, which the class faces under capitalism, rising prices, rents, unemployment etc. It is, however, not the role of leadership to tell the class what it experiences daily, the workers already know this! The slogans raised by the CP took no account of the level of the struggle, of the consciousness of the masses in this country, with the mobilisations on May Day, with the factory occupations, nor did they take any account of the world process of the revolution. When the whole spirit of the mobilisation was to overthrow the Tories, the CP leadership failed to raise the means to do this, the Unlimited General Strike. When even the EETPU—which has one of the most backward leaderships in the trade union movement—has to debate the question of the General Strike at its annual conference, then the idea of the General Strike is in the heads of the masses. A leadership which doesn't even understand this can play no role at all in the coming struggles. Clearly there is a gap between the sector of the CP, which is part of the workers vanguard, which shares the daily experience of the class, and the apparatus of the party. We appeal to the CP comrades to draw the conclusions from May Day, to discuss and to formulate a policy and programme, which bases itself on these

mobilisations, on the slogans and spirit of the vanguard, which seeks the means to launch the unlimited General Strike to overthrow the Tories on the road to imposing workers power.

Another significance of May Day was that it demonstrated that the last traces of the insulation, which British imperialism, and the Labour and Trade Union leaderships, have tried to impose between the British working class, and the world process in a previous historic period have been destroyed. This May Day the British workers joined the demonstrations and mobilisations of workers, which ringed the planet. The vanguard, which mobilised in Birmingham and Liverpool did so in common with the workers of France, Sweden, Italy, Spain, the Soviet Union, China, Egypt and Israel. This May 1st, more than never before expressed the objective, as yet unorganised. World anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front. It is significant that Lawrence Daly (secretary of the NUM), received the greatest ovation—a real acclaim—when, in the London demonstration, he called for a United Socialist Ireland—was this from workers who were only interested in the price of butter? No! these demonstrations moved in the spirit of a world struggle for power.

In the world mobilisations on May Day the Workers States also intervened as we saw, for example, in the demonstrations in Liverpool, which were attended by delegates from the Soviet Union and the East German Workers State. The comrades from East Germany in their speeches in Liverpool, based themselves on the idea of Proletarian Internationalism and, CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

The electricians Conference was a victory which will stimulate the advance of the left in the T.U.-s and the Labour Party

The conference of the EETPU shows the depth of the crisis for all the right wing cliques throughout the LP, the trade unions, Labour councils etc. The EETPU is notorious for the brutish, reactionary nature of its leadership. The failure of the CP to develop a revolutionary trade unionism in the early sixties, although they were in the leadership of the union, led to the domination of the clique around Cannon, dedicated to the expulsion of militants.

Electricians marched on May Day with the slogans "Out with Heath, Out with Chapple", showing the level, which the struggle has reached in the union, and the growing confidence of these workers sustained by the whole world tide of history against the forces of capitalism and the reactionary conceptions of trade unionism. Even at this conference, Chapple ordered two delegates to leave the rostrum for daring to criticise his rotten leadership. But what he represents is dying throughout the trade unions. At the

TUC last year, he was not allowed to speak against the line of the TUC, rejecting the Industrial Relations Act. And at this conference, the reactionary leadership suffered a severe blow, when any compromise with the Industrial Relations Act was rejected, and the efforts of the EC to have the question referred back to itself was thrown out. In vain Chapple spoke about the "need for realism". A motion calling for "the public ownership of all major industries" was passed. Internationalist sentiment was expressed by

the passing of a resolution, calling for aid to help the downfall of the fascist regime in Spain. Resolutions against the general strike, or attacking the totalitarian regimes in Eastern Europe do not detract from the fundamental gains of this conference, bearing in mind that the union is heavily bureaucratised, and as Chapple puts it "democracy is obeying the rules"—those laid down by the bureaucrats.

The vanguard has scored a great triumph in this conference of the EETPU. It does not mean that the bureaucratic functioning is going to go immediately or in the near future, but it is decisive blow at the remnants of the bureaucratic right in the unions, whether represented by the Conways or the Chapples. The vanguard increasingly imposes itself despite the lack of life, of publications, of ideas, of fraternal functioning in the trade unions. And this in turn weakens and demoralises the right in the Labour

CONTINUED ON PAGE 4

Manifesto of the 1st May of the International Secretariat of the IV International (Posadist)

(ALREADY DISTRIBUTED AS A BULLETIN ON THE MAY DAY DEMONSTRATIONS)

**TO THE PROLETARIAT,
THE EXPLOITED MASSES, WORKERS, PEASANTS, PETIT
BOURGEOISIE,
TO THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST MOVEMENT,
TO THE LEFT CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT,
TO THE LEFT NATIONALIST MILITARY CURRENTS,
TO THE WORKERS STATES,
TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STATES LIKE CHILE, LIKE ALGERIA,
TO THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES!**

This 1st of May shows a profound world advance of the revolution, of the struggles of the masses of the world, to impose order on the chaos which capitalism is unleashing. There is an immense progress in the social, economic, political, trade union, cultural capacity of the exploited masses of the world. It is a united process in which the Workers States, the Revolutionary States, the exploited masses of the world by means of their trade union and political activity, the masses of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are impelling history.

The triumph of humanity in Vietnam, the triumph of the Vietnamese masses is the world united front against the capitalist system, the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, the defeat in the rest of the world, of imperialism, which is besieged by the masses; the incessant progress of the revolutionary activity of the proletariat, of the trade union movement, the development of the social and political struggles; the constant and uninterrupted progress of the trade union struggles of the proletariat in France, in Italy, in Britain, Belgium, which advance continually in actions of dual power; the constant advance of organs, which fight over the leadership of society by capitalism, the constant advance of the struggles of the masses in France, in Italy, in Britain, which through the trade union and political action develop the organs to lead, be it in the factory, or society as a whole; the constant, uninterrupted advance, of actions of the United Front of the masses, Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist, Peasant, Student, show a unified process and a united activity of the masses, which advances in the sentiment, the consciousness, the will to smash the capitalist system.

The capitalist system expresses itself in its constant crises, crisis of the dollar, crisis of the currency, constant crisis of the European Common Market, intensification of the conflict, the inter-capitalist competition, intensification of the competition of Yankee imperialism with the rest of the world capitalist system, intensification of the partial and general crises of the capitalist system, total crisis of the system in all countries; this crisis is not simply expressed in the economic crisis, but in Latin America, in Asia, in Africa yes it is. In the large capitalist countries this economic crisis is expressed through a constant conflict and competition between the capitalist powers and through the devaluation of the currency, the crisis of the dollar which is the essential pillar of the capitalist system. The capitalist apparatus is in full degradation, immorality, corruption. The "Watergate" affair in the United States is only a demonstration of this, while the solidarity, the united front of the masses of the world increases in heroic actions as with Vietnam, in communist sentiment and objectives.

In the proletarian camp there is constantly the unity of action of the masses, the sentiment of unification, of actions in common, of centralisation of the action of the masses in trade union, electoral and social struggles. The united front of the masses in Italy, in France, in Britain, in Belgium, shows a profound sentiment of historic security of the masses who unite themselves seeking to exert a pressure, to orientate, to stimulate their leaderships, to decide to advance to power. There is the electoral fact of the Popular Union in France which, even with a limited programme but an anti-capitalist programme, is a progress of the class unity of the masses. There is the powerful trade union movement of the masses of Italy, the immense triumphs of the masses in Italy, the social conquests, trade union conquests, wage increases, the conquests of dual power in various aspects from the capitalist system. There is the triumph of the left of the Social Democratic Party in Germany. There is the enormous weight of the North American masses who unifying themselves in the world action of the masses, together with the struggles of the masses of Vietnam, forced Yankee imperialism to withdraw from Vietnam, to sign the ceasefire in Vietnam. There is the triumph of the Peronist masses in the Argentine where the proletariat attracted the exploited masses after 18

years of persecution and repression, maintaining and developing the struggle in the trade union field, elevating anti-imperialist programmes like Huerta Grande and La Falda. The Argentinian masses have demonstrated their combative will which is a reflection of the pressure of the world advance of the revolution. There is the triumph of the Chilean masses, the Socialist Communist United Front in Chile. There is the world influence on the left Nationalist and Christian Democratic movements of the revolution stimulating tendencies towards socialism. This is the rapid stage of Christian Democratic movements, Nationalist movements, with worker and popular bases advancing towards the revolution. There is the immense progress of the struggles of the masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America, the enormous conquests of the masses.

In the great capitalist countries, the masses dispute with the owners over all the problems relative to work, to wages, achieving a series of conquests and uniting themselves. The struggles of the workers, students, peasant masses are united. Mass assemblies of thousands, in factories with the intervention of the adjacent workers areas and of students, teachers, clerics take place. There is a massive incorporation of the student movement, of school children, of the 14-16 age group, from the universities; an incorporation of teachers and students in the same movement. There is the beginning of the development of the installation of worker, student governments in the universities with the massive participation of the young, of children, of the 14-18 age group who intervene in the college and university struggles, giving to them an anti-capitalist character. They conflict with the capitalist character of the laws which repress the university movement and the unification of the student movement, with the workers movement, with the Communist and Socialist parties. There is the influence of this process in the United States. There is the increase of the reaction in the United States against the plan of Nixon to continue the war in Vietnam; the world influence over the petit bourgeoisie in the United States to protest, to oppose the plan of Yankee imperialism. There is the advance of the participation throughout the world of the Workers States. Incessant and constant progress of the intervention of the Soviet Union, China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hun-

gary, Rumania in the world process of the economy, in the social and political life in the world. There is the constant increase of the influence, of the authority of the weight of the Workers States. This is the essential centre of this stage of history.

This stage is dominated by the pressure and the struggles of the masses, by the progress of the Workers States—called the Socialist Countries—the incessant progress of the centralised unification of the masses in the sentiment of unification of the workers, peasants, students. There is the enormous influence in the apparatus of repression of the capitalist system which decomposes and disintegrates it. This is expressed through tendencies towards the trade union organisation of the police movement, of the soldiers who try to take the same path and the example of the workers' mobilisations and strikes of the police and even of soldiers as in Sweden, in Europe and Latin America, like the action of trade unions. The influence of the development of the Workers States, of the struggles of the masses of the world, affects the repressive organs of the capitalist system, influencing, decomposing and weakening them. There is an immense progress in the scientific, economic and cultural advance of the Workers States, a gigantic advance of the relation of forces favourable to the development of the world revolution, to the development of struggles to overthrow the capitalist system. The unification of humanity has weighed and succeeded in conquering Yankee imperialism. This is the essential aspect of this stage.

The triumph of the masses of Vietnam shows the heroic capacity of the masses of Vietnam, of the Vietnamese government, of the leadership and resolution of the Communist Party of Vietnam which receiving the support of the Workers States and of the masses of the world, organised the struggle of the masses of Vietnam, resisted and conquered Yankee imperialism. This is the example! This is the guide for the rest of the struggles of the masses against Imperialism throughout the world, against the capitalist system. Vietnam is the example which shows the inexhaustible capacity for action of the masses and the way which it is necessary to take, the decision to organise, to conquer imperialism.

Imperialism and the capitalist system have received constant defeats. The action of the trade union masses, student, college and university sectors in France, Italy, Britain, Belgium, Argentine, Uruguay, Chile; the development of the struggle of the masses of the colonial and semi-colonial states, the progress of the Algerian revolution; the incessant development and uninterrupted development of the struggles of the masses to smash the capitalist system is expressed in a constant sentiment of world unification of action and solidarity attacking the capitalist system. This is the essential norm which shows the progressive course of history. It is the progress of history which organises the masses, the struggles of the unified masses in the common united front against the capitalist system, of workers, peasants, office workers, college and university students who attract the police and the military. Capitalism is disintegrating! As a consequence of this process the revolution advances, within the capitalist system its crisis of competition increases, expressed in the incessant conflict over markets. This is the demonstration of the progress of history.

The capitalist system is in full process of retreat and disintegration. Capitalism has no interest in culture, education, science. It only has an interest in technique and in science which is of use to it, and is useful to prepare the war, for repression, for invasion, to try to contain and to impede the development of the revolution and the progress of history. This progress is expressed in countries which pass directly from being under the control of imperialism to the development of Socialism, as in Vietnam. The masses of Vietnam, the declaration of Pham Van Dong and of the Communist Party of Vietnam shows that they advance directly from being submitted to imperialism, to the development of the socialist revolution and declare that their road, their progress, their objective is the construction of socialism. They have nothing. All the material property was destroyed by Imperialism, but they have the consciousness, the capacity, the resolution to construct socialism. And this is the unbreakable will which Vietnam shows, the example in representing the masses of the world.

Imperialism is only interested in surviving and, developing military science and technology for destruction, not to develop culture or art, or literature, or education, or science for the development of humanity. The capitalist system is only interested in the means which develop competition between itself and the Workers States. Capitalism is interested and concerned with all its energy—the little which remains to it—in trying to maintain its world dominion. Hence it prepares its essential forces in military preparation and has no interest or concern, or means, or capacity for the development of technology, science, culture and art. On the other hand, it is the initiative of the masses who achieve the development of technology, science, culture, literature and art as in Vietnam, as in the countries which advance to the revolution. They are the ones who stimulate, incorporate, develop the cultural capacity. It is the masses who do not live for the interest of capitalism, who are not subject to its interest, to the interest of the competition for profit, who develop themselves in the capacity to advance ideas, science, art, literature. They do not have material means but go to find them in Vietnam. The trade union conquests of the masses in Europe, in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America, the political conquests in the United Front which realise themselves in the workers parties, with the students, peasants, show the powerful force which progresses universally and seeks to concentrate itself to smash the capitalist system.

But there is an enormous deficiency in this process. At the same time that there is a greater intervention of the Workers States, of the Soviet Union, of Czechoslovakia, of Poland, of China in the world problems, in the world process of the economy and of society, the division increases within the Workers States. This diminishes the force and capacity to attract the masses of the United States. The masses of the United States show that they want and desire to intervene in the world struggle to smash the capitalist system. They weigh considerably to oblige Yankee imperialism to retire from Vietnam but they see the Workers States divided. They see that China and the Soviet Union are in public dispute, constant attacks by China are made against the Soviet Union, which is considered as imperialist and China associates it with

NEW BULLETIN

THE DECISIVE FUNCTION IN THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS IN THE FORMATION OF THE LEFT IN THE GERMAN SOCIALIST PARTY.

J. POSADAS 17-3-73

10p from address of the Party.

Yankee imperialism in accusations and criticisms. The petit bourgeoisie does not see on the part of the Workers States and of the Soviet Union the necessary reasoning. The Workers States do not show themselves as unified in front of the capitalist system. Capitalism is manoeuvring to try to sustain itself supporting itself on one Workers State against the other, seeking to establish commercial relations with the object of developing layers and tendencies in the Workers States interested in capital commerce, weakening the world unification of the struggles of the Workers States and the masses of the world against the capitalist system, of the Workers States—called socialist countries—with the countries which advance towards the world development of history, countries of the Revolutionary States, and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The division of the Workers States is a very great advantage for the capitalist system. In itself this division allows capitalism a field of manoeuvre, a means of support. Imperialism has shown that it is obliged to stop the war in Vietnam, but it continues in Laos, Cambodia preparing at any moment a reanimation of the struggle. Whilst it enters upon economic and political discussions with the Workers States, with China and the Soviet Union, it continues with its plan of terrorism, of repression, trying to intimidate the world development of the revolution in Africa, Asia, Latin America. Imperialism has no intention or interest in withdrawing from Indo China and allowing the development of the Vietnamese revolution to influence the rest of South East Asia. It is going to intervene and is preparing to intervene. It maintains the focus of war in the Middle East through Israel. Constantly the essential interest of Imperialism is to develop the means of criminal action, of attacks against the peoples, against the masses of the world which is the only way in which it can maintain its class dominion. Yankee imperialism which is the vital centre of world-imperialism tries to maintain the capitalist system in full activity. Yankee imperialism maintains centres of war, of military intervention, maintaining constantly the decision to intervene with the object of trying to intimidate, to terrorise the world development of the revolution.

Manifesto of the 1st May

But the masses of the world, whether in the Middle East or Latin America, Africa or Vietnam, have shown that they do not fear the capitalist system. Capitalism has no interest in the progress of humanity but tries to save itself. The struggle of the masses in France, Italy, in the Argentine, in Rumania, in Chile, in Peru, in Mexico, in Colombia, in Venezuela, in Ecuador, shows the immense progress of the masses and it is they with their struggles who try to develop society. The only possible way to develop society is with the development of the revolution. Capitalism does not have the capacity, the interest or the desire, or the means to do it. It only tries to survive. It is the masses of the world who are developing culture, science, who are stimulating the development of technology in the service of the progress of humanity, as the Vietnamese masses demonstrated in their struggles and triumphed over Yankee imperialism. It is the action of the revolutionary masses of the world who are incorporating and developing actions in common of workers, office workers, peasants, technicians, scientists, teachers, students, that seek the progress of society to overcome the division of individual interests expressed through the capitalist system.

This is the progress which is shown in Latin America, in Asia, in Europe. In Italy, in France, in Britain, in Belgium. The recent triumph of the left and the youth in the German Social Democratic party shows the enormous progress of the weight of the revolution in the socialist parties to impel the formation of the left. This is one of the essential tasks, to organise the formation of left wings, of left tendencies with anti-capitalist programmes of struggle to orientate the struggle of the masses towards the overthrow of the capitalist system, to advance towards Workers States. Capitalism has no more interest in progress only in surviving. It has no force, no means, no stimulus, no historic conditions to do otherwise.

In these actions of United Front, of dual power, the masses are superior to their leaderships. The leaderships are timid and vacillating. The masses show that they want to take the power. While the leadership make appeals for

social actions and limited economic slogans, the masses take organs of power which substitute themselves for the capitalist system. It is necessary to affirm this tendency, to make public debates, to go towards power.

It is necessary that the Workers States intervene in a more eloquent form, in a more direct form, in a constant and permanent form in the development of the struggle of the masses of the world. It is necessary to co-ordinate, harmonise the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist struggles, the struggles of the Workers States with the masses of the capitalist countries. It is necessary to finish with the divisions of the Workers States with each having a particular policy, with a particular interest and with particular programmatic developments. The necessity of socialism forces, impels, imposes the unification and planning of all the Workers States, to develop the less developed countries, as an example for the masses of the world on how to pass from the capitalist state to the Workers State. It is necessary to have a public discussion of all the trades unions, of all the world workers movement, of all the communist movement, the socialist, trade union and left movements, appealing to the Workers States to unify, to discuss the divergences and differences, and to unify themselves around a single, central plan before the capitalist system. It is a crime against history that they use world organisms like the United Nations, or similar organisms where the Workers States dispute with each other. This weakens the authority, the credit, the strength, the means and the stages for the development of the struggle for socialism. It is necessary to eliminate these disputes and make a public discussion inside the world communist movement, the workers movement with the participation of all tendencies. It is necessary to unify the world communist movement. The unification of and united front of the communist, socialist, Trotskyist movement, of the trade union movement, with the effect of making a united front against the capitalist system. The triumph of the masses of Vietnam is the most complete example of the social capacity of the masses. The triumph of the Peronist masses in Argentina, is the demonstration that the masses, that the proletariat has been the conducting and organising axis of the will of triumph of the masses of Argentina. In all the world it is like this. It is the same in Germany, the same in France, the same in Italy, in Britain. It is necessary to start from the necessity of this public discussion to unify the world communist movement, and the world united anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist front with a programme of struggle from the most simple conquests to the most elevated, against unemployment, for the sliding scale of wage, for the sliding scale of hours of work, for the limitation of the hours of work because all the progress of automation, technology and science must go to the service of the masses. For each progress of automation, diminution of the hours of work, increases in rest breaks, increase in wages. Make a plan of the workers movement, of production to satisfy the needs of life of the masses, against the contamination of air, of water, for the utilisation of empty buildings which capitalism prevents. Develop the factory councils, which are organs of dual power, and make them intervene in the planning of the economy. Extend these organs towards power, combining the trade union, electoral tasks with the tasks going towards power.

It is necessary to make a plan for a world United Front of the struggle to carry forward the workers conquests and advance in the struggle against the capitalist system. Support the struggles, as was resolved by the world Trade Union meeting organised recently by the workers centre of Chile against the capitalist system; against the world monopoly which imperialism directs, oppose it with the world struggle of the masses accompanying the concrete economic struggles of competition, or economic dispute with the capitalist system, advancing in the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. Call

the American masses to the struggle against the capitalist system.

The unification, the centralisation, planning of the Socialist States, the public discussion of the Sino-Soviet differences, the centralisation of all the Workers States in a United Front is going to be a powerful impulse to the masses of the United States to organise themselves in a movement independent of the bourgeoisie, of the trade union bureaucrats, to advance in the struggle against the capitalist system. Make a side democratic discussion, sides discussion of United Fronts, discussion of all the differences, experiences, unite and elevate the experiences in the struggle for the revolution. A wide discussion of all the problems of the revolution, of the problems of the struggle against capitalism, the trade union, political, social and military problems. Make a wide trade union discussion with the participation of all the masses of the Workers States, the reanimation of the public trade union activity in the Workers States with the effect of weighing on the American masses and the rest of the world to intervene in the struggle against the capitalist system giving the example in the Workers States of Soviet Democracy, of public discussion, of public debate to construct socialism. It is one of the essential sources of authority on the masses of North America and the world.

This First of May shows the immense progress of the world unification of the masses against the capitalist system, the immense conquests which they make, in the economic, trade union, political and revolutionary field. The unification of workers, students, peasants, clerks, university students, high school pupils in a united effort to overthrow the capitalist system. All humanity is anxious for changes, wants changes. In every struggle the necessity for changes are expressed by the will of boys of 14 and the men and women of 70, 80 and 90 years old to intervene actively in the social and revolutionary struggles. The women and the children participate with an activity and an energy never seen before. It is the drive and the sentiment expressed and impelled by the triumph of the masses in Vietnam, but also impelled by the struggles of the masses in all the world and the progress of the anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary to base oneself on the will demonstrated by the youth, by the boys, by the women, to intervene and to weigh in the social and political, trade union and revolutionary struggles, it is necessary to be based on them and make room for them; the women, the boys, the youths who have the right to discuss all the problems, in wide democratic debates in Soviet forms. The weight of the immense decision of the youth demonstrates the sentiment and the will to resolve all the problems of society, smashing the capitalist society.

Capitalism is surrounded. It is necessary to advance and progress in the conquests and in the world united front of the Workers States, in the unification of the Workers States, the world anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist united front which will shorten the stages and will lessen the evils which the capitalist system is still going to provoke with the preparation of the war and the war itself. It is necessary to advance in this progress with a world appeal for the United Front and public discussion of all the Sino-Soviet differences, of all the Workers States, and a public discussion of all the workers and trade union movement to discuss the construction of socialism, to discuss the problems of trade union democracy, of the formation and organisation of Soviets. Discuss the elevation of the democratic rights of all the masses of the world, of the re-installation of Soviet Democracy in all the Workers States, of the CP's of the Workers States in the struggle to smash what remains of the capitalist system.

It is the masses of the world who are carrying forward the progress of history from all points of view, cultural, social, economic, artistic. It is the struggle of the masses of the world, the struggles in all countries, the struggles in all the Workers States, of the TU masses, and of the Socialist, Communist parties, the Trotskyists, nation-

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ACTIVITY OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ON MAY DAY

The Manifesto of the 1st of May, of the International Secretariat of the IV International (Posadist) which we reproduce in this issue of Red Flag, was distributed to the worker, student, petit bourgeois, and peasant masses as they demonstrated on this 1st May. Here the section participated in the great mobilisations of the class, during the one day general strike, which the masses imposed on their leadership. We distributed the Manifesto, in demonstrations in London, Luton, Nottingham, Sheffield, Manchester, Doncaster and Liverpool. In Doncaster the comrades carried a banner carrying the Name of the Party. In the mass meeting organised by the Luton Trades Council, and on which the vanguard of the Vauxhall, Electrolux and Skefko factories were present comrade Brian McNeil, spoke in the name of the R.W.P.(T) IV International (Posadist). On the other demonstrations comrades, participated with placards, selling Red Flag and the bulletins of the International.

In France, Germany, Belgium, Italy and Sweden strong delegations of the International participated in demonstrations.

In France comrades marched in the demonstrations organised by the C.G.T. in both Paris and Marseilles where they were welcomed by the Communist vanguard, they distributed 6,000 copies of the Manifesto. In Belgium the comrades participated in the demonstration of the Communist Party, where they sold the paper "Lutte Ouvrière" and distributed 3,000 copies of the Manifesto. In Germany the comrades participated in the demonstration in Frankfurt, where they distributed the Manifesto, and sold 170 bulletins of the IV International (Posadist), many of them on the situation in Germany, and the process that develops in the German Social Democratic Party.

The Swedish Section of the IV International made a dynamic intervention in the May Day celebrations in Goteborg. The Swedish comrades were joined by comrades from other sections of the International for this task. They participated in the demonstration of the Communist Party, carrying slogans from the Transitional Programme, and distributing copies of the Manifesto, and later distributed the Manifesto in the demonstration of the Social Democrats. The Swedish Section intervened in this audacious manner despite the fact that they have been attacked and this since this there have been threats made against them and against a very young comrade in the Section. This attack and these threats come from a sector of the group known in Sweden as the R.M.F. The Revolutionary Marxist League of Mandel. We appeal here for all the base of the I.M.G. to repudiate these threats, made against the Posadist comrades in Sweden, and to campaign for the right for proletarian democracy, for the right of all left wing political tendencies to intervene openly and freely without fear of attack.

VIVA THE MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL-POSADIST

EDITORIAL

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

in the references to the necessity for the workers to base themselves on the ideas of Marx and Engels, we saw the attempt at conscious intervention in the process in this country. The intervention of the delegates from the Workers States in Liverpool—and elsewhere no doubt—was in marked contrast to the speech of Breznev at the traditional May Day parade in Moscow. Breznev spoke of peace and directed himself particularly to the European bourgeoisie. It was part of the interpenetrative policy of the Soviet leadership which seeks to drive a wedge between Yankee imperialism and the European capitalist class. It is a policy which, as Comrade Posadas, has explained, is not incorrect, but extremely limited. How much more effective it would have been if Breznev had appealed for the world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front, for the single European trade union centre, with the participation of the trade unions of the Workers States, for a discussion of the solution to the Sino-Soviet differences, for the common planning of the system of the Workers States. How much more effective would it have been if Breznev had made an appeal, issued a manifesto to the masses of the world in the way which the International Secretariat of the IV International has done.

May Day has been used by the vanguard, as a means of preparation for greater mobilisations, and immediately it has received a response in the form of the decision of the Ford workers leadership to call for an unlimited national strike against the company. The Ford workers have, in the past weeks, displayed an uncertainty over confronting the government, which is not surprising given the lack of a national leadership either in the Trade Union or the Labour Party. If they now propose a national strike it is the direct result of the mobilisations on May Day. It is, therefore, necessary to organise full support in the form of strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations for the Ford workers, in order to give the Ford workers a direct support to launch a national strike. It is possible, using the mobilisations on May Day as a base, to transform a national

strike—if it takes place—at Ford into an unlimited General Strike to overthrow the Tories. In proposing a national strike at this moment, the workers leadership at Ford have judged the balance of forces well, and it is with the greatest confidence that we call for the full support of the exploited masses, of the workers, students, office workers, housewives etc. for the Ford Workers.

The necessity for the organisational means to link the various sectors of the exploited population with the factory strength of the workers becomes, in the development of the anti-capitalist struggle, increasingly obvious. In this context it is important to take account of the increasing role of the Trades Councils. The mobilisations on May Day would not have been possible at the level they reached without the intervention of some Trades Councils. Indeed the mobilisation in London, Liverpool, Birmingham etc. were all organised by the local Trades Councils. The Trades Councils were able to play this role, because they are in a position to link the factory with the trade union branches they represent, with the population in the districts in which they are organised. On May Day they were able to do this with some success. However, it is necessary that they improve their functioning, that they go beyond a monthly meeting towards a continuous functioning, which allows the intervention of all sectors, shop stewards, Labour and Communist Party militants, students, housewives etc., in discussion, in the formulation of a programme of demands on housing, education, unemployment, prices, public transport and in the organisation of the means to impose such a programme. It is possible to immediately, in the localities, organise committees of workers, shop workers and housewives to impose price control in the big supermarkets. In other words to give a concrete expression to the spirit of dual power, which the masses demonstrate. In this way it is also possible to create the basis to impel the process of the transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle, into a revolutionary Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

It is true that the leadership of the Labour Party did little on May Day, but these mobilisations are going to increase the internal crisis in which the left is finding more confidence. The proposal

made by an internal Labour Party committee for the nationalisation, with minimum compensation, of 25 monopolies is a victory for the left. It is a proposal in line with the call by Wedgwood Benn, for the complete nationalisation of the Aircraft Industry under democratic control which he made at a shop stewards conference. The proposal to nationalise 25 major capitalist monopolies, if imposed by a future Labour Government, would do irreparable damage to the capitalist system. It is on the level of the programme of the Popular Union in France and, as such, no doubt has been influenced by the 11 million votes gained by the Popular Union on the basis of their programme. However, it is not going to be adopted by the Labour Party leadership without a struggle, and there can be no effective struggle without the mobilisations of the masses at the base of the party, in the factory, in the trade unions. This proposal, as much as the Common Market, is going to make the struggle between the pro-capitalist and anti-capitalist tendencies in the Labour Party sharper. If the left bases itself on the adoption of this programme, it can organise itself—making the programme an organising centre—and mount a struggle for the expulsion of the pro-capitalist right. It cannot, however, do this within the existing apparatus of the Labour Party, it must base itself on the masses at the base, on the workers vanguard. We appeal to the left-wing comrades in the Labour Party to do just that, and to draw the conclusions from the May Day mobilisations.

At the same time we appeal to the workers, to all the exploited population to demand the adoption of the proposal for the nationalisation of 25 major monopolies as a basis for a full anti-capitalist programme, to include the nationalisation of all Major Industry, the Land, the Banks and Insurance Companies, under workers control and without compensation. We appeal, in the first place, for resolutions from shop stewards committees, trades councils etc., from local Labour Parties in support of these proposals. We also appeal for a full discussion to be opened in the workers movement on the means to impose the adoption of this programme in the Labour Party, and on the means for its implementation by a future Labour Government. This must be discussed in all

the mobilisations, which are coming, it must be discussed in the factory, trades councils, etc. as part of the preparation for the Unlimited General Strike, to overthrow the Tory government, and replace it with a LABOUR PARTY IN WHICH THE LEFT HAS TAKEN POWER.

6. 5. 73

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Party. As part of the need for the purification of the LP, and the trade unions, it is necessary that the vanguard of the EETPU seeks to widen its links, and contacts with the rest of the working class with the engineers, for example, with the trades councils, with factory councils to effect a deepened unity with all sectors of the class in their own organs, so as to allow a more dynamic functioning of the class, both to weigh on the functioning of the unions, but also to prepare the way for an intervention of the masses to develop a new alternative, a new replacement leadership in the LP.

At the same time it is necessary to continue the struggle against the retrograde leadership in the EETPU on the basis of a more dynamic intervention by the trade union branches, and unofficial committees on the basis of appeal for a genuine, as opposed to a phoney trade union democracy with the right of immediate recall of delegates and full time officials. No officials should be in the position to hold office for years without the possibility of immediate ejection if they pursue pro-capitalist actions. This struggle again depends for its success on the inter relationship between all sectors of workers, making a massive united front against bureaucratic functioning and arbitrariness.

The perspective of the preparation for the unlimited general strike after the immense success of May Day is going to demand greater and greater organisational capacity of the vanguard, but with the ever decomposing authority of capitalism, and the ever growing centralisation of the masses around their organisations, the growing weight of the Workers States in the process of the world socialist revolution, the victory in Vietnam, it will be possible for the militants of the EETPU to completely bypass the limitations imposed by their leadership, and combine the struggle for wage increases, workers control, nationalisations without compensation, trade union democracy, all wages to rise with the cost of living, no worker to be dismissed, with a more direct and necessary intervention in the construction of organs of dual power, and on the basis of the resolution supporting closer contacts with European trade unions at the conference, to stimulate the construction of the EUROPEAN WORKERS CENTRE, and as against the vacuous "policy" of "withdrawing" from the EEC, proposing the alternative of the socialist Europe, the Europe without the monopolies, the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe.

Manifesto of the 1st May

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alists, left catholics which are impelling and elevating the activity towards the progress of history. It is the struggle of the masses of the world which makes history advance. It is necessary to unify these struggles. On this 1st of May it is necessary to make an appeal for the World United Front of all the Workers Parties, of the Socialist and Communist Parties, the Trotskyists, the Trade Union Movement, the Workers Centres with the effect of planning activity in common in all the world to smash what remains of the capitalist system.

Appeal for a United Front of the countries which are liberating themselves from tutelage and are trying to liberate themselves from the domination of capitalism; plan the action in all the world. Call for a Single Workers Centre in Latin America, in Europe against the European Common Market; United Socialist States of Europe, a single European Workers Centre, the struggle for the liberation of the masses in Spain, Portugal and Greece. For the United Front of all the workers parties of Europe. For workers centres to make an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme. For the unification of the economy made through the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist United Front. For an appeal to the American masses for a discussion to effect a common programme of struggle for the progress of history to smash what remains of capitalism and imperialism.

The masses of the world have shown that they have the will to triumph. It is necessary that the Workers States weigh more, that the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the East German Workers State, weigh more and intervene more in this process of history. Hence it is necessary that the economy is planned in common. It is necessary to discuss publicly all points of view, the economy, the policy against the capitalist system. It is

necessary to make a public discussion, including the trade unions of the Workers States, the communist parties of the Workers States for a world United Front against the capitalist system.

The struggle of the masses of Asia, of Africa, of Latin America, the recent struggles of the masses of France and Italy, of Britain, of Germany, show the will of the masses to triumph. The triumph of Vietnam has shown that it represents the will of the masses of the world to seek to smash what remains of the capitalist system. This is the appeal which it is necessary to make. On this basis it is necessary to make this 1st of May, appealing for the World United Front against Imperialism and against the capitalist system.

The IV International (Posadist) appeals to the Communist, Socialist, and Communist Parties, to all the nationalist revolutionaries, to the world Trade Union Movement tendencies and currents, to the left Christian Democratic movement for an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist World United Front. It appeals to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, to China, for a public discussion of the divergences, it appeals to all the Workers Centres, to all the Trade Unions, so that in all the factories of the world, in all the Trade Unions, they discuss such divergences and appeal for the Workers States to put themselves in agreement, to discuss the construction of socialism, elevating the democratic rights, for a democratic soviet discussion, to resolve the differences of the Workers States. This would be the most powerful example for the progress of the struggle for socialism. We appeal again for the programme of Trade Union conquests, political and social conquests and for the programme of unification of the Workers Movement, the world Trade Union Movement to smash what remains of the capitalist system and to construct socialism.

VIVA THE TRIUMPH OF HUMANITY WHICH DEFEATED IMPERIALISM IN VIETNAM!

VIVA THE EXAMPLE OF THE SOCIAL HISTORIC HEROISM OF THE VIETNAMESE MASSES, ORGANISED BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM AND PREPARING THEMSELVES TO CONSTRUCT SOCIALISM!

VIVA THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT!

VIVA THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

VIVA THE MASSES AND THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WHOLE WORLD WHO ARE DEFEATING CAPITALISM!

VIVA THE WORKERS STATES AND THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS STATES!

VIVA MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, TROTSKY!

VIVA THE IV INTERNATIONAL, CONSCIOUS INSTRUMENT OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLES OF THE MASSES AND OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM!

VIVA THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-CAPITALIST WORLD UNITED FRONT!

VIVA THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

(POSADIST).

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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!



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL
NO. 183 4th Friday of May 1973 PRICE 3p

VIVA THE LIBERATION IN BRAZIL OF OUR
COMRADES

CLAUDIO VASCONCELLOS

CAVALCANTI

ALMERIO MELQUIADES DE ARAUJO

MARIA DO SOCORRO CUNHA

The favourable conditions for the organisation of the left in the Labour Party & the Trade Unions in England. J. Posadas 24-5-73

INTRODUCTION

The process of transformation of the workers organisations in this period is historic. The communist parties begin to acquire a policy, which no longer allows the type of class collaboration, adopted during a previous epoch i.e. the Stalinist period. The social democratic parties enter a phase of transformation into socialist parties, in order to become the appropriate instruments for the taking of power, and the construction of socialism. The trade unions go beyond their "usual" preoccupations, with purely economic demands, and enter the arena of social policy, reasserting the trade union base of the workers parties but no longer contained within merely trade union preoccupations. Whatever the complications, the difficulties, the obstacles, the slow and uninventive functioning of their organisations, the masses centralise themselves around them, and seek to impose their will on them. And the most fundamental task for the revolutionary vanguard is the organisation and construction of new leaderships in these organisations. This latest text of Cde. Posadas is of fundamental significance in this respect. It concentrates the attention around this task, which in Britain means intervening to develop the new leadership in the Labour Party.

The CP must abandon its attitude of belittling, or competing with the LP. It has no future outside this central task of stimulating a marxist preoccupation in the LP. And this applies to the various leftist groupings—whose leaderships of the Healy and Cliff variety are simply instruments of capitalism.

Wilson's reluctance to make any effort to overthrow the Heath government, to limit the social struggles, is designed to contain the development of the left in the LP. But it is only a limited containing, because the vast accumulation of class confidence, and determination continues among the masses, and even at a distance oblige the leaderships to make the TUC and LP agreement—a programme of government as Posadas has called it—and to propose and discuss nationalisation.

It is necessary to see that a profound struggle has to be waged for proletarian democracy in the trade unions. At present the "democracy" is a total swindle, a device for bureaucratic camarillas, whereby one man can represent thousands and vote how he pleases. The struggle for proletarian democracy has to be accompanied with transitional demands—sliding scale of wages, sliding scale of hours etc., whereby the immediate demands of the masses are met by demands, which transcend the limits of capitalist society. This text of Cde. Posadas is of permanent value in centralising the pre-occupation of the vanguard, and facilitate the development of a new type of functioning in the parties and the unions, so, that via publications, discussions, meetings, organs of dual power, the creative capacity of the masses can be more and more involved in the overthrow of capitalism, and the socialist reconstruction of society. 25-5-73

programme.

The Communist Party in England, as the world communist movement, does not have the tradition of scientific discussion. They write whatever occurs to them to justify their policy. The polemic which they make is false; they don't polemicise with us. Faced to each event we say: "this is the position, for such a historic reason." For example on the Revolutionary State. We show the reasons for its existence and why it is not Bonapartism, and is the Revolutionary State. Bonapartism is one stage of history this is another. It is still possible to have Bonapartism, but on a small scale and without significance. The great steps of history, from capitalism to the Workers States, which before passed through a stage of Bonapartism, now pass through a stage of Revolutionary State. In some stages it can still pass through Bonapartism. But the actual relationship of forces of history, permit that the 14 Workers States weigh immediately. Before there wasn't such a relationship. Then Bonapartism had some scope. De Gaulle died because of this, he was a Bonapartist who had to go, faced with the process of struggle of the masses. Neither the communist movement nor the British Communist Party, responds to this polemic. They take the qualifications without saying so. Already they are taking them. They say "It is pos-

sible to pass from the capitalist states to socialism, through a small phase which we would call Democratic State." Why? What is a democratic state? It is necessary to demonstrate the reality of such a qualification. It is a state which gives democratic rights. But on the basis of what economy? On the base of the defence of what economic structure, on the base of what elevation? The Revolutionary State is on the base of an irreversible structure which whatever the political leadership which comes, has to base itself on the economic structure. They say "Democratic State" which is a vacuum. Because France also is a "Democratic State" also they qualify it as "a phase of true democracy."

They criticise us because we say that the atomic war is inevitable. They accuse us but not arguing not demonstrating that the atomic war is not inevitable. They say that one avoids it but they don't show how. We maintain that it would have been possible to have thrown Yankee Imperialism from Vietnam before if the Workers States had intervened, if they gave more help, if they mobilised the masses of the world, if there had been any general strikes and mobilisations of the masses in the Workers States with demonstrations and meetings. They do not answer to this. On the contrary they accuse us that

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EDITORIAL

The crisis of the ruling class, and the programmatic advance in the Labour Party

At almost the same time there comes the expression of a programmatic advance in the LP, and further disclosures of vice and corruption, which damage the authority of capitalism and its party. On one hand, elements of a crisis of growth with the discussion of the nationalisation of 25 major capitalist enterprises, taking place in the leadership of the LP under the stimulus of the advance of the world revolution, and the unceasing struggle of the British working class, and on the other, a crisis of decomposition of a class which should have been buried 50 years ago. Even if Wilson does not take advantage of this latest crisis, it accelerates the desertion of the petit bourgeoisie from the party of big capital, and stimulates the process of construction of a revolutionary tendency in the LP.

The Labour Party is now going through a very deep crisis, in which there is going to be an advance of a left sector in the Party, and in which there are going to be many changes made at all levels of the Party. There has already been the expulsion of Taverne, many M.P's are facing similar situations to the one he faced, and now there is talk that Callaghan may leave the LP to work for the International Monetary Fund. As the Labour Party changes, as it increasingly responds, more to the demands of the working class at the base of the party, as more and more it is forced to come out with directly anti-capitalist demands, large sectors who have been in the LP, because it was a comfortable job, with a good salary, but who have never wanted to go against the interests of

capitalism, will leave the party, or will be thrown out.

The explosion amongst the bourgeoisie and within the capitalist press, when Tony Benn announced that any future Labour government would nationalise Rolls Royce is an indication of the fear, which the bourgeoisie and the Tories have in relation to the next Labour Government. But the response, which his proposal got from the whole of the T.U. movement shows that throughout the base of the LP, this is what the masses in Britain want—mass expropriations of capitalism. The recent exposures, which have been made in the cases of Poulson, and then Lorrho and Lambton, demonstrate clearly, as even Heath has had to say, "the ugly face of capitalism". While the Tories try

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The essential task in England, as we have already expounded in other documents, is to form a left in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. The struggle for changes passes, previously, during, and while they develop, through the interior of the mass organisations, the trade unions and the Labour Party. To struggle for the organisation of the left, is to break the apparatus of the right; to break the link and the relation between the right and the centre with capitalism; to break the relation of the organs of the proletariat with capitalism. It is necessary to break this. The struggle for the formation of the left passes through the struggle within the Labour Party and within the trade unions.

The capitalist system in England is in crisis as is Italian capitalism. It is in a very profound crisis whose origin comes from after the second world war when British capitalism lost all its colonies. The ones which remain don't have any value, its structure of the

Commonwealth has been lost. There is a change in the structure of the commercial and economic relations of British Imperialism, which is expressed in this crisis. If British Imperialism still exists, it is because the Labour Party doesn't overthrow it.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY WILL NEVER BE A MASS PARTY IN GREAT BRITAIN

It is necessary to direct oneself to the Communist Party with this conclusion without waiting on the Communist Party, but without eliminating it. The essential function of the Communist Party in England is to help to form the revolutionary left in the Labour Party, so that the Labour Party takes power. This is its function, it has no other. It has no perspective of being a great mass party, it is never going to be it.

The perspectives, the future of the

workers, trade union and political movement in England is to become communist. This does not mean that this leadership, that this party is going to be it. But it is the movement which is going to be communist. The same as in Peronism, in which there is already a wing which passes to being socialist, and tomorrow is going to be communist. But not as the Peronist movement. The most important wing of peronism has already declared itself to be socialist, and has a socialist

The favourable conditions

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

"With this slogan we would perturb the production in the Socialist States." No. This wouldn't perturb anything. Not even if they lost the hours of work, they would gain from the benefit of throwing the Yanks out of Vietnam. But each bureaucracy of each Workers State thinks about itself, doesn't think about the construction of socialism. They have political planning for them, they are forced to help the other Workers States, now more than before. But in their plans there is not the project of unifying the Workers States, nor of helping the Revolutionary States to pass to Workers States.

It is necessary to discuss this with the Communist Party, showing it that it has no perspective of development. Without insults, without accusations, without diminishing the Communist Party, but writing and analysing. The Communist Party can accomplish a task and have a later development as a party, forming part of the revolutionary leadership, helping in this task; that a left in the Labour Party is formed and that the Labour Party takes power. For this it is necessary to support all the progress of the Labour Party however limited.

In 1945, faced with the nationalisations which Atlee made, the Communist were against. They were quite important nationalisations. It was a response which the British Bourgeoisie had to give, faced to the pressure of the masses, after the war. The masses imposed the nationalisation of steel, of transport, of the mines and of electricity. And also they occupied houses. It was the first occupation of houses which was made after the war. The masses decided on the expropriation of empty houses and gave them to those people who didn't have them. It was discussed and the trade unions were in agreement in the first stage while the Communists were against but afterwards they had to support it. The Communists measure and judge in agreement with the interests of a group, not of a party which exerts the historic function of impelling the revolution. Because of this they do not support the development of measures and tendencies which are revolutionary, which are correct because these tendencies compete with them. On the other hand they support the bourgeoisie because it does not compete with them.

The Communist party is very small and has no internal political life. The nucleus which preoccupies itself to understand is very small. And the one which reads, thinks, compares and analyses historically is a much smaller nucleus. It is a Party which has been created and developed in the shadow of the Soviet Union and has stayed there. It has not been capable of understanding that it cannot substitute for the English working class, which has its Labour Party which is not going to leave it and which is going to take power with the Labour Party and the trade unions.

The mobilisations which the working class are making shows that it resorts to its positions and it is going to return to draw advantage from them. One must be based on this demonstration which indicates the depth of the will of the vanguard of the English proletariat, to change its leadership to impel and augment the victories to overthrow the capitalist system. All the last strikes of the British proletariat have been of a very great resolution, all of them! There hasn't been a single defeat of a strike, there have been stalemates. One must be based on this progress, on these demonstrations of the British proletariat, to have the security that it is possible to make the left in the L.P.

It is necessary to promote public discussions in the Labour Party and in the trade unions, about the struggles of the masses in the whole of Europe. The single trade union for each industry in all of Europe. A single workers centre in Europe. Co-ordinated strikes and mobilisations in every country! Defence, activity, agitation mobilisation in support of the Spanish, Greek and Portuguese proletariats! A programme of demands up to workers control,

making factory councils in such a way as to make the most combative sectors of the proletariat weigh on the rest.

In the present structure of the trade unions the most combative sectors don't have access to the rest. Because of the system of voting and election of delegates the most combative layers, the least paid, the most resolved are prevented from triumphing. There is election by categories which prevents that in a section of the factory in which there are 40 workers, the 40 vote. It is a legal structure which prevents that the least paid, the most combative, influence the rest and can impose themselves. They utilise the workers aristocracy to smash the rest of the proletariat. One cannot expect to triumph democratically in the elections, or on the discussions which are made in the workers movement, because there is no possibility of doing it, they don't allow it. It is necessary to change the structure. But as there is no historic time to change the structure, while one struggles for this, it is necessary to advance in the conquests of dual power in the trade unions, to have dual power with the bourgeoisie, as the masses had in 1945. Any form of dual power is reached first in the organs of power; trade unions, parties and mass movements. It is necessary to conquer dual power there against the sectors who are opposed.

In all this period there have been great movements of the university students and the petit bourgeoisie. When the highest functionaries of the government come out on strikes and demonstrations, the stiff collars, it is because the indignation is very great, and the necessities of changes are very great. But also the economic and material necessities are very great. How to organise these forces? When it reaches such layers of the population, of employees, of the government itself, it is because the indignation against the government is very profound. The Labour leadership does not mobilise this force in order to overthrow the Conservative government. Because of this it doesn't want elections now. If it wanted it could make elections now and take the government, at this very moment: general strike and take the government. They don't do it, because they feel that they would become a prisoner of the Labour base. Because of this it tries to extend the governments life in order to organise the Labour leadership and that of the trade unions, to be able to contain the struggles by basing itself on the workers aristocracy. Otherwise it should have already profited electorally.

The result of the present municipal elections with the triumph for Labour, indicates that in a general election Labour now would gain some 150 to 200 more M.P.'s. It doesn't want to promote this because it knows that it would be held a prisoner of the base. So they try to spin out the life of the government. Because of this Heath does not make a great scandal, either because he feels that if he does, people are going to oblige Labour to call for a general strike, or call for the general election to be made earlier. It would create a state of confusion which would force them to do this.

It is necessary to constitute a left which acts as an organ. The present Labour and trade union leadership are manoeuvring, preventing that the left advances. The trip which Wilson has made to various Workers States is to try to seek support. Support for when he goes to government, because he expects to be the government candidate once more. In a certain way in words,

Wilson has moved left a bit even though he tends to be the same as before. But he is going to have to move more to the left as Atlee had to, who had to nationalise as the lesser evil; it is the same with Wilson. He does it now because he wants to contain the way of the left.

It is necessary to promote many activities, to write a lot, to make meetings and conferences. To make quite a political activity. To elevate leaders, cadres, trade union militants. To help to form a new leadership in the Labour Party a series of criticisms of the false position of the Communist Party is absolutely necessary, while at the same time giving ideas for organisation, so that the communist leaders and cadres see that we are interested that they organise themselves, not that they disappear.

The recent decision of the trade unions to adopt a programme of the left and to establish an organic link with the L.P., is a defeat for the Labour leadership. It can, at the same time, lead to paralysis for they seek an agreement between the workers aristocracy and the Labour leadership, just to leave it at that level. So that this decision of the Labour party has an effect of progressing in an anti-capitalist programme, it is necessary to elevate workers democracy, the democratic right of the workers to meet, deliberate decide and to discuss all the problems, to organise themselves as nuclei in the factory, in the workers areas and in the Trade unions. It is necessary to call and tend to form workers councils as in Italy. Federations of workers councils linked with the workers areas. These are organs of power, and the English workers are seeking to do this.

They are problems which all the European workers movement are living, there are factories in Europe in which there are three different trade unions. In Renault there is the C.G.T., C.F.D.T., and F.O. The F.O. was

THE FAILURE OF THE LEFT GROUPS

"Tribune" and "Left" have shown themselves to be incapable of doing this task, they do not answer to the necessity of the left that it is necessary to form. They were protestors that were more frequent, more constant. But they do not have programme or policy, or capacity to form the left. Hence they remain blocked. In conditions of great mobilisations of the masses, of the progress of the working class, of mobilisations, and immense conquests, of triumphs of the working class in front of the government, of increases of conquests in front of capitalism, the leftist movements in Britain lose strength retreat and support themselves on movements of younger and younger age groups. Which means that they lose importance in effect and social influence. Consequently they break the possibilities of influencing the proletariat in the stages which are coming. The composition of the Leftist groups is composed of very young people and not linked to the proletariat. They are 14, 15, 16 year old, secondary students who don't intervene in the demonstrations, in the discussions and in the struggle of the proletariat. By maintaining themselves apart and distant the proletariat does not influence them. Then they see themselves as protectors of the proletariat. Hence they have a whole critical sentiment a contemptuous attitude towards the working class, or without despising it, they have no confidence in it, do not believe in it and take it to be blind faithful followers of the bureaucracy of the leading trade union apparatus. They are movements

against the recent movements in France. The C.F.D.T. does not have official relations with the C.G.T. in relation to the problems of Renault. Each trade union works on its own account. Now they are obliged to make a single leadership, the C.G.T. and C.F.D.T. are in agreement, and the F.O. has to support them, not in everything but certainly in part. The C.G.T. and C.F.D.T. have made a common front, because if they hadn't done a new leadership would have been formed apart from them. They have made a front to control the movement so that it doesn't take the road of 68. But the road of 68 is the struggle which the French proletariat is now making.

Discuss the experiences of the struggles of the European and world proletariat with the effect of elevating the capacity of judgement of the workers. Create democratic organs in the workers areas, in the factories, in the sections of the factories. So that decisions are taken in agreement with the assemblies of the sections of the factory. Make factory publications where each worker can write and give his opinion. Make bulletins of the sections in the factory open to all tendencies.

It is necessary to bring them out in all the sections. Bulletins of discussion of all the problems. So that all the tendencies, all the currents intervene with the opinion of the different layers of workers to write now on the problems of work, of wages, of nationalisation of workers control, on the situation of the struggle, on trade union unification. As there are no competing trade unions, unification means to decide resolutions in agreement with the will of combat of the workers. Insist and show; nationalisations are necessary. Socialism is nationalisation, workers control, control of the masses of the economy, liquidation of the monarchy, nationalisation of property and planning of production.

without perspective, which express discontent. They exert a function in a necessary aspect. It is a recruitment which expresses discontent, rejection, indignation over the lack of revolutionary policy. But they do not make a revolutionary policy. It is like "II Manifesto" which emerged from the Italian Communist Party, which expressed the need for changes, but didn't represent them.

All the Leftists, Ultra-Leftist or Putschist groups—the most exact qualification is that of Putschist—has an origin which starts from a condition which favours them and determines their birth; the protest against the leadership. They manifest the will of wanting to combat capitalism politically, of wanting to overthrow it. They show their will of combat. While the trade union and political leaderships do not respond to this necessity. But, at the same time they do not see that the proletariat is organised and advances and progresses, without breaking its centralisation. If the proletariat worked as they proclaimed, it would break centralisation, because the maturity of the class is not all the same. The vanguard has the maturity to understand but the rest doesn't. And the vanguard does not want to separate itself from the rest.

The political behaviour of Healy and his group, is distant from and against the necessity and the functioning and development of revolutionary tendencies. He comes out to combat all the revolutionary tendencies of whatever nature they be, or whatever their motives. He attacks the Labour Party, the Soviet Union, the Trotskyist groups, the I.R.A., and the class policy. All his activity is of criticism and attack of all the groups tendencies and organisations which are carrying on a revolutionary policy. He never seeks to coincide, to make agreements, or to make a united front. Never. He always seeks motives of rejection, of opposition and of dispute. Never does he seek to understand and support measures which are progressive and which are a base

NEW PUBLICATIONS

LETTER TO THE MEXICAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL THE FUNCTION OF THE CELL AND THE FORMATION OF THE MILITANT FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS 21. 11. 72 10p

THE HISTORIC CAUSES OF THE PARTIAL REGENERATION, THE ECONOMY IN THE WORKERS STATES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

J. POSADAS 20. 8. 1972 15p

The favourable conditions

for progress, be it of the Communist or of the Labour Party. In the fundamental problems in which the criticism, the attack, the struggle against the capitalist system is decided; Healy is against. This is his function.

Cliff doesn't have theoretical or political value, none. But his groups can be a receiver, a centre which attracts anti-Soviet, anti-Workers State groups. It is not a sceptical group as it was in its origin. It is an organisation which covers the intention of imperialism to organise anti-Soviet groups. Cliff is the one who nourishes all this, who feeds it. He wasn't like this in his origin, but now he is. He cannot be ingenuous, nor ignorant of what is the situation of the world. When still the position of Cliff persists in this stage, it is because he is a direct agent of the capitalist system, be it paid or not. He is an agent of the capitalist system. There isn't any room for doubt about the stage we are in. The explosions, which correspond to the stage in which the group of Cliff was formed, now result in the Leftist groups. But the groups of the left today defend the Workers States. While Cliff says "Soviet Union is a capitalist state." He wants to create in the rank and file, in the intellectual centres, lack of confidence and doubt, to make people vacillate and prevent an attraction of the Workers State on them. This is a backward group, very backward because it has no force, no importance, absolutely no weight.

This group of Cliff is an agent of the capitalist system, be it of the CIA, of the Pentagon or of British Imperialism. It is necessary to denounce it and consider it as such. Even if Cliff says he isn't, and if he doesn't feel himself a capitalist agent, such a function is

solely in the interest of the capitalist system. There isn't any other groups which has such positions. It is not a question of any dispute with the Soviet bureaucracy, nor of theoretical and political discussion.

In the present stage in England, with such a movement in the trade unions, with the failure of the Communist Party, the fact that there are movements such as Healy can only be explained because in the University movement there is a layer of young people who are opposed to the passivity of the Communist and Labour Parties. All this weighs on the youth movement, the 14 to 18 year olds, who are influenced by these decisions of protest against the Labour and Communist youth. They reflect the will to change, of wanting to intervene, of wanting to decide. Because of this these young people are with Healy.

But at the same time they are not educated, nor organised in understanding the proletariat, in following the proletariat. These people should organise movements, courses, conferences, directed to the proletariat, helping them and showing the need to organise the left, helping these movements, being joined to its demonstrations, generalising the experiences which the masses of the world are making to organise a new leadership. Within this, expressing the need to support measures of workers control, for greater democratic rights, and democratic decisions. To make changes in the trade unions. Instead of the voting in which one delegate represents 5,000 workers, make the voting by sections. Break this present electoral method, which is swindling the proletariat, which is an aristocratic form in which the apparatus always wins. Break all this.

of work. Social rights mean the better defence of the dignity of the human being. Political demands are the revolutionary policy to confront the reformist leadership.

We are against the European Common Market. We are for the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe, to unify Europe through a socialist Europe. This is the unification of Europe. The other, that of the ECM is the unification of bourgeois Europe.

The trade union must intervene and develop their activity in such a way, that the whole of the base can give an opinion, to push forward the struggle for the democratisation of the union. It is not certain that present decisions are democratic. It is the union. It is not true that the apparatuses that decide. As apparatuses they are democratic for themselves. Even so, even on this level, they are not democratic. One person can represent 10,000 to 20,000 votes. This is a fraud. It is necessary to attack and criticise such a position.

It is necessary to make class declarations in each place of work. As it is done now, there is no declaration, no representation. It is necessary to do this directly by means of committees in each enterprise, in each factory, in each workers area. It is necessary to eliminate the form of indirect representation, and to make direct representation, revocability of mandates, each section electing a delegate. The section votes for the strike, and the delegate has to go to vote for the strike. Afterwards the delegate has to return to give the report to the section. It is not centralisation, which the TU movement has now. There is a bureaucratic apparatus, which centralises the power, but it is not centralisation. Centralisation exists when it is based on full democratic discussion, democratic resolutions are adopted, which afterwards are placed in agreement democratically, by discussions which come from the base. This is centralised. But now the movement as it is now, is an apparatus which prevents the election of delegates who represent the combative will of the masses, and who discuss the situation of the country, showing that capital-

ism is impotent.

In Ireland, the pressure, which exists from the working class in the two Irelands, places them in agreement. The search for an agreement between part of the Catholic and Protestant leadership, is why they have imposed again the death penalty, and the fascist law, in which the police can accuse who they want. It was an anticipation of a situation when they see that an agreement is coming in the leadership. It was made not only against the Catholics in Ireland, but to impede the unification of the two Irelands against British imperialism. They have failed, because the law doesn't impede anything.

A programme of left opposition to form the left of the T.U. and political field is necessary. It is one of the essential activities in Britain. "Left" and "Tribune" do not develop any activity, any organisation to organise a real left. Their conception of the left is simply that of an opposition, more to the left than the Labour Party. On the other hand the left which it is necessary to form has to have an anti-capitalist programme, of workers control, of control of the masses over the trade unions, over the factories and the government; a programme which tends to go to the government to nationalise under workers control. It is necessary to pose the problem of the advance towards measures of nationalisations, and functioning under workers control and the advance towards collectivisation. This is the present stage of the struggles in Britain.

J. POSADAS 24. 4. 73

FOR THE ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

Promote an open discussion and polemic to increase at the same time, the rights of the proletariat, the conquest of the control of the workers, control of discussions, revocability of mandates, nationalisations. This is the duty of these groups. Only in this way do they have a historic justification. Otherwise they have a representation, which corresponds to this stage, but do not have a perspective; they die. They have to incorporate themselves in this movement to form the left wing.

It is necessary to make public polemics, to edit bulletins, to make conferences, discussions, meetings, to help to form the left in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. The task is urgent. A left with a programme of nationalisations, workers control, T.U. delegates elected from the section, factory committees.

It is necessary to appeal to the Communist Party for this task; to formulate the programme for the formation of the left, of immediate demands, and more advanced demands. Two slogans are fundamental, sliding scale of wages and sliding scale of hours. The cost of living in Britain increases daily. In the whole of the capitalist world, it is like this. In one country more than in another, but this is the norm. In North America it is constantly like this, and increases in velocity and magnitude. All the capitalist world is like this. They are the consequences of the war in Vietnam, of the preparation of the atomic war, and the costs for the launching of the atomic war. The high cost of living is due to all this. And it is going to increase much more still. The deficits of Yankee, British and French imperialism are enormous. German imperialism doesn't have such great debts, because it doesn't have such important military expenses. But even so, the inflation and the increase in the cost of living, is constant throughout the capitalist world. The cost of living increases even without there being important inflation.

For this it is necessary to give a programme, which goes from the slid-

ing scale of wages, the sliding scale of hours of work, workers control of production, workers control of the pollution of the environment in the areas of production. This is going to help to form the Labour and TU left. The left has to unite itself with a programme of precise demands: trade union, social and political. Trade union rights are the rights of workers to intervene in their places

The strike of the South African workers weaken Afrikaner capitalism and British imperialism

The decision of the racist government of South Africa to allow in certain cases the limited right to strike to African workers is a historic triumph for the world working class. It is going to be a stimulus for all the class and revolutionary struggle in South Africa, a stimulus to anti-capitalist currents in the Trade Unions in opposition to the bureaucracy, and is going to increase the divisions within the South African ruling class. With this victory, the African, Indian, Coloured and White workers tend to come together, beginning to overcome the racial division, which capitalism imposed on them in order to be able to continue its domination.

The series of strikes which were launched by African and Indian workers in Durban were continued in the rest of South Africa, with strikes in Natal and the Transvaal. They signal even greater mobilisations by the Black workers of South Africa, which are going to disintegrate the whole rotten racist, fascist structure of the South African state. Already we see demonstrated that the division in South Africa is not racial but class, with the (white) Trade Union Centre posing the necessity of including the Black workers. As with all movements in the world, no matter what their origins, nationalist, religious or whatever, the movement in South Africa is going to develop a socialist character. This is why the consternation of British imperialism, and its 'liberal' allies, who see the distinct possibility of the expropriation of the massive investments that British Imperialism maintains in South Africa.

The Black workers of South Africa, who are among the most exploited and repressed in the world, who live under a system, which is as close to fascism as world capitalism can manage in this stage of history, find their confidence not

simply from their own inner resources—although we do not underestimate their courage—but from a world revolutionary process. What feeds the struggle in South Africa as the victory of the Popular Union in France, the mobilisations of the British and Irish masses, the constant process of General Strikes which mobilise millions in Italy and, above all, the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam. Vietnam is central to this world process, an enormous encouragement to the world masses, particularly those of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. These mobilisations are going to increase. Coupled with this the South African masses see the total world crisis of capitalism. They sense its social, political and economic weakness and take encouragement from it.

The maturity of the Black masses of Southern Africa is shown by the strikes of the South African workers and the complete rejection by the Rhodesian masses of the agreement proposed between British Imperialism and the Rhodesian bourgeoisie. This rejection further deepened the crisis both within the Rhodes-

ian ruling class and the internal crisis of the Tory Party. The whole crisis of capitalism is expressed in the imprisonment and expulsion of the journalist Peter Niesewand. It is an expression of the social crisis of capitalism, for people like Niesewand provided in a previous period, the social basis of capitalism. When they have to attack their own social base the bourgeoisie is really in crisis. All the mobilisation in the semi-colonial countries of Southern Africa increases the tensions within the capitalist system between those sectors who would like to improve the living conditions of the African masses; in the main the industrial bourgeoisie who act not with humanitarian motives but because they need an efficient work force and that sector—represented by the landowners and South African government—which fears that any concessions to the masses will only prompt even greater demands. Capitalism is faced with a problem to which there is no solution for it.

The mobilisations and strikes of the Black South African proletariat is of enormous significance in the anti-imperialist struggle in the whole of South Africa. It is true that there has been considerable guerrilla activity in this area but it is the proletariat that mobilises now to provide the leadership. This is not to underestimate the importance of the victories already gained by the guerrilla struggle. In Angola, for example, great areas have been taken out of the control of Portuguese imperialism, and are now directly controlled by the masses. In Rhodesia the 'security forces' have suffered a number of defeats at the hands of the guerrillas, who gain a direct sup-

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SOUTH AFRICA....

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

port from the mobilisations of the black proletariat, like that of the Salisbury public transport workers. However, as Comrade Posadas analysed in relation to Latin America, if the guerrilla movement does not link itself with the workers centres, with the proletariat, it simply degenerates into terrorism and banditry. This analysis has been confirmed in the whole process in Latin America where, despite the existence of numerous guerrilla movements, the advances have been made by the proletarian centres in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia etc. This is not to oppose armed struggle, which is necessary, but "the guerrillas are not the most important instrument of organisation of the masses, they are short lived, transitory actions, a centre for impelling the revolution, which must become dependant on the organised action of the towns". (J. Posadas—The Role of the Guerrillas in the Fight for Workers Power—Feb. 1966.) Not that the proletariat ignores the necessity of armed struggle; reports show that the Black proletariat in the towns prepares for armed struggle with Zulu workers drilling in 'Impis' which are the traditional Zulu fighting formation. The Zulu's are preparing to intervene with the same confidence and security as the North American Indians show at Wounded Knee, and both ex-

press the objective International of Humanity, the objective world unity of the masses in the class and revolutionary struggle.

This objective international of humanity found another expression in the action of the Swedish dockers, who supported the Zulu seamen of the 'Clan Robertson'. The dockers of Gotenburg refused to unload the ship's cargo until the Zulu seamen received equal pay with the rest of the crew. The ship then sailed for Southampton, but the dockers there were prepared and refused to handle the ship, it then went to Antwerp, where it received the same treatment. Finally rather than allow the ship to end up like a modern 'Flying Dutchman'—with no port open to it—the owners agreed with the International Transport Federation to pay equal wages to the Zulu seamen. It was a small but very beautiful expression of the unity, the fraternal, communist sentiment of the masses of the world.

It is also an important advance that, under the pressure of the British proletariat, the TUC has been forced to intervene, to investigate the pay and conditions of the Black workers in British companies in South Africa. It is, however, a limited intervention, and pressure must be put on the TUC to give full support to the South African workers, to organise solidarity strikes in this country,

occupations of enterprises with investments in South Africa—British Leyland Motor Corporation would be a good start. It is of immediate importance that the workers in this country mobilise, and use all means to prevent arms being sent to the South African government. **NO ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA UNLESS THEY ARE SENT TO THE WORKERS.** It is good that the Trade Unions unload their South African investments, and investigate conditions in South Africa, but they can and must do much more.

The mobilisations of the Black South African workers has received an immediate response from both the British bourgeoisie and certain 'liberals'. British companies have raised wages in South Africa and certain 'liberal' gentlemen have thrown up their hands in horror at the appalling pay and working conditions of the black workers in South Africa. Their motives are very transparent, they are trying to buy off the revolution. As one bourgeois commentator said to Stokes (of BLMC) in a BBC radio broadcast: "you must raise the pay of your black workers in South Africa to a living wage, it is the only way to prevent bloody revolution". How wrong he is! The black proletariat of South Africa is not going to be bought off because they, like the masses of Vietnam, like all the world masses, are struggling for more

than economic gains. The world struggle is, as Comrade Posadas says, for humanity to put itself in touch with itself, to create a superior human relationship; which is what Socialism is all about. The South African system expresses, in the crudest form, all the repression, division, exploitation and individualism of capitalism, and the masses are mobilising to destroy this, and to replace it with a superior human, fraternal communist society.

In this process it is clearly necessary for the Workers States to intervene more fully in support of the masses. It is true that they have already intervened with military support for the guerrilla movement, but now they must intervene with material, and, above all, political support. We call on the trade union militants, the Labour and Communist Party militants, the students and all those sectors now mobilising in support of the South African masses, not only to organise the massive intervention of the British proletariat with strikes, occupations etc., with actions to prevent the sending of arms to the South African government, but also to make direct appeals to the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and the other Workers States for their direct support of the struggle of the South African masses.

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

to keep pay increases of the working population down to their limit of £1 plus 4%, the privileged boards of directors, get free houses, free cars, free holidays and salaries of around £50,000 a year for a part time job. When disclosures like this are made in the press one day (which is a tremendous blow to the social authority of capitalism), and the next day pay increases of £4 or £5 a week are refused by the government, it is a stimulus to the class to put pressure on its party to change its policy and programme, to implement Clause 4, and to go into the fight to form the next government, with an openly declared programme, which favours the working class, pensioners and all the exploited population. The firm declarations, which the LP has already made to immediately revoke the Industrial Relation Act, and the Housing Finance Act, the agreement which it has made with the TUC are part of this, and the recent discussions over nationalisation have the intention of impelling the parliamentary party in this direction.

We can be confident from many examples of change, which have taken place in communist and workers parties throughout the world that changes are going to take place inside the LP. As Comrade Posadas has said, there is a process of change, which forces the Social Democratic Parties to go more towards Socialist Parties. We have seen the changes made in the German Social Democratic Party, the influence, which the working class had over its party, and how its policy of Ostpolitik, for example, led directly to its electoral victory. There have been many changes in the Communist Parties of France and Italy, where M.P.'s, who have represented the CP for 20 years, have suddenly been thrown out, and replaced by workers directly from the factories. So here we can be confident that profound changes will take place in the LP.

But how to impel these changes, how to make them come about in the shortest possible time, how to prepare the LP for the coming general election? Still there is a large right wing and centrist tendency in the P.L.P., which doesn't want the next election, because they feel that they will win, and they don't want to become the leadership of a party in government on an anti-capitalist programme, with the mass of workers organising, demonstrating, forcing them to implement this programme. Wilson is part of this team, which doesn't want the election, which why is he so silent on all the major issues. Why doesn't he speak out against the immorality and corruption of the capitalist system? He keeps silent. He is equally quiet in the majority of the discussions in the leadership of the LP, occasionally he speaks as if he is on the left, or at least speaks to support a left measure, but then fails to vote in an important election. He tries to maintain his position as leader, but this is going to become increasingly difficult for him, as the process advances, he will have to come out clearly with a position, if he wants to remain in the leadership

of the Party, then he will be forced to move by one degree or another to the left.

It is on the TU base of the LP that the left in the whole of the LP must base its strength. It was from the TU's that the most direct support was given to Tony Benn. But how can the TU base weigh more in the LP? Certainly it can weigh in the annual conferences of the LP with its massive block votes, (which is a bureaucratic method of voting, which does not let the base decide directly) and thus determine the official policy of the LP. But how to ensure that this is carried out? It's necessary to pose greater democracy within the LP. Readers will see in the very important document, which we are publishing in this paper by Cde Posadas on England, a large part of this is on the question of proletarian democracy within the factories and TU's, on the question of elections in the factories and TU's. The bourgeois structure of the LP must be changed, making it possible for all the working class to intervene in it. For instance, on the question of the "Sponsored" MP's; only those who are on the left, who support an anti-capitalist programme to be sponsored, and for them to be elected at mass meetings in the factories. For the Conference decisions to be binding on the PLP, for all local Labour councillors and the Labour MP's to attend local and factory meetings, where workers can discuss and weigh on their LP representatives, and the process of selection and representation of all LP delegates must be reviewed and a system imposed whereby if a Labour MP or councillor goes against the Conference decisions, or against what has been decided by the workers locally, then he can be recalled and another Labour member—preferably a worker—can take his place.

In this phase of capitalism the revolution advances everywhere, from the defeat of US Imperialism in Vietnam to the confidence with which Iceland threatens the British government, knowing that she will find the support of the Soviet Union. The total crisis of the capitalist system—as Posadas has analysed it—increases daily. This is seen most clearly in the United States, where there is the increasing monetary crisis, with the constant devaluation of the dollar, and the scandal of the Watergate Affair. This Watergate Scandal is going to go much deeper than is evident at present. It is clear that it is not simply a quarrel between the two political parties, no propaganda is being made by the Democratic Party. It is much more a crisis of the whole political set up. Watergate breaks out showing all the corruption of capitalism, not because a sector of the American ruling class has a thirst for truth, but because a sector linked to the Pentagon and the war economy do not accept the retreat from Vietnam, or the policy of Nixon and Kissinger with Moscow. This sector uses this crisis to get its man, General Haig into the White House in a form of underhand secret coup d'état. It shows that the fundamental sectors of US Imperialism are de-

cided to make the war. And if the Soviet Union elevates Gretchko to the Political Bureau, it indicates that they too are preparing.

These revelations in Britain about Lambton and Co., who has an interest in bringing them to light now? Not Wilson who has said nothing, because he does not want to aggravate a crisis, which could finish with him in office as a prisoner of the masses; certainly not Heath or his sector of the Conservative Party, who see the authority of the bourgeoisie and its parliamentary institutions damaged by this. But as Posadas analyses, sectors of the right, the security services, the army and police linked to big capital, have an interest in discrediting parliament, because they see that it no longer serves, in the most effective way, the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is the beginning of the process of liquidation of Parliament, and its replacement by organs of the police and army. More and more the army becomes the political

party of the ruling class.

The vanguard must take account of this. Concessions can be won in Parliament, important measures of nationalisation as in Chile, but the final decisions will be outside parliament. For this reason it is not enough just to make a discussion on what the programme must be for the next Labour Government, but to discuss what are the organisms which have to be constructed in the factories, in the workers areas, what transformations have to be made in the LP, and how they can be made, which takes into account the struggle for a programme and for power itself, which will have to go outside a parliamentary perspective. This is the major conclusion the vanguard must draw from the Lambton affair; not that the ruling class is corrupt, they always have been, but that certain forces of the right, as in Watergate, have brought this into the open to prepare conditions for the liquidation of parliamentary democracy.

The World Trade Union Assemblies held in Chile and the intervention of the Posadists

The World Trade Union Assembly convoked last month in Chile by the CUT (The Chilean Trade Union Centre) to discuss the so called multinational enterprises is the form in which the necessity of the Chilean Revolution to find support among the world proletariat is expressed. Delegations from all the world and all the Workers States with the exception of China, were present.

Even though the direct and active participation of the masses was not present in this meeting, in an indirect way the world masses did determine the behaviour of the leaderships present. The opening speech of Allende was important, because in addition to denouncing the multinational companies and the CIA, he tried to place the revolutionary process in Chile within the framework of the advances within the world workers movement.

The public intervention of the IV International-Posadists with delegates from Chile, Argentina and Uruguay, functioning as a fraction within the Conference, the manifesto which it distributed, the organisational propos-

als, which it made for world Trade Union Unification, the unification of Regional Workers Centres, the role of the TUs in impelling the progress of Revolutionary States, or in the installation of new Popular Governments as in Argentina, found a great reception among all the delegates. In this sense the declaration of the assembly in support of the CHILEAN REVOLUTION AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM IMPELLING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHILEAN REVOLUTIONARY STATE TOWARDS SOCIALISM was orientated by the intervention of the Posadists.

Certainly there were limits in the revolutionary political conclusions, and the spirit and declarations of the delegates were not sufficiently expressed in the final declarations of the Assembly, but nevertheless this meeting is going to put order into the internal discussion within the TUs and Parties of Chile, and will have profound consequences if they appeal to, and permit the full democratic intervention of the masses to impose a constant progress towards the Workers State in Chile.

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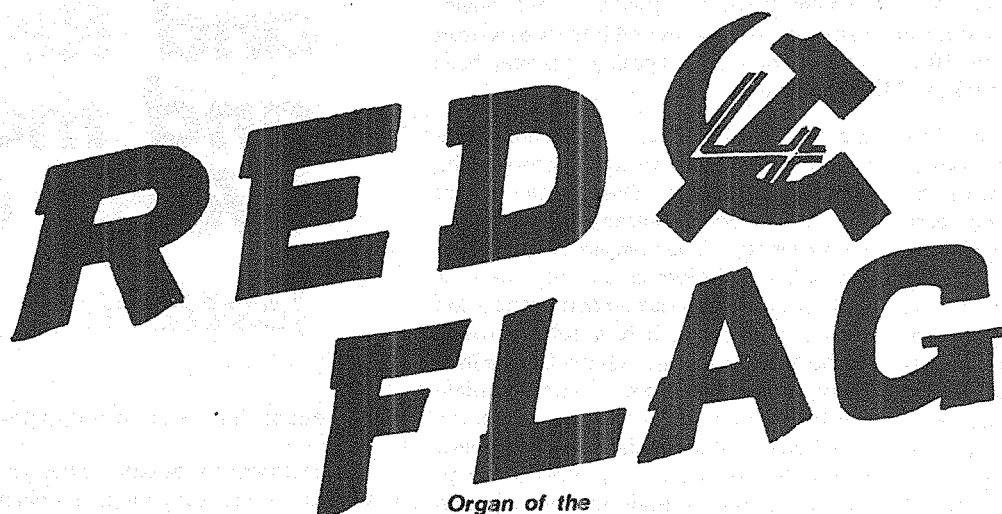
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The Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Crisis of Capitalism, the Class and Revolutionary Struggle and the Unification of the World Communist Movement. (extracts) 1--5--73

J. POSADAS

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On the Labour Party Programme

The Labour Vanguard and Base Must Weigh in the Public and Open Discussion in the Labour Party

The publication by the N.E.C. of the Labour Party of their "Programme for Britain" is an event of enormous importance which indicates that the pressure of the working class, expressed through its strikes, its demonstrations, its intervention in the local elections, its discussions, have influenced the whole structure of the Party, forcing the leadership to advance. Thus, even if the working class has not participated directly in the elaboration of this document, and even if the document does not express all the combative will of the class, their actions and their aspirations are present in it.

This programme emerges in the L.P. now as a response to the intense discussion at the base, but also as a result of the world conditions of the galloping crisis of capitalism and imperialism and the advance of the revolution and the Workers States. As the authority of capitalism declines so does the authority within the party, of the pro-capitalist wing of Wilson, Jenkins, etc. and this opens the way for the advance of left sectors. Today it is the right in the party which feels threatened, which does not have the confidence to counter attack but contents itself with criticisms of the programme and in particular of the proposal to nationalise 25 big companies. Wilson is criticised openly as never before: Rene Short a left wing member of the N.E.C. says for example that it is not important what Wilson wants; he is going to be forced to implement the programme in the next Labour Government. Wilson himself feels this and doesn't want to do anything which will stimulate the pressure of the masses on the apparatus. In relation to the 25 nationalisations he bluntly says that this will not be in the election manifesto, because he fears above all to find himself in government as a prisoner of the masses, committed to an anti-capitalist programme. But it is important to see that Wilson does not determine the programmatic advance, it is the N.E.C. in which the left dominates, which has elaborated this programme, and the N.E.C. is an organism which without being a revolutionary one has stronger links through the middle cadres of the party to the base in the factories, the trade unions and the L.P. branches.

The struggle over the programme, is fundamental at this stage. With all its limitations and vagueness, the programme has deep anti-capitalist implications which transcend the limited number of nationalisations — although these are important as aircraft, ship building, urban building land. It is pointed out in the document that nationalisations are not to be re-

garded as subject to the interests of Private capital. The emphasis on a powerful injection of state intervention into whole areas of capitalist industry implies an extensive interference in capitalist functioning. And it is reiterated that the extension of public ownership is fundamental to eliminating the inequality of capitalist society.

This programme cannot be seen separately or as a phenomenon peculiar to the British Labour Party, but as a part of a whole programmatic advance in the world communist and socialist parties; the 13 points of the Popular Unity in France, the programme of nationalisations and expropriations of the land of the C.P. and S.P. in Chile, the advances expressed in the conference of the German Social Democracy which have all influenced the thinking of the N.E.C.

It is necessary for the class to intervene and participate fully in this discussion impelling the crisis of growth in the L.P. The class is already discussing, above all in the trade unions, how to smash this reactionary government, how to advance in the direction of power. The two most recent union conferences show it clearly. The A.U.E.W. at its conference passed a resolution instructing its national executive "to insist that the Labour Party in their election programme or manifesto" should adopt nationalisation **without compensation**, while just previously the construction section of the A.U.E.W. had discussed what they described as the biggest construction job of all — the construction of socialism. The development of a programmatic anti-capitalist current in the T.U.'s becomes clearer and clearer, the masses use the T.U.'s as Posadas has analysed that they would, as a party discussing and taking resolutions on economic, social and political problems.

And they do this to put pressure on the Labour Party to make it advance. In the situation, faced with the chronic incapacity of capitalism to develop the productive forces, to improve the level of

life of the masses, a sector of the Labour Leadership sees that it has no other direction to go but to take measures which fundamental damage the structure and functioning of the capitalist system; not revolutionary marxist measures of the construction of soviet type organisms to replace those of the capitalist state, but certainly anti-capitalist economic measures. The right wing in the L.P. is going to resist is going to fight back, but it has nothing to base itself on, no where, nationally or internationally to find again its old security and confidence.

The left on the other hand has the world structure of the revolution to base itself on, 14 Workers States, 16 revolutionary states, the triumph of humanity in Vietnam the tremendous combativity of the British masses expressed

at this moment in the Chrysler and Perkins disputes. Clearly the left already exists in the L.P. and the T.U.'s but it is not structured as a tendency, there are only groups and current not linked together. But now the N.E.C. programme and the 25 nationalisations give a programmatic centre around which the discussion can be made throughout the movement, in the factories, in the mines, the docks, the colleges, in the workers areas, to structure a left tendency on the common programme with a national functioning and with its own organ to organise the forces to constitute the new leadership in the Labour Party.

We appeal for the MASS MOBILISATIONS to begin NOW. It is not enough to wait for T.U.C. and L.P. Conferences

Contd Page 4

OUR VIETNAM



**in the midst of the imperialist
massacre,
the Vietnamese people prepare
their children for socialism.**

J. POSADAS

INTRODUCTION

In this issue we are publishing short extracts of this fundamental analysis of Posadas on the latest changes in the Political Bureau of the CPSU and the re-inforcing of the Breznev line of negotiation with capitalism. It is necessary that the world vanguard understands profoundly the process within the Soviet Union, understands the objectives which the bureaucracy has with its policy of "inter-penetration", remaining sure in the conclusion that the bureaucracy is not going to betray the Workers State and the World revolution.

We will be publishing immediately the full document in the form of a bulletin which we will distribute to all our subscribers. We salute Cde Posadas for the elaboration of this document and we urge the vanguard to discuss it and draw conclusions from it for their own struggle to construct a new leadership in the Labour Party.

24.6.73.

The Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. shows an aspect of the process of partial regeneration, of the conservatism, of the instability of the policy of the Soviet bureaucracy and the CPSU. It is necessary to examine the causes and effects that it can have, the policy that it implies and affirms. There is no resolved policy, but they have affirmed the line which they have taken. The changes mean this.

This Central Committee of the CPSU shows a phase already expressed previously. It is an affirmation of the phase of the policy of the present team to combine "inter-penetration" with the capitalist system, of advancing on this line, without abandoning the progress made in the purification, in the changes in the Communist Parties. Changes which are favourable to the struggle to substitute for capitalism, to change, without overthrowing capitalism. It is a line of opposition to the capitalist system. It is not a revolutionary line, but one of opposition to the capitalist system.

These changes in the political bureau of the CPSU have no importance, nor significance; they affirm simply the power and policy of Breznev, they affirm the policy of "inter-penetration" with the capitalist system, accompanied — as we have already said in relation to the proposal of the Soviets to the Japanese to invest in oil extraction in Siberia — with the extension, and affirmation of the line of negotiation with the capitalist system, to increase concessions to the capitalist system.

Also the capitalists have to make concessions to the Soviet Union. The objective of this policy of the Soviet bureaucracy, is not to make "inter-penetration" with the capitalist system in order afterwards to conquer it. It is an attempt to incorporate, attract, develop a wing of the world capitalist system to negotiate with the Workers States, to give perspectives to the wing to discuss, to elevate the proposals of opposition to the policy of preparation of the atomic war and continuation of wars of the Vietnam type.

The Soviet bureaucracy does not have a policy to confront the capitalist system in the name of the revolution, but it does in the name of opposition to the capitalist system, a thing which Stalin didn't do. It is possible that the Soviets do this in direct competition with the Chinese. The attitude of the Chinese, although it might be very limited in the first stage, is one of negotiation to the maximum with the capitalist system. Within China they have a great deal of resistance but Breznev also has a great deal of resistance. They fear to confront the wing that opposes negotiations with the capitalist system, or at least large scale negotiations. These concessions which they make are directed to bring together a sector of world capitalism, to dissuade Yankee imperialism, to contain it, to delay and to disintegrate the policy of the atomic war.

This present policy of trade and investment forms part of this. At the same time they utilise this policy to profit from the very great advance of the world revolution, pushed forward and accepted by the Soviet Union, the advance of the Workers States, the advance of the policy which puts the capitalist system in check. The bureaucracy and the Soviet Communist Party fear above all that a policy directed to change capitalism in Europe would unleash throughout the world a mobilisation which would have repercussions throughout the USSR and also unleash the atomic war. It wants to avoid this. It seeks to see how to substitute for the capitalist system without the revolution, and without the war. It does not stop considering at the same time, that perhaps the revolution is necessary and the war also. This is the centre of its policy.

There is no fundamental change with

the change of leaders. The same policy which they pushed forward before is the one they have now. They simply extend it. It is more important but it is not fundamental. The dangerous aspect of the policy of before as that of now — as we have criticised — is that this negotiation with the Japanese, if it is not controlled by the proletariat, through the Communist Party, is going to foment and stimulate the functioning of bureaucracy. Pisar, he is a Yankee 'theoretician' of investments in the Workers States expresses this fact. These investments develop a preoccupation with living well, a sentiment of accumulation, of the individualist life, in very large sections of the Soviet Bureaucracy; they expect to base themselves on this. Hence the interest of the Yankees to intervene.

The impossibility of**creating new****bureaucratic layers.**

Yankee imperialism cannot dream of creating a bourgeois bureaucratic wing in the Soviet Union. They cannot dream of it. It is a desperate capitalism which in the last instance has to take hold of this trip, because in the world competition between them there is no other possibility. They have to make the war now. They should make three wars; the Yanks against the Japanese, against the Germans, against Europe. And they cannot do it. And to unite they have to make a whole manoeuvre to conceal themselves and to magnify their strength. And they cannot do it because they know it is the final encounter. As they cannot make the war, they accept the investment of capital in the USSR. They are not investments in industry, but in a certain sphere in which they cannot create or dominate but in which they develop techniques, which could be just as well elaborated by the Soviet Union at any moment. There is not really any need for the Yanks to come.

The Soviet bureaucracy has an interest in making the capitalists intervene so as to disorganise the front of world capitalism. Hence its policy in Europe which seeks to use inter-capitalist competition which is very great. It is a competition to the death, Yankee imperialism doesn't make the war because this would favour the revolution directly.

Even now in the last few days in the EEC they cannot reach agreement over the price of agricultural products. The Soviet bureaucracy and the CPSU try to use the disagreements, the disputes of world capitalism to divide the forces of capitalism, to diminish and retard the preparation and the launching of the war.

The bureaucracy doesn't have a fixed policy. On the other hand together with this not having a fixed policy, there is an orientation in search of a United Front of the Communist Parties towards the left. This is not their policy. It is our policy. Today they don't speak of calming the struggles in the capitalist countries, Stalin did this. Stalin detained the struggles and hence every commercial agreement signified stopping the left of the Communist Party in each country, making a party submitted to the Soviet Union. Now today the Communist countries are not submitted to the Soviet Union and, on the contrary the USSR has an interest in maintaining them as instruments, as parties of anti-capitalist opposition without this meaning revolu-

The Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Crisis of Capitalism, the Class and Revolutionary Struggle and the Unification of the World Communist Movement

(extracts) 1 may 73 J. POSADAS

tionary opposition, without taking power by force.

It is necessary to see what is happening in all this. There is no important change. Shelest is no Marxist-Leninist as they say. What is his policy and position. What has he written? What is his intervention on the problem of constructing socialism. He is a bureaucrat placed their by Krushchev. Capitalism invents positions, seeking disagreement, negligence, disputes in the apparatus of the Soviet Union. It seeks on one hand to try to understand them, to guide world capitalism and on the other to disorientate the Communist and Socialist parties, to create an area of confusion because they are incapable of understanding. Shelest has nothing to do with Marxism. He is a bureaucrat of a great republic like the Ukraine. He is a great bureaucrat, a big boss and nothing more. His elimination changes nothing. The opposition of Shelest a year ago to Nixon's arrival in the USSR has no importance. Opposition for what? The Chinese have opposed many times, also opposed bourgeois leaders and they end up by receiving Nixon, besides conciliating with imperialism in Vietnam and South East Asia. The liquidation of Shelest and Voronov is of no importance. Voronov supports a more liberal attitude towards the peasants and the kholose, which means giving them more independence and more freedom of action, to stimulate private interest.

None of these changes is a consequence of the discussion of revolutionary programme, of economic, social, political or trade union positions. There has been no discussion over the revolutionary world programme or local problems. They are all discussions in the sphere of the bureaucracy and the Communist Party and on problems on which the masses, or the trade unions, or the Communist Party don't intervene. There is no programme or policy. One cannot take any of these changes which have taken place as an index of change in the policy of the Soviet Union, that it is appealing to capitalism for pacification or agreement; it is simply a trick of the policy of the Soviet Union.

Although the bureaucracy wants to, it cannot conciliate with the capitalist system. The article in 'Pravda' is an addition to the omissions and the deficiencies of the resolution of the Central Committee. It indicates that they must support themselves on the struggles against the capitalist system without appealing for the taking of power. When Stalin was around it went in the other direction. Every agreement of Stalin with capitalism was accompanied by making the Communist Party an agent of Stalin to pacify the struggle within each capitalist country. The policy of Stalin and for a whole period of Krushchev, was of supporting one capitalism against another. This policy of basing oneself on inter-capitalist disputes is not incorrect, but not at the cost of making the political life of the Communist Party stop or from using such a dispute to go towards power, or towards government, or even changing governments without taking power by

force or revolution, displacing the capitalist system. On the other hand today this same policy of the Soviet bureaucracy does not imply or call for a cessation of struggle. There is no appeal to say that it is necessary to stop the class struggle and submit to the policy of peace. It has not said this, nor can it say it and even if they did say it it would not have any support.

It is necessary to take this process in the USSR as that of the Communist Parties of the world, as part of the process of partial regeneration, Capitalism at first wanted to take advantage of the changes in the USSR: "We expected a wind and it is a tempest." What tempest? They threw out two people and that was the end of it. What change of policy is there? It is the same policy which they pushed forward before. In the declaration which the Soviets made there is the same position as before. They do not advance in the struggle against imperialism, they do not support themselves on the world process to push forward a revolutionary policy. Nevertheless they don't support themselves on it to conciliate. Stalin didn't do this. Stalin betrayed at Teheran. Today they go to make negotiations in the United States, but at the same time, they impose that imperialism leaves Vietnam and they support and stimulate the changing of the capitalist system.

There is no change in the Central Committee of the CPSU. Absolutely no change. The bourgeois daily papers who want to make a great scandal say that there are great changes, but they limit themselves to discussing the biographies of the leaders, nothing more. They don't say a word of what is going to happen, of how to use this situation, nothing. They don't have anything to use. There is nothing beneficial to the capitalist system. The condition which is beneficial to capitalism is that if the opening of negotiations with the capitalist system is on a large scale, it is an impulse to the formation of a new bureaucracy, a new phase of the bureaucracy. Hence in the USSR they have had a cleansing, they are also still cleansing and they are making the trade unions participate more to try to contain the formation of a new bureaucracy. They are very weak measures.

The necessity for the intervention of the trade unions and proletariat in the U.S.S.R.

It is not incorrect to try to divide the capitalist camp, profiting from the dispute they have between themselves. It is necessary to see that it is a question of the final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the Workers States, which is the atomic war, and which makes practically all the Communist Parties doubt and vacillate through fear of the consequences. But it also makes the capitalist system doubt and fear. One must see these changes in the U.S.S.R. in these conditions.

It is necessary to demand that the proletariat intervenes, that the trade unions of the U.S.S.R. participate as

controllers of these negotiations, of these investments; so that the functionaries who are in this game have to be functionaries of the party, submitted to the life of the party. And the trade unions should control everything. Instead of negotiations with the capitalist system, one can make them with other Workers States. The Soviets reply to this by saying "The Workers States don't have capital they don't have the services and the technology which capitalism has". This is relatively true. But then one must pose; why don't the Workers States have them? Because there is not enough life for them to have all this. It is much better for the history of humanity that the Workers States present themselves as a class which constructs history, instead of presenting itself as seeking inter-penetration with the capitalist system. This would be infinitely superior.

The war cannot be prevented, capitalism will not abandon making the war. It is going to do it anyway. It is because of this that there was the declaration of Epichev "We will win the war". And Gretchko forms part of this because Epichev speaks in the name of the army. They are preparing these changes of negotiation with capitalism and at the same time they have to make sure that they don't create, stimulate or foment a new workers aristocracy which inevitably these arrangements are going to do.

Capitalism cannot let pass the opportunity to consider, to profit from this situation because it has no policy, it is defeated on all sides. Once more now there is an internal offensive against Nixon. Watergate is the example. One must not think that Watergate comes to light now because they recently discovered it. No. They are letters which the opposition has and which it is going to throw at Nixon to contain him. They knew about this sometime ago. Perhaps one guy or another did not know. All of a sudden a guy appears who burns compromising letters which only he and another guy know about. This affair is designed to weigh on the apparatus of Nixon to stop the atomic war. This shows the sentiment of terror which imperialism has, otherwise they would not bring this affair to light. It is not a question of an inter-capitalist dispute due to the political competition, or to a political, economic and commercial rivalry. It is true that it is a question of rivalry, but with a much more profound sense and designed to contain the policy of the C.I.A. through Nixon. It is possible that there is a section of the government of the United States which seeks to contain the situation of Cambodia by liquidating Lon Nol and arriving at an agreement. It is for this reason that the Senate attacks Nixon now, accusing him of preparing new bombings, including on North Vietnam. It is an indication that all this is constantly in process of developing and shifting.

There isn't any possibility for capitalism to have the historic capacity of trading with the Workers States. No possibility. The Workers States haven't got the market for the capitalist system.

In order to make a great commerce with this state, the capitalist system would have to transform this market, transforming this economy into a market economy, and the U.S.S.R. has just declared "There is no market economy here, our economy is a directed economy." This is what has just been done in an indirect form in Yugoslavia.

Capitalism doesn't have the possibility of developing investment in the Workers States, but it has to make very lateral investments without any importance on the internal market, as in the case of the exploitation of petrol, or the installation of a Pepsi Cola factory which doesn't have any importance either. The investments of the Japanese and the Yanks to exploit the petrol of Siberia are not going to have any great importance on the market. This is only going to affect small circles, like layers of the higher technicians and thinkers. This stimulates among them the individual search for profit and individual usufruct, but it is not possible to create an entire new layer starting from there because there are not important enough links, commercial relations or the extension of the market. The transaction is very limited and can be made very limitedly from government to government. Anyway we propose that instead of permitting the Yankees to invest; one calls to plan all the Workers States together

The necessity for a centralised planning of all the Workers States.

We appeal to the U.S.S.R. so that it plans all the Workers States together, that it makes a plan developing the economy, taking as an immediate objective the development of the least developed up to the level of the most developed. The working class, the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry of the entire world must see this. It is clear that imperialism is not going to allow that this circuit be completed without making the war. But it is going to make it anyway! It is going to invest in the U.S.S.R. and launch the war. When? This depends. But the programme of world planning of all the Workers States is going to have, and has already, an immense force whose influence is going to be exerted on the principle capitalist countries — with the exception of the United States. It is the immense force of

the historically powerful base which is the proletariat which dominates even in Japan.

The Japanese transport workers have just won a very important strike. The press does not say if one of the essential points of the demands: the right to strike, has been given to the public service employees. On the other hand the government has yielded on all the rest! It is necessary to take account of the state of spirit of the population of the entire world. Everywhere in Japan, at the same hour of the same day there has been a rebellion of people against the transport service. Everyone rose up against it setting fire to and burning vehicles and some people have stolen, pillaged, but this is not the most important thing. The most important is the rebellion of people. It is a state of spirit of protest against the leadership of the country. The papers say that it was a reaction against the workers on strike; it is a lie! The unanimity of the movements shows that it was not against them but against the capitalist system, against the bourgeois leadership. The proof of it is that the bourgeoisie has yielded. Another very important thing, the workers explained their reasons for going on strike, why they are asking for increases of salary better conditions of work, trade union rights.

Capitalism doesn't have the possibility of making investments in the Workers States to develop a new workers aristocracy there. Because the one which Stalin developed, was on the basis of the U.S.S.R., while this one would emerge through the liaison with the capitalist system. This will encourage interests of usufruct, of privilege of other layers who through their participation in capitalist commerce, separate themselves from all interests of soviet development and consequently create a link between the capitalist system and the Workers State. It is necessary to pose all this in the U.S.S.R. in order to prevent that these measures have an influence in the Workers States. It is necessary to develop workers control. It is necessary that the functionaries who intervene in this trade be controlled by the T.U. and the Party, that their salary be determined by T.U. and Party so that they don't have individual usufruct. It is necessary that the T.U.'s and the party determine the economic relations with the capitalist countries to invest. And during this time it is necessary to develop a campaign

for the world planning of all the Workers States.

The intervention of the Soviet masses is necessary in the discussion and decision of the policy of the U.S.S.R.

This change in the USSR is made in order to give security to the capitalist countries about what the attitude of Bresnev is going to be. It was not absolutely necessary to throw out Shelest and Voronov. It is necessary to take into account that this is a very numerous political bureau. What weight did these two have in the Bureau? In the same way as expelling them, they could have made them shut up, prevent them speaking and left them there. There elimination is a measure addressed to the Yanks, to the Japanese, to the Germans: "You see, we are chucking out the bad ones." This is the sense of this measure. There isn't any other reason, because Shelest and Voronov could not decide anything. They could have just as well remained where they were, because they did not have any weight. The incorporation of Gromyko is because he is the diplomat who is making the 'detente' but it is also necessary to take into account what the capitalist press says "he is the same diplomat who applied the policy of the cold war in the previous stage, when that was the policy of the USSR" Krushchev said in a declaration that he was an obedient type. This is possible, but he is a man of the apparatus of the Party, that is to say, that he can discuss with capitalism. One must also take account of the dispute which he has made in the United Nations in the diplomatic relations with capitalism. Gromyko is not to be a bit softer, but to assure to the Party that it has a man there capable of negotiating in one sense or another.

(extract)

J. POSADAS.

1.5.73

Argentina

DENUNCIATION OF THE PROVOCATION OF THE E. R. P. by the Partido Obrero (Trotskista)

All the world capitalist press and in particular "Le Monde" of France and to a lesser extent the "Guardian" in Britain have given enormous space to the provocative actions of the E.R.P. of Argentina on the eve of coming to power of Campora, following the electoral victory of peronism. These so-called trotskyst of the E.R.P. are presented as a revolutionary left opposition whereas they are the means utilised by imperialism to try to block the development of a socialist current in the Peronist movement, in particular among the youth and in the trade unions.

The IV International and the Argentinian section, the Workers Party (Trotskyist) have for months and months and they were the first to do so, denounced this E.R.P. as provocateurs utilised by Imperialism and in which the CIA intervenes directly.

In the declaration of our Argentinian section published in the two major Argentinian papers and reproduced below this provocation is denounced and its political sense explained.

"In front of the evidence of provocative and anarchist actions of sectors who proclaim themselves "Trotskyist" and following the reference made by Peron on the fact that "provocation is taking refuge in gorilla (the extreme right) and trotskyst centres", we declare: The proclamation of the E.R.P., the provocations in Villa Devoto and the Plaza De Mayo seek among other things

to destroy the united front, the fusion of socialist ideas with a nationalist revolutionary process which began on the 25th May with the Popular Government based on the Trade Unions of Brother Campora. They are going against the current of history in as much as, on a world scale and in Argentina, the progress of popular and revolutionary nationalism goes hand in hand with the search for socialism, even if they call it "National" socialism but which is without doubt based on the world revolutionary process, the triumph of the Workers States and Vietnam, Chile and Cuba. Imperialism, the C.I.A. and the right make these provocations by basing themselves on anarchist methods of substitution for the revolutionary action and mobilisation of the masses, on the part of these groups, with a view to creating foci of tension which would justify the counter revolution, and to deviate from true marxist ideas. This is why, our Party has been the first and the only one to denounce the provocation made by the E.R.P., the same denunciation as the Peronist Youth and Peron make today.

Trotskyism directed by comrade J. Posadas is represented in Argentina by the Workers Party (Trotskyist) and its organ "Voz Proletaria" which for 26 years have fought within the mass movement, and fundamentally with Peronism and in the Trade Unions, for the organisation of the conscious leadership for the struggle for power and for

the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions, for the single class and revolution C.G.T. for the anti-imperialist united front and for the organs of control and intervention of the masses in the struggle for the revolutionary State which develops towards the Workers State. This policy has determined our critical support to FREJULI. These ideas can never become a refuge "for provocation."

Our declaration has solely the objective of preventing that this mentioning of "Trotskyist" be utilised by badly intentioned groups and sectors, right wing or bureaucratic sectors, to confuse it with the real line of Trotskyism which has been and is that of the Workers Party (Trotskyist).

Viva the installation of the Popular Government of Brother Campora!

Viva the application of the programmatic points which go towards the programme of the workers movement, the programme of Huerta Grande, and La Falda!

Viva the democratic rights already conquered, the freedom of the political prisoners the relations with Cuba and the other Workers States, and the popular measures which begin to be applied.

1.6.1973

Workers Party (Trotskyist).

Viva the Liberation of the Comrades of the Brazilian Section of the IV International!

Viva the Political Defence of Trotskyism-Posadism Carried out by the Comrades!

We salute with tremendous joy, the triumph of the comrades and sympathisers of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) Brazilian Section of the IV International – Posadist, in the trial held by the military dictatorship on the 24th April. The majority of the comrades and sympathisers were found not guilty or received small sentences, some of which had already been served. Among these comrades were those whose names had been the centre of the formidable world campaign of solidarity and protest organised by Posadas and the International.

A nucleus of comrades made an open political defence of the policy and of the ideas of Trotskyism – Posadism, which in the present situation in Brazil is immensely difficult because of the impossibility of the accused expounding their positions directly and freely. Nevertheless the comrades succeeded in making their political defence, through the arguments of professional defence lawyers, who presented the thesis that “one cannot condemn militants who fight for Posadist ideas which are a public good of humanity.” This had an immense repercussion. They received sentences ranging from 11 months to 30 months in prison. Comrade Aibere Ferreira de Sa sent the judge a declaration reaffirming his position as a revolutionary militant from his action as a Trotskyist leader of the peasant leagues of the north-east before the coup of 1964 up to the moment of his imprisonment in 1972, and in his testimony he condemned the dictatorship for the assassination of comrade Rui O. Pflutzenreuter. He was sentenced to five years in prison.

The Trotskyist-Posadist comrades in Brazil in their behaviour in the prison and facing up to the tortures, have applied the bolshevik conceptions developed by comrade Posadas in his letters to the comrades in prison in Mexico to confront the tortures at whatever the cost, and maintain, even in the most difficult conditions, their political life and collective functioning within the prison. Comrade Rui Oswaldo, as comrade Olavo Hansen before him were assassinated without pronouncing one word which would damage the functioning of the party.

This defeat of the repression of Trotskyism in Brazil, is above all an

immense triumph for the IV International-Posadists and of comrade Posadas in the task of the construction of internationalist bolshevik teams in all the world, capable as the Brazilian comrades are of carrying forward the banners of the world socialist revolution even in the most difficult conditions. This trial was a triumph for the moral authority of the campaign of revolutionary solidarity organised by the International, which weighed on the judges, preventing tricks and falsifications – as the dictatorship intended to do when it made publicity saying that comrade Rui was a “terrorist” element in contact with the Argentinian ERP, and that he had died arms in hand.

This campaign was supported by important workers centres such as the C.G.T. and C.F.D.T. in France, the C.G.I.L., C.I.S.L. and U.I.L. of Italy, the C.N.T. of Uruguay, the C.U.T. of Chile and many others. Communist Parties of the capitalist countries like Britain, Sweden, Belgium and Mexico, trade union and popular organisations, democratic and progressive organisations, religious organisations cultural personalities, members of parliament and political leaders of all the world gave their support to the campaign.

But joined to all this, it must be seen as a formidable triumph of the Brazilian proletariat and masses, who in the same way as our comrades, stand firm before imperialism and the dictatorship. More and more the Brazilian masses are overcoming the enormous difficulties of the lack of class organisations, of mass trade unions, of a single centre, of a national political centre, of a revolutionary leadership and taking the road of the defeat of the fascist and pro-imperialist dictatorship and the integration of Brazil into the nationalist and proletarian revolutionary process which is sweeping over the continent. The crisis of the Medici regime, affected by internal and external conditions begins to accelerate. The resignation of the Minister of Agriculture, openly accusing the official economic policy as serving the great multi-national monopolies and the exporters and of putting the nation in debt, is a violent expression of the enormous decomposition of the capitalist apparatus, of development of nationalist and anti-

viva the appearance of 'FRENTE OPERARIA'!

We have heard through the International that 'Frente Operaria' the organ of the Partido Operario Revolucionario (trotskista) Brazilian Section of the IV International, No 236 of the 11th of May 73 has been published. It contains the following articles;

- “Revolutionary Consequences of the Triumph of Peronism” of J Posadas of the 14th of March 73.
- “The Nationalist Military Coup and the Class Struggle in Uruguay” of J Posadas, of the 11th Feb. 1973.
- “Homage to Comrade Rui Oswaldo (Marcos) on the first anniversary of his murder”.
- “One Year after the Blow against the Section, we begin again the Publication of “Frente Operaria”
- The Editorial.

The re-appearance of Frente Operaria is based on this triumph of the liberation of our comrades through the immense weakness of the Brazilian Dictatorship and by the power of the masses. We salute with great revolutionary joy, our dear Brazilian Section of the International. We salute Cde Posadas who through his constant texts and orientations has given the security to the cdes to maintain this activity inspite of all the blows of capitalism.

imperialist currents with great strength in the army, and among the bourgeois politicians etc. No dictatorship or terrorism will be able to make this process retreat.

In all the country the peasant clashes and struggles for the land multiply. Trade unions of Sao Paulo for the first time in five years reorganise themselves for a campaign in common for the stability of collective work contracts and for trade union autonomy. The student movement bloodily smashed after 1968 comes back to organise great assemblies, struggles and strikes. The Catholic church confronts head on the dictatorship, denouncing murders and the exploitation of the north-east and the north etc. Big sectors of the bourgeoisie ask for democratic concessions “before it is too late.” Some military leaders have made nationalist and democratic type declarations. This all shows that rapidly the revolutionary struggle in Brazil will reach the height of the rest of the continent. And the comrades of the Brazilian section will be a part of the leadership of this process, because they represent scientific marxist thinking,

Posadism, and because they have gained the right in the struggle.

We repeat our warmest salute to comrade Posadas and to all the International our salutes to the comrades and sympathisers of the Brazilian section. We give a great salute and thanks to all the comrades who have taken part in the world campaign for the Trotskyist and other political prisoners in Brazil. We appeal for the struggle to be carried on for the liberation of all the political prisoners in Brazil, for the defeat of the fascist dictatorship and for solidarity with the Brazilian masses in their struggle. We appeal for a campaign to be directed to the Brazilian government, to its embassies demanding the liberation of Aibere Ferreira de Sa, Trotskyist peasant leader, detained and condemned, for the defending of his ideas, and for all the revolutionary prisoners in Brazil. 27.5.1973.

(Taken from an article in Frente Obrero, paper of the Uruguayan Section)

The reasons for the new format of Red Flag

Beginning with this issue, Red Flag will be published in a new format at a different printers. The old form did not express all the dynamism of the process and the development of the section itself, while the changes we have made now, orientated by Cde. Posadas and the International Leadership, prepare the party to intervene with greater dynamism, maturity and understanding in the process of construction of the new revolutionary leadership in the LP and TUs.

The quotations of Lenin and Trotsky which appeared at the top of the old issues of Red Flag have been omitted now, not because they are any less correct today but because today they are already accepted by wide sectors of the Labour and Communist vanguard.

In September “Red Flag” will be published each week thus responding better to the necessities of the situation. We appeal now to all our readers and sympathisers of the party to send donations, take out subscriptions, take several copies of the paper to sell at their place of work or college, so as to give Red Flag the maximum national distribution. Red Flag with the fundamental documents of Posadas and the analyses of the section is going to decisively affect the rhythm and tempo of the structuring of the left tendency in the LP, as a stage in the construction of the new revolutionary leadership.

Subscription rates:

We have had to raise the price, because of increasing costs, from 3p to 5p.

A years subscription for the weekly paper is £1.50.

6 months subscription for the weekly paper is £0.80.

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RED FLAG!**

On the Labour Party Programme

Continued from Page 1

in September and October. These Conferences are hardly democratic, contain all manner of delegates who represent not the masses, but small cliques. We appeal to T.U. branches, trades Councils, to weigh in this struggle, to organise meetings now, combining discussions over party, programme, with the struggle to throw out the capitalist sectors in the L.P. It is necessary to prepare interventions which extend the L.P. programme, make it more specific in its programme of state intervention, above all placing emphasis on the construction of the instruments of dual power, factory committees, workers area committees, mass assemblies, based on immediate revocability of mandates whose final objective must be to replace all the bourgeois state apparatus and prepare to intervene in a soviet functioning for the construction of socialism.

It is one thing to enter the government, it is quite another to take the power. It is one thing to nationalise some industries and banks, it is another to plan the

economy without capitalists altogether and with the full intervention of the masses in their own organs. Capitalism will put up a violent resistance – as in Chile at this moment. All this has to be discussed.

We appeal to all the left to participate in this discussion, that Labour Weekly, Tribune, the Morning Star, the trade union journals, the papers of the left groups open their pages to letters, comments, and opinions, from all sectors of the exploited masses on the programme. We appeal to the left in the N.E.C. to Benn etc. to call mass meetings with the right of everyone to speak to give their ideas on how to improve, how to implement, how to impose a programme in the Labour Party. We appeal to the Labour vanguard not to wait on the left in the L.P., but to immediately organise these discussions factory by factory, section by section, so that they make the factories weigh in this crisis of growth of the Labour Party which is part of its transformation into a revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions.

21.6.73

THE MILITARY JUNTA AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE

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24.4.73
J. POSADAS

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BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

NO. 185 24 JULY 1973

CHILE

Resolution of the
Chilean section
on the attempted
coup d'état

page 2

Prepare for the Labour Party and T.U.C. conferences by assemblies and discussions in the factories and workers areas

The visit of Caetano has caused so much attention because it is an important issue for capitalism. It is not simply the matter of principle whether a 'democratic' government should receive a fascist dictator. British capitalism enormously weakened in its capacity to find internal support for its policy, by the social and financial crisis which is shaking the whole capitalist world, increasingly needs to sustain such an alliance.

The example of Ireland has shown the intention of capitalism to try to return to fascist methods and this visit is another expression of its fascist objectives. But it has met powerful and united opposition. The opposition had a new quality in the direct participation of the Labour Party and the trade unions. There was a good local opposition - as in Greenwich - where the local L.P. participated in the organisation of a demonstration with the Communist Party and other forces. The lack of an effective national opposition was caused by the sabotage through inactivity of the L.P. leadership which issued an appeal and did nothing to see it carried through. All this shows the change in the balance of forces, the growing confidence of the left and the will of the vanguard which goes towards power.

The vanguard has already launched itself against capitalism without waiting for an initiative from the Labour Party. It did this with the mass abstentions at the last general election. The agreement of the L.P. and the TUC was a very limited expression of its presence. It is a programme of government as Posadas has defined it and was not made because the Wilson clique wanted to make it. It is an expression of the weakness of the right. But still the left is not a structured force. The task has been analysed by Cde. Posadas in his article 'The favourable conditions for the organisation of the left in the L.P. and T.U.'s in Great Britain'. In this he says 'to struggle for the organisation of the left means to break the right wing apparatus; to break the link and the relationship between the right and the centre with capitalism. It is necessary to break it. The struggle for the formation of the left passes through the struggle in the L.P. and the trade unions.'

The whole structure of British

capitalism is in its death agony. In every direction its policies are in an impasse. Economically the crisis is prodigious and allows no solution. The last period has seen yet another devaluation of sterling with a massive increase in import prices and hence high balance of payment deficits. But the working class although unable to use all its strength because of the ineptitudes and lack of confidence of the leaderships, refuse to pay for the crisis of capitalism, hence capitalism meets strenuous opposition to which it has to yield, as at Chryslers where the workers used flying pickets in a very aggressive manner, and at Perkins. The Heath offer of threshold payment pacts and the rent rise compromises are all examples of the inability of capitalism to organise an authoritative capitalist policy. They have to moderate their policies from fear of an overwhelming working class response. But their crisis will become much worse because of the total disintegration of capitalism as a world system. The USA is endeavouring to export its crisis and the lack of confidence in the dollar creates a constant perturbation of the of the capitalist economy, deepening the gravity of a situation where capitalism cannot develop new markets and perspectives. In this situation the Tory government could be overthrown immediately, but at the same time that Wilson endeavours to combat the left in the L.P. he takes advantage of the very limited fusion of this left with the masses, to block any activity of the Labour Party to actually mobilise the masses and smash the Tory government.

The struggle in the Labour Party is going to be intensified as the result of the engineering and TGWU trade union conferences which show the decision of the masses to expropriate capitalism and change the L.P. And the link newly

established between the TUC and the Soviet trade unions with the visit of British trade union leaders to Moscow is going to accelerate the communication between the British masses and the advance of the Workers States (however much Feather or Jones may hope to use the visit as a means of containing the process.) All this contrasts with the abysmal decrepitude of the capitalist system as shown in Watergate.

In this situation the organisation and maturing of the left in the Labour Party is decisive. The removal of all the clientele sectors which provides a careerist base for the right of the L.P. has been stimulated by all the scandals arisen from the Poulson affair; the crisis in the Dundee L.P. and the L.P. in the North East. Local government as constituted under capitalism has been a means whereby the right of the L.P. and the business interests of capitalism could come together and all the steady exposure of this corruption will stimulate the demand for a rigorous control of all representatives of the L.P. so that they are submitted to proletarian democracy. Such exposures prepare the ground for a speedy liquidation of the right and we appeal to the left teams in the L.P. to pose a control over the income of L.P. representatives so

that only the most politically dedicated represent the interests of the party.

The forces of the left have to prepare to make the most complete advance in the Conference of the L.P. and the TUC. Benn has spoken of the need for a free discussion of ideas in which case it is necessary that the voice of Marxism in heard in the Labour Party, that the right of tendency is established in the L.P. At the same time we appeal to the teams who are developing in the L.P. and the T.U.'s to develop mass popular campaigns to involve the masses in the programmatic discussions that take place in the organisations of the class. Go to the factories and discuss with the workers. Intervene in the large strike actions and occupations of the class. Take up the demand for the organisation of neighbourhood committees where all sectors of the population can discuss and decide. Support the organs of the class against the arrest of worker militants as in the Shrewsbury case. Prepare to intervene with the anti-capitalist programme in the workers struggles that are coming over wages, holidays, conditions of work etc. so that the masses can weigh in the expulsion of the right wing in the L.P. and the left teams in the L.P. deepen their necessary fusion with the extra parliamentary struggles of the masses.



Life Begins with the Revolution.
J. POSADAS

Viva the liberation of FRANCISCO LUNA LEAL

It is with immense joy that we salute the liberation of our comrade FRANCISCO LUNA LEAL, imprisoned in Lecumberri jail, Mexico since November 1967, and sentenced then to 18 years in prison. With this liberation there are now no Trotskyist-Posadist militants in prison in Mexico. This measure taken after the accession to power of Echevarria when all the political prisoners held since the big demonstrations of the workers and student movement in the 1960's were liberated is also an expression of the process of development of revolutionary nationalism in Mexico.

The Chilean Section Salutes the Smashing of the Right Wing Coup and Appeals for the carrying out of the Tasks to Conquer Power

The masses and the immense majority of the armed forces loyal to the popular government have smashed the counter-revolutionary attack of a sector of the army. With this audacious action the 2nd armoured regiment sought to attract, as in part happened in Bolivia when Torres was overthrown, other garrisons of the country. If this attempt failed it was because of the action of the masses who since the stoppage of the 21st had demonstrated their decision not to give up not to retreat in any of their conquests. Before the appeal of Brother Allende and of the CUT (the Chilean TUC) was made the masses had already begun their mobilisation. This, joined to the decision of Allende and of the team of the government, and of the guard of La Moneda (the residence of Allende), gave security to the progressive sectors of the army gained by the process, to intervene with energy and speed, isolating the counter-revolutionary forces.

These days, linked to the stoppage of the 21st organised by the CUT, have accelerated the course of the revolutionary process

THE MASSES DISPLAY ALL THEIR FORCE. THEY DID NOT DETERMINE IN THE FINAL DECISION BECAUSE OF THE ABSENCE OF A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

Even if the masses did not have the weapons at this moment to respond to the right wing putschists who surrounded La Moneda on their own ground, they had the social force of the power of hundreds of thousands of workers which was already partly expressed (the industries of all the country occupied and taken by them) and which the leadership of the CUT should have made weigh in DECISIONS SUCH AS THE SUBDUING OF THE MUTINEERS, THAT IS TO SAY, THE C.U.T. SHOULD HAVE INTIMATED THAT IT WOULD CALL INTO THE STREETS HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF WORKERS, WOULD CUT THE SUPPLY OF WATER, GAS, LIGHT AND FUEL, FROM THE INSURGENT DISTRICTS, TAKE ROADS, RADIOS, BRIDGES, ETC. These forces did not weigh in the decisions, and therefore the solution of the conflict remained between the insurgents on one side, and the 'loyalists' and Carlos Prats on the other. This is an error on the part of Allende and the leaderships, because it prevents the masses from appearing as the ones deciding in the defeat of the coup, and thus the Popular government remains subjected and compromised before the 'loyal' sectors, when it could have appeared weighing as the determining element of the masses; WITH ITS POWER EXERTED SOCIALLY AND IN PART MILITARILY, TAKING CONTROL OF THE CITIES. The CUT must direct itself to the soldiers and officers, calling on them to submit themselves to the people and its Popular government, to disobey their insurgent officers and fire against them.

This experience must be profoundly analysed within the CUT, trade unions and centres of work, and in the 'cordones industriales'. The masses could have weighed, but lacked the revolutionary leadership which would organise the forces. Because of this our brothers in the industries say 'We are disposed to come out, but not to let ourselves be killed', that is to say they do not see the way, faced with the tanks, to come out without any arms, when the response was to take over everything and threaten the insurgents. This by itself would demoralise and intimidate the insurgents.

The workers, during the three critical hours, were in the majority concentrated in their places of work, without being able to weigh in this moment, in the definition which was taking place in all the barracks. There were actions, where the workers hurled themselves to take some roads, others made petrol bombs etc. but in none of these cases responding to a centralised plan prepared beforehand. The problem was not to wait for the order of Allende. It was to weigh, gain and influence the troops, as the population did in part, and to prepare oneself in case the coup was generalised. This is the function of the leadership, and this time it was accomplished with serious deficits. The

carrying it to a new phase. It is carried to a new phase within the framework of the inevitable civil war, which implies therefore, a stage of much more accelerated conscious preparation of the masses, of the tasks to confront the struggle for power and to prepare the insurrection of the masses, realising as has just been demonstrated, that already wide sectors of the army can be gained to the perspective of the socialist revolution.

Our party salutes all the workers, the trade unions, the CUT, the 'Cordones Industriales' (roughly, factory committees) the government soldiers, non commissioned officers, officers, sailors, and airmen and carabinieri, (riflemen), who in this decisive day in the progress towards the Workers State, were disposed to defend the Popular government, the nationalisations, the agrarian reform. This was the same revolutionary sense which moved all the Latin-American and world masses, which was expressed in the immediate support of the governments of Cuba, Mexico and the CGT of Argentina.

Command of the UP (Popular Unity) was paralysed, only the CUT acted as a leadership, seeking to organise a plan of action on the march. Security and decision were not lacking, the appeal to the workers to arm themselves showed it. But it also remained clear that this would not have been enough to confront a more co-ordinated action of the right. A plan of action, of mobilisation of the masses to gain the army which would assure the triumph and the later taking of power by the masses, does not exist.

THE PLANS FOR INSURRECTION OF THE REACTIONARY FORCES ACCELERATE

This attempted crime finishes with the naivety of believing in the 'Constitutionalism' of the Armed Forces and that it is possible to avoid the civil war. It unmasks, once more, the complicity of the 'Fatherland and Liberty' (a fascist group), of the National Party, and the Freists (the followers of Frei, the right wing of the Christian democracy) in overthrowing the government. And it is going therefore to accelerate the desperation of the most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie and the army. This attempted coup, did not go further through any lack of planning of the insurgents. In its audacious action, it was directed to stimulating and giving security to existing reactionary officers so that they come outside the frame-

work of legality. In the future it will perfect its plans, and accelerate them, because they have the proof that as time passes, the layers of the army and the population who are influenced and gained by the working class, becomes bigger and bigger. The declaration of the Christian Democratic Youth, during these events, is an index of it.

With this popular triumph the time periods shorten and accelerate towards definitions. The bourgeoisie and imperialism will hurl itself with the rest of its forces, which are still quite considerable, to hold back this process. But what is clear is that there is no possibility that the masses and the progressive sectors of the armed forces, stand by without giving a revolutionary response.

FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY UNITED FRONT WHICH ORGANISES THE DISCUSSION AND ELABORATION OF A PLAN AND PROGRAMME OF THE MASSES, TO CONFRONT THE NEXT STAGE

In all the factories, offices, schools, towns, etc. the masses are discussing in united front, without party distinctions the question 'What is to be done?' They mobilised and won the area around La Moneda with a sentiment of triumph, of revolutionary unity. The CUT, was the determining centre of this united front, but its own trade union limitations prevented it going further. It simply added up the separated actions of each one of the forces of the left, dispersing efforts and capacity of action. In order to respond to this vacuum, so that the authority of the CUT is continued after the decisive actions, it is necessary to give a structure to and make concrete, point six of the programme of the CUT, which calls for the creation of a Single Leadership

constituted by the CUT, Popular Parties, Cordones, and other popular organisation. We call to the Brothers of the Popular Unity for them to understand that it is a tremendous limitation that during the coup, and after it they did not come out with a joint declaration. We appeal to them to discuss this conclusion in assemblies in all the factories. To understand that the magnificent demonstration of strength of the 21st, corresponds to a Sunday not only of voluntary work, but of a discussion in all the centres of work on how to apply the six points of the CUT, and to prepare for the response which it is going to generate in the bourgeoisie. And now it is necessary to apply the same conclusion. We appeal to the CUT to the parties of the P.U. and the MIR to carry forward the follow-

THE ELECTORAL FIASCO IN N. IRELAND DEEPENS THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND DEMANDS THE INTERVENTION OF THE L.P. AND T.U.'S

The results of the elections in Northern Ireland have been an unmitigated disaster for capitalism. The forces of traditional unionism are hopelessly and permanently divided (the anti-Faulkner groupings openly proclaiming their intention to render the Assembly unworkable) and the mass of voters in the Catholic areas gave their votes to the SDLP. The Northern Ireland LP was nearly eliminated as befits a party which collaborated for years with Unionism and whose policies are not orientated to the worker masses of N. Ireland. Capitalism failed to secure any workable or stable support. There is no parliamentary solution for Northern Ireland and these elections for an assembly with no powers, in an atmosphere of repression, assassination and wholesale intimidation have demonstrated the hopeless impasse of British imperialism. It has no solution and no social base for a solution to the problem of Northern Ireland. Militarily it has failed and the electoral results have mirrored this incapacity.

The protestant working class is seeking a way out from this impasse. None of the existing organisations, UDA, etc. reflect the depth of this process in any way, but the decomposition of the Unionist structure is the result of the searching for an independent working class solution. So great has been the failure of Imperialism that Cosgrave, President of S. Ireland, felt obliged to intervene to appeal for the retention of British troops, to offset the defeatist current which has found expression recently in the statement of Merlyn Rees, L.P. spokesman on Ireland that the bipartisan policy may have to end shortly.

The fact that Imperialism could go ahead with such elections when in reality the situation demands the organisation of massive general strikes and organs of dual power is because the workers organisations in Britain and Ireland give no lead to the masses.

The conclusion is that the British trade unions and L.P. have to intervene with far greater force in this situation than they are doing and that there also has to be a profounder discussion in the revolutionary vanguard forces in Ireland itself to realise that the struggle requires the support of the British labour organisations and that an unceasing effort has to be made to give the Protestant masses a social and political perspective. The electoral fiasco is going to deepen the search for a solution in the SDLP, the unions, the IRA, among the Protestant workers, strengthening the ties between protestant and catholic workers.

It remains utterly shameful that the British trade unions and also the left of the L.P. do not make the issue of Ireland as central as the question of nationalisations in the perspective of the overthrow of capitalism. A massive demonstration turns out over the visit of Caetano why not incessant mobilisations over the brutality of the British army and the murder gangs organised by imperialism in Ireland? A number of left M.P.'s voted against the fascist legislation in Northern Ireland but there has been no systematic campaign on this issue.

We repeat our appeals in front of the total fiasco of the elections in Northern Ireland for a programmatic appeal by the trade unions and the left in the L.P. for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. And the call for a complete programme of public works in N. Ireland to solve the problem of employment and the nationalisation of all the basic industries and banks. All this should be discussed also in meetings with the Irish trade unions, the Labour Parties and the SDLP and the two wings of the IRA.

It is necessary that the Irish masses are made to feel the organised strength of the European including the British workers move-

ment directing appeals to them so that they do not feel shut in within their own problems and an apparently endless military conflict.

We appeal to the left in the Labour Party and in the trade unions particularly on the basis of the historic leap taking place in the British T.U.'s and the L.P. towards liquidating the pro-capitalist sectors, to intervene audaciously on the problems of Northern Ireland. Not to wait on Callaghan and parliamentary noises about the difficulties of the situation, but boldly to say there must be an end to the fascist brutality in N. Ireland, there must be a withdrawal of British troops, that independent committees of the working class should be established in all the Catholic and Protestant areas, that the Irish trade unions like the British trade unions should be based on the principles of proletarian democracy in the unions with immediate revocability of mandates, that there should be a workers plan of production and reconstruction in Northern Ireland so that all the needs of the population can be met. We repeat our appeals for a conference of the British and Irish workers parties and trade union organisations in which all the issues are discussed in public. The discussion over nationalisations in Britain is a heavy blow at the class enemy. Why not use the force of the N. Irish masses to further weaken the class enemy and use their example as a means of deepening the preparations for the taking of power and the civil war which the bourgeoisie are preparing in this country? And it is an historic duty to give a clear perspective to the Irish masses, Catholic and Protestant so that they feel all the force of the British masses preparing to take power, and all the stimulus to elevate the programme and policy to unite the masses of Northern and Southern Ireland on the perspective of a socialist Ireland, workers and peasants government, the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

THE MILITARY JUNTA AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE

INTRODUCTION

This article by comrade Posadas on the evolution of the situation in Greece is one of fundamental importance for the Labour and Communist vanguard in this country. Greece is an important example of the impossibility of the capitalist solution of a country's problems. Any attempt to modernise a capitalist economy - and comrade Posadas has analysed this in relation to Peronism, the 'Peruvian' model etc. - tends to pose solutions of nationalisation, tends to encourage the development of tendencies which transcend the interests of capitalism. The regime of the colonels cannot be described as fascist, even though it may use strong arm methods against its opponents. In fact the term fascist is being used to obscure the real nature of the regime and to conceal the role of the real gangsters - NATO, the monarchy, the bourgeois politicians who scream about their loss of freedom but who never said a word about the wholesale massacre of revolutionaries and the brutal treatment of political prisoners in the suppression of the Greek revolution after the second world war.

The use of this text is of considerable value in the L.P. helping as it does to clarify aspects of the policy of the European bourgeoisie and of the communist parties. It is the right in the L.P. who ally themselves with the forces of European capitalism in supporting the 'democratic' facade of the Greek 'liberal' politicians. The left in the L.P. as part of the organisation of its forces has to finish with all this.

The internal struggle which is developing in the heart of the Junta shows that the latter realise that they must hasten to find a solution. They are seeking to form a movement, a party to compete with Papandreou and the communists. The king, the church, the great landed proprietors have no strength but in face of them, there is no organised force that is decided and capable of weighing. Certain forces weigh, Papandreou himself and the communists, but they have no decision to organise in such a way as to resolve themselves the democratic problems by means of nationalisations. The military Junta shows that to democratise, it is necessary to nationalise, without that

there is no democracy. A sector of the Junta has already said: 'It is necessary to nationalise the principle sectors of production in Europe!' Without that it is not possible to survive. If they allowed democracy, they would be immediately bypassed, for the least concession to the masses in this sense, would allow them to go beyond the military; and also to go beyond the communists! It is for this reason that they seek to maintain a police apparatus which tries to control, to contain, to repress and to intimidate the opposition, whether it is of bourgeois origin, military origin, whether it comes from the king or from the workers movement.

IT IS NECESSARY TO PROFIT FROM ALL THE DIFFICULTIES OF CAPITALISM

It is necessary to intervene in the crisis of the Communist Party and of the movement of Papandreou. In the absence of a direct representation and leadership, the communists are going to remain in this crisis. Papandreou has for a perspective to develop a movement and to compete with the communists. The European bourgeoisie favours him seeing in him the least evil. But he is going to be obliged to give some ideas, for he realises that he cannot continue to speak of democracy, of liberty and of the development of the economy in the abstract. He poses in his programme, a series of points which are in no way convenient to the capitalist system. To develop the economy, they must inevitably undertake investments which only the state is in a position to make or certainly to appeal for the support of foreign credits. The Greek shipowners cannot make such investments; it does not interest them to do so.

It has recently made an attempt to answer the need of developing industry, the economy, to increase the internal consumption, the exports and to contain in this way the internal crisis. This is one of the objectives of the Junta. But it has neither the capacity nor the means, nor the necessary money to do it. This is not a party. It is for this reason that it utilises stimulants; it limits or reduces taxes, granting of credits, facilities for payment, that is to say a whole policy of encouragements on the part of the state. There are several tendencies which have existed since the origin of the military coup d'etat, but whose divergences have accentuated, to the detriment (from the bourgeois point of view) of the wing linked to Yankee imperialism. It is an evolution which is going, against the wing which depends on Yankee Imperialism.

This government must depend, at the same time, on the support of NATO which represents for it, great subsidies, important incomes arising from its costs, the cost of reparations, rights for the utilisation of facilities, anchorages, of ports etc It is a very important source of the income which the Junta accepts, as a means of realising investments and as a protection against the soviets and against the nearest Workers States. The Junta recognised Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Rumania, because it has them for neighbours and cannot ignore them. It is obliged to recognise them. Their influence is great within Greece. Certain sectors of the bourgeoisie who are specially interested in the internal market, must be in process of following the way in which Yugoslavia and Rumania resolve their problems. Certainly the attitude of the Yugoslavs and of the Rumanians are destined to exercise an influence in Greece. The independence which they show so clearly and explicitly now, is destined to stimulate in Greece, internal forces favourable to the national bourgeoisie and to national development.

It is necessary to be aware that it is in the Junta itself that changes can be produced, and nationalist tendencies develop, from which it is possible to profit. It is necessary to educate the trade union and political leaderships, the communist leadership, so that they learn to profit from the steps which this Junta can be forced to make to enfeeble the structure of the old capitalist power. This does not mean following the Junta, submitting to it or supporting it, but supporting certain measures which are going to encourage a military sector to seek a support in the workers movement. Among the measures those which consist in demanding investments for the development of the economy of the country, investments undertaken by the state and under workers control. It is necessary to maintain this activity while continuing to agitate the programme of democratic demands. If the Junta was a direct agent of Yankee imperialism, the latter would have already utilised it a thousand times more, than it has done up to the present; it can only use the NATO bases in this country. This is a conclusion to define the military Junta.

Greece is a very backward country which wants to emerge from the pastoral agricultural stage, to develop economically and which has on its frontiers, the very great

pressure of the Workers States which develop and exercise their influence on it. The military must advance in face of this influence exercised on the working class and the peasants, to try to contain it. This is why a whole sector of the soldiers ask 'And how are we going to develop the country?' They wish to make a democratic bourgeois revolution to their own profit, that is to say a revolution without democracy. The single fact that they adopt more popular projects, indicates nevertheless that there is, among them, people who seek contacts with the masses. They do not wish to yield but to seek a contact with the masses, to fight in the circles of the army against the landed proprietors against a part of the Junta and against Yankee imperialism. Two years ago Rogers went to Greece and was frightened. He declared, 'It is necessary to defend democracy!' Greece is the bastion of democracy. What democracy! For him, democracy is NATO.

It is not a question of expecting that the Junta is going to make concessions; it is a question of under-

FRANCE

Against the banning of Ligue Communiste

The R.W.P.(T), the British Section of the IV International - Posadist, denounces to the British working class and student movement, the repression of the 'Ligue Communiste' in France and the jailing of Alain Krivine its leader. It is an action of desperation of the French bourgeoisie, in front of the class struggle in France, which aims to intimidate the vanguard and impede the rapidly developing united front of the class and revolutionary forces in the country: the C.P., the Socialist Party, the CGT, CFDT, and the left groups. (*)

The French bourgeoisie attacked Ligue Communiste because they see it as an isolated group outside the Union Populaire (the united front with a common programme of the C.P., S.P. and left radicals), thinking that its repression would provoke no reaction within the working class. The bourgeoisie uses this measure as an experiment to see how far it can go in its repressive line, and had it encountered no resistance it would without doubt have gained confidence to go further. But the class has given it an immediate reply. Ligue Communiste is on the margin of the process, is a group of, in the main, students and petit bourgeois who struggle for the revolution utilising part of the Trotskyist programme, but who do not understand the mass movement and do not want to submit themselves to the discipline and centralisation of this movement. All this the Communist vanguard understands, and while not sharing Ligue Communiste's views, being opposed to them, it forces its leadership to call a demonstration against the repressive measures. It is an expres-

sion of the political maturity of the Communist vanguard, above all, which sees Ligue Communiste as within the camp of the revolution and not as its leadership was saying until a year ago; agents of the police, of the C.I.A., of imperialism.

At the same time the French bourgeoisie shows its enormous weakness by having to ban the fascist 'Ordre Nouveau' at the same time as it attacks Ligue Communiste. It tries to retain what little social support it has, presenting itself as the defender of 'democracy' from left and right, when its interest is to stimulate movements such as 'Ordre Nouveau' to utilise them as shock troops against the workers movement.

We appeal to the British working class movement, to take a position on this, to denounce it in resolutions from the trade union branches, from branches of the L.P. and C.P. It is necessary to discuss the significance of this repression and the reaction to it of the French working class movement. The conclusions are entirely positive, the French bourgeoisie has shown its feebleness and the working class movement has shown its unified strength, the masses have discussed and resolved without any party distinctions; communists, socialists, leftist groups, left radicals, express in this United Front, the desire of the French masses to go to power.

standing what are the difficulties of the class enemy, to see that it does not possess the forces which the communists claim and that in organising a movement and in making a pressure, they will stimulate nationalist movements more to the left within the army. That is not to say that it is necessary to wait for this, but that such an evolution can take place. During this period, it is necessary to take advantage of the progress in the course of realisation in the Workers States, in the Middle East, the progress of the mass struggles throughout the world and the retreat of capitalism everywhere. That helps to measure the influence which the world course of the revolution exercises within Greece to take a position. It is necessary to know how to profit from all the difficulties of capitalism, of its loss of authority as a regime, and not so much as a military Junta, in order to be able to advance in struggles; in particular the struggles for democratic demands and trade union rights

NATO, the CIA and the bourgeois circles linked to Imperialism are in Greece in search of a united front. They wished to utilise Papandreou for that and he let them do it, but they see they have made a bad deal. For this reason Karamanlis intervenes now. This character is an agent of assassin groups. He intervenes to try to regroup the whole of a right wing, seeking to eliminate or at least reduce the divergences between the church, the monarchy and the land owners. He tries to be the representative of all. They launch themselves to dispute power, to launch a coup against the military Junta, because they see that there is within it a struggle in which the sector which wishes to develop the economy is going to have to seek a support in the petit bourgeoisie and the Workers States. The Junta is not going to place itself in dependance on the Workers States but to seek among them, an economic and political support like the Spanish government also does at the present time. Karamanlis intervenes to stop all that. From where these cries of despair! They write publicly in all the capitalist press: 'In Greece there is no democracy'. Whereas in the time of the King they assassinated thousands of people without the press saying anything!

As in the Argentine in the time of Peron, today in Greece, four generals have appeared signing appeals for democracy. These are generals of the king, four assassins. Before they killed anyone who dared to speak of democracy and now they demand democracy. These are people who have never been concerned with anything. In the Argentine the same thing happened; these are all types linked to the previous apparatus who are terrified by progress. 'A peasant my equal. But this is absurd.' It is the same for the church. The whole structure of the Greek orthodox church has a terrible feudal mentality because it is a church cut

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DOWN WITH THE REPRESSION OF
LIGUE COMMUNISTE
FOR THE LEFT TO POWER IN FRANCE

* CGT Communist T.U. Centre
CFDT Socialist T.U. Centre.

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off from the world. The Roman church is influenced because it is based on a series of people who are linked to life. This influence penetrates from below and this extends to the top, even if it is in a very feeble way. More, it is a church which has an interest in the life of the whole world. The Greek church, on the other hand, is hermetically sealed off. Hence its link with the monarchy whereas the Roman Catholic church, constantly bombarded, is more accessible. The 'soft' attitude of the Junta in front of the students, the concessions which it made to them, show what it hopes to find in this milieu whereas before, it was the king which utilised them. The right has intervened very actively in the mobilisations of the students, for it is precisely the place where it can intervene. It is going to seek to make a presence there. In this stage the sectors which have neither political or military force and little social force have recourse to economic sabotage. This is what corresponds to the 'saucepan demonstrations' in Chile.

The communists say 'the students go on strike in defence of democracy'. It is the contrary. It is in the Junta that there exists a tendency which wishes to go forward from fear of communism. When the soldiers begin to say

THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN THE JUNTA

It is necessary to intervene in the next crisis of the supporters of Papandreou, of the communists, and of the military Junta. The present attitude of the Junta prepares a later political conclusion. The feeble reaction of the Junta against the students shows that it is seeking a support among them. An internal struggle, not yet resolved, is in process. It is evident that the sector which wishes to develop the country at the cost of the alliance with the king, the landowners, the church, and imperialism carries most weight, without as yet having the decision and the absolute power. It is a sector which is not against imperialism but would like to ally itself for example with French imperialism against it. It wants a certain independence.

The Communists do not have a programme for this process. They are in full crisis because they do not have a programme. If they had one, struggles would develop on this base. Since they do not have one, it is necessary to pose one. The communists and the student movement accused the Junta of being 'fascist' whereas in this movement a good number of students and of teachers were completely of the right wing. The objective of the demonstrations of the students was not to uphold the plans of those sectors who accused the soldiers of being fascist, but of fighting for a series of demands. The right tried to profit from this and it will try again.

The monarchy, the big landowners, the church who have inter-related superstructures have created in Greece a petit bourgeois base, made up of very solid family clans. However all the books of Trotsky are on sale in Greece. It is necessary to realise that the colonels know that capitalism gives them no ideas, no conditions for development. They feel besieged by the world revolution and they develop a tendency.

The same thing has happened in the Argentine. We said then 'if Peron had encountered a more developed workers movement we would have won a sector of the army to the revolution at the time.' Peron succeeded in putting at the head of the Trade Unions an anarcho syndicalist with an advanced programme. Afterwards the army put the pressure on and two months later, he had to remove him. It was at that time that the army began to go against Peron because it was frightened by seeing where his policy was leading.

The new military coup of the Greek Junta has some similarities with the process in Peru and with the beginnings of Ongania in the Argentine. Because of the economic and social conditions of the country, the resemblance with Peru is very close. The force of the Junta comes from the fact that it does not have a bourgeois opposition with sufficient social force to be capable of overthrowing it. This opposition has neither a policy nor a programme nor perspective nor interest nor the party organisation necessary to overthrow the Junta. This is what gives the Junta a certain strength. It is one of the bases which has allowed, which has stimulated and stimulates a sector of the Junta to show itself moving to the left, seeking a solution towards the left, without making commitments, seeking to make a type of advanced democracy to develop the country economically.

They feel that in order to be able to survive as a regime of private property, they must develop the country; if not they will die. This is the essential cause of the military coup. But now they see that in order to develop the country, they are obliged to take a series of measures that can no longer be capitalist and this holds them back. This is why there is an enormous struggle inside the Junta and between different tendencies, between those that were born in the course of this process and others external to the Junta.

It is necessary to seek constantly the similarities with other movements in which, the objective that animated the coup did not remain at that point but engendered other forces. The soviets note all these movements. They are the basis for their policy of inter-penetration; to break the old reactionary regimes, the big landowners, the church, the monarchy, which were the basis for the Yanks in order to operate social and economic changes and to develop the country. They want to meet on this plane, a certain interest on the part of the bourgeoisie to oppose the Yanks, not as historic enemies but from economic, market interests of immediate economic development.

It is also what is happening in Spain, where a leading tendency, led by Lopez Bravo seeks the same solution.

'Guevara is another thing, it is different from the Soviet Union! He had a personality'. This is not for nothing. A eulogy is not made of Guevara, thinking to stop there. Guevara was a communist! What they are afraid of is having to depend on the Workers State, on the USSR. They are bourgeois but they see that with the bourgeois programme, it is not possible to advance. For four years they wanted to advance and where are they?

The perspectives are all favourable. Capitalism cannot have any success even with the Soviet policy of inter-penetration, and even with their present, very dangerous policy of concessions to the Japanese and the Yankees. Historically these concessions are not going to benefit either one. They are going to prolong the agony of these regimes but they are not going to give them the strength to reanimate capitalism. They allow it, on the contrary, to maintain themselves. That is why the Yanks have launched themselves forward like desperate people. But they do not have the perspective or the conditions to maintain themselves because on a world scale neither the Soviets, nor the Yankees can contain the struggle of the masses and in every way, the process escapes their hands.

They would even be prepared to make - if they were in agreement - an arrangement with the communists. The leadership of the communists would like to, but not the communist base. By recognising the governments of Greece and Spain, the Soviet Union tries to stimulate this dependence. It is an expensive policy that costs the revolutionary development a great deal, without being of much benefit to capitalism. All the efforts of these people are directed to seeking the way to develop the internal market. They cannot do so because they lack the economic means, they depend on the world market, on the investments of capital and they do not have the social base of their own. They want to make a democratic bourgeois revolution without the bourgeoisie and without democracy. It is not possible! So they grant democracy little by little in order to keep a support. This is why Papandreou has to 'go left'. He realises that his clientele is going outside his control. It is necessary to be conscious that in Greece, it isn't a struggle between dictatorship and democracy. Dictatorship of who against who? What economic interests does it defend? The military Junta seeks and defends an economic solution in the name of a sector of capitalism. The money masters, the politicians are incapable of finding this solution, and the right does not represent this sector. Greece is actually passing through a stage of transition from which it is necessary to profit to the maximum because it is going to provoke a great confusion. The communists have failed because they do not understand this process.

THE EXPENSIVE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The colonels seek really to develop the country economically. In Spain, it is the same thing, but they do not have the perspective to do this. They want to realise a development in the capitalist camp and this is excluded. They want to submit the masses to such a support whilst these go far beyond this programme. This is the reason why the right is in process of agitating so much, no longer only the communists. The right is the champion of democracy! The Argentinian oligarchy did the same thing in 1945 when it went into the streets with the Yankee ambassador Braden, shouting: 'Democracy, liberty!' The right demands democracy because it sees a process coming that is going outside the control of the bourgeoisie. Without this, it would very well accommodate itself to the lack of liberty, but it feels that it is going to be liquidated.

In Greece it is necessary to create an internal market. It is the King, the church and all their band who are going to have to pay the bills. NATO does not give enough money to allow the creation of such a market. NATO is neither industry or economy. It gives money only to take it back afterwards! The communists do not explain any of this. The Soviet Union does not either. But the attitude of the latter shows that they see that they can obtain a few concessions. This is the reason why they furnish aid and make some investments in Greece. They do not do so to sustain the oligarchy or NATO but it is a policy destined to sustain as in Turkey, a military team. It is a temporary policy, a policy of inter-penetration which indicates the absence of leadership, of party, in a backward country where the peasants weigh very greatly.

The former communist party has broken down and given birth to two parties. What texts exist on the crisis? Why the break? On what lines? What orientation, what policy does the split correct? What form of organisation? What former, tactic is it necessary to change? There is nothing written on any of these changes. It is the same thing as regards the present changes in the USSR, which we have posed in our analysis on the 'Meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU the class struggle, and the unification of the world communist movement' of 1st May 1973. * Why do they not explain the changes publicly? Why don't they discuss? We do not fear to discuss any problem. Why this division between Koyannis and Patsalidis? Why was another CP formed? One must pose the problems in Greece and discuss them.

We say that the military Junta in Greece is reactionary and that the base of the reactionary structure is the fear of the working class. But outside this, the Junta really seeks

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In Greece during and after the war, the communists following the leadership of Stalin, have massacred revolutions, betrayed the revolution in the expectation that it should occur much later, or that the changes in the regime allowed them to associate themselves with the bourgeoisie. The first policy of the communists was to follow Stalin. It was a policy without a future, without perspective and in alliance with the bourgeoisie. It is necessary now in Greece to have a coherent policy and there is no one to make this. The bourgeoisie do not have the strength to make a bourgeois democratic revolution without democracy. For this reason it would have to develop the internal market, grant some liberties, and develop the petit bourgeoisie in an alliance with the workers and peasants. It has neither a party nor the strength to do this. It has neither capital nor perspective. The military Junta is in the same situation. It is linked to a situation in which one of the economic bases is NATO; this is the cause of the doubts that exist among the military and the contradictions between the colonels and the generals, torn between leaving NATO or supporting themselves on it, because it is a source of very large profits, a pretext to ask for loans, a pretext for investments and credits, a pretext for money. It is a military support which serves the regime to sustain itself internally. But at the same time, the Junta needs a social programme in order to be able to develop an economic programme.

to aim a blow at the monarchy, the church, the big landowners, in order to make the economy progress. It is allied to a large sector of the financiers but seeks to make the economy progress. It is allied to a large sector of the financiers but seeks to make the economy progress. It has neither a party nor the basis, nor the ideas to do this and is it frightened of any movement of the workers, because it feels that it would be bypassed, but it is not a military Junta that seeks to crush the country. In the name of whom could it do it? If it was trying to do it in the name of the church, of the Monarchy, of high finance capital, the large banks, the shipbuilders, it would have already shown signs of wanting to do this, it is in conflict with the shipbuilders. It seeks to resolve the problems of the country in order to defend itself from the working class. But it must develop anyhow and take into account that the ideas and the structure of capitalism does not allow this. Hence the very great struggle within it.

It is necessary to understand this in order to seek how to impel the petit bourgeoisie and stimulate also in the military a wing which is ready to break or in any case to stimulate the search for a programme to develop the country. This signifies that we do not ally ourselves with the Junta or support it, even if it is possible to support certain economic measures. It is necessary to combine the struggle for the democratic demands with the economic development. There is a struggle for this inside the Junta. They want to develop the economy of the country under military control and then grant some democracy. This is also what the Soviet Union is trying to do when it seeks to bargain with this tendency, as with the Turks.

The Soviets see that the Turks as the Greeks will collapse economically, if the masses do not aid them.

The Conferences of the AUEW and TGWU will accelerate the intervention of the Unions to organize the left in the Labour Party

The rapid decomposition of the forces of British capitalism, its collapse into a proliferation of scandals, contrasts most vividly with the increasing confidence of the British masses who far ahead of their leaderships, feel themselves to be the masters of society and consciously effect changes in their mass party and unions. The conferences of the AUEW and the TGWU are an immense leap forward in the decision and the capacity of the masses to prepare the way not only for the return of a Labour government, but for the taking of power and the construction of socialism. The preoccupation and intentions of the workers vanguard was expressed at its highest level by a delegate from the construction workers section of the AUEW who said that the biggest construction job which faced the working class was the construction of socialism. This lay behind all the resolutions taken at these two conferences.

The main resolution of the engineers was a comprehensive demand for the nationalisation of machine tools, computers and electronics, heavy electrical, aerospace, and nuclear plant sectors, sectors in vehicle and component industries. Engineering and allied industries now account for over 40% of manufacturing output and these proposed nationalisations were accompanied with the call for no compensation.

Such a resolution shows the intention of the masses to expropriate capitalism. And this was allied to the decision to ignore the talks with the government, over 'Phase 3'. In effect the workers took control of the leadership and showed their resolution to confront the government and smash it. It is necessary to see this as the product of the whole of the British proletariat and poor petit bourgeoisie to take power to finish forever with capitalism. It also shows that the trade unions are realising more and more a **POLITICAL FUNCTION**, acting as mobilisers of the masses, proposing programmes to resolve the problems of society and complementing the political party of the class, and indeed, as in these decisions elevating it.

The conference of the TGWU in effect continued and elaborated the line of the engineers. Although not posing a series of nationalisations, it raised in the most direct form the question of the Labour Party and its restructuring. The conference demanded that the unions should have the right to elect their own delegates to the L.P. This means utilising all the forces of the class in effect to break the monopoly of power of the

right wing party hacks. In effect it poses the right of tendency in the Labour Party; coupled with the demand for Labour Party branches in the factories to facilitate control over the leadership of the L.P. by militants of the Party. This was further accompanied by demands for the formation of 'action committees' to link all the sections of the population with the unions, over social issues such as the struggles over prices, rents etc. This is going, even if in a limited way, towards the creation of organisms of dual power. Coupled with this was an approach to the problem of greater proletarian democracy, in the union. This found expression in the resolution - however vague in the form - that there should be greater participation of the base in union negotiations. The fact that Jones was allowed to continue to 'talk to the government' is not of any great importance. The whole conference showed the profound and growing preoccupation of the masses with all the main historic tasks, the restructuring of the L.P. and the need for proletarian democracy as the basis for social advance. These were conferences of triumph. They communicate a sense of historic urgency to the whole of the exploited masses and will have an enormous impact on the struggle in the Labour Party.

It is quite clear from these conferences that the working class fully intends to utilise all the strength of the unions to organise a new leadership in the L.P., in effect what comrade Posadas has defined as the 'revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions'. The struggle being waged by the left

team in the L.P. around the questions of nationalisations will be powerfully reinforced by these conferences. These have said in a very loud voice 'we want the power and we intend to take it.' This is going to prepare the ground for powerful interventions in the L.P. and T.U.C. conferences. And it is necessary to remember that, even so, these conferences of the Engineers and the T.G.W.U. only provide a limited glimpse of the will of the class, because they do not function on the basis of proletarian democracy but only refract in a subdued way the decision of the class.

We salute the decision of these conferences and we appeal to the forces of the left in the L.P. to base themselves on this decision to deepen the struggle with the right in the L.P., fearlessly going forward on the basis of the struggles of the masses in the factories and the workers zones, stimulating the construction of the organs of dual power. The left in the L.P. has to seek its sustenance directly in the struggles and the discussions of the masses. 'Participation', 'democracy' only have meaning on the basis of the fullest discussion of all sectors of the population who can exercise the right of immediate recall of delegates. This is fundamental. The call of the T.G.W.U. for the democratisation of the L.P. has to be accompanied by appeals for the thorough going democratisation of the union structure itself.

The union conferences put forward weighty demands for wages, holidays, etc. and confrontations are soon inevitable with the capitalist class. The masses are not going to wait for a general election as Wilson would like. In these combats the new teams in the L.P. have to intervene, basing themselves on the victories of these two conferences, with the perspective that the destruction of the capitalist class and the capitalist state, requires the most elevated fusion with the masses, the most complete confidence in their capacity, the most complete freedom of discussion in the Labour Party on the basis of the construction of socialism.

26 YEARS OF "VOZ PROLETARIA"

It is with immense joy that we salute the Argentinian Section of the IV International, the Latin American Bureau, and comrade Posadas on the 26 anniversary of the appearance of Voz Proletaria which was and remains the central instrument of organisation of the political and theoretical ideas of Trotskyist-Posadism, of the marxism of this epoch.

Voz Proletaria has been the indispensable disseminator of the ideas of Posadas on all the basic problems of the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism in texts dealing with the question of nationalism to the Workers State, the partial regeneration of the leaderships of the Workers States and the Communist Parties, the nature of the revolutionary state, the preparation of the final encounter. Through the historic construction of the Argentinian Section and the publication of Voz Proletaria, Cde. Posadas assured the continuity of the ideas of marxism, maintaining and developing the ideas of Trotskyism in front of the capitulation of the old teams of the SWP, Mandel, Pablo, etc.

Voz Proletaria is now at the head of the historic progress of the Argentinian masses. The analysis of Peronism made by Posadas over a quarter of a century ago, that it was a mass movement transcending the objectives given to it by its bourgeois leaders has received a striking confirmation in the massive electoral victory of Campora. Voz Proletaria has been the means by which Posadism has maintained its fusion with the heroic masses of the Argentine, and it has been the organiser of the thought of the left tendency in Peronism through the programme of Hurla Grande and La Falda through the activity for the single CGT (the Argentinian T.U. centre), for the workers party based on the trade unions for the establishment of the popular government based upon the trade unions. Clandestinity and persecution has never interrupted the publication of Voz Proletaria supported as it has been, not only by the Argentinian Section but by the many sympathisers and militants outside the party.

This 26 anniversary coincides with its reappearance as a printed paper after years of being published in clandestinity.

VIVA THE 26 ANNIVERSARY OF VOZ PROLETARIA.
VIVA THE ARGENTINIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.
VIVA COMRADE POSADAS.

CHILE...

continued from page 2

ing points as the base to go on structuring the leadership of the United Front and preparing the masses to confront the civil war and the later taking of power.

Constitute committees of defence and workers and popular militias, in the factories, blocks of flats, schools, based on political functioning, in the programmatic discussion on the necessity to assure the passage to the Workers State. Maintain workers control over all the enterprises of the Social Area (the nationalised industries). APPLY THE POWER OF DECISION OF ALL THE WORKERS, FINISHING WITH THE BUREAUCRATS AND ADMINISTRATORS

FULL DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL LIFE TO CONQUER POWER AND SMASH THE MILITARY AND CIVIL REACTIONARY FORCES

The masses want power. Already the programmatic base exists. Now it is necessary to resolve the problem of how to conquer power winning the civil war. We call fraternally to the brothers of the Communist and Socialist Parties so that they understand that in them resides the principal responsibility to guarantee the minimum social cost which the civil war will provoke. For this it is absolutely indispensable to cut out from the roots, sectarianism and hegemonic interests which they maintained during these critical moments. On them fundamentally depends the organic and political leap which this phase demands. The uninterrupted process cuts short the limits of bourgeois legality. The form is developing the maximum intervention of the masses, impelling the functioning of the 'Cordones and Comandos Comunales', creating what will be the military base of the new proletarian power and which will assure the gaining of wide layers of the army, Defence Committees, Workers and Popular Militias, and joined to

requisition and hand over all the big enterprises to the social area, beginning to plan production and distribution. Expropriate immediately all the farms bigger than 40 hectares. For the control of the masses over transport, distribution, education and health, finishing with those who trade with the life of the people, construct immediately in the most rapid way, popular supermarkets, shops and chemists. Respond to the counter-revolutionary attempts with an anti-capitalist offensive and a policy which orders all the forces of the government and the state at the service of the masses.

them popular Tribunals and Popular Assemblies in all the Communes and Provinces.

It is necessary to start to apply the iron fist which the vanguard demands of Brother Allende. To prepare the insurrection of the masses demands eliminating the civil and military conspirators. Go forward, as the government posed, to smash 'Fatherland and Liberty' and 'Rolando Matus' (another fascist band named after a fascist killed in a battle with workers), without waiting for special laws, basing oneself on progressive sectors of the army and in the mobilisation of the masses. The request for asylum of all the leadership of Fatherland and Liberty is a clear proof of their involvement in the conspiracy

The state of siege is not necessary to repress the reaction. On the contrary it is necessary to permit the maximum possibility of expression to the masses. We appeal to the CUT so that it makes a campaign

directed to the army, to the soldiers, officers and non commissioned officers, to discuss this criminal attempted coup to make them conscious of the intentions of the bourgeoisie to utilise them against the working class and against the people. Appealing to them so that they join with the sailors and carabinieri so that they denounce and capture those who make conspiratorial activities, seditious activities, so that the soldiers discuss before coming into the street and that they submit themselves to the instructions of the CUT and of the respective T.U.'s of their civilian life. It is necessary to make assemblies in all the factories where the right to trade unionise the soldiers and non-commissioned officers is demanded. So that these incorporate themselves into the Cordones and Comandos Comunales integrating themselves to a common plan of development of the Revolutionary State with complete right of access to education, to the vote, to all the democratic rights of the masses.

The tasks of the workers parties and the trade unions must be to open themselves towards the army without fear of adaptation, showing that it is the proletariat which decides, but that they are an important part in the struggle to finish with capitalism and exploitation.

In the armed forces there are the weapons. Power is born in the factories and it is the party, or the United Front of the Trade Unions and Parties which must assume the task of uniting and directing these forces.

The 'Cordones' are still the embryos of power, but the character of the embryo and its authority, is the authority which the trade unions and the CUT transmit to them.

We appeal so that the resolution of the CUT of maintaining the state of alert and

mobilisation of the workers, is expressed in factory assemblies, which discuss the conclusions of these events, uniting the factories to the towns to assure that in another similar situation their organised presence is guaranteed and to discuss all the problems of the country, the social, economic and political problems, in the white heat of the conclusion of the inevitability of new confrontations.

It is necessary to construct the revolutionary leadership of the United Front which would guarantee the process of insurrectional conquest of power, counting on, supporting and impelling the government to this central tasks, but maintaining the independent functioning of all the organs, fundamentally of the trade unions, so that from this functioning proletarian power emerges.

WE PROPOSE,

- Constant mobilisation of the workers and that the CUT organises the co-ordination of the measures taken by the government and the masses.

- Making closer the links and the common interests of the workers and soldiers and non-commissioned officers to defend the Popular government.

- No decreeing of Emergency Zones and States of Siege which impede the mobilisations of the workers in the street.

- Form thousands of Committees of Defence of the Revolution by industries, and districts with the perspective of the workers militias.

Be armed to defend the legally constituted government.

Control all the country, smash the seditious organs of the right (radio and press).

1st July, 1973.

Red Flag - 5

Greece contd..

They support and try to create links with the colonels, by stimulating tendencies as they seek to do also in Peru and Bolivia. This policy has an anti-capitalist aim but it is very expensive and it does not mobilise the masses. It extends the delays and slows down the rhythm of the process whose course is more acute now. This prevents the organisation and the intervention of the working class, which would allow certain sectors of the military to go much faster in less time.

There is in Greece a united front of the bourgeoisie, the old Liberal party, the conservatives, the church, the monarchy, the Yanks who demand 'democracy' to attract the

petit bourgeoisie, to liquidate this Junta and remake the links with NATO, with the new NATO of Kissinger, which is going to increase the military and dictatorial aspects. Imperialism is frightened that some sectors of the Junta would escape its control, because from all its activity of accentuating economic development and of searching for an alliance with the population a de Gaulle can emerge. But it is not any more even a de Gaulle of before but a de Gaulle of this stage who would have to make more concessions to the masses. De Gaulle had the support of the communists, of the Soviets, and he used them against the masses. The Soviets seek a new de Gaulle in Greece. This position is not incorrect, historically. What is incorrect is not to use the masses and to submit them to this policy.

THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALISM

It is not incorrect to use the inter-bourgeois disputes. It is necessary to do it, but at the same time to make the masses act. It is necessary for the masses to make demonstrations, stoppages, struggles, meetings, factory occupations, general strikes. In this way they will attract the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants and also win a part of the army which they will radicalise.

It is necessary to call upon the T.U.'s to propose a plan of investment in the country for the development of the economy, so that the T.U.'s intervene in this task. One must pose a public discussion in the whole country on the reason for its backwardness. It is backward, because it is the bourgeoisie which has been incapable of developing it. The working class has shown that it is capable. Then it is necessary to open a polemic and discuss the development of the country. There is NATO, it is true, But NATO is not the absolute master, in the Mediterranean and in spite of its presence, the revolution develops in Algeria, in the Middle East, in France, in Italy, in Yugoslavia. NATO is not a means of preventing the development of the revolution. It is a means of coercion, that it all.

One must take into account that the present crisis, with the Watergate affair continuing in the United States is going to burden Nixon with the threat of a political trial. A sector wants to try him. If it does not, if it hesitates, it is because it feels that all this means the destruction of the capitalist apparatus. But there is already all the conditions for a political trial against Nixon. If they want, they can do it. It is obvious that he was mixed up in Watergate and even if not, it is the whole administration, all the team which is mixed up in Watergate. This discussion is part of the struggle of cliques. A sector wants to submit the President to blackmail and contain the war policy which he is in process of leading.

It is necessary to discuss in Greece, a plan of production for the whole country, linking the workers conquests on the plane of the increase in salaries. It is necessary to develop Greece. With the bourgeoisie it is not possible. It does not have an interest in it. It has only interests in its own profits. The development of the country is limited to its own profits which must be considered in competition with the rest of the world. It is without perspectives, be-

cause it does not attract capital and because there is neither structure or possibilities. In order to develop a country today, it is necessary to enter in direct competition with the large centres; Japan, United States, Germany, Britain, France, USSR, and soon, China. To invest and develop industries in Greece poses problems of the market, of the places for exports, of prices to be able to compete, of manpower. Yugoslavia is in process of providing the work force of France, Belgium, Germany and Italy. There is also an enormous quantity of Greek people working throughout Europe.

The bourgeoisie does not make any effort to invest if it is not for its own profits. It is the law of capitalism; as the bourgeoisie does not invest, the state must do it. It is necessary to propose such investments and that the development be under workers control so that the benefits are not swallowed up by the bureaucracy of the state, but on the contrary serve to develop the economy of the country. Some of the military will accept this.

Whilst at the same time, it is necessary to develop in the workers movement the discussion on the democratic rights of the masses and on the proposition for a programme of economic development of the country. It is necessary to build a united front of the parties of the left, to support a programme of progress, not the programme of the generals, or the programme of Papandreou but on the contrary a programme which detaches itself from them; one must create a current which uses the T.U.'s to stimulate the appeals for state control, and for the state to take over the leadership of the economy and take it forward in the measures that will assure economic development. When as in the case of Greece and Spain, it is possible to develop an activity towards the official trade unions it is necessary to

do it. If at the same time it is possible to really develop the independent T.U.'s having a base and support, then it is necessary to do so.

If, as it is the case of Greece, there is no clandestine independent T.U.'s, it is because there is no leadership. The communists are in crisis and the socialists do not have any more forces. There is no important T.U. force and there is not the time to organise a new movement. There is however a large will in the working class, in the petit bourgeoisie, among the employees, the professors, the students to organise the T.U.'s independently of the government with full liberty. It is necessary to be based on this. We do not have the strength to decide by ourselves but we pose the paths it is necessary to follow. It is true that by intervening in the official T.U. there is the risk of giving authority to the military Junta. But it is a very limited authority. When, as is the case in Greece, it is possible to intervene bypassing the scope of the official trade unions and making conquests as the Greek masses are in process of doing, it is necessary to intervene to obtain other things like the right to elect the T.U. representatives. It is the military Junta which nominates the T.U. leaders. In this way it is not afraid, because it annuls the independent T.U. movement. It imposes the leadership but even in this way, the T.U.'s have had confrontations with the Junta, and they have imposed some gains to contain the masses. The Junta must put up with the right, the church and the working class.

In the case of Greece, as in Spain, it is correct to intervene in the official T.U.'s because they really concentrate the workers and the workers militate there. One cannot not be there. The objective in this case is to liquidate the present leadership and impose the right - democratic right - to elect the leadership. This does not annul the fact that it is possible also to organise a mass movement independent of the government, outside the official trade unions. It is necessary to start from the fact that there is no independent T.U. life and no class leadership. It is on this basis that one must act.

The economic activity in Greece is still very limited and the soviets do not support or stimulate any independent activity of the masses. They have no confidence; they do not see the forces on which to support themselves. The process of the class struggle in Greece, of the organisation of the organisms of the intervention of the masses is still not defined. We ourselves do not have the force to decide, and neither have the communists, and the working class has no leadership; hence, there is the necessity to use the official T.U.'s and at the same time defending them from the governments tutelage, and without abandoning the struggle for independent T.U.'s. One must support oneself on all the forces that exist in Greece and the world, in order to accomplish this task.

J. POSADAS 24th April, 1973

CAETANO'S VISIT A DEFEAT FOR NATO

Sunday's demonstration against Caetano's visit and Portuguese colonialism has been used by the Labour vanguard as a point of support in the elevation of its struggle to overthrow the Conservative government. The bourgeoisie has shown all its weakness in not being able to mobilise any support for the visit. Its few employed leafleters abandoned the activity, when they read the contents of the leaflets or when they came under the influence of the demonstration. This mobilisation comes at a time when all attempts of imperialism to organise strong governments or to strike at the advances of the masses are smashed.

In Chile the active mobilisations of the masses, the factory occupations have defeated the attempted coup d'etat tried by a sector of the army linked with imperialism. In Argentina the masses reacted united against the murderous attack organised by the CIA at Ezeiza airport on the occasion of Peron's return to the country. In Ireland British imperialism is incapable of finding a solution favourable to its interests.

The Labour vanguard feels it is part of this process and it is encouraged by it; it sees that its struggles are cutting away from Wilson any base of manoeuvre and aiming deadly blows against the right in the party. It sees in the publication of the Programme for Britain and the proposal for the 25 nationalisations, elements of programmatic progress on which to base itself in order to stimulate the formation of the left tendency in the Labour Party. The Labour and Communist vanguard showed their decision in the active participation of trades councils, trade union branches, LPYS, and Labour Party delegations on this demonstration and in the putting forward of slogans that linked the objective of revolutionary solidarity with the masses of the Portuguese colonies in struggle against Caetano and Portuguese imperialism, with the necessity to struggle to bring down the Tories.

The constant pressure of the vanguard and the will of the left middle

cadres in the Labour Party have found a conscious expression in the appeal launched by the L.P. and trade unions to participate in this demonstration. This is an expression of the forces that are developing in the L.P. and T.U.'s but it is still limited because the leadership has not organised anything - it launched an appeal and that's all.

The Labour left must base itself on this objective situation, on the decision of the proletarian vanguard making communist clenched fist salutes shouting VIVA in solidarity with the African masses, in the theoretical preoccupation that found an expression in the sale by our party of 74 Red Flags, and 40 bulletins on the 'Problems of the Revolution in Spain and the Eighth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party' by J. Posadas, in order to organise the struggle against the right. All the population is expressing anti-capitalist sentiments as was demonstrated by the sizable participation of the left groups and also of the Liberal Party and of independent and religious sectors. The government continues to remain in place only because the Labour leadership doesn't actively organise the struggle against it. In order to attract all these sectors the left must be seen to struggle against the leadership, not exclusively on the basis of the internal relationship of forces in the L.P. but on the widest discussion and the complete application of the L.P.'s Programme for Britain, organising itself on the basis of what happens in the country.

ALGERIA

'Revolution Socialiste' organ of the Groupe IV Internationale (trotskiste) - clandestine.

ARGENTINA

'Voz Proletaria' organ of the Partido Obrero (trotskista) - Casilla de Correos 2938 - Capital Federal - Argentina.

BELGIUM

'Lutte Ouvriere' and 'Arbeidstraider' (in Flemish) organs of the Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire (trotskiste) - Boite Postale 273 - Charleroi 1 - Belgium.

BOLIVIA

'Lucha Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Casilla de Correo 644 - Oruro - Bolivia.

BRAZIL

'Frente Operaria' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - clandestine.

BRITAIN

'Red Flag' organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) - 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

CHILE

'Lucha Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - J. Segundo Caceres - Casilla 7048 - Santiago - Chile.

CUBA

'Voz Proletaria' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Monte 12 apt 11 piso 2 - La Habana - Cuba.

ECUADOR

'Lucha Comunista' organ of the Partido Comunista Revolucionario (trotskista) - Apartado 3276 - Quito - Ecuador.

FRANCE

'Lutte Communiste' organ of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (trotskiste) - Roc'Hongar - 63, rue V. Hugo - 92 Courbevoie - Paris - France.

GERMANY

'Arbeiter Stimme' organ of the Gruppe Revolutionärer Kommunisten (trotskisten) - P. Schulz - 6 Ffm - Postfach 16708 - Frankfurt/Main - W. Germany.

GREECE

'Kommunistiki Pali' organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (trotskyist) - clandestine.

ITALY

'Lotta Operaia' organ of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (trotskista) - Piero Leone - Casella Postale 5059 - 00153 Roma Ost. - Rome - Italy.

MEXICO

'Voz Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - J.L. Hernandez - Ap.do Postal 66-587 - Mexico DF.

PERU

'Voz Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Apartado 5044 - Correo Central - Lima, Peru

SPAIN

'Lucha Obrera' organ of the Partido Revolucionario (trotskista) - clandestine.

SWEDEN

'Kommunistisk Kamp' organ of the Revolutionära Kommunistiska Gruppen (trotskistisk-posadistisk) use address of British Section

URUGUAY

'Frente Obrero' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Z. ulma Nogara - Gral. Flores 2515 - Montevideo - Uruguay.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION!

Chile is in a process of civil war caused by the bourgeoisie and by reactionary forces allied to imperialism, which try to resist by force the process of revolutionary transformation going on in the country. The right has launched a campaign of sabotage and terrorism, which shows clearly all its incapacity to attract the popular masses to its policy. The defeat of the counter-revolutionary coup last June which was the result of the decision and the intervention of the working class, accelerated the inevitable development of the process of civil war in Chile. The June coup d'etat instilled in the vanguard the understanding that it had to defend all the positions conquered. From here the decision not to abandon the occupied factories, demanding their nationalisation. This is an advance in the struggle for power against what remains of capitalism in Chile and a confirmation of the fact that the working class does not fear the civil war, on the contrary it is consciously preparing for it. They are organising workers militias in the factories, functioning as soviets with the intervention of all the population. This stimulates the political and TU leaderships to take positions seeking to give an answer appropriate to this situation of revolutionary intervention of the masses. The crisis of the Popular Unity is due to the fact that it doesn't feel sufficiently confident to take the measures necessary to make the economy advance. To do this, it is necessary to smash the legislative, judiciary and administrative apparatus of the bourgeoisie. The mobilisations of the masses have been behind all the transformations in the country, parliament doesn't serve, except to give a force to the bourgeoisie which doesn't correspond to its social force in the country.

The fact that General Pratts and General Ruiz have resigned after such a short time in the government, giving in to pressures from the right wing of the army, but going in comparative silence, not making any declarations against the government or appealing for its overthrow, shows the weakness and indecision of this sector of the army who don't feel that the army would follow blindly any counter-revolutionary actions. The social attraction of the proletariat weighs on many cadres in the army and breaks the structure which is based on a mechanical authority and discipline.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

No. 186

Thursday 29 Aug 1973

Price 5p

ORGANISE THE FACTORY AND WORKERS AREA COMMITTEES TO DISCUSS AND INTERVENE ON THE POLICY AND PROGRAMME OF THE T.U.C CONFERENCE.

The 105th Congress of the TUC takes place in an immensely favourable situation from the point of view of the masses to organise the overthrow of the capitalist government and replace it with a left Labour government, with the left taking power in the party. The Tory government, totally crippled in its authority and seeing sectors of its supporters trying to find alternatives in the Liberal Party survives purely because the Wilson team in the Labour Party has no intention of mobilising the masses and tries to contain the various pressures until an electoral victory puts the Labour Party in government once more. But the world conditions do not allow such conscious inactivity to determine the process.

The whole world structure of the socialist revolution does not allow imperialism and capitalism to win back lost ground and on the other hand a process of constant advance and triumph of the world masses, for example the victory of Peron in Argentina, the defeats of imperialism in Laos, and Cambodia, the achievement at LIP, together with the tremendous attractive force coming from the existence of 14 Workers States, and the advance of partial regeneration weighs decisively in all the national and local issues. On the basis of this structure the forces of the trade unions have to be used and mobilised in a way they have not been used hitherto.

The objectives of this TUC must revolve around the question of preparing for the launching of a general strike on an anti-capitalist programme, and preparing the organs of dual power, factory committees, workers area committees, so that the masses can function completely independently, give their opinions on all issues and be ready to replace the organs of bourgeois power, judiciary, administrative, coercive etc. We are appealing in a bulletin for this Congress, that the Congress should not be dominated by the customary heavily formalised type of discussion which prohibits the functioning of thought and ideas but turns itself into a Congress which discusses in depth the tactics and strategy for the next stage, and which conducts serious discussion with the various workers lobbies.

The objectives of the Tory party on its return to power in 1970 were to reassert a policy of strength, but in a whole series of actions, the struggles in the docks, UCS, the miners strike, the struggle to release the five dockers, in which the TUC was obliged to call a general strike, capitalism was decisively defeated and at the same time, through the abstention of the vanguard in the elections a process of transformation of the Labour party was initiated, the process of change from a social democratic party to a socialist party which has culminated in the production of demands for the nationalisation of 25 of the leading firms, nationalisation of the banks etc. and the beginning of the process of the liquidation of the bourgeois sectors in the L.P. This process tends to move the L.P. outside the structure of capitalism, depriving it of its principal prop to contain and subdue the struggles of the masses. In all this the interventions

of the trade unions have been decisive and on the basis of these achievements and the solid structure reached by the world socialist revolution, it is necessary through discussions in the Congress and outside it, to intervene much more decisively both in the organisation of a new leadership in the L.P. and the mass struggles in the factories, the mines, the workers areas etc.

Scanlon has spoken of the fact that the trade unions are not just bodies to discuss wages etc. but are concerned with the organisation of a 'completely different form of society'. On this basis we appeal for a discussion both in the TUC and in all the organisations of the masses in the factories and the workers areas, on the need for a comprehensive workers plan of production, as a total alternative to the policies of capitalism. Such a plan would mean utilising all the available resources of society to solve all the basic needs of the masses in housing, medical services, transport, education, employment. It would lead to the development of a balanced economy and overcome the problem of whole areas of the country handed over to dereliction i.e. the north east, south Wales, whole areas of Scotland, Northern Ireland etc. none of this is present

None of this is present in the actual resolutions to this TUC Congress and the limitations in resolutions on basic social and economic issues, arise from the limiting structures of the existing trade unions which do not allow sufficient and mass discussion of all such fundamental problems. Even so, the Congress as it is, does not permit a conciliation with capitalism.

Allied to the omission of a discussion, of a complete alternative, to the policies of capitalism, there is the scandalous omission of any reference to the situation in Ireland. The TUC was concerned to intervene over Vietnam, well N. Ireland is the British Vietnam. We appeal for this issue to be raised in the Congress and to be discussed in all the workers areas. British imperialism has organised a slaughter house in N. Ireland, has systematically used every brutal method to smash down resistance. It has failed. But it is necessary to develop a campaign against the fascist laws in Northern Ireland, and to withdraw British troops, to appeal for a programme via the trade unions to unite the Catholic and Protestant masses. And it

is possible to intervene with a workers plan of production, with a programme of public works for N. Ireland. Capitalism does not have the resources or the interest to invest in or develop N. Ireland. It is necessary to discuss a profound intervention of the TUC and all the unions towards this problem. To ignore it is to play the game of imperialism and to deprive the workers movement in Britain and Ireland of a mutual support.

Several resolutions to the congress reflect very elevated preoccupations. For example the resolution calling for the establishment of a new world trade union international (Boilermakers) - pointing to the need for a European Workers Centre - and the resolution rejecting categorically conceptions of worker directors and works councils, instruments of the workers aristocracy, but unless the type of functioning at this

The bourgeoisie is profiting from the fact that at present everything is being decided in the heights, all the important decisions in the country are being taken by the government. This allows the army to retain its present structure and the bourgeoisie to remain organised. We appeal for the setting up of a constituent assembly with delegates from the factories and places of work. For the Cordones Industriales to function democratically on the basis of factory assemblies which should elect delegates with the right of recall. We appeal for an extension of the power of the Cordones to include the power of decision. That they discuss the reactionary strikes of the lorry owners and right wing sectors and intervene with the rest of the population imposing workers control. The Cordones should discuss the formation of workers militias organised in the trade unions. They should be the power in the factories, deciding on all the problems on the basis of the widest political discussion and proletarian democracy. In this way they can develop as organisms representing the whole of society, in the moment of confrontation with the bourgeoisie without having to depend on parliament. Strengthening the workers-peasants alliance by sending workers brigades to the countryside to help in the organisation of agricultural production, and for the direct distribution of goods to the workers areas, for a plan of industrialisation of the agricultural production and for a joint intervention against the right, to expropriate all the land so the peasants can intervene in the solution of all these problems, including the black market.

We appeal for the Trade Union and Labour movement in this country to send resolutions of support to the Popular Unity government for the recent measures taken against the right wing,

the banning of the fascist movement Patria y Libertad and the imprisonment of its leaders. Calling at the same time for an extension of the mobilisations of the Chilean masses and for the arming of the population.

We appeal for the TUC conference to pass a resolution giving support to the CUT (the Chilean Trade Union Centre) and to its programme and denouncing the attempts at a counter-revolutionary coup. And we appeal for a constant exchange of delegations from the workers organisations of the factories of both countries to stimulate a discussion of the experience in Chile to assist the British vanguard to assimilate all the lessons and prepare for the process in this country.

Congress is transformed their weight can be diminished. What then is the way forward to allow a much more active life in the trade unions, to produce the conditions for a Congress of the TUC which makes it a more flexible and responsive instrument of combat and intervention?

The most fundamental means for the transformation of the trade unions is the struggle for a genuine democracy within them. This means that delegates can be immediately revocable and that they represent specific groups of workers, based on factory sections, not this pre-

continued on page 4

RED FLAG WEEKLY from this issue.

On the 10th anniversary of the foundation of the British Section of the IV International and the appearance of RED FLAG and under the orientation of comrade Posadas, the section has made the resolution to produce a weekly Red Flag. This reflects the growth of the party and also the objective necessity to respond in a much more profound way to the rapid advance of the process in this country towards the establishment of a new Labour government, the perspective of a Revolutionary State, the violent overthrow of the organs of capitalism and the advance to socialism.

Already the party, the party press and bulletins, the regular publications of the texts of the International, have an authority in the vanguard of the masses, but a weekly Red Flag and a greater output of all the most fundamental texts of comrade Posadas is going to allow a much more powerful influence of the ideas of the International to penetrate the factories and the workers areas, the trade unions and the Labour Party, to facilitate the organisation of the left in the Labour Party.

This necessary expansion of the party press demands an increase in the material resources of the party and a much more elevated political and theoretical capacity in the in the cadres of the party. It is necessary that all the organs of the party armed with a weekly Red Flag use the paper systematically to extend the scope of the party's activity, developing a range of new contacts, fuse much more than now with all the struggles of the class, drawing upon all the experiences of the masses, communicating them to the party, making Red Flag itself a much more agile instrument for the transformation of reality, the taking of power by the masses and the construction of socialism.

We appeal to all our regular readers, subscribers, and sympathisers, all the supporters of the objectives of the IV International to publicise the new paper as much as possible, suggesting ways in which the paper can be much more widely diffused, taking more papers on a sale or return basis, giving as much financial support as possible, and sending us criticisms and ideas for improvements.

THE C.I.A., THE EZEIZA MASSACRE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN ARGENTINA

J.POSADAS 21.6.73

INTRODUCTION

This analysis of the shooting into the crowds at Ezeiza airport in Argentina, organised by the CIA, is of considerable importance to understand the way imperialism is intervening in Latin America and how it plans to intervene in all the world. When Peron arrived in Argentina 3-4 million went to receive him and in the shooting that took place about 40 people were killed - many of whom were CIA elements who had started the shooting but who were defeated by the armed Peronists. In this document comrade Posadas analysed that this is part of a determined plan of imperialism that will be continued in order to try to reverse the process of consolidation of the left in Peronism and the development of the 'authority' of this left. Already now we see that the right has intervened to displace Campora and Peron himself is to take his place. It is not true that this has been agreed all along, as they now say, otherwise this would have been publicised from the start. The right has no candidate of its own so it tries to pressure Peron to lean more towards the bourgeois wing of the movement. They try to contain and confront the Peronist left and the Peronist masses in order to break the cohesion and programmatic progress, but they will fail. The right may impose a slower development of the process but it cannot annul it, the centralisation of the masses over the 18 years it had to function without class leadership without Party, in conditions of repression, proves the maturity and state of decision of the Argentinian working class.

It is necessary to discuss this experience in the Labour and Communist Parties and in the trade unions, for the vanguard to discuss this fundamental process of revolutionary nationalism on the basis of the documents of comrade Posadas. This is of great value to the left in the Labour Party as part of the necessity of a theoretical domination of the world revolutionary process.

The 'Tlatelolco'* that the CIA has made at Ezeiza in Argentina at the time of Peron's return has a very great importance as a criminal plan. It is equivalent to the assassination of Kennedy, or Watergate. Whatever excuse or justification they may give, it is a commando action of specialised people prepared for this task. It is not the result of a spontaneous reaction from the excitement of those that started shooting. It is prepared and organised action. To kill 20 and wound 300 and it may be twice that, it usually is - does not happen by chance. When this happens, it is a commando action, that is made by those that have an interest in sabotaging the stability of the Peronist movement. But fundamentally it tries to prevent the left gaining authority, rising to preeminence or an important weight within Peronism. This means a plan that is going to go on developing, applying and murdering.

This is aimed against the Peronist left. There is an open struggle that is already developing very sharply and in a criminal way. The right, with groups that it still has in the government, the police, the army, has organised parallel commandos - although there are naive people amongst them. It is not an action from a dispute in which shooting develops. To make such a mortality in a crowd is a commando action. If it was a political group it would stop, it would be contained by the magnitude of the disaster it was going to make. This, on the other hand, means that there is a plan, developing a series of murders, like the generals did before.

This is a sign that Imperialism has felt that Argentina is the guide for Latin America, in conditions where Latin America already has all the instruments to put order in the process. It does not have to begin it. The process in Argentina puts order in it. There is an enormous force that is shown by what is happening in Chile. The reaction in Chile is very good. In Mexico representatives of the government denounce the CIA and declare that CIA people are being liquidated in the government, in the trade unions and the parties. They are doing the same in Uruguay.

There is a sharpening of the struggle. Previously the right expected to win through Peronism, through Justicialism* and Peron. On Peron's return they provoked another 'Tlatelolco' because they saw that they could not profit from him. They see that if Peron supports them he would have no welcome from the immense majority of the Peronist base. They are already deciding the way Argentina and the rest of Latin America is going to develop.

They see that they cannot impose on the Peronist mass to support a programme of the right, strictly of defence of the interests of capitalism. But that the Peronist mass is going to support Peron's programme with a programme of socialist measures, of expropriations, of the elimination of cadres that are agents of capitalism, whether in the universities, the tens and hundreds of professors, or in the ministries and vice ministries. It is a very sharp struggle.

THE PEOPLE IN ARMS TO SMASH THE ASSASSIN GROUPS OF THE CIA

These are murders aimed at containing, intimidating, and making the advance of revolutionary nationalism retreat. It is necessary to appeal for the formation of popular militias that in each area, in each trade union, in each factory, will be the guardians to liquidate all these people. Making all the population have the right to be armed to defend themselves from all these people who are murderers. They can give all the arguments they want, but they want, but they are murderers. There exists the possibility that Peronism has organised an armed militia. But it was not this militia that started shooting. A CIA group can have profited from this shooting. There will be an increasingly greater armed confrontation, the sharpening of the class struggle in the form of open civil war. It is necessary to appeal for the organisation of groups in each area, on each block, to consider the domination and abolition of all these enemies of Argentina's progress. To abolish means the struggle to eliminate capitalism's monopolies.

The Peronist leader, brother Kennedy declared that a struggle between Peronists in foolish, that the struggle has to be directed against the oligarchy and imperialism. It is a response that shows from what side the attack came, and against what sector it went. It is necessary to appeal for the organisation of the arming of the people, to arm the trade unions to play the role of denouncing and repressing all these assassin groups. If they were politically organised groups intending to intervene to elevate the conquests of the masses, they would intervene in politics with political positions, programme, publications, intervening in the trade union struggle, in trade union activity, in the factory. They would present themselves by means of ideas, positions, analysis, experiences, they would show an internal political life, giving arguments, giving texts, taking positions, showing that they have a political life and that they have a political interest. Showing objective positions and appealing for the organisations of the masses, to intervene. In the process in Argentina where there are organised masses, where they have reached the objectives which they have reached, it is necessary to seek forms of trade union and political organisation.

What objectives do these armed groups have? They do not mean any benefit to the masses. The masses have de-

feated the oligarchy, imperialism and the army. After 18 years they threw them out and installed a new government of Peron. They show that this is the way. What is the game of these people? If it was a movement with a political interest it would be attracted and gained by this. When they continue it is because they have other objectives. What discipline do they follow? What maintains them? An armed discipline of attacks keeps them together. If it was a political discipline they would reason. By reasoning they would be gained by reason, by the objectivity of the process. It is necessary to see that the proletariat, with the trade unions, with the strikes, with factory occupations, with mobilisations, intervening in the elections, the more than two millions that went to wait for Peron all shows that this is the way. When they do not listen to all this experience and guide themselves by another discipline, what discipline is it? It is not the class policy, it is not the revolutionary policy, it is not the nationalist policy. It is a distant discipline, a military police activity of the CIA. There is no other form of discipline, of coordination, of structure to keep together as a movement. It needs order. How do they manage to maintain a movement that takes actions that require a security and a feeling that this action is correct and it gives benefits that are necessary for the progress of the struggle or for the benefit of the masses?

If it was like this they would show it in a political life of meetings, discussions, taking positions. If it were like this they would make appeals. When it is not like this, then the discipline they obey is not the central political necessity, but the needs of the military, police and CIA. Although within these groups there are people who believe that this is how the revolutionary nationalist process in Argentina has to advance.

If it is a group that wants this, then it is a foolish group, because it has the experience that this is not the way, that the Argentinian masses are the way, the masses that have endured 18 years of official repression and murder and death; murder, murder and more murder and they defeated imperialism. It is a process that comes from a world scale and influences, organises and helps to organise the masses. They incorporate it in their experience of the struggle in the country, they give this experience national forms. This is how they defeated imperialism.

The capacity and discipline of the proletariat shows that it is capable of enduring 18 years to discuss and reason, to listen to arguments. The proletarian vanguard does not rush into things. It is not attracted by empiricism or by impressionism. It shows that it knew how to wait for 18 years. When these groups show such impatience, they make military actions and go to a meeting armed when there is no reason to go armed, it is because they seek other objectives. It was no place to go armed or to make use of arms. When they go armed and use arms it is because they have the objective of repressing, of intimidating, of terrorising to create the conditions for an alliance between a sector of the Peronist right with the oligarchy, a sector of the army and imperialism. This shows that they are establishing links. They can declare that they are against, but with what they are doing they are making links with imperialism. It is the same picture in Chile.

LATIN AMERICAN UNITED FRONT TO EXPEL IMPERIALISM

Argentina has recognised North Korea - it is the second Latin American country to do so, following Chile - North Vietnam, and it has relations, though not diplomatic relations, with the PRG of South Vietnam, who participated in Campora's taking command. It recognises all the Workers States. It posed the liquidation of the OAS (Organisation of American States), and a new OAS in which imperialism would be the minority. Imperialism feels that a solid base for the preparation of the atomic war, for the investment of capital, for profit, for the accumulation of capital, for world competition, is escaping from out of its hands, it is getting out of control. It feels that all these forces that it previously had are going from it.

It is necessary to appeal - this is Peron's programme to unite all Latin America - to unite Latin America now against Yankee imperialism, against all the agents of imperialism, to raise a programme of expulsion of imperialism based on the working class, on the independent mobilisations of the working class, the peasants, to be able to unite all these forces. To make organs of power of the masses now, with a programme of expropriation of imperialism. Out with all the Yankee military missions and representatives from Latin America! Out with everything that means the power and repression of Yankee imperialism! Out with it!

Appeal to the masses, to the workers centres for a Latin American meeting, a coordinated action against Yankee Imperialism, to expropriate and nationalise without compensation, to plan production, to establish workers, peasants and petit bourgeois councils. Making agreements with nationalist tendencies and tendencies of the army, of the bourgeoisie, of the government, to throw out imperialism. Meanwhile, in an independent way, with the proletariat continuing its activity to deepen Huerta Grande and La Falda,* making expropriations of everything fundamental to the economy of Latin America.

Appeal for the organisation of militias in all Latin America, for self defence from this plan of imperialism. What it is doing in Argentina and Chile, it wants to repeat in all Latin America. It wants to repeat what it did in 1948 in Colombia, the massacre, the provocation it made in Bogota. It wants to repeat Bogota.

Appeal for this activity, and anti-imperialist united front of all the workers parties, left nationalists, left Catholics, the military. Appeal to the trade unions to intervene in this struggle; an alliance with the trade unions to throw out imperialism. The best way to throw out imperialism is to expropriate it from Latin America. There is no risk of the Latin American economies falling. On the contrary they are going to be developed. It is necessary to extend and increase the links with the Workers States, increasing the economic planning of the Latin American countries, increasing the intervention of the trade unions, of the masses, and giving them a direct participation in the political leadership. Let the trade unions intervene organising workers militias to intervene and repress all these groups that are the CIA's people. These groups only have power because they are linked with part of the army, of the bourgeoisie that has the levers of power, but they have no social power, no political power, they have no attraction or bases of support. Nor can they have them, because they are assassins. All Latin America rises, rises, rises. These are the resources of imperialism to try to contain, to intimidate, to terrorise the progress of the Latin American revolution as it occurs, beginning from nationalist movements like that of Peron, and socialist and communist movements like in Chile.

This murder made at the Argentinian airport is a Tlatelolco, it is a Bogota, it is the crimes in the Honduras, the massacres that Barrientos made in Bolivia, it is the crimes of Santo Domingo, it is what they are attempting to do in Chile. They are not mistakes, fractional political disputes they would not reach this, they would discuss. It was not the moment and there had been no discussion. The shouts of 'patria socialista' or 'patria peronista' did not

Imperialism cannot wait for the political reactions of the bourgeoisie, it has no base. It did not get even 15 or 20% of the votes. So military repression is launched to create an atmosphere of attack, of terrorism to make the army intervene, to try to establish a united front between the oligarchy, the various sectors of the national bourgeoisie, the big financial bourgeoisie and imperialism. This is the objective.

It is already necessary, from now, for the trade unions to make appeals showing that such groups obey the military and agents of the CIA. If they obeyed the desire of wanting to make the situation in Argentina advance they should work with the trade unions. Come on! Collaborate with the trade unions. Collaborate means giving ideas, analysis, as the trade unions do. All the trade unions have publications, they include criticisms of the Peronist leadership, and there are no armed clashes. They publish, develop ideas, positions, experiences. The others do not do this. Which is to say, they are groups that follow military intentions, directed by imperialism.

It is necessary to appeal to the trade unions, to the youth and to the Peronist masses, to intervene, to repress these groups and to arm the people. Appealing! The people in arms! It is necessary to show that what they are doing in Chile they want to do in Argentina, and tomorrow they are going to do it in Brazil. The groups of the Death Squadron were groups trained for this task. And in Uruguay the Tupamaros. They are all trained groups that imperialism has prepared for this task of terrorism and murder. It is necessary to show that it is not a circumstantial action, but a plan of action of imperialism to prevent the development of the revolution, to prevent the national and social liberation of the peoples of Latin America. To prevent the plan of the Campora-Peron government to extend the influence to all Latin America and to unify it against Yankee imperialism.

incite the armed confrontation, there were no motives here, this had already been done thousands of times. When there is a 'Tlatelolco' it is because it is a commando action using the occasion for provocation to intervene militarily, an action of military organised groups, paid and organised by imperialism.

These 'Tlatelolco' reactions in Argentina are the same activity as imperialism is carrying out in Chile. It has attempted and it attempts still to mobilise on any excuse,

* Referring to the collective murder of more than 400 workers and students on the 2nd October 1968, in the PLAZA TLATELOLCO also called the PLAZA DE LAS TRES CULTURAS, in Mexico City.

* Two programmes with anti-capitalist and anti-

THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS MUST DENOUNCE THE 'BOMBINGS' AS A CAPITALIST PRETEXT TO INITIATE REPRESSION.

The RWP(T) British Section of the IV International (Posadist) denounce the provocations, i.e. bombings organised by a sector of the bourgeoisie, allied to the attempt to implicate (Daily Mail August 23rd) the marxist movement. It is a crude provocation by this bourgeois sector who seek in this way to damage and break the growing influence of marxism within the mass movement, an influence expressed by the resolutions to the L.P. conference, by the discussions in the recent Engineering and TGMU Conferences and by the mobilisations of the class. The object is to frighten and disturb in particular the organisation of a left leadership in the Labour Party.

It is an attempt to intimidate the vanguard and a preparation for greater

taking hold of any protest movement, which are natural in a Revolutionary State like Chile. Protest, discussions of the trade unions and sectors that are not representative of the masses. They are privileged sectors that are on strike. The sectors led or linked with the right take this and profit from it. They try to organise and encourage the reaction to intervene with arms, to channel sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and very backward sectors of the proletariat to try to unleash civil war. The response of the trade unions, of General Strike, of mobilisations, of occupations if there is a military coup, is an indication that the proletariat is ready to intervene and attract all the population.

It is necessary to reply by expropriating imperialism, making the workers militias intervene, making a Latin American United Front of the workers parties, the trade unions, with the nationalist tendencies, even bourgeois and petit bourgeois nationalists to expel imperialism and plan. While the proletariat makes its own unification apart from this united front, extending its action of expropriation, of control, of formation of militias to face the terrorism of imperialism, the national bourgeoisie and the middle and higher financial layers, and pushing forward and continuing the revolutionary struggle so as not to be detained by the limits within which the bourgeoisie want to stop it.

In this sense, it is necessary to see that the bourgeoisie of Argentina, as of Latin America, supports itself on a bourgeois judicial economic and social structure. Immediate:

ARGENTINA, FRANCE, CHILE EXPRESS THE WORLD PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION

The mobilisations in Argentina are an echo too of the mobilisations in France. The Communist Party called the mobilisations in France and 80 - 100 thousand people gathered in Paris, and there were big demonstrations in 50 cities. Such mobilisations have an immense importance. It is not a stage of political and trade union mobilisation. There are no great trade union struggles. There is no quiet or passivity because this is not all the movement. But although there are no great struggles, there are no great mobilisations of the big industries, there are some numerically small industries compared with the factories of tens of thousands of workers, that show the depth of the revolutionary will, the will of change of the worker and petit bourgeois masses. It is the occupation of the LIP watch factory. The workers occupy, the firm wants to throw them out. The workers occupy it, make it function, produce cheaper than the enterprise could, and sell the watches. All the trade unions of the country write to buy them. They are giving support to maintain it, it shows that capitalism can be rejected and the factory made to function. It is not the capital that is invested, nor the technical and administrative capacity of the bourgeoisie that makes the factory function. They can do without this. It is them, it is the work force that determines everything.

In the support the trade unions give to this action of the LIP workers, the class is giving support to the decision of profound changes, of the historic leadership of the country; to throw out the bourgeoisie and put the proletariat in power, to transform the property regime and the leadership of society. At the same moment as this happens at LIP in France, there is the mobilisation for Peron in Argentina. This shows that even if there are not great movements, the masses do not live in a quiet state, they are waiting to intervene, they want to intervene. This is why the appeal of the Communist Party and other organisations, including the Trotskyist-Posadists of France, which appealed for a mobilisation against the repression, organised 80,000 people in Paris

imperialist demands formulated by the advanced sectors of the Peronist T.U. movement with the collaboration of the Trotskyist-Posadists in the early 1960's in conditions of clandestinity, which have been the corner stones of the T.U.'s programmes since then.

In a similar situation in France, a few months ago, the government banned Ligue Communiste, making an experiment, striking at a movement which was outside the Popular Union to see what reaction it would receive from the mass organisations. The reply was instantaneous; the masses imposed on their leaderships that they defend Ligue Communiste, and this caused the bourgeoisie to retreat setting free the two imprisoned leaders of Ligue Communiste, Krivine and Rousset.

The workers movement has to condemn this article in the 'Mail' and to declare now its opposition to any ban on the IRA. If the bourgeoisie find that it meets no adverse response from the class it will continue in this manner, but if it is confronted, it will retreat as it did in France. But in one way or another it is going to try to find the way to repress because it has no other way to prevent the development of anti-capitalist positions within the workers movement.

We appeal to the L.P., C.P., the T.U.C., the unions, to all the workers organs in the factories and workers areas to take a clear position on these incidents - the bombings - to reject these methods of a sector of the capitalist class which seeks to stimulate forces in the army, the police and the employers for a policy of repression. We appeal for declarations from the mass organisations that make it clear, that repressive interventions of the bourgeoisie, even if directed against sectors peripheral to the main struggle will be met by mobilisations and demonstrations and the organisation of workers committees to confront and smash such interventions.

ely eliminate all the repressive laws, as Campora's government did, all the laws that exist that limit the rights of organisation of the masses, Eliminate too, the economic and political power of the big and middle bourgeoisie, to liquidate it.

The army has been defeated in Argentina. The masses defeated it, it has no power, it has arms that the soldiers are not going to agree to use. They see all this. The millions who went to welcome Peron have an immense influence on the army, in all Latin America. Because they are more than two millions who are a result of the mobilisations of the masses of the world, of the world process, in which the Argentinian masses concentrate themselves and are decisive. They are a factor of accumulation of the world process of the struggle, and they communicate it and organise appealing for the 'patria socialista', 'Peron socialista'. They immediately give an historic social qualification to the aspirations they expect from Peron.

This mobilisation of the masses in Argentina, the more than two millions, is a result of the world mobilisations, and this feeds the mobilisations of all Latin America. It is a powerful impulse to the entire Latin American revolutionary movement, because it is an expression of this movement. It is the will of the masses who want to triumph, not letting themselves be intimidated. This is going to stimulate all the other processes. Imperialism feels this. This is why it makes this Tlatelolco.

It is necessary to make appeals so the Peronist movement feels that it must fight its bourgeois and reactionary wing that intends to contain the process by allying itself with the oligarchy and imperialism.

The attitude of the Argentinian proletariat is similar to that of the French proletariat. It comes out to intervene to attract the Argentinian people. It is more than two million that mobilised. Which is an indication of the depth of the mobilisation, that Argentina has already surpassed the elections. The nucleus that did not vote for the Peronists is now gained in the social mobilisations. It is gained by the aim they sought before in voting for the other candidates of the supposed left, or with a left programme. They are taking account of the united front that is occurring between the Peronist vanguard and the trade unions led by the Peronists, and some by the Trotskyist-Posadists. It means that there is a process of elevation of the struggle, of decisive and unmistakable social decision for profound changes in Argentina. This is why the CIA makes this 'Tlatelolco'.

It is necessary to reply to it with mobilisations and an anti-imperialist programme of expropriation, of expulsion of imperialism from Latin America, of the formation of workers councils in the factories, the areas, the trade unions, to link the workers councils of the areas with the factories, and the workers intervention of control in the formation of workers militias. In unification with the left parties, particularly the Peronist party. It is a whole world process that expresses itself in Argentina with this mobilisation of more than two millions, and the process of revolutionary ascent, of profound change, social change and change of the property regime to eliminate private property. The reaction of imperialism was this 'Tlatelolco'. But it shows that it is the ascent of the masses that triumphs. Imperialism is on the defensive, and it tries to assassinate as it does in Indo China.

It is the same process. At the same moment as there is the general strike in Chile of the proletariat against the attack of the right and imperialism, the same movement in Argentina, the same movement in France. It is a world process that is expressed in this way in each of these countries.

What triumphs, develops and advances in this process is the masses. It is LIP in France, the mobilisations led by the French Communist Party, the PSU, the CGT, with the support, adherence and intervention of the Trotskyist-Posadists and includes a movement of the gauchists. In spite of the passivity of the communist right, of the trade union leadership that sabotaged it, that made no mobilisation, no campaign, no agitation to attend, and the Socialist Party refused to appeal for the demonstration, more than 80,000 people went to it. This has the same significance as the mobilisation of the Peronist masses to welcome Peron. It is imperialism that is in retreat. It is the ascent of the revolution that progresses. This is why it is necessary to reply quickly with a programme of anti-imperialist expropriations, of repression of imperialism and the paramilitary groups of the CIA, by means of the formation of workers militia, workers councils, area organisations, organs of power of the masses to smash every attack by the reaction, as much in Argentina as in Chile, as in Latin America.

THE T.U.C. PROPOSALS ON WORKERS PARTICIPATION

In the midst of all the discussion and struggle over the new electoral programme of the Labour Party - with its proposals to nationalise 25 leading monopolies - and the resolutions to this years Labour Party Conference which express the anti-capitalist decision of the Labour movement, an important document has not received full attention. This is the 'discussion document' of the TUC on workers participation in industry.

Without diminishing in any way, the importance of the Labour Party's programme, it is necessary to consider and discuss the TUC's proposals. Their importance lies also in that, appearing at this moment, they confront and compete with the Labour Party leaderships proposals for workers shares in industry. Wilson makes such a proposal to try to strengthen his links with the workers aristocracy, in order to defend his position against the masses. It is a proposal which has no anti-capitalist content while on the other hand the TUC proposals would damage the free functioning of capitalism. These proposals are expressions of the advance which is taking place in all the world workers movement, where there is an ascent, an accentuation of anti-capitalist positions without being accompanied by a revolutionary policy for the application of these positions. It is therefore necessary for the Labour movement to take the TUC's proposals as a part of the discussion of workers control and management.

editorial

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sent system whereby a small number of delegates represent seemingly millions and are under no control whatsoever. It is a question of eliminating the weight of the workers aristocracy and allowing complete discussion of all issues.

All this necessary transformation of the trade unions has to be accompanied by the development of the mass organs in the factories and the workers areas. It is fundamental to form these now, using the TUC Congress as a centre of discussion and weighing in the trade unions and in this Congress. The masses are struggling for power, their instruments in comparison are unprepared, that is the LP and the trade unions. We reiterate our appeal for the formation of the mass popular organs as a means of preparing a general strike, as a fundamental condition to precipitate the downfall of the Tory government and the establishment of a Labour government to implement anti-capitalist policies. And at this time, it is particularly necessary to emphasise such demands as the sliding scale of wages and hours, all wages to rise with the cost of living. But such organs must be on a permanent basis not disappearing when a particular objective has been obtained but continuing their life and co-ordination. Such organs have to prepare not just for the return to office of the next Labour Government but the inevitable struggle to smash the bourgeois state.

It is necessary to discuss the experience of Chile, the experience of the JAPS (food price and distribution committees) and the 'cordones industriales' (an assembly of workers delegates from a group of factories), the relationship between the mass organisms, the workers parties and the trade unions. There can be no submission of the most elevated concerns of the masses to the level of the existing leaderships. Thus the TUC, and the affiliated unions must not submit themselves simply to the level at any moment of the LP.

They must intervene independently, posing programme and solution to the problems of the moment and long term objectives. We appeal for the discussion of the experience of Chile because in the process that is coming in Britain the resistance of the bourgeoisie, the use of methods of provocation, arrests of militants (as at Shrewsbury), the TUC and the Unions must play the role of an organising centre, responding to the actions of the class enemy with the policy and programme for the taking of power, constantly mobilising the masses, supporting initiatives such as the AUEW militants to defend their union headquarters. Mass discussion on the TUC Congress and the perspective of overthrowing the Tory government, in the factories and the workers areas, developing a campaign to transform the functioning of the trade unions on the principle of proletarian democracy, will facilitate the independent intervention of the masses and give an enormous stimulus to the coming L.P. Conference and the organisation of the left leadership in the Labour Party.

28.8.73

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The attitude of the T.G.W.U. conference is a measure of the understanding of the workers vanguard regarding the TUC's proposals on workers participation. The delegates accepted the proposals by a large majority and then proceeded to discuss workers control and, in part, the organisms - Action Cttees etc. - by which to impose it. In general this is the treatment which the TUC's proposals will receive at the hands of the workers vanguard.

These proposals give a concrete expression to the vague formulation of 'democratic control' or 'industrial democracy' put forward by the L.P. It is obvious that if massive nationalisations are envisaged then it is necessary to discuss also who is to control. The Labour movement must not allow the question of nationalisation to be separated from that of workers control and management. What the TUC proposes concretely are supervisory boards - which would be the controlling body in private industry - consisting of 50% management and 50% workers delegates elected on the shop floor. This in itself would be a superior measure to the one of 'workers directors' as practiced in Germany, (this was a measure of conciliation between the bosses and the TU leaders, and has collapsed now as a result of the ascent of the class struggle in Germany) or in the steel industry in this country. There is, clearly, a world of difference between workers taken away from the shop floor and inserted as a minority on the board, and delegates elected directly from the shop floor.

However workers control cannot be discussed in abstract, it requires the concrete means to impose it. And that is the Factory Committee. It is necessary to discuss how to transform the existing Shop Stewards Committees into Factory Committees capable of imposing workers

control. It is not even necessary - as LIP demonstrates - to wait for a Labour Government. Indeed it is clearly demonstrated by UCS, Briants, and dozens of other examples that the initiative comes from the base. That the base is more advanced than the leaderships.

Thus, even in the context of the TUC leaderships' vision of the world, these proposals are not viable. However we do not judge the proposals against the limited and bureaucratic vision of the TUC leadership but against the level of militancy and consciousness of the working class. This consciousness has been demonstrated, at the highest level, in the recent occupation of the LIP watch factory - at Besancon in France. For months the workers occupied the factory and ran it, under workers control, selling the watches at factories and at demonstrations. It is important to note that this sector of highly skilled workers - in the past a comparatively privileged sector of the class - not only ran the factory but instituted a system of payment according to family circumstances. In other words 'to each according to his needs' - expressing the socialist consciousness of all the masses.

What the LIP workers have done is to show that the management is unnecessary - except to look after the bosses' profit. They have demonstrated that the workers are perfectly capable of running production themselves. The occupation and the running of the factory under workers control was a complete success, it did not end because of the inability of the workers. It was ended by the intervention of the police!

This then, is the consciousness of the working class and it is against this that we judge the TUC's proposals for workers participation. It is also necessary to recognise that the experience of the massive factory occupations in France during the Revolutionary General Strike of May 1968 generalised itself in this country and resulted in the UCS occupation, and, later, that of Briants Colour Printing, which like LIP was run under workers control. There can be no

doubt that the experience of LIP is going to influence the proletarian vanguard in this country and in the rest of Europe.

The question that looms large in the minds of the leadership of the TUC at this moment is, how to react to the pressure of a working class engaged in a struggle for power without losing their own position. This preoccupation finds its expression in the TUC's proposals for the nationalised industries. Whereas in the 'private sector' the workers would elect their own delegates to the supervisory boards, in the nationalised industries they would be nominated by the TUC. In other words the TUC leadership is trying to make certain that it still has a role! This is nonsense! It is precisely in the nationalised industries that the TUC could most easily demand of a Labour government, workers control or management. It is not a problem of the mechanics of organising workers management in the nationalised industry, but basically a problem of leadership in the workers movement.

It is necessary to take the TUC's proposals as a basis for discussion of workers control and management in conjunction with the Labour Party's proposals for nationalisations. The TUC has opened a discussion and it is necessary not to condemn their proposals as not enough, or unworkable - although they are both - but to use the fact that a sector of the workers leadership is prepared to advance a little under pressure from the base and to push it even further.

We call for a full discussion in all the factories, in the places of work, on the question of workers control, and management, on the formulation of a programme for the trade unions and the Labour Party on this. To include in this programme proposals for full workers democracy in the Labour Party and trade unions with all representatives subject to instant recall and no representative to be paid more than the average workers wage.

The Scandals of Corruption in Local Govt. Weaken the Capitalist Base in the Labour Party.

The Poulson scandal, the bribing of civil servants and local government officials so that they would accept Poulson's designs for new municipal and nationalised industry buildings, has a greater importance and significance for the workers movement, than the usual daily financial, sexual and moral scandals of the capitalist system. Capitalism has always had such scandals, because it is based on the individual and selfish interests of the bourgeoisie, but today these crisis become both more common (because the capitalist class feels it has no future) and more damaging to a bourgeoisie which no longer has the social authority it had before. But Poulson has a particular importance because it involves not only the capitalist class but a sector of the right wing of the Labour Party which has a thousand links, through the local councils, through nationalised industries, through all the perks capitalism hands out to Labour and T.U. leaders, within the system. Thus Poulson reveals that the corruption which exists in the capitalist system, is filtering into and corroding, that sector of the Labour Party enmeshed in the apparatus of capitalism.

The Labour and trade union vanguard must discuss this scandal and draw conclusions which will permit the L.P. to cleanse itself of all these people. How is it that at a time when the L.P. is formulating a programme which goes against capitalism, when the N.E.C. brings out a programme of 25 nationalisations, when in the anti-Caetano demonstration the L.P. branches were very much to the fore, when T.U.'s are accentuating their anti-capitalist positions, a whole sector of the L.P. is seen to be caught up in a capitalist scandal of bribery and corruption? Fundamentally, although not exclusively, this scandal involves the Labour Party apparatus in local government, where the councillors, aldermen, magistrates, party agents, etc. use the party as their own private property, and are not subjected to, cannot be subjected given the structure of the party, to the workers in the factories, in the workers areas, and in the unions.

British imperialism incorporates sectors of the workers aristocracy into the apparatus of local government, as a means of domesticating them, making them feel a part of the system so that they can be used as a bulwark against the lower paid more combative sectors of the class. It is true that in the conditions of today when the authority of capitalism is so low, when there is a changed relationship of forces in the country and in the world, certain local councils controlled by the Labour Party, basing themselves and stimulating local mobilisations of the class, are attacking and resisting such policies as the Housing Finance Act; Clay Cross is an example of such a council. In Italy councils dominated by socialist and communist parties, have lowered rents and gas prices, have municipalised the gas com-

panies and fought against the central government, calling mass demonstrations and discussions. This is what can be done through local councils today, but it does not change the nature of the organism, which remains bourgeois, remains the organ of capitalist administration of a local area, notwithstanding the participation of Labour Party representatives, and as a result their usefulness has a definite limit. In the process of the revolution they like all the bourgeois organisms will be smashed and replaced by genuine workers organisms; soviet type organisms in the factories and areas.

Poulson has put clearly in evidence that the whole Labour Party structure in the north east is rotten, that local chiefs regard the party as their own private property, and they use it for their own personal gain. They use their positions to eliminate the left, and prevent any political life in the party. As a result of this the class views the party in the north east with an even greater critical spirit than it does nationally, and in the bye-elections in this region it abstained massively.

But the L.P. like all the Social Democratic parties is influenced by the world process of the revolution, and is elevating its functioning and programme. The contradiction between the necessities the L.P. must confront and this rotten local leadership becomes more explosive. Sectors of the national leadership as well as the middle cadres and the base, understand that this situation cannot be allowed to continue, that the party has to be cleaned out and even if this means a numerical loss, the loss of old local chieftains, pro-bourgeois and bourgeois sectors, this is going to signify a streng-

thening of the party. Thus Poulson has stimulated the whole discussion in the party, and can be used to eliminate the right; this is its greatest importance for the workers movement.

The fact that the N.E.C. has proposed to make an enquiry into the L.P. in the north east is extremely important, but what is going to be much more effective is the intervention, in discussions, in assemblies, of the Labour masses of the region, in the factories, in the workers areas, in the docks, in the mines, calling the local councillors, party agents, and secretaries, to say what their positions are in relation to the Housing Finance Act, the Incomes Policy, the N.E.C. decision on 25 nationalisations, and to declare what their financial connections and investments are. And from these assemblies, elect committees which continue to function, which discuss all the problems of the world, and of the region; which discuss and reject or accept designs for schools, for hospitals, for housing, elevating the confidence of everyone to intervene in the apparently most difficult problems. The crisis in British architecture, the new schools whose roofs fall in, the plastic amusement pavilion which burnt down, the bridges which have collapsed, are examples of the brutal empiricism of a 'profession' which is concerned, which has to be concerned by the nature of the system, with the making of a profit above all other considerations. If the working class could decide on the designs, it would apply a class criterion, decide in the collective good, and such disasters which we have seen in the last few months would be eradicated.

Thus the conclusion of Poulson is the need to construct organisms in the factories and workers areas, which submit the local party apparatus to a constant control, and eliminate all those who don't submit to the decisions of these committees. Such committees will be a powerful point of support to the left in the L.P., as well as developing the organs of dual power which have to be developed now, as a base of active support for the next Labour government imposing on it that it carries through the anti-capitalist points of its programme.

24.8.1973.

FOR MASS MOBILISATIONS AND AN ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION IN CHILE TO SMASH THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

J. POSADAS 10.8.73

In Chile, the leadership of the government wants to progress, wants to construct socialism, disorganise and defeat capitalism, but it doesn't utilise revolutionary methods. It is limited by the policy, by the tendency to revolutionary reformism and by respect for the countries constitution.

What does respect for the country's Constitution mean? Respect for what, for whom? It is respect for the bourgeoisie, for the instruments that defend the bourgeoisie, the army, justice, the banks, the forms of legal organisation that allow the bourgeoisie to maintain itself and to defend its interests. It means to respect what exists.

By not respecting all this, by overthrowing it all, we don't commit any crime, offence, or any attack on progress or on morality or justice. It is necessary to pose the following question in order for the Chilean economy to advance: are there or aren't there the conditions for the Chilean economy to advance now by socialist measures? We believe that it is so. By expropriating the land, nationalising the main sources of production, not compensating capitalism, or compensating it over a period of 40 years, as it is done by all those who expropriate, as Peru did, not paying out anything immediately.

Good, this is going to clash with the world market, they won't buy copper. Therefore, in order to resolve the necessity of selling copper, they will have to develop a policy that won't depend on the copper sales on the world market. For this they have to develop relations with the Workers States, which means to develop the revolution in Latin America. One has to pay for this, it means a confrontation with imperialism, it is clear! But they are going to have to do it anyway, either

perhaps? Who said that it is irrational? It is irrational for them! On the other hand, 70 year old capitalists can vote, they don't intervene in anything, because they don't produce anything. They don't do anything for production, they simply collect money and issue orders, nothing more. Why should they decide? In whose name? For whom? They don't intervene in the economy other than to extract from it. Why, therefore, don't they make all the population intervene? It is necessary to count: we have 44% of the votes, but counting all the others we have 65% of the votes.

This is the country! Why, therefore, respect the constitution that was made by them for them? Because a sector of the army is going to be against? It is obvious that they are going to be against just the same. The government think they are going to disintegrate the army by this policy they are making now. Yes certainly, they are going to disintegrate it quite a bit, but not sufficiently to stop it from exploding. And they already have two previous experiences.

He who has initiative in the organisation of progress, has a very great advantage; and the initiative has to come from the workers movement. Is imperialism going to intervene? Yes it could do. But if it had the capacity to intervene, to triumph and to impose, it would have already done it. Cambodia, Laos, Middle East, Santo Domingo and Mexico show that imperialism doesn't decide. The rest of Latin America is going to support Chile.

Argentina has just proclaimed its adhesion to the conference of the "non aligned states" in Algiers, which means that they align themselves against imperialism. If they were really a non aligned state, they would not take part. There aren't any non aligned states. They are either on one side or on the other, even if not directly. There are all the conditions for progress in Chile.

It is necessary to make public discussions, beginning to prepare and to arm the population, making appeals to the army while arming the population, educating, making a revolutionary cultural preparation in the trade unions, the workers areas and the factories, to organise a programme of economic development of the country not taking into account private property but the nationalisation of property. This doesn't mean speeding towards socialism. Chile cannot advance without nationalisations and planning; this is decisive. The masses are prepared to do it, they have created organisations for power, such as the Cordones Industriales (1), the JAPs (2), but there is already a new organism that the masses are going to form. The initiatives of the masses in the streets have given

them the idea, which is already circulating, and soon they are going to express it, that JAP and Cordones Industriales are insufficient because they are weighty organisms that intervene when called upon to do so or when there is danger. The masses are going to seek organisms that stimulate, that take initiatives to mobilise the movement. They are already doing this. All revolutions promote this, they mobilise the best of the population which sees the opportunity to integrate itself and to advance. In this way they express that they have been like this for years waiting to see how to intervene. Not discouraged, because the revolution animates them to intervene. It is necessary to make them intervene by making public discussions, planning the intervention of the mass organisms in the workers areas so that they can intervene and show that they are prepared to confront any situation. Make appeals posing and discussing that it is not possible to respect the bourgeois constitution, because it is bourgeois, dishonest and it doesn't answer the country's requirements.

The Chilean people are Chilean because they were born there but they seek an economic structure which has nothing to do with their place of birth. It is a lie to say that the army is going to be against them. A sector will be, but not all. The other sector is going to be gained; and it is necessary to confront those who will oppose. There isn't any example that shows that the army is going to be gained, persuaded or neutralised. The power controls are in their hands, but the simple fact that they haven't come out so far, shows that they aren't secure and that they fear doing it. They aren't frightened because they lack weapons, but because the young officers, the NCOs and the soldiers are against it.

The trade unions, the workers areas and the Cordones Industriales should make appeals to the army as the Chilean masses have spontaneously already done as the masses throughout the world do in order to gain part of the army. It is necessary to pose that we are under no obligation to respect the constitution that has been done to structure, strengthen and develop private property. It is necessary to discuss this. We don't have to respect it. For this reason, spontaneously, the masses seek to persuade their leadership to close down parliament! And they are creating popular organisms of leadership such as the JAP and the Cordones Industriales and the Comandos Comunales (3), which weren't made by the Communist or Socialist parties or by the government. They are initiatives of the masses. It is an immense creative capacity. The masses seek the means to communicate with the rest of the population and to weigh on their leadership in order to impel it.

It is necessary to intervene in the crisis of the Communist party, the Socialist party and the trade unions in Chile, creating the organisms to pass from the present stage to a superior one. It is not possible to do it without a crisis in the workers parties.

In Chile they are delaying the crisis because they put all sort of obstacles to stop it from coming out in the open. The CUT (4), the trade unions, the Communist and Socialist parties have all an internal crisis, and there is a crisis in the relationship among themselves. The basis of it is that they have to advance and take power, and they seek to avoid it. With different rhythms, with different reasons, with different excuses this is the cause of it, because the base wants to take power, it shows that it wants to take power.

The leaderships showed this crisis when they stood divided in the elections for the rector of the University of Santiago. Socialists and Communists separately, and a Christian Democrat won. They stood separately in the elections for the CUT also. The Christian Democrat masses see this. What sort of confidence in the future can they inspire

Turn to back page

today or tomorrow. But on the other hand this way they won't have to depend on copper. It will show to the masses and the petit bourgeoisie that they won't have to depend on copper. The Christian Democracy has an authority over the petit bourgeois sectors because they believe that the economy completely depends on copper. With dependence on copper, the Christian Democrats are those who decide because they have a parliamentary majority.

We said that it is necessary not to depend on copper. Why depend on the production of copper instead of extending and planning production? The masses accept and endure, even immediately, a struggle that would cause a certain arrest of the economic development. But we don't think it is at all necessary to cause a certain slow down of the economic progress, all that it is necessary is to make all the masses intervene so that the petit bourgeois masses or the Christian Democracy and the workers sectors that follow the Christian Democracy, see the proletariat capable of leading and organising, they have to see it functioning and leading. Now, on the contrary, they see parliament deciding. They see that decisions are made on the basis of elections, therefore they have no confidence and they cannot be gained.

The Chilean parliament doesn't represent the majority of the population, because of the structure of the country. We reiterate: the proletariat, the poor families, the peasants, the impoverished petit bourgeoisie are the majority in the country. The absolute majority. Even numerically they are the majority! The Chilean workers work from the age of ten and recently they won the right to vote at 18. Why can't he vote before? He works, they exploit him, he serves his national service, intervenes in national production and they don't let him vote. Isn't it irrational

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T.U.C. CONFERENCE : AN ADVANCE FOR THE LEFT; DISCUSS THE METHODS AND FORMS OF ORGANISATION TO CARRY OUT ITS CONCLUSIONS

While the first 4 days of the 105th TUC Conference have not expressed the full force of the combativity and consciousness of the class, its approach to a general marxist understanding, nevertheless it has demonstrated that even this TUC structure, bureaucratic as it is, has transmitted to the leadership something of the internal discussion and struggles at the base of the unions. The International Report of Jack Jones referring to the European Security Pact, to Spain, to Portugal, to South Africa, the intervention of the delegates on this report, the emergency resolution on Chile which had a very great importance, showed that the Workers States and the world revolution are weighing more and more in the British working class movement.

Enormous preoccupation was shown with issues and problems which have nothing to do with the trade union struggle showing that the class is using the T.U.'s to accomplish the function of a workers party. It does not mean that the unions will take the place of the Labour Party, but they are being used as a means of stimulating the struggle in the L.P., impelling the advance of the Left.

The speech of Simpson, the L.P. Chairman to the Conference shows that the left in party receives this stimulus from the unions, and sees them as a point of support in the struggle against the pro-capitalist Wilson leadership. Otherwise Simpson would not have come to Conference to make a speech criticising the Labour politicians who are against the programme of nationalisations, defending that programme, and warning Labour M.P.'s that in future they would have to pay close attention to decisions made at Conference. He is seeking a closer relationship with the T.U.'s in preparation for a much more intense struggle next month against the right in the Labour Party Conference. The defeat of the motion calling for the utilisation of the E.E.C. trade union organs,

which was a way in which the right wanted to weaken the opposition to the Common Market is also going to strengthen the left at next months L.P. Conference. The pro-marketisers in the L.P. find no point of support in the unions, while the tendency which wants more nationalisations see that virtually the whole T.U. movement even at the level of the leadership, supports it.

What has been demonstrated up to now in the Conference is a sharpening of the of the general struggle and a weakening of the right. The expulsion of the 20 unions which have not deregistered, even though it is a bureaucratic measure, removes a whole right wing sector dedicated to class collaboration from the T.U.C. without weakening it significantly numerically, while at the same time there has been an advance of the left in the elections to General Council. It is true that the AUEW/TGWU resolution not to appear before the Industrial Relations Court was defeated as was the AUEW resolution to withdraw from talks with the government, but at the same time no one expressed any confidence that the talks would be successful, and even such previously backward

sectors as the Electrical Power Engineers threatened strike action in the next period if their claims were not met. The resolution on industrial action of back up the pensions struggle, and the support for the £25 minimum wage are going to have important consequences in the next period.

There is an open struggle now between a rotten sector, and one which wants to advance, which accentuates its anti-capitalist positions but still does not put forward a revolutionary policy to achieve these positions. Briginshaw of the Printers spoke of the need for greater unity of the movement and for union reorganisation to achieve 'workers power and progress'. But he didn't put forward any concrete proposals which, as a start at least, would allow the class to weigh more in the T.U.C. It is not due entirely to a lack of honesty but of a lack of marxist understanding and of confidence in the masses which comes from marxism.

The right wing still has a weight because of the structure of the unions, but they cannot intervene with political positions, anti-communist, anti-Soviet, openly pro-capitalist positions as in the past. On the contrary, the position in favour of trade union links with the Workers States, for forming a new world trade union centre transcending the two present ones, is a direct expression of the influence of the Workers States. One of the two AFL-CIO delegates from the USA clearly sent by the CIA intervened to combat this influence, denouncing the 'persecution of intellectuals', 'the unfree trade unions', 'the invasion into Czechoslovakia', speaking of the Iron Curtain making a whole anti-communist intervention which was coldly received and booed. It was a feeble attempt of imperialism using the gangster sector of the American unions to stimulate the right in the TUC against the Workers States, but it failed. The weakness of imperialism even in the US trade union leadership was shown by the fact that the previous day another American fraternal delegate from the Rubber workers made a speech without any attack on communism on the Workers States, but he attacked the multi-national companies in general and I.T.T. in particular for its attempt to overthrow the Chilean government. The policy of the T.U.C. towards the Workers States, is a result of the intervention of the Soviet Union, is an extension of its policies of interpenetration, weakening capitalism, stimulating forces against capitalism but without giving a revolutionary programme or policy.

turn to back page

THE R.W.P.(T) INTERVENED TO SUPPORT THE LEFT IN THE T.U.C. CONGRESS

The 105th Conference of the T.U.C. shows that despite the remoteness of many of the delegates, on the actual demands of the class for power and revolutionary policies, there was a left represented.

A team of comrades distributed over 400, 6 page bulletins of orientation entitled 'the 105th TUC Conference must discuss and organise Factory and Area committees, a workers plan of production, strikes and meeting to prepare the general strike to overthrow the Tories.' This bulletin together with Red Flag and 700 leaflets of solidarity with the revolution in Chile, (which advertised our public meeting held on Wednesday) is an important contribution which feeds the left with the ideas which are essential to its revolutionary development.

Our comrades were received fraternally, and we particularly salute statements of support to our meeting of solidarity with Chile, from R. Buckton and L. Daly.

J. POSADAS

J. POSADAS 17. 7. 73

SUBSCRIPTION RATES	SUPPORTERS SUBSCRIPTION
6 months.....£ 1.60	6 months.....£ 3.00
1 year.....£ 3.10	1 year.....£ 5.00

THE 10th CHINESE PARTY CONGRESS,

The Need for Mass Public Discussion in China and the Unification of the Worker States

This Congress which has just taken place in China was prepared without discussion, without programme, without policy, without a line. It is necessary to have public and open discussion in China. Why despite the Congress is there such a political silence in China. The agreements of Mao Tse Tung with Nixon were not approved, decided upon or sustained by any organism. It was approved by Mao Tse Tung and Chou en Lai. Afterwards there was no meeting of trade unions, or party. Nothing. Absolutely nothing. Suddenly a report comes out 'Resolution of the Chinese Communist Party' in Red Flag, but who is responsible? They don't say. On the other hand in the Soviet Union, organs do meet, they are obliged to discuss. Already in the declarations prior to the Congress in relation to trade unions, the elements of political crisis could be seen. It was said that it was necessary to give democratic life to the trade unions - above all reorganisation of the trade unions in which they were going to appoint members belonging to the party and leaders of the party which in the conditions of China meant members of the apparatus who would control the trade unions.

This Congress was held without any previous public discussion. In effect it was held in the dark. And the results of the Congress show only a deepening of the crisis in the political leadership. As there was no serious analysis, but very clear signs of profound political divergence, very soon there will inevitably be serious political decisions in China to resolve the absence of programme, leadership, and policy. What is going to happen in China, however much concealed it is at the moment, is a much more open discussion between the various tendencies (see the article of Posadas in this issue of Red Flag, 'The uninterrupted progress of the world revolution and the necessity for the organisation of the lefts in the Communist Parties' 17.7.1973). The process of partial regeneration and the historic re-encounter constantly developing in the Workers States together with the massive concentration of the world advance to socialism inevitably determines the process in China, not the present absence of leadership in the Chinese Communist Party.

The Congress and its results do not correspond to the needs and aspiration of the Chinese masses, but although it is a Congress 'for the summits', it showed clearly the acuteness of the problem of the leadership. The various party bodies show a mixture of those who were in the leadership of the cultural revolution and those who would be described as conservative. The weakness of the forces of the right was most clearly seen in the manner in which Lin Biao and Chen Po Ta were expelled from the party, without any frank public discussion. The use of the old Stalinist terms 'anti communist, supporter of the Kuomintang, Trotskyist and secret agent' in relation of Chen Po Ta, re-creates the way in which the previous miseducation creates a large gap between the objective and massive progress of the Chinese workers State and the subjective limitations of the leadership, stemming as it does from the absence of a Bolshevik party life. As in the case of Liu Shao Chi, they do not have the capacity to explain the origin of the divergencies. The emergence of Wang Hong Wen based on Shanghai is a clear attempt to incorporate and contain sectors linked with this city, a key centre of the most advanced forces in the cultural revolution. The necessity to do this in itself shows the relation of forces in China, the inevitable pressing forward of new elements corresponding more closely to the needs and structure of the workers state. Even so the Congress only reflects agreements at the top which have no stability as they are not based on programme and policy.

No assessment was made of the consequences of the agreement made with Nixon.

CHILE

Continued from page 1

If they are divided among themselves, when they don't show a leading capacity because they stand divided? The Christian Democrat and independent masses, who decide in part, see an indecisive power. They aren't guided by what Allende says. They see the concrete behaviour. The parties of the Popular union stood divided in all the trade union elections, in each trade union, in each area, in each branch. Therefore they see: these aren't secure. The masses don't see security. If they were unified in the united front they would already have gained the Christian Democrat masses and part of the army. This is the fundamental task that it is necessary to do in Chile. Our party develops this activity very well, they develop a campaign of explanation, objections and criticisms. The unification doesn't depend on us but it is necessary to continue gaining authority and greater weight in the trade unions and political movement to impel the united front.

TO BE CONCLUDED IN THE NEXT
ISSUE OF RED FLAG.

1) 'Cordones Industriales'. Organisms which organise the defence of factories in an area, with elected representatives from the factories taking part.

2) J.A.P.S. Popular price and distribution committees.

3) Comandos Comunales. Area organisms incorporating the 'Cordones Industriales' and representatives from the population.

4) C.U.T. Chilean T.U.C.

no analysis in depth was made of the world situation nor of the internal changes. No analysis was made of the reasons for the steady decomposition of the various Maoist groups none of whom have made any progress and remain isolated from the broad masses and their organisations. Above all no dynamic view of the world situation was given.

Nevertheless from what has been reported of the speech of Chou en Lai, it tended to show a pre occupation to confront the danger of war with imperialism and placed no weight on the Nixon visit to Peking. The declaration after the Congress by Sihanouk that China was supporting aid to the struggle in Cambodia again shows the turn against imperialism, and reaffirms the tendency towards a common front of the Workers States against imperialism. Reality tends to impose itself.

The present leaderships in China do not respond to the vast concentrated process of the world revolution, how is this to be remedied? The most fundamental step which has to be taken is for OPEN PUBLIC DISCUSSION THROUGHOUT CHINA WITH THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF THE MASSES. We appeal for this to the Chinese Communist Party, and the trade unions and to the communes. The cultural revolution showed something of the desire of the masses to decide and participate the whole experience of the communes, the elevated level of communist relations among the Chinese masses all give an enormous basis

for advance, for the exchange of ideas, for the intervention of marxism. The policy of defence with Nixon has no future, why not. What is the policy to follow; why has the Soviet Union become imperialist? When did it become so? If it is so why did it support Vietnam? It is necessary for the masses to intervene on all these issues so that not just Chou en Lai but all the other leaders and cadres can speak, communicate and exchange opinions. We appeal for a discussion of the situation in Chile, to discuss the course of the process there, the need for the Chinese C.P. to take positions of support, to send delegations, to study and report on the direct intervention of the masses in their own organs to issue appeals for international solidarity.

And at the same time we appeal for the unification of the Workers States that there is a FULL PUBLIC DISCUSSION between the Workers States with a complete intervention of workers parties and the trade unions to eliminate boundaries between the Workers States to allow the fullest planning in common of the Workers States, eliminating in this way the disputes between the Soviet Union and China etc. which have no objective basis.

We appeal also in this context to the forces of the left in the L.P. and the T.U.'s to put themselves inside the developments and changes taking place in the Workers States because all these experiences, with those of Chile are fundamental aspects of the construction of socialism, posing the need for party, for marxism, for independent functioning of the trade unions and above all for an honest public discussion. Agreements at the top settle nothing, the decision and intervention of the masses is decisive. The Chinese team were able to take power but could not construct socialism. It is necessary to reflect upon all these experiences in the whole task of reconstructing the Labour Party and in conducting full and open discussions with the masses who require their own popular organs in which to function and weigh.

THE 'CORDONES INDUSTRIALES' AND THE C.U.T.

(PUBLISHED IN 'POPULAR POWER' (ORGAN OF THE CORDONES INDUSTRIALES))

INTRODUCTION

We publish this article on these fundamental popular organs which have developed in Chile to assist the vanguard to understand the forms in which the revolutionary process is developing there. The appearance of the journal 'Popular Power' is an expression of the enormous advance in the political elevation of the revolutionary vanguard which matures in the understanding of the necessity for the programme, policy and tactic necessary to develop in organs like the 'Cordones Industriales' to elevate them towards their role of organs of power. The forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions can enrich their understanding of the need for organs of dual power in the struggle to smash the bourgeois state, from the Chilean experience.

One of the most important polemics of the last period has been waged around this theme important because it has taken place in relation to the principle organisation of the workers, the CUT which has been the force which has centralised the mobilisation of the proletarian vanguard.

The resolution for an immediate strike on the day of the coup, the 'Programme of the six points' which includes the 'POWER OF DECISION OF THE WORKERS with participation at all levels' are concrete expressions of the elevation of the function of the CUT. This takes programmatic points of struggle which go further than its trade union function, posing the perspective of smashing capitalism and conquering power for the workers. The CUT has been the only organisation of the masses which answered, even with limitations to the coup. It was the only organ capable of paralysing the country and taking cities as they did in Concepcion. This central role, won through decades of struggle against exploitation is continued in its last declarations that they would not allow workers to be ejected from any occupied enterprise and that the restitution of enterprises must be approved by the workers.

If the CUT has fulfilled and fulfills the centralising function of the struggle of the workers and the masses, it has been because of the consciousness already acquired over the years by the proletarian vanguard. This has imposed on the bureaucratic leaderships, insensitive to their bases, that each trade union would convert itself into a centre of the trade union political life of the workers. For years the workers did not find this in their parties and they sought to impel it through the trade unions and the CUT, as the structures of these were more permeable, more democratic.

Hence it is that when the necessity for new organs of discussion and elaboration by the workers is posed, these cannot exist at the margin or be competitive with the CUT. But as with the 'Cordones Industriales', they express new forms of political life of the workers which the traditional structures of the CUT does not allow. The 'Cordones' arise responding to the necessity to impose the purest PROLETARIAN DEMOCRACY possible within the working class, which is preparing, discussing and learning for the next stage of the conquest of power. The

experience of the functioning of these organs as much in Santiago as in Concepcion shows not only that they cannot be at the margin of the CUT but also that they need the authority, the presence and the proletarian structure reached by the CUT.

It is correct to say that the 'Cordones' are leading mass organisms integrated in the CUT as posed Cde. Figueroa but this is incomplete. Because the programme which is discussed in the 'cordon' corresponds to an organism which bypasses the trade union demands and objectives for which the trade unions were created. They are new forms as were the factory committees created in the Russian Revolution which discussed the economic, social and political programme and which were the base, the germ of the new power of the soviets. Workers Power arises from its basic organisations; the trade unions, but they must be new organs, with greater capacity, perspectives and political functioning with the programme of the socialist revolution which will secure the transition from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State and the future intervention of the workers as leadership of the new state.

The 'Cordones Industriales' have revitalised the political function which the proletariat posed primarily through the programme of the CUT and substitute for the lack of organs which apply the programme of power suggested by the CUT. It is through the 'cordones' that the task of defence of the factories, of control over production, and distribution has developed and has accelerated the enlargement of the social sphere.

The central problem within this polemic CUT - 'cordones' is to understand what will be its dynamic and real functioning from the bases with representative delegates from each 'cordon', to understand what determines and delimits when the functions correspond to those of the trade unions and when this organism takes on its own physiognomy, wins its authority and legitimises itself before the base and is posed as the germ of the new organ of power. In which the CUT will be a central part through the trade unions. In each enterprise, the trade union elects its representatives to the 'cordon' and if this trade union functions democratically, in assemblies, there would be no difference between the feeling of the workers who attend the

editorial

continued from page 1

While representing an advance for the British working class movement, no real organisation conclusion emerged. Government policy was rejected but there was no discussion of organising mobilisations, or strikes to combat this. The nearest approach to an organisation conclusion was Scanlons proposal (which was important) for a new recall Conference when the latest talks with the government break down. Workers participation was rejected but there was no discussion on workers control, how to organise it, and what it signifies. But nevertheless the resolutions at the conference are going to stimulate a greater intervention to achieve the objectives set out, they represent a weakening of the right in the T.U.'s and L.P. and they are going to stimulate the vanguard to find the means to smash the anti democratic structure of the unions, constructing factory committees, workers area committees, committees linking the factory and the area etc. so that it can develop in the unions the revolutionary programme, policy and leadership. This in turn is going to impel the process in the L.P., helping the left to organise itself as a tendency which struggles to transform the L.P. into a revolutionary workers party based on the T.U.'s which fights for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism.

6.9.1973.

The Necessity of the Revolutionary Role of Cinema in the Capitalist Countries, in the construction of the Workers States and Socialism.

J. Posadas

December '71

Price 45p including p/p
from the address of the party.

'cordon' and between the trade union. It is necessary to see clearly also that the CUT is the sum of the trade union organs. Its resolutions must come from below and not be imposed by its leadership. To submit itself to the CUT must mean to be submitted to the mandate of all the trade union meetings of the country. This is how the functioning of the mass organ has to be understood and not as that of a party which functions on the basis of democratic centralism. To be submitted to the CUT is also not to ignore that without this organ it is impossible to pose any organised and massive stoppage, or struggle of the workers. It has been the sectarianism which still exists in the leaderships which has pushed forward this polemic to a level which does not correspond to the feeling of the class, to discuss, looking at 'who leads such and such 'cordon' or who leads the CUT'. The workers are very proud of our single centre, as also we reaffirm that if we propose to construct socialism, new organs are necessary which correspond to this new task, organs of power. And the 'cordones industriales' to the extent to which they begin to discuss the APPLICATION of the programmes which have arisen from the CUT, from the workers assemblies, will be converted into organs of power, incorporating and linking their struggle to the population, to the workers areas, to the students, a task which organically the CUT cannot undertake.

Thus as the CUT does not impose anything on the unions, but it is the general assembly which approves the proposals and pushes them forward, this is to say there exists an autonomous functioning of the base, the same must be pushed forward in the functioning of the 'cordon' and its relation with the CUT. The national and provincial CUT put forward proposals which must be approved or not by the 'Cordon Assembly' and by the factories which make it up, and in its turn the CUT must take as a mandate what was decided in the factory assemblies.

We propose to solve this polemic on the basis of this functioning which will be perfected and enriched with the discussion in all the assemblies of the factories, we also propose a joint struggle CUT-Cordones for immediate objectives. And to take over Dolmen electrochemicals and the factories in dispute into the social area and to plan together the defence and reply of the workers in case of sabotage, eviction, putchist attempts and interventions by the reactionaries.

Alejandro Prieto,
delegate of the MYRE section of
Huachipato to the 'Cordones Industriales'
Secretary of Publicity and Propaganda.

FULL SUPPORT TO THE CHILEAN MASSES IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT THE COUNTER REVOLUTION!

This coup in Chile by a sector of the military with the direct support and stimulation of US imperialism is a criminal and desperate attempt to try and stop the ascending revolutionary process in the country, to assassinate the left in the Popular Unity government of Allende and to destroy the organisms of dual power which the masses have constructed and are developing.

But it is clear that, in spite of the murder of Allende, the bombing and the use of heavy artillery in the capital the coup is far from stabilising itself even there. Fighting continues in industrial suburbs and there is sniping in the centre. Reports over radio stations controlled by the military speak only of Santiago, but what about the industrial city of Concepcion, the copper mining regions

of the north, or Punta Arenas in the south where there are reports of clashes between two sectors of the army, for and against the coup? Clearly the coup forces control only a part of the country. It is a civil war which Posadas predicted as inevitable. The masses are united in their organisms, they are armed and they are determined to maintain the conquests won during the three years of the Popular Unity government, but not only to maintain conquests, but to develop their organisms to go to power. The military hoped to crush opposition in a few hours, profiting from the fact of having the initiative; but it has failed and as the fighting continues it will tend to disintegrate, with its base being won by the heroism and capacity of organisation and leadership of the

Now there is news that the constitutionalist 'general Prats is commanding a sector of the army which, with detachments of armed workers is moving on the capital. The coup leaders have passed from issuing orders to the population to making appeals to 'patriotic sectors' of it, as it begins to feel more and more insecure.

The masses and have been on the streets, occupying factories with the unbreakable will to organise the necessary organisms of proletarian power to lead society, to organise production and distribution. The Chilean masses have organised on their own initiative organisms of power the Cordones Industriales, the JAPS, the Comandos Comunales to learn to organise society without the need for the old capitalist, legislative, juridical, executive and police apparatus. And this coup shows clearly that no class leaves the scene of history without utilising all the means it has, to try to survive.

And so it is necessary to draw the conclusions from this event. We greet the immediate reaction of the L.P. and also the C.P. in support of the Chilean masses, and its Popular Unity government for socialism. But it is necessary to discuss that Chile is expressing a process which is being generalised all over the world. The Chilean proletariat, the workers of LIP, Antwerp, Upper Clyde, Briants are all intervening to organise production to lead society and the economy in the service of the masses which capitalism cannot do. They are all preparing for power, to do away with the capitalist structure and organs, to do away with the indignity of the capitalist relations. And what are these bombs in London, Birmingham and Manchester for? They are to create a state of war to prepare the intervention of the thuggish elements of army and the police, to assassinate the people. It is necessary for the L.P. and the T.U.'s and the C.P. to prepare a public discussion on the experience of Chile to draw these conclusions.

that they organise mobilisations, demonstrations, mass meetings in the factories to declare support to the Chilean masses in their struggle for a workers and peasants government, discussing the intervention of the masses here through organisms in preparation for a similar process. It is necessary to discuss all this in the coming L.P. conference, drawing conclusions, and taking resolutions of direct help and support, resolving to send food arms, medical supplies, etc. making appeals to the Workers States to do the same. It is important for the workers movement to make an analysis of the role which Allende

played. He was not a counter revolutionary or a grave digger of the revolution as the ultra left claimed, but a honest leader who wanted to advance to socialism, but avoiding civil war, avoiding violence, advancing constitutionally upon parliament. And this limitation is not just his, but a limitation of all the communist and socialist parties of the world. It is this limitation which allowed the right to have the initiative in making the coup, it does not come from the social force of the bourgeoisie.

We appeal to the L.P. and T.U.'s, to the trades Councils, the Communist Party, for the shop stewards committees to organise strikes, to stop work for a few hours, to occupy factories, to black ships of all governments who have supported the coup, as the Brazilian, Uruguayan or the American who, even if they have not said they support, certainly helped it. And if this coup should succeed, temporarily, then to black all the ships carrying Chilean goods, copper, etc. so as not to permit the slightest stabilisation of the regime.

The British workers movement must weigh now in this Chilean struggle with all its strength, giving all the help it can as quickly as it can, so as to ensure an outcome favourable to the masses and the revolution.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

Weekly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

No. 188 Thursday 13th September 1973

CONCLUSIONS OF THE DEFEAT OF THE ATTEMPTED COUNTER REVOLUTION IN CHILE 31.8.73 J. POSADAS

This document written 10 days before the coup maintains its full value now — two days after the counter revolutionary coup of a sector of the army directly supported and encouraged by American imperialism — the main force in Chile today — as 10 days ago is the revolutionary consciousness of the masses expressed in their mobilisations that defeated the attempted counter coup in June, and the lorry owners strike to which this article refers. The masses forced them. Funtanealba, a Christian Democrat leader, to condemn the coup. We appeal for this document to be studied, because the analysis and predictions have all been confirmed by all the recent developments.

Chile is in a revolutionary process who's former character has been accentuated with this defeat of the right. The masses have felt, feel and will feel that they have been the essential factor which has prevented the army from coming out with the coup, which has gained a sector of the army, which has imposed security and force. And they have imposed themselves on a very important sector of the army. They have gained the petit bourgeoisie, they have paralysed the right. The masses feel that they have been the principal factor. But above all they have felt that unity has been achieved. The masses are unified and in which are very representative; the cordones industriales, the comandos comunales, the JAPS, (1), organs which were ignored by the government, and now they are recognised. The masses have already seen that they have organs to unify themselves in and before any new attempt to push things back they are going to intervene.

There is an enormous advance of organisms to stimulate the revolution. There is an uninterrupted mobilisation, a constant growth, an extension in depth and elevation of the preoccupation, of the intervention, the maturity, the political and organisational capacity of the masses. It is necessary to discuss learning, and advancing in the most important ideas that give the understanding and organise their capacity to understand and in order to strengthen them in the theoretical and political understanding of what they are saying.

All this gives as a result a growth of the theoretical and political capacity of the masses, an elevation of the new cadres, a maturing of other cadres, results in a greater influence within the Communist and Socialist parties, in MAPU and MIR, in all the organs

which unite the masses in one way or another. There are all the possibilities to discuss, to gain and influence, to enter this process and to discuss general concrete and world problems, because the understanding of the masses is ready.

The masses are going to feel that this triumph is not because of the manoeuvres of Allende, which haven't been of any use at all. If the masses didn't come out into the street, the government would have failed, and the right would have got going with heart and soul. The right could only mobilise a very few people. It could not make even in this stage, mobilisations of 100,000 people.

While Allende drew a million in Santiago alone. It is showing that this weighs on the army, contains it, and gains a part of it to legality, not because the government was legal, but because the masses in the street said to it 'this is legality', they made it

feel that it had to confront the masses and the army felt therefore that the people who they had to give orders to shoot to were going to weaken, were going to doubt and vacillate, and could pass to the side of the masses.

There are the conditions for a great offensive to reach more elevated objectives of the revolution, even with the constitutional illusions of Allende. There was no constitutional in this, the masses in the streets demonstrated, that if they hadn't come out, there wouldn't be any constitution which was worth anything. Therefore, it's been the masses in the streets who have imposed this triumph, and they are going to ask 'why not advance?' It is possible to advance, it is possible to increase their weight of decision. It is the limitation of the government of Allende, which now is going to be in discussion. And there is going to be a very great discussion in the government parties. The MIR itself is going to pose, is going to say that it is the people in the streets who won. It was the people in the street, the mobilisation, the taking of the factories, and the organisations of systems of self defence — even organisations to get the lorries running — based on the workers, on the factories on the workers areas. They are already seeing what are the bases of the triumph of the support of the government, of the revolution and of the progress of the revolution. That is to say, that they can much more profound economic and social measures. Thus in the same way that they expropriate the lorries and put them to work by means of volunteers directed and controlled by militias of workers from the factories and the zones, they can deepen the

the revolution.

This is an impulse to all of Latin America and is also going to impel the meeting in Algeria. (The conference of the non aligned countries). The counter revolution still hasn't finished, far from it. They are going to continue because they have no other solution, but they have no perspective. It shows that the masses already have an idea and are going to see that they are the essential factor, that they must intervene, that they must make organs as the JAPS, as the cordones industriales, the comandos comunales. This is going to communicate to all of Latin America, which is going to have an example of this. Very soon organs superior to what the popular assembly was from the first stage in Bolivia are going to appear in Argentina and in Bolivia as well.

The masses seek to organise organs. They continue the example of what they have seen before, they continue with general strikes, with stoppages, they continue with what they have seen in the Workers States, how power was taken in the Workers States. It is necessary to advance a much more profound programme of nationalisations, of functioning under workers control and of diversification of production. The masses are the essential bases of constitutional rights and constitutional legality. This is constitutional legality which the chamber of deputies (which is in the hands of the bourgeoisie) gives. It is necessary then to eliminate parliament, liquidate it. People in the street demonstrated that they liquidated parliament, which is the centre and cradle of the counter revolution. Funtanealba came out to oppose the coup — in words because in the facts he always voted against the government in parliament — because he saw the people in the streets. He saw that his petit bourgeois, student, peasant base and his sector of small workers was passing

to the side of the revolution. It is not that he has been gained but intimidated, he is frightened and tries now to save himself. It means that he cannot save himself, but his base certainly is gained by the people in the streets, which goes to show that this is the way to gain sectors. The masses are resolving problems which the leaderships have not been capable of resolving, how to gain the petit bourgeoisie, the Christian Democrat, peasant or those without a party, to the workers.

The revolution is advancing at this very moment. Without leaving aside the criticism as we have criticised Allende, we see that he advances because the strength of the masses substitutes, supplants and compensates for the weakness of the leadership. But this is a leadership which is relatively weak because it doesn't give up. Another leadership would have given up would have renounced. He doesn't give up, he sustains himself and attacks at the time. It was the great force and the support of the masses to this leadership which does not want to renounce. That is to say it is a him which we recognise. Because of this we haven't made a criticism against him, but a persuasive criticism to a leadership which wants to advance. He does it by roads which in their entirety are not incorrect, but which have a very limited aspect which is 'constitutionalism', which is because of fear of the army and which is going to give the government an erroneous sensation that has been their 'constitutional' attitude which has gained the army. No. No. It was the people in the street. It was the whole attitude of Latin America which didn't give one millimetre to the reaction, it was against, everyone was against! The army forms part of the life and feels the pressure of the masses. Therefore, the right wing and the capitalist sector doesn't feel that it has any strength.

The masses are going to feel the need now of pushing forward much more, it is going to make a very rich discussions and it is necessary to intervene in this discussion. It is necessary to intervene in all the problems which are being lived in the Chilean revolution, and in order to organise the economy, confront the right, it is necessary to see, how to gain the Christian Democrat worker base, how to gain a part of the army, how to

TEXT OF TELEGRAM TO CHILEAN EMBASSY

THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

PLEDGES FULL SUPPORT TO THE POPULAR UNITY AND THE CHILEAN PEOPLE IN THEIR
STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY COUP. FORWARD WITH THE ARMED
STRUGGLE FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. IN CHILE

14. 8. 73

SELF MANAGEMENT, SOVIETS AND THE DISCUSSION ON THE CRISIS OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY

J. POSADAS

The process of crisis of growth in Yugoslavia is advancing. The programme of discussion for the 10th Congress of the Communist Party the discussion over self management, the rectifications, the changes are very profound. Yugoslavia before was the weakest link in Stalinism. Now it is the weakest link in the bureaucratic conception of the Workers State. The are discussing the conclusions, the consequences of the experience of self management.

Yugoslavia was characterised by two essential factors: resistance to being submitted to Stalin, which is correct. Its opposition to the Stalinist dominion and its desire for a marxist development. It resorted to the IV International and the IV International of that time answered in the most simple and superficial way.

Their intention was to seek in the IV International the orientation, texts, discussions, to seek how they could develop Yugoslavia without being submitted to Stalinism. The leadership of the International of that time was incapable and impotent to give ideas. On the contrary three years afterwards, it declared that Yugoslavia was returning to capitalism. We tried to discuss and discussed seeking to maintain them in the camp of communism and that Yugoslavlia should make itself independant. But they could not do it, it was difficult to develop a backward, isolated Workers State, with its frontiers bordering other Workers States submitted to Stalin. The Yugoslav Communist Party was very weak, very new, it emerged from the war with a structure of a very large bureaucratic apparatus - a structure that was still not a bureaucracy - and had all the conditions to decompose rapidly.

If on a world scale the process of the world revolution had slowed down, was contained or perverted, it would have influenced Yugoslavlia. If the process had advanced it would have elevated Yugoslavia. But the problem was Stalinism. And the leadership of Tito's communist party had neither the preparation nor the understanding to combat Stalinism as a reactionary current of the world communist movement, so it turned into a dispute of one state against the rest of the Workers States, led by Stalinism. This was the source and the base of the perversion of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the base of its internal corruption.

Yugoslavia confronted two essential aspects in developing itself: the first was the centralisation and planning of the economy which favoured the whole of the economic development. The second was the absence of internal proletarian democracy and of points of world support, although the lack of internal proletarian democracy wasn't complete. There was quite a lot of democracy, they discussed quite a lot in Yugoslavlia, a great deal. But it had to pass from a stage of planned development of the economy, counting upon the other Workers States, to being isolated and alone confronting the other Workers States, lacking proletarian bases with a Communist Party tradition having a very large and backward peasant base, being submitted to the pressure of the other Communist Parties, the Yugoslav Communist Party which lost in the war, part of its best cadres, gave way to the entrance of technicians and to a rapid development of the economy linked to the capitalist system. This was the base for the degeneration of the Yugoslav Workers State.

The power of the Yugoslav Workers State is demonstrated in that in spite of the contradictory social, political and economic development, economically it was a progress towards forms of the Workers State, but in the question of distribution it did not correspond to these forms. Distribution was going to determine the source, the roots, the base of the system of production. The technocrats then made their economic plans in accordance with their interest, they sought the international relations in accord with their interest.

To emerge from isolation, Yugoslavia saw itself obliged to take measures which did not all have a reactionary sense or origin, although their conclusion was reactionary. In order not to submit to Stalin and not ceasing to be a Workers State, it tried, with its policy, towards the world capitalist system, to survive, believing in this way to maintain itself with a process of internal liberation, making concessions to the technocrats, to the planners, to the regional layers, with the federation system. Even within the party they had to make a Federation which afterwards swallowed it.

But the structure of the Workers State showed that it was more powerful than the Federation of reactionary interests. The Yugoslavian working class had sufficient weight and social authority. The development of Yugoslavia as a Workers State gave such strength to the population that it could put up with all the technocratic swine who wanted to make Yugoslavia return to the capitalist system. This is the very rich experience of the process in Yugoslavia.

Self management at its onset was a measure of protection on Tito's side. It was not condemnable in itself, because it was an attempt at defence to try to sustain itself in front of Stalinism. There was not a strong Communist Party, there was not a strong worker base. They tried to put together and develop the economy with self management. Thus they gave rise to an orientation which went against marxism, against the Workers State, which promoted interests of layers of the population depending on the layers of technocrats and of individuals, who live at the cost of the Workers State, who through their economic and scientific capacity, occupy decisive places in production. As the Yugoslav Workers State was not able to negotiate with the other Workers States, it negotiated with the capitalist system. All the structure which had been reached exerted a pressure, so that trade with the capitalist system became a base of the economic, social and political structure. This meant an enormous advantage for the capitalist system! Immense! Capitalism had the door open to make Yugoslavia return to capitalism.

Stalin did not invade Yugoslavlia. On the other hand he did invade Poland and Finland. Why didn't he invade Yugoslavia? Because the Workers State impeded him, because in spite of the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist of the other Workers States were satellites of Stalin, the working class of each one of these countries, the proletarian composition of each one of the Workers States, prevented Stalin from invading Yugoslavlia. If not, he would have invaded it. It was not Yankee imperialism which impeded him. It was the working class of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States.

Self management was a device aimed at trying to replace the lack of possibility and planning by economic means, to try to emerge from backwardness and link Yugoslavia to the world market. It linked then the interest of layers of the population, to stimulate individual interest and develop the economy against the system of centralised planning.

Who won? Yugoslavia reached the maximum in this contradiction. Before Ota Sik and Dubcek appeared in Czechoslovakia the process had already reached the maximum development in Yugoslavia. Four of the principal banks in Yugoslavia had a direct relation with the world bank. In one federal republic there were six great shoe factories which competed among themselves and competed for the market. This is against planning, it is the interest of the bureaucrats. One federal republic exported commodities to the other republics. And there are rich and poor regions. Also in the USSR, there are rich and poor regions, but less poor and less rich. It is more equal. Even though there are regions in Siberia without telephones or electric light, without doubt the population of all regions in the Soviet Union every now and then send letters to Moscow saying, 'We don't have light. There is no telephone!' The letters can be delayed for a couple of months, but they arrive. They have the persistency to travel over thousands of kilometres without being exasperated and without bothering about that liar Medvedev. (1).

At one moment 180,000 young people from all over the world went to Yugoslavia to help the construction of the Workers State. It was the indication that the youth of the world was directing itself to where there was a centre which allowed the development of its human drive to want to construct history. There were 180,000 young people who constructed with their bare hands in the middle of the mountains 160 kilometres of iron track. Hundreds and thousands of young people working all the day, all day. At night singing, holding conferences, and constructing what in that moment corresponded to the iron roads of the world.

This shows how the world working class, the world youth understood the capacity of Yugoslavia and rallied to support it. This elevated the role of the working class in Yugoslavia and the influence over the population which was being incorporated in industrial development. It created a whole solid base of world protection of communism. And all the swine, the technocrats, planners, administrators, could develop without dragging along, or submitting the working class, nor the intellectuals, nor the Yugoslav youth. This allowed them to sustain and maintain the Yugoslavian Workers State.

The action of the working class of the world, the development of the world communist movement, prevented Stalin and after Stalin the Soviet bureaucracy, from invading Yugoslavlia. Who won Yugoslavia won. It was not through Tito, but through the superior historic structure of the Workers States which needed to find an expression. This is the decisive example for all those who dream that the Soviet-Sino dispute might become a confrontation between the two Workers States. There is never going to be a war between China and the Soviet Union. China is the prolongation of the USSR. The USSR is the prolongation of China. Although legitimately through its origin, China is the prolongation of the USSR, the USSR cannot live without China, but not because it needs it for its economic development, but because the Soviet working class, just as it smashed Hitler, as it defended Yugoslavia in front of Imperialism and Stalin, saying to him: 'You are not going to invade Yugoslavia', is waiting for the moment to deliver a kick at the leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union, to impose relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese and the Soviet working class expect this. But not now as a working class but as a Communist Party, which is a superior form to the working class. For now, while the party does not function as a revolutionary party, the working class develops an immense function. But when the party functions as a revolutionary party, it is superior to the class. It represents the class and has an authority, over all the world. This is what the working class of the Soviet Union is doing, seeking to exert a pressure on its party, so that it exercises the function of supporting the world revolution.

Self management is not a necessary measure nor something that impels the Workers States. It is a measure of circumstances, adopted by the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to seek a relation with the working class, with the peasants and to extend its influence in support of the rest of the world communist movement. It was taken as a measure within the communist camp. Afterwards it was demonstrated that self management developed everything which now Tito combats; the individual interest of camarillas, of layers. These in their turn, develop regional interests. These in their turn lead to the separation in federal republics establishing thus a country which was centralised only in form. Basically those who lead were divided. This was the relation between structure, form and content. The content was very little affected, it was almost distant from the concern of the leaderships, of the technocrats and of the leaders of the Communist Party. The Yugoslav Communist Party ended up being led by a majority of people who demanded the return to private interest and to a combination of nationalised property with private interest. The forms of this Workers State were outside communism.

But the structure did not reflect the content. Because the content was the Workers State and state property which had shown that it was the source and base of the economy. Yugoslavia had passed from nothing to be an industrial country, elevating the conditions of life and developing the economy and production, whilst the republics in the hands of the technocrats were divided into private federal interests and stimulated and extended the federal state of each one of them as private capitalist interests. To go by train from one republic to another, passing through another republic, it is necessary to pay different fares in each republic. Now this is unified. But before they were republics where each one developed their special interest. They were unified through economic interest, but there was the strength, already there were the tendencies, already there existed the preparation, to push forward the struggle in the Communist Party to eliminate the communists and to make of the Communist Party a name which represented the bureaucratic capitalist interests and the combination between capitalists and bureaucrats. It was the same process which afterwards Dubcek pushed forward. Dubcek learnt from Yugoslavia and believed that this was history and launched himself furiously via Ota Sik who tried to give the theoretical justification to try to do the same as Yugoslavlia.

The result was that the structure of the Yugoslavian Workers State and the world process of the revolution won over the erroneous, conciliatory policy, the gigantic retreat in Yugoslavia. The world process gave the force so that the proletariat could expel and throw out through the window the directors, the managers. Before making the present reforms in Yugoslavia to return to the original starting point making improvements in certain aspects with respect to the time when there was the break with Stalin. The workers throwing the managers through the window already showed that the power of the technocrats

and the division into federal republics had reached its height.

Self management was a means directed to stimulate production, a means of adhering to the interest of the worker masses, peasants, and technicians in order not to succumb before the pressure of Stalin and to give a centre and incentive to production. Conscious that they were not able to go to communism in such a backward and isolated country, they sought a substitute for production, for economic development. As they did not possess the materials, the raw materials, the riches and the capacity of world competition, they sought a substitute for communist means with the incentive of production. The result was self management. This incentive was more controlled, because it was determined and related with production and productivity. It produced this. Self management produced the development of the country in the private interests of each and public, accentuating national traits, the backwardness, the horrible national backwardness of each country, returning to the stage previous to the Workers State.

In the sentiment of the masses, self management was a means to defend itself from the bureaucracy and to be able to determine a more equitable distribution. This was for the working class. And for part of the Communist Party including Tito himself, it was also this. It was a tendency believing to substitute for the lack of material means, of world economic support, in order not to depend on world capitalism, nor submit itself to Stalin and to substitute for the soviets. They could not make the soviets, they did not have the forms to make them. It was a country short of resources, of tradition, and of lack of worker base and of a communist party. They could not make soviets. The Bolsheviks made them because they had the party. The Communist Party of Tito did not have a base to make soviets. It had to seek another means. On the other hand, if there had existed in Yugoslavlia a Bolshevik party, it would have made soviets and would have provoked an enormous interest in the Workers States. Then Stalin would have intervened.

One of the reasons why the Soviet bureaucracy did not intervene in Yugoslavia was because they believed that it was drowning, because it could not resort to the Soviets, to superior forms of communism. Hence they expected that Yugoslavia would drown. The bureaucracy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had an origin of Stalinist formation, but an historic root superior to Stalinism, because it won with arms in hand. This gave an immense historic superiority to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Stalinist of the party prevented it finding resources in the world revolution. But also the isolation; the smallness impeded it equally. All these were factors which combined to lead to self management.

Self management was not a measure tending to compete with

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combine it with the development of the economy, how to overcome the dependance on copper, how to create new cadres, to develop and politicise cadres in the understanding of the revolutionary process, and in the polemic about which roads to take, in all this it is necessary to intervene. Up to now the masses have prevented the right giving a coup. They are going to try it once more, they are going to plant bombs. Thus it is necessary to be prepared to confront this, to justify that it is necessary to be prepared, to argue to convince the government, a tendency of the government, to convince communist and socialist tendencies. It is necessary to plan, it is possible to do it now. It is not to leap over stages, it is not to try to do without understanding that it is necessary to gain a sector of the army, but seeing that this is the way in which it is going to be gained. For this objective it is necessary to make the masses intervene more in meetings, which discuss the problems of the masses and discuss, appeal so that the masses direct themselves to the army. They have to take initiatives before the military bomb the masses. They are going to bomb. It is the Yankees who are going to do this, and the oligarchy, which is the same as the Yankees. If the oligarchy doesn't do the same as in Vietnam it is because it doesn't have the force, if it had it would do it in defence of its economic interest. They don't allow any form of progress which doesn't mean profit from them, or strengthening the capitalist system.

It is necessary to understand that it is a problem in which the following resolution is discussed: either the capitalist system or a progress which annuls the capitalist system. Therefore it is necessary to make a public discussion, in the universities, in the streets, in the factories, in all parts making this public discussion. This is going to influence the Communist and Socialist Parties, in the internal discussion, and it is necessary to intervene to gain a tendency which sees the civil war is coming, without breaking the Socialist or Communist Parties. We don't want any breaking from them. We don't want it because it is not convenient for the development of the revolution in Chile.

On the other hand it is necessary to gain the masses in order to annul the right sectors without smashing them; not an internal struggle which cuts up the party or breaks it, but which annuls the right. And to convince and gain even those sectors which are now following the right, showing that this is the road, this is the experience which shows that organs are necessary and that the masses must intervene in everything, as the Bolsheviks did. It is necessary that the masses intervene, increase the weight of the nationalisations, prepare for civil war, planning and diversifying production. The right is going to do as it did in Argentina, as it did in Bolivia, as they tried to do in Peru, Uruguay and in Brazil; they are not going to hold back in this. It is necessary to take measures of control, to create organs of workers, soldiers and non commissioned officers, calling on them not to obey any orders against the government. When they give orders to go some place, the

centralisation and communism. It was a measure of isolation and of withdrawal provoked by the conception of Stalinist origin. They broke with Stalin organisationally but not in the mentality. Hence they developed on the basis of the technocrats. At the same time they sought to understand. Hence they directed themselves to the IV International.

It is necessary not to underestimate the origin of self management. It was not a measure taken in the full ascent and development of planning but in conditions ready for Stalin. A party of Stalinist origin emerged from the war half destroyed without an important proletarian base, with an enormous backwardness in the country similar to Albania. All these factors determined self management.

But it is necessary to see at the same time, that the Yugoslav leadership took the road of self management, not of capitalist distribution. This is to say a measure which has to remain in the communist camp. This shows the power of the structure of the Workers State and of the influence of the world communist movement. Hence in spite of the very profound form of the damage which self management did, it did not succeed in returning to the capitalist regime, because the masses have their origin in the revolution, and the influence of the Workers State and of the revolution is made through them. Tito was in the International Brigade but Tito was communist. He came from communist origin and organisation and was won in the Russian revolution. His origin was communist in intervening in the process in Yugoslavia.

These are very rich experiences to show that self management was an attempt to eliminate Stalinist pressure, the Stalinist set up and to substitute a communist programming. It was a question of Yugoslavia not of the USSR. It was a country that was immensely backward, lacking a solid worker base with a lack of means and natural resources and a backward Communist Party, which nevertheless had some very advanced positions. It gave rise to a series of leaders, who were suppressed in the immense majority and who today are being reborn and are going to be born. It produced very advanced leaders who accepted many Trotskyist

It is an expression of the fact that the Workers State has the strength to stimulate and sustain the revolutionary thought and make it extend itself. On the other hand Stalin, no. Because Stalin supported himself on the bureaucracy, on the apparatus. He fell and was thrown out. On the other hand the Workers State could so far as the danger of self management, with direct trade of Yugoslav enterprises with world capitalism, with the internal competition of various enterprises in the same line, footwear, fabrics or machines, and at a particular moment came the reaction of the world process of the revolution and of the Yugoslav masses. This is the strength of the Workers State which corrects the most brutal aspects linked to the egoistic and individual interest of self management. It tries to correct them. And they are correcting it, as the preparatory document shows for the 10th Congress of the Communist Party, to adapt it to the communist forms of self management. It is not possible to adapt it. Its either a centralised functioning or self management.

Self management cannot be a replacement for the functioning of the

intervene, the more the progress of the revolutionary stage would be. All the world situation favours the development of the revolution and the left in the socialist party and in the communist party. This triumph of the masses has permitted the government to negotiate with the military; now the government feels strong in front of the military. It is going to make them believe that it was due to them, when it was the masses who had given them the strength so that the government could support itself

and negotiate with the military. Thus it is necessary to make the programme which we have proposed, to make a total mobilisation of the masses and discuss, appeal so that the masses direct themselves to the army. They have to take initiatives before the military bomb the masses. They are going to bomb. It is the Yankees who are going to do this, and the oligarchy, which is the same as the Yankees. If the oligarchy doesn't do the same as in Vietnam it is because it doesn't have the force, if it had it would do it in defence of its economic interest. They don't allow any form of progress which doesn't mean profit from them, or strengthening the capitalist system.

It is necessary to understand that it is a problem in which the following resolution is discussed: either the capitalist system or a progress which annuls the capitalist system. Therefore it is necessary to make a public discussion, in the universities, in the streets, in the factories, in all parts making this public discussion. This is going to influence the Communist and Socialist Parties, in the internal discussion, and it is necessary to intervene to gain a tendency which sees the civil war is coming, without breaking the Socialist or Communist Parties. We don't want any breaking from them. We don't want it because it is not convenient for the development of the revolution in Chile. On the other hand it is necessary to gain the masses in order to annul the right sectors without smashing them; not an internal struggle which cuts up the party or breaks it, but which annuls the right. And to convince and gain even those sectors which are now following the right, showing that this is the road, this is the experience which shows that organs are necessary and that the masses must intervene in everything, as the Bolsheviks did. It is necessary that the masses intervene, increase the weight of the nationalisations, prepare for civil war, planning and diversifying production. The right is going to do as it did in Argentina, as it did in Bolivia, as they tried to do in Peru, Uruguay and in Brazil; they are not going to hold back in this. It is necessary to take measures of control, to create organs of workers, soldiers and non commissioned officers, calling on them not to obey any orders against the government. When they give orders to go some place, the

soldiers have to ask where. They have to annul this fact of the army being an independent power. No. It has to obey the Chilean government. The army is committed to civil power. It is necessary to gain the soldiers and the non commissioned officers, so that they don't obey any order which doesn't come from the popular government, otherwise, they will continue to be submitted to the army. On the contrary it is necessary to do as in the Workers States, in which the army has no power of its own, the army is submitted to and obeys the civil power. Therefore any attempt of capitalism to make a counter revolution fails essentially because it is the masses who have the power and the masses see very well the progress which the Workers States signify. Then the right doesn't have any base to make any movement against.

The stage of great changes are being prepared, great changes have to come. Changes in the way of thinking, because it is the masses who have imposed on the government that it must confront the right and have been the essential basis of the defeat of the right. It is not that the masses forced the government, but imposed on it not to yield. The government was not disposed to yield, but it vacillated quite a lot. And if the masses did not come out into the streets it would have doubted, vacillated, and would have made greater concessions. The government were quite slow, while the masses did not work at all slowly.

It is necessary to make an analysis and a conclusion of the function of the Cordones Industriales, Comandos Comunales, and of the JAPS, of the importance of these organisms created by the masses which shows the instant, the orientation and the political capacity of the masses to organise organs where all the population can be together, and where all tendencies can intervene. They are organs of united front, organisms of action, but also of deliberation, because they deliberate how to intervene, when to intervene, what to do, and they decide in agreement with the common interest of smashing the counter revolution. They have to work as an instrument to direct themselves to the government; why don't all the left put itself in agreement? How is it that they presented themselves separately divided in the T.U. elections, the right of the communists and the socialists even prepared to abstain, before voting for another candidate of the left. While the masses don't do this. The communist masses, if they see that a socialist is going to win, support the socialist and not the communist. And we the Trotskyist-Posadistas do the same.

The influence of Chile on all the world revolutionary movement has a very great importance. Because the masses are seeing

centralised and planned economy, of the centralisation of production, of planning and decentralisation of the application. When there is greater centralisation in the planning, the more one utilise even minimum resources. And planning in a centralised way, the greater the decentralisation in application, the more beneficial are the effects. Well, the decentralisation can be made in three places, nothing more; it depends.

Planning tends to concentrate the planned forces which eliminate the competition of factories in the same line of production, the necessary transport movements of raw materials and of separation of the different phases of production and sale in different places. Thus planning in accordance with the interest of a group, or a sector, or of a region is eliminated, and it is made in accordance with the interest to all the country. Production is concentrated where it is more convenient, where there is the minimum need for movement. Not extracting raw material, transporting it and afterwards working it. If in the same place where raw materials are extracted they can be worked upon, afterwards the manufactured product can be distributed. For this, it is necessary to know the needs of the country, not its capacity for buying. Without planning it is not possible to know the needs of the country. In the first seven years of the Russian Revolution, it was like this. Afterwards, the Soviet bureaucracy took into account the needs of the country, taking into account the buyers and in this the bureaucracy. The market was constructed in accordance with the needs of the bureaucracy, not according to the needs of the country. As it was a Workers State, it could not release itself from the country and took into account the bureaucracy and the country. Then the bureaucracy planned in accordance with bureaucratic interests and after the country. And on a world wide scale also.

Self management leads to a triple form of this interest, in which each factory produces in accordance with what interests it. It produces in accordance with the product, the capacity, the interest, the investment of this factory and one can make a cheaper product than another ten factories. It can do it. But the other ten do it at greater cost. Taken as a whole the result is dearer than the average price.

Self management is directed to make a front to impel production in accordance with material stimulus. It has nothing to do with workers control of production, nor with the product given to the workers themselves. It is an anarchistic conception which has nothing to do with communist planning. It is a form of production directed to establish links, connections and relations with layers, with tendencies of the bureaucracy, of the workers, administrators, planners, which stimulates individual interest, egoism, conservatism, and the interest of one factory against the rest. And when there is an agreement with another series of factories, it is to ally with them against others. In consequence, it stimulates private interest. The market has to be in agreement with this interest and the world policy also in agreement with this interest. It cannot be a policy which stimulates the revolution because this would throw them all out. It is a policy of the status quo and of submission and development of relations with the capitalist system. But to do it, means to eliminate, destroy, or put aside the instruments which prejudice it; state monopoly of foreign trade. And as it is self management, determined by the competition of each factory to see who produces better and more, it is interested in an external policy that is beneficial for this, to eliminate the monopoly of foreign trade and revolutionary policy. And it enters the market in search of profit not of necessity. Hence there are six show factories of which four have had to be closed. Even so, there is one many because one alone is sufficient. And hence

through the experience of Chile that even advancing in an inter-penetrative way, it is necessary to go to power. And however many shady agreements and arrangements they seek with the bourgeoisie there is no possible settlement. It is necessary to impose by force. And the experience of the proletariat is different from the one which the majority of the government and of the Workers States, of the communists and socialists drew out, when they say that the attitude of wanting to occupy factories, of imposing on the bourgeoisie and the right makes petit bourgeois sectors move away. No. It moves away the capitalist sectors who anyway could never be gained. On the other hand, the attitude of taking factories, of occupying them, of making them function by the workers, of imposing on the bourgeoisie by force, gains the petit bourgeoisie, the Christian Democrat workers and peasants, and destroys the bourgeois apparatus. Because of this Fuentelba has had to say 'we are talking' and once he saw that he had lost, he no longer spoke any more. It is a game directly to try to contain and try to impede that the government, supporting itself on the masses, advances further.

The government of Allende does not draw this conclusion, or only in part. On the other hand the masses of the world do draw it, they are basing themselves on this experience, and they are saying 'this is the solution! we have defeated the right wing, we are destroying the army, as we have already destroyed it in Vietnam'. The masses of the world have this comprehension and they feel that they are the ones that have exerted the strength to smash the intervention of the army and of the bourgeoisie. The masses of the world are drawing this conclusion so as to apply it in each country. They have seen that there are necessary mobilisations of the masses in Chile, that this is what stopped and destroyed the coup of the reaction and of the Chilean counter revolution. Because of this the right could not make any demonstration. They stopped the lorries, a sector of the doctors would not attend clinics - not all the doctors - none of the big shops were open, but they could not mobilise anyone. While the masses occupied factories, made them function and broke up the reactionary and counter revolutionary layer of the army which could not animate itself to attract the rest of the army, because it saw that the rest doubted, vacillated in front of the enormous pressure of the masses. And it felt that if it called it to come out and unite itself to the masses, the masses were going to confront reactionary sectors and gain them.

This is what defeated the Chilean counter revolution in this stage. This is the road, this and increasing the revolutionary measures, demonstrating that it is necessary to make changes. They are constitutional changes in agreement with what can be done

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in Yugoslavia self management has not elevated the capacity of action of the communist masses.

As Marx said in the polemic with Proudhon and with Bakunin, communism is not better distribution but an elevation in sentiment and consciousness. Communism demonstrates its economic superiority as a consequence. Because it is necessary to reconstruct the human being, it is necessary to harmonise him, organise him and centralise him; reconstructing the parts which are still bourgeois.

Of the three (proletariat, bourgeois, petit bourgeois) who wins? The proletariat, which is the one who orders all the others, with his role in the economy. The economy exerts the function of organiser of sentiment and consciousness.

The planning of production exerts this function. It shows the necessity of collective dependance, for everyone. It does not elevate the egoistical and conservative interest, but the collective consciousness. It will not be the action of a martyr who produces for humanity, it will be the normal form of production.

On the other hand there are a million Yugoslav emigrants working outside the country. We are not against self management because it is opposed to planning, but because it is an egoistical, conservative organisation of production, which fragments capacity and force. It stimulates individual interest against the interest of others. The concrete result is the present situation in Yugoslavia. Self management leads to the organisation and raising over the top of society, of a whole layer of technocrats who have taken possession of the economy, of the leadership of production, of the banks and the party, wanting to make a society for themselves. They were going along the road of making the party an instrument to put Yugoslavia at their interest. It was a bridge with the capitalist regimes. Dubcek and Ota Sik were following this road. Because of this there was the Soviet reaction.

But this present reaction in Yugoslavia, shows the power of the Workers State, and that its structure demands the understanding and scientific treatment which does not put up with self management. To develop itself, nationalised property cannot put up with self management. It can for a period, but it has to expel it. Either self management is expelled or it smashes nationalised property. Or self management is improved, as they are now trying to improve it, and it is then the basis for a reconsideration to pass from self management to collectivised and centralised planning. This is what is in discussion in Yugoslavia. Even if they still maintain self management, according to as they say, in a more elevated and scientific form, already this is in discussion.

This process of Yugoslavia is a process of partial regeneration. It is the form which the political revolution adopts. The political revolution is not firing guns. It is possible that gun fire is coming, but it cannot come immediately. In the long term it is coming. But this reaction of the Yugoslav masses is indicating the important and the decisive weight in the Workers States of the working class, for the rectification, re-ordering and regeneration of the Workers States. This does not come as a product of leadership which are discussing. It comes from the working class who are preparing to intervene, and which is correcting Yugoslavia as it is correcting the other Workers States. It is the working class in each country. This is the form of the political revolution, which is advancing, eliminating, containing, reducing bureaucratic power and elevating the party in a communist form.

The working class then has its most important expression, not as a class as in capitalism, but through the party and the trade unions. The function of the T.U.'s in Yugoslavia is very elevated. The Party was perishing, and it was the Yugoslav T.U.'s which resisted it dying. We appeal to the comrades of the Communist Party that they pay attention to Yugoslavia. The Party was inert, and it was the T.U.'s who permanently and actively maintained the reaction against the technocrats and all these falsifiers of communism. We appeal to the leaders the militants of the Communist Party, that they must pay attention to this. It was the T.U.'s of the Workers States and in particular Yugoslavia which maintained the resistance to submitting itself to the bureaucracy through self management. They have finished the party. The working class could not intervene in the Yugoslav Communist Party. It intervened in the trade unions, through them it gained the population, impelled it and elevated it to weigh in the Yugoslav Communist Party. This is the richest experience of the function of the trade unions in this period of history. It does not replace the party as the instrument and world leadership of history, but circumstantially it exerts the function which the party cannot.

We said in 1956 that the T.U.'s in Bolivia were replacing the party. We do not determine it, it is like this. It is not the same process everywhere. This is part of the partial regeneration. Yugoslavia is one of the richest contributions for the world communist movement, to utilise all the forces which are developing, to pass from this stage which will last a period, to the other stage of conscious regeneration. But already in this stage there is a part of the conscious regeneration, Yugoslavia. Not complete, but part of the conscious regeneration. It is not possible to expect a neat and tidy process, but a process of interior development, of contradictory growth, in which there gradually develops the forces which gradually eliminate, contain, reduce the bureaucratic power and elevate the power of the organs which are the soviets, as... they are going to appear in Yugoslavia for the second time. The first time was during the war.

It is necessary to dominate this process, it is necessary to live it. It has a richness of immense concentration. One cannot expect the political revolution in a country where there are strikes, uprisings, insurrections against the bureaucracy. Perhaps there won't be any insurrection. The insurrection will come afterwards. This is the process of Yugoslavia. Vietnam is the political revolution in one aspect. It is not a leadership with consciousness which has done this, but now it is acquiring consciousness. It is seeking to generalise the military triumph in politics. Because of this there are the articles of Le Duan.

The development of the political revolution and the partial regeneration has a link with the struggle in each country for power. It is not possible to dissociate, separate, complement, or take as a complement that which is united, but a process which seeks to articulate itself. In this process of world articulation, the most pronounced is that which determines the forms of this articulation and it is the most general form which is developing the partial regeneration. Up to now it has been Yugoslavia. It does not matter the weight, the number or the economic importance. What is important is its function in history, in the world communist movement. Yugoslavia plays an enormous role in the world communist movement. It has been playing it for the last five years. Four years ago they got hold of a guy and threw him out of the window. And afterwards the Poles said 'We are going to do the same thing'.

This process seeks to articulate itself. But it is combined with the process of the struggle for power in each country, in each Communist Party and with the pressure, the necessity which is expressed in the form of constant pressure, of the fact that the Communist Parties must seek to unify themselves. This unification does not come about because the leaderships of the Communist Parties politically take such resolutions or because they consider or resolve that it is convenient for the interest of one party or another, but because of the structure of the world process of the revolution which demands co-ordination, harmonisation, centralisation of the world communist movement.

THE LIP OCCUPATION

The struggle of the workers in the LIP watch factory in France is an extremely important experience for the French working class, because although it has lasted four and a half months and has been carried out by a relatively weak sector, it has been extremely combative and has concentrated all the decision of the French working class to take power. The working class is showing itself to be the only force in the country capable of resolving all the problems, of organising another society without bosses and with a production which responds to the needs of the population. This in turn attracts the petit bourgeoisie and other layers of the population who see in LIP the capacity of the working class to direct, decide and organise society.

Although, the occupation has essentially been a defensive one, to keep open the factory and keep the jobs of the workers, it has developed in quite another way and the workers have shown an enormous confidence to win all their demands. This security has come from the support of all the working class, otherwise LIP wouldn't have been able to maintain itself. LIP expresses the level of the proletariat on a world and local level to take power; it daily sees capitalism's impotence to run society, with unemployment, inadequate housing, inflation, soaring prices, and it is evident that capitalism can only hope to come through this crisis by putting it on the shoulders of the working class. LIP expresses the determination and will to struggle of the French population, not just of the working class, because LIP isn't an isolated example of an extremely militant sector, but is an index of a mood and a situation existing in France at the moment. The bourgeoisie is well aware of this, and a sector of the press and the bourgeoisie put pressure on the government calling on them to negotiate with and not repress the LIP workers, to be flexible in their dealings with the strikers and the trade unions. They feel that the situation is beyond their control and they see the danger coming from the Communist Party, that there are changes going on in the Communist Party.

There have been huge mobilisations and demonstrations in support of the LIP workers. Factory occupations, aren't a new occurrence, thousands of them have taken place all over the world and they have always found staunch support from the working class and the surrounding population. What is fundamental in this occupation, though, is the extent to which it is being discussed and generalised throughout the workers and students movements, the petit bourgeoisie and all the population.

This is a fundamental aspect of this stage of the revolution, that important experiences of the working class such as LIP, and like the struggle in Chile, can be immediately generalised and become an acquisition of the whole of humanity; when the workers were inside the factory there was a great internal democracy and the workers wages are assessed according to the needs of the individual worker and his family and not on the capitalist system of wage differentials which is based on the factory hierarchy and organisation of work. This is a communist way of functioning.

The bourgeoisie is aware that this consciousness, can't just come from one factory but is the result of the consciousness reached by the whole of the country. LIP is an example of how the masses take the most elevated experiences and generalise them in the same way as Vietnam. In this way the French workers have taken LIP as the centre for their struggle, in order to prepare their leadership for the taking of power, it is part of the preparation for a new 'French May' a more elevated May with all the experience accumulated by the workers movement in '68 and in even more

favourable conditions. Capitalism is disintegrating, the French bourgeoisie is divided, and they have found a far harder response from the workers movement than before. The example of the banning of Ligue Communiste and the imprisonment of Krivine, the deportation of Algerian and Arab militants and the attempt to incite racial tension in Southern France are all demonstrations of how French capitalism tries to intimidate the workers movement and rally right wing support in the country. But they don't feel they have the social support for such policies as was seen in the 'clandestine' way in which the police entered the LIP factory, in the early morning, when there was only a skeleton picket, in the middle of the holiday month when all the factories are closed down. Even so there were mobilisations all over France within hours of the police intervention.

The developments and changes going on in the French Communist Party and the advance and progress in Marchais and a big sector of the French C.P. mainly as a result of the impact of LIP on the C.P. are extremely important for the advance of the revolutionary process in France. In a big meeting called to support LIP, Seguy, leader of the CGT (the Communist trade union) said that between the slogan of the left groups calling for revolution, and that of the militants of the workers parties who called for Union Populaire, there was no contradiction, they were just two different moments of the same process. The united Communist-Socialist alliance is vital for the unification of all the left forces to struggle for the left government on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme. Because it is important to understand that the LIP workers are by no means all communists, there are a high percentage of catholics among them, but they already see the superiority of a planned economy, and the need to replace capitalism.

At the moment the trade unions are having more talks with the government on the future of LIP and there is a possibility that the government will accept the limited proposals put forward by the trade unions to keep all three sections of LIP together but under a holding company, if the workers would accept this. But even if LIP finishes, the progress in the Communist Party and in the workers leaderships cannot be halted, there is a qualitative advance in the process which cannot be gone back on.

The influence of LIP has not been restricted to France. In a meeting of Vietnamese and French Communist Party delegates held in the Soviet Union, support was given for the struggle in LIP, in Switzerland and Belgium there have been demonstrations of support, and the occupation of the Seiko factory in this country has certainly been stimulated by the LIP occupation. LIP is an important example for the Labour vanguard

in Britain which shows how the working class is using and developing all its strikes and struggles as a means of impelling and preparing their leaderships for the task of taking power.

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CHILE

Continued from page 3

within the constitution, they are changes which the masses decide. The masses are those who have the majority, the others don't. The army has shown that it did not come out because it couldn't, because the masses contained it, are going to contain it and are going to destroy the right. The masses of the world are seeing this experience. The leaderships of the Socialist and Communist Parties have not come out with this conclusion, and they are mistaken in this. But on the other hand, the masses of the world have come out with this conclusion, and for this reason they feel encouraged and do not just see in Chile that the government is negotiating with the military, but they see the masses coming out into the streets, and are not intimidated! The lack of food and disorder provoked by the right does not provoke in the masses any vacillation or fear. And it is necessary to discuss all this and utilise the experience of Chile to show that the masses of the world are living this as masses despite the weakness of their parties which do not make this discussion. There is no Communist Party or Socialist Party which makes this discussion in public on the experiences of Chile, and whenever they do it they blame the MIR and the leftists at a time when the MIR does not have the force to do anything. They are the masses who, by their own account, occupied thousands and thousands of factories and have paralysed the right and the army! This is what it is necessary to discuss

This will be expressed in the world communist and socialist movement with all the force; the revolutionary vanguard in all the world is living the Chilean experience above its leadership. And this is the base of the left. This is because they see that there are

FOR MASS MOBILISATIONS AND AN ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION IN CHILE TO SMASH THE COUNTER REVOLUTION

J. Posadas
10.8.73

CONTINUED FROM LAST WEEK

The main task in Latin America is to understand that it is a process that has no comparison in history. Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Mexico. It is necessary to combine the immediate task of progress of the revolution with the creation of organisms, to favour the formation of mass organisms, which the masses seek to organise in a spontaneous conscious and instinctive form in order to intervene and decide. This is the main task in Latin America.

In Chile there is a class leadership, but it doesn't have a class decision; there already is a public crisis. While Allende avoids talking about civil war, Corvalan (of the Chilean C.P.) says that if there is going to be civil war they are going to fight to the last one. All the line of the government is not to foresee the civil war but to launch accusations criticising the bourgeois opposition because it wants the civil war. This is correct because it tends to influence petit bourgeois currents, but it is necessary to prepare concretely for the civil war. Prepare concretely because they are certainly going to make it. This is the scientific conclusion. These are the fundamental conclusions for Latin America.

It is necessary to create organisms of differentiation, of intervention of the masses prepared to weigh on their leadership in Chile. Develop a campaign from the base posing: the civil war is inevitable. They make civil war. We cannot avoid it. Mass organisms in which the masses can decide are necessary. Call the army to incorporate itself, to support the Chilean masses. This is Chile! Speak in the name of Chile, not of a part of the Chileans, this is seventy per cent of Chile. The remaining thirty per cent doesn't do anything. It is the 70% that produces and distributes, the others put money in and draw out more, they steal. It is necessary to pose it in this way. A Chilean who invests and steals and one who produces and distributes are not the same; it is necessary to establish a differentiation, to develop this discussion. Allende shows that he is indecided, but he is resolute when he sees security. It is necessary to give him this security, but not waiting for this security from Allende. It is necessary to impel the organisms from below. Make assemblies and discussions in every place to prepare to arm the masses. Making them immediately because they are making civil war; develop the masses in all the organisms of production, economy and distribution.

Call for a discussion in all the factories. Pressurise the government to take over the factories, to make them function and to plan production. Without nationalisation it is not possible to plan, and without abandoning the capitalist interest of private property there cannot be any progress. There can't be any revolution by submitting to the interest of private property. It is necessary to show this. It is necessary to pass over it in order to progress. If they make a war and kill and assassinate, they are responsible, not us. It is necessary to transcend capitalist private interest that has robbed the country. Pose it in this way, openly; we want this, this, is not against Chile or the Chilean future. It is against the future of the capitalists but not against Chile which is 70% of the population; the other lazy dogs don't play any role in production. It is necessary to confront the capitalist mentality, the capitalist interest with the workers interest.

Allende has to confirm, function and declare saying that he wants to overthrow the capitalist system with a compensative and passive policy they want to overthrow it even if in a constitutional way. Before they adapted themselves to the revolution, now they want to change it legally, with a new legality, to overthrow the capitalist system. They are new anti-capitalist forms.

It is necessary to understand this. From this derives our attitude towards Allende and also towards Peron. These are the forms taken by the progress of the revolution in these countries.

Trotskyist

ALGERIA

'Revolution Socialiste' organ of the Groupe IV Internationale (trotskiste) - clandestine.

ARGENTINA

'Voz Proletaria' organ of the Partido Obrero (trotskista) - Casilla de Correos 2938 - Capital Federal - Argentina.

BELGIUM

'Lutte Ouvriere' and 'Arbeidstraids' (in Flemish) organs of the Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire (trotskiste) - Boite Postale 273 - Charleroi 1 - Belgium.

BOLIVIA

'Lucha Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) Casilla de Correo 644 - Oruro - Bolivia.

BRAZIL

'Frente Operaria' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - clandestine.

BRITAIN

'Red Flag' organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) - 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2.

CHILE

'Lucha Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) J. Segundo Caceres - Casilla 7048 - Santiago - Chile.

CUBA

'Voz Proletaria' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Monte 12 apt 11 piso 2 - La Habana - Cuba.

ECUADOR

'Lucha Comunista' organ of the Partido Comunista Revolucionario (trotskista) - Apartado 3276 - Quito - Ecuador.

They adapt themselves to the constitutional system that comes from capitalism, but they don't submit to it, they are impelling to go forward. The manoeuvres they make are aimed at winning the army to gain historic stages. We are not against this, but we said that it is insufficient. They cannot create a new force, the army, because they would make the proletariat incapable to lead while the army can. For this reason the last ministerial cabinet in Chile is important because it tends to make the army play the role of the repressor of the counter revolution. This is their objective.

Chile is going towards civil war. We were the first to declare: write and confront Chilean public opinion; Communist Party, Socialist Party and groups. The civil war is inevitable. They can delay it but it is inevitable. We don't want the civil war; we don't want war.

But the capacity and the responsibility to foresee, show us that the civil war is inevitable. Therefore it is necessary to prepare. We don't want confrontation or death, but it is necessary to confront and to die or to kill so that humanity can eliminate war, death, and fear of death by war or civil war. The civil war is in sight. This is producing in the communist, socialist workers and left movement in Chile an elevation of the preoccupation to understand that good will, decision and the respect for the constitution are not sufficient to construct socialism. The problem is unavoidable. It is not possible to transform society without transforming the structures on which the other society was based. It is not possible to do this by asking permission, but by force. It is possible to progress and advance in an interpenetrative way, it is possible to increase, extend and strengthen progress in the control of institutions, on the other hand, without structural transformations it is not possible to construct socialism. If we don't prepare for civil war it will take us by surprise. It is an experience which is going to be developed in all the revolutionary and workers movement.

The fundamental conclusions of 'L'Unita', 'L'Humanite' and 'el Siglo' confirm this because they say: what do they want, civil war? And L'Unita says, 'Will it be necessary to make it by civil war?' They pose it as a question, not rejecting it but saying 'It can be done by reason or by force.' It doesn't work by reason, by force. They have to take it as a conclusion that couldn't be foreseen, when we foresaw that 'the civil war is inevitable'. The atomic war is inevitable because no class abandons the scene before taking, employing all means to survive.

It is a theoretical conclusion that the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Parties abandoned because it goes against them, but now they have to return to it. For years and years we based ourselves, we base, and shall base ourselves on this scientific conclusion of Marx, proved by the Russian revolution and all the other revolutions. Even when isolated and alone we dedicated ourselves to defend this principle. Today this is the principle that the Workers States and the Communist and Socialist leaderships are taking. Even in Argentina they are drawing the conclusion that 'the civil war is inevitable' and that 'the class struggle within the peronist movement is inevitable'.

It is necessary to understand that this is the process that is modifying and influencing all the communist and socialist parties to modify in a way favourable to the decision to overthrow the capitalist system. It is necessary to base ourselves on these experiences of the process in Latin America. All the Socialist parties in Europe are looking at Chile. Why Chile? Because within each one of them there is a 'Chilean' wing in development. They see, we can do the same. They see the new organisms. And this can be done.

J. POSADAS. 10.8.1973

Press

FRANCE

'Lutte Communiste' organ of the Parti Communiste, Revolutionnaire (trotskiste) Roc'Hongar - 63, rue V. Hugo - 92 Courbevoie - Paris - France.

GERMANY

'Arbeiter Stimme' organ of the Gruppe Revolutionärer Kommunisten (trotskisten) - P.Schulz - 6 Flm - Postfach 16708 - Frankfurt/Main - W. Germany.

GREECE

'Kommunistiki Pali' organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (trotskyist) - clandestine.

ITALY

'Lotta Operaia' organ of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (trotskista) - Piero Leone - Casella Postale 5059 - 00153 Roma Ost. - Rome - Italy.

MEXICO

'Voz Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) J.L. Hernandez - Ap.do Postal 66-587 - Mexico DF.

PERU

'Voz Obrera' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Apartado 5044 - Correo Central - Lima, Peru

SPAIN

'Lucha Obrera' organ of the Partido Revolucionario (trotskista) - clandestine.

SWEDEN

'Kommunistik Kamp' organ of the Revolutionära Kommunistiska Gruppen (trotskistik-posadistik) use address of British Section

URUGUAY

'Frente Obrero' organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (trotskista) - Z ulma Nogara - Gral.Flores 2515 - Montevideo - Uruguay.

J POSADAS 31. 8. 73

Strikes, Boycotts and Demonstrations in Solidarity with the Struggle of the Chilean Masses

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

Weekly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

No. 189

Thursday 20th September 1973

Price 5p.

The workers movement of all the world is mobilising, discussing showing its support to the Chilean masses, and drawing conclusions from the coup in Chile. When so many people mobilise in such a short space of time, for such a distant problem, not connected to questions of wages, standards of living, unemployment in their own countries, it is because they are ready to take power. It indicates the political maturity of the world and European working class which takes hold of all the world aspects of the revolution which are useful to it to demonstrate this will to go to power. The demonstration in London was a part of this world mobilisation and expressed the same content. Everyone was discussing, Communist Party with the left groups, Labour militants with communists, 'why did it happen', 'how was it possible that the army could make a coup', drawing practical conclusions which tomorrow they are going to apply in their Labour Party and Communist Party branches, their unions and student organisations. And these conclusions are being drawn not only at the base but at the level of the leadership.

Judith Hart, speaking as a member of the NEC of the L.P. at the demonstration in London on Sunday 16th September, said that the Chilean coup made it necessary for the left to rethink its old ways about proceeding, trying to keep inside (as Allende had) the the constitutional and legal way. A few days later she repeated the arguments in an article in the 'Guardian', saying that it was not possible to take for granted the political neutrality of the armed forces and police, and if in Chile they could make such a coup...? Even if she has not posed a practical conclusion to generally correct political analysis, it signifies a deepening in a sector of the leadership of the L.P. of the understanding of what it has to do. Thus the Chilean coup, even if it succeeds, which is still far from certain, has been an element of theoretical stimulus to those sectors in the Communist and Socialist parties who have been avidly following all the developments in Chile, still they conclude that it is necessary and possible, starting from elected governments to take measures of nationalisation but now they see more clearly, the function of the army, the need to break it, the need to form organisms of the masses. The naivety of Allende in relation to the army is not going to be repeated, the lesson has been learnt. The delegation of the T.G.W.U. which went to the Foreign Office calling for a government boycott was important, but more important still was the statement of one of the delegation Eric Evans, who said, 'The lessons of the new situation in Chile, for the working class of the whole world, and particularly Europe, must be gleaned. These are that violent reaction is inevitable in the transitional period between monopoly capitalism and socialism, a reaction directed by monopoly capital, which will first attack the working peoples government and then strike against the people.'

This statement must be discussed in all the workers movement; the violent reaction is inevitable. So, what has to be done now to prepare for that reaction, organs of the masses in the factories, factories linking with the areas, shop committees in the factories, student - worker committees, appeals to the base of the army not to take any move against the workers movement. And this must start now.

Chile is going to be present in the L.P. conference, in the discussions, in the pre-occupations of all the delegates. We salute the decision to ask comrade Bunster, the Chilean ambassador in London, and supporter of the Popular Unity, to address a meeting on the day before the Conference opens, and we call that he be allowed to speak at the conference. It is going to be a stimulus to a conference which has to issue a whole series of appeals and orientations to the British working class, calling for boycott actions, strikes, occupations, linking the defence of Chile with the struggles of this country. Already the Wallsend (Newcastle) L.P. has called for the T.U.'s to stop working on two Chilean war ships in the Swan Hunter yard

on Tyneside. It has enormous importance that this time the initiative comes from the Party to the T.U.'s:

The coup has not won. It is divided, resistance continues. A sector does not want to retreat much but wants to make now a bourgeois nationalist policy, profiting from all the Popular Unity has done. Another sector wants to repress, and kill all the left, but it can't get agreement on this because the others are frightened to do it, and infact it is not in their interests to do it. The coup leaders have to say that they will maintain the economic and social gains of the workers, because they are not sure of the outcome, and they see the people are armed. They feel isolated (with the church and a sector of the Christian Democracy against them). They have been instantly denounced by the governments of Holland, Sweden, Italy, Peru, etc. and by the world workers movement.

The coup is going to have a profound effect in all the C.P.'s of the world, inside and outside the Workers States. It is going to stimulate all the tendencies which want to harden the anti-capitalist policy which rejects the various national parliamentary roads to socialism, and want a policy based on the conclusions which emerge from Lenin's 'State and Revolution'. So far the leadership of the C.P.G.B. has drawn only limited con-

clusions in the Morning Star, emphasising that part of the 'British Road to Socialism' which speaks of the need for mass mobilisations, mass pressure to contain the right. But when they must immediately draw attention to these passages, it is because they feel defensive towards 'The British Road' document, feeling that the Chilean coup has given it a blow and that the Communist vanguard is questioning it. In the C.P. Congress in November this Chilean experience is going to weigh very profoundly.

All this present discussion must be taken to the factories, not just left in the L.P. and T.U. branches where the mass participation is very limited. The coup reinforces the experience which the class is already making; it sees the repression in Ireland, the harassment of T.U. pickets, the trial of the T.U. militants in Shrewsbury, it sees a greedy, corrupt ruling class incapable and uninterested in developing the economy to benefit the mass of the population. And moreover the British working class is already making organisms similar to those constructed by the Chilean masses. The south London engineers have proposed to make a picket to protect their unions property from the authorities, it is a form of organisation of dual power by a vanguard sector of the class prepared to confront capitalist power. Chile is

going to deepen the understanding of the class, elevating its general marxist understanding, it makes it see the necessity to destroy the army and the police, to win over its base and that it must begin now.

We call for meetings in the factories, in the mines, in all the places of work, in the workers areas, in the universities, colleges and schools, to discuss Chile, to send messages of solidarity, to organise the sending of money and arms to the Chilean masses, to organise all types of blacking actions against all the governments who recognise the junta. Demanding that the British government does not recognise it, so that the military remain isolated and their internal difference sharpen. These are the immediate conclusions and actions which have to be taken.

20.9.1973.

FOR A FULL DISCUSSION ON
ALL THE CONCLUSIONS TO BE
DRAWN FROM THE COUP IN
CHILE, AT THE LABOUR PARTY
CONFERENCE.

THE ELIMINATION OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY POSITIONS OF SAKHAROV, SOLGENITZIN AND SINIAVSKY IN THE USSR IMPOSES:

THE NEED FOR SOVIET DEMOCRACY IN THE WORKERS STATES

Defence of freedom is not an abstract conception, it is a concrete one, which means to defend and support all that which stimulates human progress. In this phase of history to defend the freedom of the human being against any oppression and repression, means to defend the structure, the integrity and the co-ordination of humanity's most precise instruments, which are the 14 Workers States and particularly the Soviet Union. For this reason the unification of the world communist movement is the most urgent necessity of this stage of history.

The declarations and activities of Shkarov betraying and denouncing the military plans of the USSR, the declarations of Solgenitzin and Siniaevsky are counter revolutionary ones, because none of them defends collective and just historic interests and their criticisms don't have the objective of stimulating or helping the progress of the objective revolutionary role of the Workers States independently from the errors and limitations of their leaderships. In his latest declarations Shkarov stated that he has always maintained that 'the only real way to resolve world problems is by mutual convergence between the capitalist and socialist system, accompanied by demilitarisation, a strengthening of the social protection of the rights of working people, and the creation of a mixed economy.'

These positions don't seek to improve the life and communist functioning of the Workers States starting from the unconditional defence of their structure; nationalised economy, centralised planning of the economy and state monopoly of foreign trade. Instead they defend individual caste interests representing a phase which is being overcome in the Workers States. In this sense they don't discuss and criticise as communists.

The positions and activities of these intellectuals are coming out now, not as an expression of the weakening but rather of the progress of the communist life and functioning in the Workers States and the Communist Parties. These writers and scientists belong to privileged sectors. They originated from within the bureaucracy and the technocracy, and the

reason for their existence is the lack of soviet democratic life in the Workers States. They developed in the same historic conditions that gave rise to Liberman, Dubcek and Ota Sik, who represented the market economy, the decentralisation of the economy through the abandonment of planning, the abolition of state monopoly of foreign trade - in other words the beginning of the reintroduction of capitalism.

These sectors developed through the private utilisation of state property, and this is the type of freedom they defend. They come out now in desperation because the form of social relations which gave life to them is being eliminated in the Soviet union.

We appeal to the C.P. and to the left in the Labour Party and to the trade unions to discuss these problems of the Communist Parties and the Workers States, discussing what the causes were for the growth and development of these sectors which, even if they are in the process of being eliminated, still exist. Even if the pro-capitalist tendencies received a blow by the Soviet intervention of Czechoslovakia in 1968 (\$), it is still necessary to eliminate all aspects of bureaucratic life caused by the absence of soviets, by the lack of independent functioning within the trade unions. The economy is still directed and controlled by specialists who plan according to their own individual interests. For this reason all the population should intervene, discussing and deciding on

all problems, eliminating in this way the need for 'specialists' and 'technicians' with privileges and an interest and a mentality alien to that of the masses. None of these writers, and scientists talk of the masses, their needs and struggles, such as the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese masses, none of them contribute with ideas for the struggle for socialism in Chile. They defend their own personal freedom, their own individual interest, their personality, which is alien and enemy to the one of the Soviet masses, in opposition to the need to unify the world communist movement. They are the product of that limited, regionalist conception of marxism that brought to the elimination of the 3rd Communist International.

They talk and write about personal problems and 'feelings', about the fear of losing their personality in the discipline required for the immense collective task of the construction of communism. They criticise the bureaucracy but in doing so they ally themselves with capitalism against the Workers states.

We propose the formation of popular tribunals to judge and discuss the behaviour of these writers and scientists and that in the particular case of Sakharov they should try him as a counter revolutionary who betrayed the interest of communism and who favoured imperialism by denouncing the secret military plans of the USSR.

RED FLAG

No. 188

Red Flag No. 188 was withdrawn from circulation due to the very high number of errors and omissions which altered the political meaning of some of the articles. We apologise to our readers who received the paper for these errors.

The passing from publishing Red Flag fortnightly to weekly has produced certain difficulties which we haven't yet overcome.

We reproduce in this issue the article on the Yugoslav Communist Party and the continuation of the article on Chile by J. Posadas which were already printed in issue 188 as many of our readers won't have seen them.

Issue 188 in a corrected form is available on request from the address of the paper.

SELF MANAGEMENT, SOVIETS AND THE DISCUSSION ON THE CRISIS OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY

J. POSADAS

9.8.1973 PAGE 2

SELF MANAGEMENT, SOVIETS AND THE DISCUSSION ON THE CRISIS OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST PARTY 9. 8. 73

We publish this article by Posadas on Yugoslavia at a time when great changes are taking place within the Yugoslav Workers State, and principally in the Yugoslav Communist Party. The article demonstrates the anarchy which results from self management, shows didactically the fundamental superiority of workers control over self management, demonstrates the necessity of a centralised planning in the Workers States, and poses the necessity of the independent intervention of the masses and the elevation of the functioning of the Communist Party in order to develop the Yugoslavian Workers State.

The process of crisis of growth in Yugoslavia is advancing. The programme of discussion for the 10th Congress of the Communist Party the discussion over self management, the rectifications, the changes are very profound. Yugoslavia before was the weakest link in Stalinism. Now it is the weakest link in the bureaucratic conception of the Workers State. The Yugoslavs are discussing the conclusions, the consequences of the experience of self management.

Yugoslavia was characterised by two essential factors: resistance to being submitted to Stalin, which is correct. Its opposition to the Stalinist dominion and its desire for a marxist development. It resorted to the IV International and the IV International of that time answered, in the most simple and superficial way.

Their intention was to seek in the IV International the orientation, texts, discussions, to seek how they could develop Yugoslavia without being submitted to Stalinism. The leadership of the International of that time was incapable and impotent to give ideas. On the contrary three years afterwards, it declared that Yugoslavia was returning to capitalism. We tried to discuss and discussed seeking to maintain them in the camp of communism and that Yugoslavia should make itself independent. But they could not do it, it was difficult to develop a backward, isolated Workers State, with its frontiers bordering other Workers States submitted to Stalin. The Yugoslav Communist Party was very weak, very new, it emerged from the war with a structure of a very large bureaucratic apparatus - a structure that was still not a bureaucracy - and had all the conditions to decompose rapidly.

If on a world scale the process of the world revolution had slowed down, was contained or perverted, it would have influenced Yugoslavia. If the process had advanced it would have elevated Yugoslavia. But the problem was Stalinism. And the leadership of Tito's communist party had neither the preparation nor the understanding to combat Stalinism as a reactionary current of the world communist movement, so it turned into a dispute of one state against the rest of the Workers States, led by Stalinism. This was the source and the base of the perversion of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the base of its internal corruption.

Yugoslavia confronted two essential aspects in developing itself: the first was the centralisation and planning of the economy which favoured the whole of the economic development. The second was the absence of internal proletarian democracy and of points of world support, although the lack of internal proletarian democracy wasn't complete. There was quite a lot of democracy, they discussed quite a lot in Yugoslavia, a great deal. But it had to pass from a stage of planned development of the economy, counting upon the other Workers States, to being isolated and alone confronting the other Workers States, lacking proletarian bases with a Communist Party tradition having a very large and backward peasant base, being submitted to the pressure of the other Communist Parties, the Yugoslav Communist Party which lost in the war part of its best cadres, gave way to the entrance of technicians and to a rapid development of the economy linked to the capitalist system. This was the base for the degeneration of the Yugoslav Workers State.

The power of the Yugoslav Workers State is demonstrated in that in spite of the contradictory social, political and economic development, economically it was a progress towards forms of the Workers State, but in the question of distribution it did not correspond to these forms. Distribution was going to determine the source, the roots, the base of the system of production. The technocrats then made their economic plans in accordance with their interest, they sought the international relations in accord with their interest.

To emerge from isolation, Yugoslavia saw itself obliged to take measures which did not all have a reactionary sense or origin, although their conclusion was reactionary. In order not to submit to Stalin and not ceasing to be a Workers State, it tried, with its policy, towards the world capitalist system, to survive, believing in this way to maintain itself with a process of internal liberation, making concessions to the technocrats, to the planners, to the regional layers, with the federal system. Even within the party they had to make a Federation which afterwards swallowed it.

But the structure of the Workers State showed that it was more powerful than the Federation of reactionary interests. The Yugoslav working class had sufficient weight and social authority. The development of Yugoslavia as a Workers State gave such strength to the population that it could put up with all the technocratic swine who wanted to make Yugoslavia return to the capitalist system. This is the very rich experience of the process in Yugoslavia.

Self management at its onset was a measure of protection on Tito's side. It was not condemnable in itself, because it was an attempt at defence to try to sustain itself in front of Stalinism. There was not a strong Communist Party, there was not a strong worker base. They tried to put together and develop the economy with self management. Thus they gave rise to an orientation which went against marxism, against the Workers State, which promoted interests of layers of the population depending on the layers of technocrats and of individuals, who live at the cost of the Workers State, who through their technical economic and scientific capacity, occupy decisive places in production. As the Yugoslav Workers State was not able to negotiate with the other Workers States, it negotiated with the capitalist system. All the structure which had been reached exerted a pressure, so that trade with the capitalist system became a base of the economic, social and political system. This meant an enormous advantage for the capitalist system! Immense! Capitalism had the door open to make Yugoslavia return to capitalism.

Stalin did not invade Yugoslavia. On the other hand he did invade Poland and Finland. Why didn't he invade Yugoslavia? Because the Workers State impeded him, because in spite of the fact that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of the other Workers States were satellites of Stalin, the working class of each one of these countries, the proletarian composition of each one of the Workers States, prevented Stalin from invading Yugoslavia. If not, he would have invaded it. It was not Yankee imperialism which impeded him. It was the working class of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States.

Self management was a device aimed at trying to replace the lack of possibility and planning by economic means, to try to emerge from backwardness and link Yugoslavia to the world market. It linked them the interest of layers of the population, to stimulate individual interest and develop the economy against the system of centralised planning.

Who won? Yugoslavia reached the maximum in this contradiction. Before Ota Sik and Dubcek appeared in Czechoslovakia the process had already reached the maximum development in Yugoslavia. Four of the principal banks in Yugoslavia had a direct relation with the world bank. In one federal republic there were six great shoe factories which competed among themselves and competed for the market. This is against planning, it is the interest of the bureaucrats. One federal republic exported commodities to the other republics. And there are rich and poor regions. Also in the USSR, there are rich and poor regions, but less poor and less rich. It is more equal. Even though there are regions in Siberia without telephones or electric light, without doubt the population of all regions in the Soviet Union every now and then send letters to Moscow saying, 'We don't have light. There is no telephone!' The letters can be delayed for a couple of months, but they arrive. They have the persistency to travel over thousands of kilometres without being exasperated and without bothering about that liar Medvedev.

At one moment 180,000 young people from all over the world went to Yugoslavia to help the construction of the Workers State. It was the indication that the youth of the world was directing itself to where there was a centre which allowed the development of its human drive to want to construct history. There were 180,000 young people who constructed with their bare hands in the middle of the mountains 160 kilometres of iron track. Hundreds and thousands of young people working all the day, all day. At night singing, holding conferences, and constructing what in that moment corresponded to the iron roads of the world.

This shows how the working youth class, the world youth understood the capacity of Yugoslavia and rallied to support it. This elevated the role of the working class in Yugoslavia and the influence over the population which was being incorporated in industrial development. It created a whole solid base of world protection of communism. And all the swine, the technocrats, planners, administrators, could develop without dragging along, or submitting the working class, not the intellectuals, nor the Yugoslav youth. This allowed them to sustain and maintain the Yugoslavian Workers State.

The action of the working class of the world, the development of the world communist movement, prevented Stalin and after Stalin the Soviet bureaucracy, from invading Yugoslavia. Who won Yugoslavia won. It was not through Tito, but through the superior historic structure of the Workers States which needed to find an expression. This is the decisive example for all those who dream that the Soviet-Sino dispute might become a confrontation between the two Workers States. There is never going to be a war between China and the Soviet Union. China is the prolongation of the USSR. The USSR is the prolongation of China. Although legitimately through its origin, China is the prolongation of the of the USSR, the USSR cannot live without China, but not because it needs it for its economic development, but because the Soviet working class, just as it smashed Hitler, as it defended Yugoslavia in front of Imperialism and Stalin, saying to him; 'You are not going to invade Yugoslavia,' is waiting for the moment to deliver a kick at the leadership of the CP of the Soviet Union, to impose relations between China and the Soviet Union. The Chinese and the Soviet working class expect this. But not now as a working class but as a Communist Party, which is a superior form to the working class. For now, while the party does not function as a revolutionary party, the working class develops an immense function. But when the party functions as a revolutionary party, it is superior to the class. It represents the class and has an authority, over all the world. This is what the working class of the Soviet Union is doing, seeking to exert a pressure on its party, so that it exercises the function of supporting the world revolution.

Self management is not a necessary measure nor something that impels the Workers States. It is a measure of circumstances, adopted by the leadership of the Yugoslav Communist Party, to seek a relation with the working class, with the peasants and to extend its influence in support of the rest of the world communist movement. It was taken as a measure within the communist camp. Afterwards it was demonstrated that self management developed everything which now Tito combats; the individual interest of camrillas, of layers. These in their turn, develop regional interests. These in their turn lead to the separation in federal republics establishing thus a country which was centralised only in form. Basically those who lead were divided. This was the relation between structure, form and content. The content was very little affected, it was almost distant from the concern of the leaderships, of the technocrats and of the leaders of the Communist Party. The Yugoslav Communist Party ended up being led by a majority of people who demanded the return to private interest and to a combination of nationalised property with private interest. The forms of this Workers State were outside communism.

But the structure did not reflect the content. Because the content was the Workers State and state property which had shown that it was the source and base of the economy. Yugoslavia had passed from nothing to be an industrial country, elevating the conditions of life and developing the economy and production, whilst the republics in the hands of the technocrats were divided into private federal interests and stimulated and extended the federal state of each one of them as private capitalist interests. To go by train from one republic to another, passing through another republic, it is necessary to pay different fares in each republic. Now this is unified. But before they were republics where each one developed their special interest. They were unified through economic interest, but there was the strength, already there were the tendencies, already there existed the preparation, to push forward the struggle in the Communist Party to eliminate the communists and to make of the Communist Party a name which represented the bureaucratic capitalist interests and the combination between capitalists and bureaucrats. It was the same process which afterwards Dubcek pushed forward. Dubcek learnt from Yugoslavia and believed that this was history and launched himself furiously to do the same as Yugoslavia.

The result was that the structure of the Yugoslavian Workers State and the world process of the revolution won over the erroneous, conciliatory policy, the gigantic retreat in Yugoslavia. The world process gave the force so that the proletariat could expel and throw out through the window the directors, the managers. Before making the present reforms in Yugoslavia to return to the original starting point making improvements in certain aspects with respect to the time when there was the break with Stalin. The workers throwing the managers through the window already showed that the power of the technocrats

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and the division into federal republics had reached its height.

Self management was a means directed to stimulate production, a means of adhering to the interest of the worker masses, peasants, and technicians in order not to succumb before the pressure of Stalin and to give a centre and incentive to production. Conscious that they were not able to go to communism in such a backward and isolated country, they sought a substitute for production, for economic development. As they did not possess the materials, the raw materials, the riches and the capacity of world competition, they sought a substitute for communist means with the incentive of production. The result was self management. This incentive was more controlled, because it was determined and related with production and productivity. It produced this. Self management produced the development of the country in the private interests of each republic, accentuating national traits, the backwardness, the horrible national backwardness of each country, returning to the stage previous to the Workers State.

In the sentiment of the masses, self management was a means to defend itself from the bureaucracy and to be able to determine a more equitable distribution. This was for the working class. And for part of the Communist Party including Tito himself, it was also this. It was a tendency believing to substitute for the lack of material means, of world economic support, in order not to depend on world capitalism, nor submit itself to Stalin and to substitute for the soviets. They could not make the soviets, they did not have the forms to make them. It was a country short of resources, of tradition, and of lack of worker base and of a communist party. They could not make soviets. The Bolsheviks made them because they had the party. The Communist Party of Tito did not have a base to make soviets. It had to seek another means. On the other hand, if there had existed in Yugoslavia a Bolshevik party, it would have made soviets, and would have provoked an enormous interest in the Workers States. Then Stalin would have intervened.

One of the reasons why the Soviet bureaucracy did not intervene in Yugoslavia was because they believed that it was drowning, because it could not resort to the Soviets, to superior forms of communism. Hence they expected that Yugoslavia would drown. The bureaucracy of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had an origin of Stalinist formation, but an historic role superior to Stalinism, because it won with arms in hand. This gave an immense historic superiority to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. The Stalinists of the party prevented it finding resources in the world revolution. But also the isolation; the smallness impeded it equally. All these were factors which combined to lead to self management.

Self management was not a measure tending to compete with

centralisation and communism. It was a measure of isolation and of withdrawal provoked by the conception of Stalinist origin. They broke with Stalin organisationally but not in the mentality. Hence they developed on the basis of the technocrats. At the same time they sought to understand. Hence they directed themselves to the IV International.

It is necessary not to underestimate the origin of self management. It was not a measure taken in the full ascent and development of planning but in conditions ready for Stalin. A party of Stalinist origin emerged from the war half destroyed without an important proletarian base, with an enormous backwardness in the country similar to Albania. All these factors determined self management.

But it is necessary to see at the same time, that the Yugoslav leadership took the road of self management, not of capitalist distribution. This is to say a measure which has to remain in the communist camp. This shows the power of the structure of the Workers State and of the influence of the world communist movement. Hence in spite of the very profound form of the damage which self management did, it did not succeed in returning to the capitalist regime, because the masses have their origin in the revolution and the influence of the Workers State and of the revolution is made through them. Tito was in the International Brigade but Tito was communist. He came from communist origin and organisation and was won in the Russian revolution. His origin was communist in intervening in the process in Yugoslavia.

These are very rich experiences to show that self management was an attempt to eliminate Stalinist pressure, the Stalinist set up and to substitute a communist programming. It was a question of Yugoslavia not of the USSR. It was a country that was immensely backward, lacking a solid worker base with a lack of means and natural resources and a backward Communist Party, which nevertheless had some very advanced positions. It gave rise to a series of leaders, who were suppressed in the immense majority and who today are being reborn and are going to be born. It produced very advanced leaders who accepted many Trotskyist positions.

It is an expression of the fact that the Workers State has the strength to stimulate and sustain the revolutionary thought and make it extend itself. On the other hand Stalin, no. Because Stalin supported himself on the bureaucracy, on the apparatus. He fell and was thrown out. On the other hand the Workers State could go so far as the danger of self management, with direct trade of Yugoslav enterprises with world capitalism, with the internal competition of various enterprises in the same line, footwear, fabrics or machines, and at a particular moment came the reaction of the world process of the revolution and of the Yugoslav masses. This is the strength of the Workers State which corrects the most brutal aspects linked to the egoistic and individual interest of self management. It tries to correct them. And they are correcting it, as the preparatory document shows for the 10th Congress of the Communist Party, to adapt it to the communist forms of self management. It is not possible to adapt it. Its either a centralised functioning or self management.

Self management cannot be a replacement for the functioning of the

centralised and planned economy, for the centralisation of production, and planning and decentralisation of the application. When there is greater centralisation in the planning, the more one can utilise even minimum resources. And planning in a centralised way, the greater the decentralisation in application, the more beneficial are the effects. Well, the decentralisation can be made in three places, nothing more; it depends.

Planning tends to concentrate the planned forces which eliminate the competition of factories in the same line of production, the unnecessary transport of raw materials and of separation of the different phases of production and sale in different places. Thus planning in accordance with the interest of a group, or a sector, or of a region is eliminated, and it is made in accordance with the interest to all the country. Production is centralised and concentrated where it is more convenient, where there is the minimum need for movement. Not extracting raw material, transporting it and afterwards working it. If in the same place where raw materials are extracted they can be worked upon, afterwards the manufactured product can be distributed. For this, it is necessary to know the needs of the country, not its capacity for buying. Without planning it is not possible to know the needs of the country. In the first seven years of the Russian Revolution, it was like this. Afterwards, the Soviet bureaucracy took into account the needs of the country, accessing it on the needs of the buyers and of the bureaucracy. The market was constructed in accordance with the needs of the bureaucracy, not according to the needs of the country. It could not free itself from the country and took into account itself the country. Then the bureaucracy planned in accordance with its own interests first and the country's after. It did this on a world wide scale.

Self management leads to a triple form of this interest, in which each factory produces in accordance with what interests it. It produces in accordance with the product, the capacity, the interest, the investment of this factory and one can make a cheaper product than another ten factories. It can do it. But the other ten do it at greater cost. Taken as a whole the result is dearer than the average price.

Self management is directed to make a front to impel production in accordance with material stimulus. It has nothing to do with workers control of production, nor with the product given to the workers themselves. It is an anarchistic conception which has nothing to do with communist planning. It is a form of production directed to establish links, connections and relations with layers, with tendencies of the bureaucracy, of the workers, administrators, planners, which stimulates, individual interest, egoism, conservatism, and the interest of one factory against the rest. And when there is an agreement with another series of factories, it is to ally with them against others. In consequence, it stimulates private interest. The market has to be in agreement with this interest and the world policy also in agreement with this interest. It cannot be a policy which stimulates the revolution because this would throw them all out. It is a policy of the status quo and of submission and development of relations with the capitalist system. But to do it, means to eliminate, destroy, or put aside the instruments which prejudice it; state monopoly of foreign trade. And as it is self management, determined by the competition of each factory to see who produces better and more, it is interested in an external policy that is beneficial for this, to eliminate the monopoly of foreign trade and revolutionary policy. And it enters the market in search of profit not of necessity. Hence there are six show factories of which four have had to be closed. Even so, there is one too many because one alone is sufficient. And hence

in Yugoslavia self management has not elevated the capacity of action of the communist masses.

As Marx said in the polemic with Proudhon and with Bakunin, communism is not better distribution but an elevation in sentiment and consciousness. Communism demonstrates its economic superiority as a consequence. Because it is necessary to reconstruct the human being, it is necessary to harmonise him, organise him and centralise him; reconstructing the three which are still bourgeois.

Of the parts (proletariat, bourgeois, petit bourgeois) who wins? The proletariat, which is the one who orders all the others, with his role in the economy. The economy exerts the function of organiser of sentiment and consciousness.

The planning of production exerts this function. It shows the necessity of collective dependance, for everyone. It does not elevate the egoistical and conservative interest, but the collective consciousness. It will not be the action of a martyr who produces for humanity, it will be the normal form of production.

On the other hand there are a million Yugoslav emigrants working outside the country. We are not against self management because it is opposed to planning, but because it is an egoistical, conservative organisation of production, which fragments capacity and force. It stimulates individual interest against the interest of others. The concrete result is the present situation in Yugoslavia. Self management leads to the organisation and raising over the top of society, of a whole layer of technocrats who have taken possession of the economy, of the leadership of production, of the banks and the party, wanting to make a society for themselves. They were going along the road of making the party an instrument to put Yugoslavia at their interest. It was a bridge with the capitalist regimes. Dubcek and Ota Sik were following this road. Because of this there was the Soviet reaction.

But this present reaction in Yugoslavia, shows the power of the Workers State, and that its structure demands the understanding and scientific treatment which does not put up with self management. To develop itself, nationalised property cannot put up with self management. It can for a period, but it has to expel it. Either self management is expelled or it smashes nationalised property. Or self management is improved, as they are now trying to improve it, and it is then the basis for a reconsideration to pass from self management to collectivised and centralised planning. This is what is in discussion in Yugoslavia. Even if they still maintain self management, according to as they say, in a more elevated and scientific form, already this is in discussion.

This process of Yugoslavia is a process of partial regeneration. It is the form which the political revolution adopts. The political revolution is not firing guns. It is possible that gun fire is coming, but it cannot come immediately. In the long term it is coming. But this reaction of the Yugoslav masses is indicating the important and the decisive weight in the Workers States of the working class, for the rectification, re-ordering and regeneration of the Workers States. This does not come as a product of leadership which are discussing. It comes from the working class who are preparing to intervene, and which is correcting Yugoslavia as it is correcting the other Workers States. It is the working class in each country. This is the form of the political revolution, which is advancing, eliminating, containing, reducing bureaucratic power and elevating the party in a communist form.

The working class then has its most important expression, not as a class as in capitalism, but through the party and the trade unions. The function of the T.U.'s in Yugoslavia is very elevated. The Party was perishing, and it was the Yugoslav T.U.'s which resisted it dying. We appeal to the comrades of the Communist Party that they pay attention to Yugoslavia. The Party was inert, and it was the T.U.'s who permanently and actively maintained the reaction against the technocrats and all these falsifiers of communism. We appeal to the leaders the militants of the Communist Party, that they must pay attention to this. It was the T.U.'s of the Workers States and in particular Yugoslavia which maintained the resistance to submitting itself to the bureaucracy through self management. They had finished the party. The working class could not intervene in the Yugoslav Communist Party. It intervened in the trade unions, through them it gained the population, impelled it and elevated it to weigh in the Yugoslav Communist Party. This is the richest experience of the function of the trade unions in this period of history. It does not replace the party as the instrument and world leadership of history, but circumstantially it exerts the function which the party cannot.

We said in 1956 that the T.U.'s in Bolivia were replacing the party. We do not determine it, it is like this. It is not the same process everywhere. This is part of the partial regeneration. Yugoslavia is one of the richest contributions for the world communist movement, to utilise all the forces which are developing, to pass from this stage which will last a period, to the other stage of conscious regeneration. But already in this stage there is a part of the conscious regeneration, Yugoslavia. Not complete, but part of the conscious regeneration. It is not possible to expect a neat and tidy process, but a process of interior development, of contradictory growth, in which there gradually develops the forces which gradually eliminate, contain, reduce the bureaucratic power and elevate the power of the organs which are the soviets, as they are going to appear in Yugoslavia for the second time. The first time was during the war.

It is necessary to dominate this process, it is necessary to live it. It has a richness of immense concentration. One cannot expect the political revolution to happen in the form of strikes, uprisings, insurrections against the bureaucracy. Perhaps there will be an insurrection. The insurrection will come afterwards. This is the process of Yugoslavia. Vietnam is the political revolution in one aspect. It is not a leadership with consciousness which has done this, but now it is acquiring consciousness. It is seeking to generalise the military triumph in politics. Because of this there are the articles of Le Duan.

The development of the political revolution and the partial regeneration has a link with the struggle in each country for power. It is not possible to dissociate, separate, complement, or take as a complement that which is united, but a process which seeks to articulate itself. In this process of world articulation, the most pronounced is that which determines the forms of this articulation and it is the most general form which is developing the partial regeneration. Up to now it has been Yugoslavia. It does not matter the weight, the number or the economic importance. What is important is its function in history, in the world communist movement. Yugoslavia plays an enormous role in the world communist movement. It has been playing it for the last five years. Four years ago they got hold of a guy and threw him out of the window. And afterwards the Poles said 'We are going to do the same thing'.

This process seeks to articulate itself. But it is combined with the process of the struggle for power in each country, in each Communist Party and with the pressure, the necessity which is expressed in the form of constant pressure, of the fact that the Communist Parties must seek to unify themselves. This unification does not come about because the leaderships of the Communist Parties politically take such resolutions or because they consider or resolve that it is convenient for the interest of one party or another, but because of the structure of the world process of the revolution which demands co-ordination, harmonisation, centralisation of the world communist movement.

Discussion on the document of the A. C. T. T. FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE FILM INDUSTRY, WITHOUT COMPENSATION, AND UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

We salute the document 'Nationalising the Film Industry' elaborated by the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians (ACTT). We salute the comrades of the unions nationalisation forum, the ACTT leadership and all the members of that union who by their preoccupation with these problems have stimulated the production of this document. The document has an enormous importance for all the Labour movement not just for the conclusions which it poses, nationalisation of the film industry without compensation and under workers control, but because of the closely argued reasoning it employs.

It is this method of reasoning, scientific, and didactic, which has to be employed in all the discussions in the Labour movement, and which is going to attract and win over those sectors, which even if they have lost confidence in capitalism, have not yet seen sufficiently the leading role of the working class in society, have not felt its capacity to solve all the problems which capitalism cannot solve.

We propose to the T.U. and Labour vanguard that it reads this document, which starting from the analysis of the nationalisations of the Attlee government as fundamental gains for the working class, showing the limitations of these nationalisations, and how they were used for the benefit of private industry, showing how the lack of workers control leads inevitably to 'an inaccessible managerial oligarchy' distant from the masses and their preoccupations and arguing that the masses should not pay for the products of their own exploitations, arrives at profoundly anti-capitalist conclusions. It is the expression of how a small union (only 18,000) can play the role of the quality of the quantity, can move forces much bigger than itself by the force of intelligence and reason. By formulating precisely and programmatically what the rest of the class wants, but cannot, because of the lack of the leadership express in such a complete programmatic way. It is playing a role of vanguard, utilising the programme, to show that it is capable of solving the problems of the film industry in capitalism; the

insecurity of employment, the poor quality of films, the concentration of film making and distribution in fewer and fewer hands. And this conclusion is valid for every aspect of production and social activity; from ship building to chemicals, electronics, to the health service to education, the working class can run them better than capitalism, in the collective interests of the whole of society.

It is important also to see the origins of this document, and how the union intends to utilise it as an instrument for the elevation of the left in the L.P. and trade unions. It came from a paper dated the 25th of January 1971, submitted to the general council of the union at the height of the struggle against the Industrial Relations Bill. This original paper (which is published as an appendix in the special publication) contains important political conclusions which are not carried over to the final report. It makes an analysis of the socialist countries, recognising them as a superior form, the form of the future, without idealising their present functioning; commenting that there are 'gains and bureaucratic distortions', 'what deforms this system is of a political nature'. 'Film makers are subject to the whims of a privileged bureaucratic elite', and it states that its objective is socialism. We publish part of the last paragraph of this report because it shows an elevated revolutionary consciousness, not simply a trade union consciousness, but an understanding that the struggle for socialism goes through the struggle for the new leadership in the Labour Party and T.U.'s.

.....'That fight involves not only a struggle against the class enemy, but against the Wilson leadership which has already demonstrated its opposition to the TUC. Socialism is the only alternative. The enemy are preparing vicious attacks to ensure the continuation of their bankrupt system at the expense of the working class. It's our survival we're talking about.'

We believe that while this report is very important, it could have even more im-

portant consequences if it discussed more fully the revolutionary role of cinema today, interesting the rest of society to intervene with ideas and proposals on this question. It is true that it says that now the cinema is an instrument of the dominant social and economic forces in society, and that nationalisation will transform its social function, but it says little on what role the cinema can play in constructing the new world, the new society which is already in peoples heads. Today there is a public which wants to see and support films which present the reality of the class struggle, the necessity to fight, to elevate communist relations, and had no interest in films about the personal problems, sex, drugs, sadism, which capitalism is making. We propose concretely to the comrades of the ACTT to include a section in the report on the revolutionary role of cinema elevating their understanding of this problem by the study of the text of Posadas, 'The Necessity of the Revolutionary Role of Cinema in the Capitalist Countries, in the Construction of the Workers States and Socialism,' including the text partly or complete in the report.

When the ACTT can produce a document such as this, it is because in the whole of the working class, expressed in strikes, in occupations, in resolutions to their own T.U. conferences there is the desire and the will to overthrow capitalism and go to socialism. It is not just a state of consciousness of a few thousand cinema and television technicians, they can express it in a more concentrated way, because of the specific conditions of their union, but if it was not present in large sectors of the working class and petit bourgeoisie, they would not have felt stimulated to elaborate this document and present it to the L.P. conference. It is a concentrated expression of the influence of the world revolution, the Workers States, nationalised property on the masses of this country. When such a sector of skilled and professional technicians can state in this report that they are aiming 'to minimise or even eliminate wage differentials within the industry' it shows that they want a superior form of human existence, they want socialism. And if they are posing it,

then the workers of the big factories, the more exploited sectors, those directly engaged in socially organised production, who have a direct weight in production and the economy, are sharing the same sentiment.

We salute the proposal to organise shop floor discussions to consider this document, leading to a one day delegate conference. This is a form of functioning which is going to allow all the vanguard in the union to weigh and intervene with their ideas and initiatives and it is a form of functioning which has to be generalised to all other unions. All the resolutions passed at the TUC have to be discussed in this way, throughout the whole union movement. In relation to the one day conference we propose that all revolutionary tendencies including ourselves the IV 'International' - Posadists, be invited and permitted to speak.

We think that this document, which is a political and social document, not a trade union one, should be given the widest distribution and should be discussed in all the factories and T.U. branches, and in the L.P., as an instrument for organising the understanding of the vanguard, and to stimulate in all other sectors, similar reasoning, similar functioning, deepening certain aspects of the analysis above all analysis. Deepening the revolutionary nature of workers control, as a step forward in the organisation of dual power, preparing the way, organising the forces and constructing the organisms to go to power.

The Necessity of the Revolutionary Role of Cinema in the Capitalist Countries, in the construction of the Workers States and Socialism.

J. Posadas December '71

Price 45p including p/p from the address of the party.

USA THE STRIKES IN THE CAR INDUSTRY

FULL SUPPORT TO THE STRIKES
OF THE WORKERS IN FORDS AND
CHRYSLER.

The process of organisation of a class party in the United States passes through the stage of a struggle in the trade unions, for proletarian democracy, for the expulsion of the gangster bureaucrats, and for an elevation of the programmatic demands. In some unions, with a dispersed membership and with gangster leaderships, it is not possible to see concrete expressions of the way the world process of the revolution, the defeat in Vietnam, the decline of the authority of imperialism is stimulating the confidence and understanding of the base.

In other unions where the membership is more concentrated, where the possibility at work to exchange ideas, to discuss, to draw conclusions together, where it feels a strength because of its role in the economy, this maturing of consciousness shows itself in a variety of forms, but with the same basic content. When Meany for the first time in history does not invite Nixon to the AFL/CIO Congress and denounces him as the worst president the United States has ever had, it signifies a weakening of the class collaborationist function of the bureaucracy, shows that it has to shift its position to the left in order to try to contain the development of class currents in the unions. When the gangster leader of the miners (who previously had his rival Yablonski murdered) is kicked out after the base had imposed a relatively free and democratic election, it shows that in the unions there exists the possibility for a much more profound struggle now, for transitional demands, for new leaderships, elevating the capacity of political action of the masses and putting forward the slogan of the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

Because of the enormous concentrated weight of the car workers, the importance that this industry has in the economy, and also because of the leadership itself which is not gangster (its origins were socialist), the maturing of the American workers vanguard has expressed itself most clearly in the International Auto Workers (IAW). It is expressed in the present Chrysler strike, in the occupation of Chrysler last month and in the victory in four different plants in widely spaced areas of the country, of T.U. candidates defending left positions, and the defeat of the local bureaucracy. The significance of these three events cannot be underestimated, even if they seem small compared with the huge class actions of France, Italy and Britain; for this is the citadel of imperialism, where terror and murder against the T.U.s is the norm, where there is a powerful rich petit bourgeoisie and workers aristocracy which weighs, where the recent Brezhnev agreement tends to give a certain authority to imperialism and to a whole pro-imperialist sector of the T.U. bureaucracy. It shows that the U.S. working class is not indifferent nor has it been won over to capitalism. Without a leadership, considered by the leaders of the Workers States and Communist

Parties as reactionary, with no appeals directed to it it tries to find the way to put itself in contact, to organise its forces better, utilising what local leaders it can find, making actions to impel its leadership, but at the same time acting independently of its leadership. The attempted occupation of Chrysler last month was small, involving at most 200 men and was quickly smashed by the intervention of the police. But, coming in the middle of negotiations between the IAW leadership and the Car bosses, it was a means the vanguard used, a revolutionary means which it had learnt from the world revolution, to exert a pressure on its leadership so that it did not weaken in the negotiations. And they have succeeded in as much as now the IAW has called the strike, an unlimited strike by some 100,000 workers which is dealing a crippling blow at the already ailing U.S. economy, and accelerating the development of a feeling, within the class, of its own power and capacity.

The internal discussion in the IAW now, in the factories above all, with also the intervention of the militant black and latin workers, must be very intense now. It can only express itself externally in limited ways, principally at this moment by the advance of left candidates, linked to the C.P., to the New Left and Black liberation movements, candidates who timidly

begin to raise the level of programmatic demands in plants in the U.S. The demands to 'open the books' opposition to any participation on Nixons pay boards, the demand for a Labour Party based on the T.U.'s, the election of candidates known to be linked with the C.P. in spite of virulent anti-red campaigns, the defeat of racist candidates, shows whatever the limitations of these candidates, that the conditions are mature for a much more elevated campaign around the slogan for the Workers Party based on the T.U.'s.

But today it will not have the same content as when Trotsky posed it. Now the world conditions, the struggle against the Vietnam war, the struggle to release Angela Davis, the existence of the Workers States, permits that from its beginning this party can have a marxist base, basing itself on the U.S. Communist party which has an important political support, and already has an influence in the Trade Unions. We appeal to the C.P. vanguard, the T.U. vanguard to pose this as the objective of this stage of the struggle, linking it to the fight for higher wages, for workers control over track speeds, for all profits of automation to go to the workers, for T.U., democracy etc. The struggles at Chrysler, the advance of the left in the T.U. elections show that all the conditions are ripe for it.

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF
ALL THE MOTOR INDUSTRY WITH-
OUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER
WORKERS CONTROL.

ALL WAGES AND PENSIONS TO
RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING

FOR MASS MOBILISATIONS AND AN ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION IN CHILE TO SMASH THE COUNTER REVOLUTION J. Posadas 10.8.73

This is the conclusion of the article which was published in Red Flag No. 187 and should be read in conjunction with it. This article was published without an introduction and incomplete due to its late insertion in the paper. This was because of its relevance to the situation as it was developing in Chile at that moment.

The main task in Latin America is to understand that it is a process that has no comparison in history. Uruguay, Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Mexico. It is necessary to combine the immediate task of progress of the revolution with the creation of organisms, to favour the formation of mass organisms, which the masses seek to organise in a spontaneous conscious and instinctive form in order to intervene and decide. This is the main task in Latin America.

In Chile there is a class leadership, but it doesn't have a class decision; there already is a public crisis. While Allende avoids talking about civil war, Corvalan (of the Chilean C.P.) says that if there is going to be civil war they are going to fight to the last one. All the line of the government is not to force the civil war but to launch accusations criticising the bourgeois opposition because it wants the civil war. This is correct because it tends to influence petit

bourgeois currents, but it is necessary to prepare concretely for the civil war. Prepare concretely because they are certainly going to make it. This is the scientific conclusion. These are the fundamental conclusions for Latin America.

It is necessary to create organisms of differentiation, of intervention of the masses prepared to weigh on their leadership in Chile. Develop a campaign from the base posing: the civil war is inevitable. They make civil war. We cannot avoid it. Mass organisms in which the masses can decide are necessary. Call the army to incorporate itself, to support the Chilean masses. This is Chile! Speak in the name of Chile, not of a part of the Chileans, this is seventy per cent of Chile. The remaining thirty per cent doesn't do anything. It is the 70% that produces and distributes, the others put money in and draw out more, they steal. It is necessary to pose it in this way. A Chilean who invests and steals and one who produces and distributes are not the same; it is necessary to establish a differentiation, to develop this discussion. Allende shows that he is indecided, but he is resolute when he sees security. It is necessary to give him this security, but not waiting for this security from Allende. It is necessary to impel the organisms from below. Make assemblies and discussions in every place to prepare to arm the masses. Making them immediately because they are making civil war, develop the masses in all the organisms of production, economy and distribution.

Call for a discussion in all the factories. Pressurise the government to take over the factories, to make them function and to plan production. Without nationalisation it is not possible to plan, and without abandoning the capitalist interest of private property there cannot be any progress. There can't be any revolution by submitting to the interest of private property. It is necessary to show this. It is necessary to pass over it in order to progress. If they make a war and kill and assassinate, they are responsible, not us. It is necessary to transcend capitalist private interest that has robbed the country. Pose it in this way, openly; we want this, this, is not against Chile or the Chilean future. It is against the future of the capitalists but not against Chile which is 70% of the population; the other lazy dogs don't play any role in production. It is necessary to confront the capitalist mentality, the capitalist interest with the workers interest.

Allende has to confirm, function and declare saying that he wants to overthrow the capitalist system with a compensative and passive policy they want to overthrow it even if in a constitutional way. Before they adapted themselves to the revolution, now they want to change it legally, with a new legality, to overthrow the capitalist system. They are new anti-capitalist forms.

It is necessary to understand this. From this derives our attitude towards Allende and also towards Peron. These are the forms taken by the progress of the revolution in these countries.

They adapt themselves to the constitutional system that comes from capitalism, but they don't submit to it, they are impelling to go

forward. The manoeuvres they make are aimed at winning the army to gain historic stages. We are not against this, but we said that it is insufficient. They cannot create a new force, the army, because they would make the proletariat incapable to lead while the army can. For this reason the last ministerial cabinet in Chile is important because it tends to make the army play the role of the repressor of the counter revolution. This is their objective.

Chile is going towards civil war. We were the first to declare: write and confront Chilean public opinion; Communist Party, Socialist Party and groups. The civil war is inevitable. They can delay it but it is inevitable. We don't want the civil war; we don't want war. But the capacity and the responsibility to foresee, show us that the civil war is inevitable. Therefore it is necessary to prepare. We don't want confrontation or death, but it is necessary to confront and to die or to kill so that humanity can eliminate war, death, and fear of death by war or civil war. The civil war is in sight. This is producing in the communist, socialist workers and left movement in Chile an elevation of the preoccupation to understand that good will, decision and the respect for the constitution are not sufficient to construct socialism. The problem is unavoidable. It is not possible to transform society without transforming the structures on which the other society was based. It is not possible to do this by asking permission, but by force. It is possible to progress and advance in an interpenetrative way, it is possible to increase, extend and strengthen progress in the control of institutions, on the other hand, without structural transformations it is not possible to construct socialism. If we don't prepare for civil war it will take us by surprise. It is an experience which is going to be developed in all the revolutionary and workers movement.

The fundamental conclusions of 'L'Unita', 'L'Humanite' and 'el Siglo' confirm this because they say: what do they want, civil war? And L'Unita says, 'Will it be necessary to make it by civil war?' They pose it as a question, not rejecting it but saying 'It can be done by reason or by force.' It doesn't work by reason, by force. They have to take it as a conclusion that couldn't be foreseen, when we foresaw that 'the civil war is inevitable'. The atomic war is inevitable because no class abandons the scene before taking, employing all means to survive.

It is a theoretical conclusion that the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist Parties abandoned because it goes against them, but now they have to return to it. For years and years we based ourselves, we base, and shall base ourselves on this scientific conclusion of Marx, proved by the Russian revolution and all the other revolutions. Even when isolated and alone we dedicated ourselves to defend this principle. Today this is the principle that the Workers States and the Communist and Socialist leaderships are taking. Even in Argentina they are drawing the conclusion that 'the civil war is inevitable' and that 'the class struggle within the peronist movement is inevitable'.

It is necessary to understand that this is the process that is modifying and influencing all the communist and socialist parties to modify in a way favourable to the decision to overthrow the capitalist system. It is necessary to base ourselves on these experiences of the process in Latin America. All the Socialist parties in Europe are looking at Chile. Why Chile? Because within each one of them there is a 'Chilean' wing in development. They see, we can do the same. They see the new organisms. And this can be done.

J. POSADAS, 10.8.1973

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THE TRADE UNIONS, THE PREONIST MASSES AND THE NEW STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN ARGENTINA. J. Posadas. 18.3.1973

Available by post from IV International Publications, 24 Cranbourn Street, London W.C.2. 15p. p.p.

IT IS NECESSARY TO DEFEND THE CHILEAN REVOLUTION UNCONDITIONALLY

13.9.73

J. POSADAS

The resistance of the Chilean proletariat is communicating to the proletariat of the world that it is not surrendering, that it is not losing positions, and that if it is overpowered, it is because of numerical superiority and through the lack of a policy, but not through a lack of historic courage and decision. What the proletariat of Santiago and of all of Chile is doing, is a reiteration of the Paris Commune, of Stalingrad, of Vietnam.

There are many factories where the workers are fighting, they have not given up mines, buildings, and universities where they are bombing, and the proletariat continues fighting and communicating its decision to the population. Yes there are many deaths, many died. They say one thousand dead 500 alone in Santiago; if they say 500 it is two thousand. It is the workers, the petit bourgeoisie, and peasant sectors who are fighting! This is going to have a very great effect on the world proletariat, it is going to be a very great weight compensating for the lack of policy of the leadership. It is going to communicate an immense stimulus. Part of this decision is shown by the meetings which are being held all over the world. There are meetings all over the world, everywhere! And part of this decision is the meeting of the 12th of September in France, the powerful meeting which was held in France, which the capitalist press found itself obliged to admit was 'a serious meeting, of dignity and emotion'. Emotion signified that they were disposed not to let themselves lose heart, emotion was the combative solidarity and the respect, the fraternity and the relation of solidarity with the Chilean proletariat. And also that they are disposed to do the same in France as they have done in Chile.

It is necessary to render homage to the Chilean proletariat, which with its heroic action, like the Paris Commune, like the Russian revolution, like Stalingrad, like 1905, is the basis of the source of the historic security of the proletariat, it does not surrender even if they slaughter it! This communicates to the proletariat that it has all the conditions in order to win. And if the conditions exist now to win, when it is confronting a military superiority of 1,000,000 to 1, how would it have been before. It is not simply a homage, but a practical organisational conclusions which it is necessary to apply now. This shows the will which the masses have to smash the counter revolution.

The reactions which there is in the countries of Europe directed by the socialists, is indicating that this reaction is because of their base which is very powerful. And the Socialist Party in Norway has just won the elections, making a united front with the communists, dissident sectors of the socialist party, and the left Socialist party. That is to say they have made a united front. The same thing is going to happen in Sweden. This is going to have a very great influence in the world socialist movement. And in Latin America the declarations of Peron, which are aggressive against Yankee Imperialism, say: 'It is Yankee imperialism which has made this coup, I don't have proof, but I know very well how these things are managed'. This is indicating the immense pressure which exists. There have been demonstrations and stoppages in Bolivia, in all Latin America; in Costa Rica, in four parliaments, Argentina, Colombia, Venezuela, and Mexico they made a period of silence and three days of mourning for the murder of Allende. This is indicating the profound emotion, which is the emotion of the masses. And these governments have done this because they are linked to the masses, and they have to feel and moreover defend themselves from what imperialism is preparing. The masses are ready to oppose this.

The declaration of Peron is very important because he condemns Yankee imperialism. And also the Argentinian delegate at Geneva (to the International Labour Organisation), from the CGT, who called for a continental stoppage for Chile. There is a response of a great struggle which forces imperialism to have to hide and not make a noise about what it is preparing to do. When before they would do it to intimidate, this time they are frightened, because there is a very great reaction in all the world. And Echevarria directly comes out to organise demonstrations for Chile. And two democratic party congressmen of the United States ask for an enquiry to see what intervention the CIA has had in this. It is also necessary to support the revolutionary behaviour of Cuba, and of the Cuban embassy in Santiago against the assault of these assassins.

The conclusion which it is necessary to draw from Chile is that while one advances in parliament, in the elections, it is necessary to prepare for the armed reaction. The petit bourgeoisie which capitalism maintains with a respect for 'legality' and 'order', see the result that this time it was a

legal government and they overthrow it. This has an enormous effect on the petit bourgeoisie.

It was obvious that they were preparing a coup. The workers made a meeting and the Navy went to the factories and dissolved it, as if they were police, a civil power, and the government didn't say anything! It should have cut short the social interference of the army. This is not its function.

Whatever be the result, even if they massacre everyone, the Chilean proletariat has given an immense impulse to the Socialist Revolution in

Latin America. And the protests of Peron and the others, are because of the resistance of the proletariat, and that they have seen the claws of the proletariat which is communicating to all Latin America! We don't surrender and we are going to win! Now we can lose, but we will win anyway! It is not sunken in defeat, but it is beaten by arms and everyone draws the conclusion that it is necessary to be armed now. While on the other hand, to be beaten by a lack of intervention disheartens, disintegrates. Here in this case no, nobody is disintegrated. The class hatred, the resolution of the class continues. And it is necessary to make known and proclaim this action on all sides, and render homage to the Chilean proletariat, to the petit bourgeoisie, to the peasants, who are fighting. After three days the military cannot speak as bosses! And they have closed the frontier, they could not speak as bosses.

This resistance has sharpened the internal struggle of the Junta, because one day afterwards it made a rectification that they were only breaking with Cuba. And they let all the Cubans go, 150 Cubans who they said they had picked up fighting, and they let them go. When the normal attitude of them would have been to detain them, and try them for 'meddling in the internal affairs of another country.'

The events of Chile are a 'boomerang'. When a boomerang exists it is because it is the form and the strategy of the boomerang which determines, not who throws it. And Chile is a boomerang, because there is already a world structure which cannot go back. It can go back in some aspects, but not in others, and even in this coup there is a wing which is going to want to break with the proletariat, or with a part of the socialists and communists. It is opposite to the coup of Gonzales Videla, which wanted to massacre everyone. Otherwise it could not live. On the other hand a sector of this Junta the most important one linked to the petit bourgeois masses and to some workers and peasants must have a popular support in order to survive. And the popular support is linked with the communist and socialist masses and therefore it is going to influence a lot, enormously on them.

We render homage to Allende who has defended and maintained his position of going to socialism. It is necessary to show that he carried on a limited policy, while this same sentiment of courage, this resolution, together with a policy of arming the workers, the students, the peasants, and regaining the power of the army, will ultimately win! It is necessary to put it in this way, reduce the power of the army, make it submit to civil power, reduce the power of intervention of the army, and elevate the function of the trade union, the organisation of power from the trade unions. Militias, trade union organs which intervene in the neighbourhoods, factory committees, zone committees. It is necessary to show that neither the bourgeoisie nor the bourgeois governments are disposed to admit or to respect the popular will, that sooner or later it is going to oppose it. Thus it is necessary to proceed preparing this education.

Discuss the conclusions of Chile; no bourgeois will accept being defeated. Sooner or later they are going to make a coup. They don't have the social force, because of this they have to resort to the army in alliance with imperialism. It is necessary to overthrow imperialism in all of the world, and at the same time as power is installed, make lateral organs of power, in the trade unions, in the zones, which intervene in the form of organisms of power. From the control of prices up to determining the laws, of the neighbourhood, of cleaning, of transport, of hospitals, up to the determining policy. So that all these organs give their opinion about the political life of the country, that they direct themselves to the trade unions, make a united front with the trade unions and with the parties, Parties, trade unions, and factory committees, zone committees, showing that Chile clearly poses this necessity.

turn to back page

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

No. 190

Thursday 27th September 1973

Price 5p

The Labour Party Conference

FOR A NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR THE 25 NATIONALISATIONS BASED ON THE L.P. BRANCHES AND THE FACTORIES

In order to limit the level of discussion and conclusions at the coming Labour Party Conference, the right wing has launched a whole offensive putting in question the 25 nationalisations, questioning in fact the feasibility of any important nationalisation programme and questioning the right of conference to determine party policy. It feels that this is not just any party conference, but that in addition to the process of theoretical, political and programmatic elevation of the labour vanguard which was able to express itself through the resolutions to Conference, in the last week Chile has provided a particular stimulus in relation to the understanding of the nature of the state, the role of the army, and the necessity of a party structure which can confront a situation in which all the usual democratic, legal and constitutional avenues of advance are blocked. The Labour vanguard, which has always combined electoral and non-electoral methods, has voted Labour while continuing with its strikes, occupations, and demonstrations, even going so far as to abstain from voting for the Labour Party in 1970 as a method of changing the policy and leadership, has understood Chile rapidly, re-orientated itself rapidly, or made more precise its previous orientation, and made its weight felt on a responsive sector of the L.P. leadership. The right wing feels that the Conference is going to deal important blows to it and its links with capitalism, and so it comes out now trying above all to try to maintain its bureaucratic independence from the Labour vanguard.

But the action of the right is very weak. Healy can say that parts of the L.P. programme cannot even be implemented if the party stays in office for 10 years, that it is too expensive, that there must be priorities, etc. etc. and Prentice can insist that the Parliamentary party must determine the policy and not be dictated to by Conference, but the masses and the Labour left are going to reject all this. The masses are going to demand the implementation of the most advanced part of the L.P. programme as a transitional measure to go towards power. They are going to try to impose non-electorally what the L.P. has in its programme, and even if in the short term there will be economic difficulties, the rate of inflation increases as it did in Chile, they are going to reason that it is due, not to the measures themselves, but to the structure and functioning of capitalism nationally and internationally, which still determines in large part the working of the economy, in spite of the Labour government.

All the discussion and resolutions of the base tends to go in the direction of increasing the organic

weight of the base over the party, trying to democratise it, trying to put in place a leadership which corresponds much more closely to the political maturity of the base. The group which is leading a campaign that the parliamentary party must comply with conference decisions and that 6 or 7 seats on the NEC must be set aside for constituency party representatives, that NEC meetings should be open to observers, expresses this search by the base to impose its control over the party.

It is now clear that Wilson and his team does not want to go to government, because they fear becoming a prisoner of the masses and of the left of the Party. The speech of Healy expressed this, expressed the pessimism and gloom of the pro-capitalist sector, which can find little to sustain it in capitalism and feels that all its previous positions in the party are being undermined. He knows that the struggle for the 25 nationalisations is going to stimulate the masses to intervene and this in turn is going to give more security to the left. Therefore he proposes a programme, or rather he puts forward nothing more than the need to increase pensions, knowing that this will lead to an electoral abstention on the part of the vanguard as in 1970, will not attract the petit bourgeoisie and will lead to an electoral defeat. For him this is the least evil.

The conference is going to be held at a moment when the car workers are striking, trying to influence their leaderships, to make a struggle against the government, where government advisers like Rothschild are talking gloomily of the future of British capitalism, when the social services are decaying (more schools are operating on a part time basis because of lack of teachers), inflation is increasing, where British capitalism shows in a hundred and one ways its inability to develop the productive forces and satisfy the needs of the masses.

At the same time there is the world wide mobilisation for Chile, the United Front expressed in France in Italy, in the victory of the left in Norway, the return to government of the Socialist Party in Sweden relying more on the Communists; the barriers between the workers parties, which have no historic justification, are being broken down by the masses. The united front of communists, socialists, trotskysts, left catholics, trade unionists, revolutionary nationalists advances on a world scale.

The proposal of the left Labour MP Heffer that the left groups should enter the L.P. is part of this, even if contained here is also the wish to control and contain the left by letting it enter dissolving its independent organisations. But it means that it is already in the heads of the Labour vanguard, which is asking why should not the Communist Party with its

industrial strength, the left groups with their enthusiasm and capacity to mobilise hundreds of students and petit bourgeois, be in the Labour Party, for the vanguard sees that the objectives of these groups are the same as its own, and that they are going to be useful allies in the struggle to eliminate the right from the party.

The whole Labour vanguard feels the necessity, the demand for a theoretical and political elevation, and for the restructuring of the party, and a sector of the party leadership is trying to respond to this necessity. This conference has to take concrete measures in this direction, making an appeal for a discussion on this question in all the branches, and T.U.'s and factories. The Labour vanguard in the factories have to elevate its political role, organising discussions, assemblies, meetings to discuss the programme of the next Labour government, building Labour Party branches in the factories in this way.

Chile has stimulated the external organising capacity of the L.P. branches and this has to be extended now. Capitalism is preparing a Chile here, seeing that it is losing the petit bourgeoisie, that it is going to lose the elections, and that it's right wing in the L.P. is losing force. Thus the preparation has to be made now, committees have to be constructed now in the factories, and the workers areas, committees which exert a control over production, over the economy, over the conditions of life of the masses. This is going to influence the petit bourgeoisie, make it see the capacity of leadership of the working class, and accelerate the decomposition of capitalism and its organs.

The L.P. Conference must reject firmly all the proposals of Healy, of Prentice and the right - it must be sovereign and it must weigh as a force now in the country. It must weigh by organising in alliance with the T.U.'s the struggle, both parliamentary and non parliamentary, making a preparation for a general strike to overthrow the Tories. The demands for this country have to be united to the unconditional support of the Chilean masses - no recognition of the military junta, make an appeal to the unions, to the factories, to the European socialist and communist parties, to the Workers States, to organise a 24 hour European General Strike in support of Chile. All the resources of the Labour Party have to be mobilised with these objectives, which are going to signify an enormous weakening of the right in the L.P. and a growth of the power of the masses in organs throughout the country, on which the Labour left can base itself to carry forward the struggle for government and from the government to power.

26.9.1973

This document of Posadas has been completely confirmed in the 11 days since it was written. The Chilean masses have continued fighting, they have converted the funeral of Neruda into a vast anti-government demonstration singing the 'Internationale' under the noses of the army, and the Junta itself feels isolated nationally and internationally, even losing now the support of the Christian Democracy.

The Latin American working class has shown it is not intimidated by this but they have sought to compensate for it by the massive electoral victory of Peronism and the General Strike against the CIA murders of the T.U. leader Rucci and the young Peronist leader Grinberg, while in Bolivia a 48 hour General Strike is called against the Banzar government. If the masses had felt that there were motives for pessimism in the Chilean coup, they would not have mobilised like this. The Chilean and the world masses are drawing fundamental conclusions from the coup, using the experience to construct new leaderships.

The conclusion which it is necessary to draw from this situation in Chile is clear. There is no pessimism, no reason for delay, tiredness, or feeling either broken or in retreat. What has happened in Chile is the inevitable consequence that had to happen. Before or after it had to happen; it was inevitable.

It is in this way that humanity has to pass through historic experiences. If it had been able to hold congresses, meetings, discussions, it would have been much better. But it has to proceed in this way. This is not the stage of the overthrow of the class and the vanguard, no! The USSR was alone in 1940, put up with Stalin and all the 'nights of St. John' of 'St. Bartholomew' and all the 'nights' which Stalin did, who assassinated all the vanguard, and the Soviet proletariat with its conduct; its decision, its class behaviour, sustained the Soviet Union, and allowed the creation of new cadres who during the war developed to conquer nazism and develop the revolution throughout Europe. After Stalin, after 1936 - 38, the assassination of the Bolsheviks, after the invasion of Hitler and of the Nazis, the Soviet proletariat impelled the European proletariat and gave as a result ten more Workers States. The war of the Nazis was worse than the Middle East and Chile.

We are not optimistic because we have blind confidence. Our optimism arises from a scientific conclusion. It is necessary to draw the most concrete conclusions of this process in Chile to help to organise the new leadership. In the elections in Norway the right has lost, the socialists are going to the government supported by the communists. In Sweden the left did not lose as the bourgeoisie foresaw. They were expecting a catastrophe for the left which would lose 25 seats, like the party of the right which lost 23 seats - which is to say there is a polarisation but not one unfavourable to the socialists.

In this way the new leadership is created, draws conclusions and lives the experience. On the facts that are, the experience is being understood. But there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States which advance and progress constantly. In Chile there was the coup, but at the same time Greece develops and the democratic parties, with the exception of the communists, can stand in elections, the communists will stand in the elections under another name. Otherwise they would not have released all of them. They are going to let them participate in elections under another name. And in Turkey they have delivered a blow against the right with the replacement of the whole of the high command. And in the USSR 'Red Star', the army daily paper, affirms that they are for a superior form of world relations which is the right to intervene and defend a socialist country, which implies now to intervene in a country which is about to be socialist, in particular circumstances. This indicates a very great impulse to all the Workers States, to the vanguard, to assure it, that it does not function under the pressure or the concern of the invasion of imperialism or of a right wing. It is the army which says this. It is directed to the Yanks and also to the Chinese.

This is the experience of this process in Chile, which is not lost. a guerrilla war has begun which is going to have an effect in all the all the countries of the continent among which already Argentina has quite a few antecedents. Now there are going to develop the true 'upamarcos', not those infiltrated by the CIA.

In Chile there were shouts, complaints, protests about the government. Altamirano a week before made a very profound criticism of the government. There were 150 NCO's and sailors - those who they arrested - who if they had been at liberty would have impeded the blow. This was the naivety of the leadership. The sailors wanted to take and bombard the naval installations to prevent the coup. Hence the navy intervened before another team like these did the same. All these demonstrations did not find the necessary leadership. Nevertheless there were the bases, the vanguard was ready and this is going to generate a new leadership. It is not smashed or submitted to fear, to weakness, to lack of will. It is smashed militarily. In the Soviet Union the nazis were 7 kilometers from Moscow, 23 millions died in the USSR and in Stalingrad alone 3 million died. And the Soviet Union won.

It is necessary to take this as a example of history, one that is applicable which has a direct transcendence now. If we were able to make the experience, the organisation of the capacity to think, to reason, to draw conclusions and apply the revolutionary policy without defeats, it would be better. But it is social experience, which showed this. Rosa Luxembourg said 'the road to socialism is sown with defeats', 'it is a rose surrounded by thorns'. Because defeat teaches: the commune of Paris led to 1905, 1905 to 1917 and from there to the fourteen Workers States.

This experience of Chile is going to be one for all Latin America. If it had been in a process of world retreat, it would have influenced, but it is a process of advance. In Chile they made a coup although all is not lost. The fact that they are struggling, seems that all is not lost. It is very disadvantageous, but in no way lost. Every working class understands very well. For six days the military Junta were not able to open the frontier. They could not meet nor form a ministry and give orders. Before, who gave orders? Which indicates that the rest of Chile feels secure, otherwise they would have done this.

This experience of Chile is an experience which is serious, unfavourable but an experience. It is not an historic defeat. It is not necessary to discuss again in order to reanimate. It is necessary now on the basis of the will of the proletarian vanguard, to organise the new leadership drawing the experience of the mistakes of this period. They can kill all the leaders, they're going to kill but in the Soviet Union there was an enormous number were killed, 23 million were killed, and in Bolivia also, in Peru also. In Mexico they persecuted people, sent them to jail; in Colombia also in Venezuela, in Argentina also. The world process of the revolution is not delayed.

On the other hand, for the counter revolution, the world process reduces them. Hence the Yankes cannot speak openly of support, that the coup is a good thing. While we, yes, we speak openly, the socialists, the communists, the radicals of the left, democratic people in general support Chile. It is in this sense that there are bourgeois democrats who support these actions, of respect for the rights of the Chilean people who voted for Allende, the constitution etc. etc. ... It is necessary to take this conclusion.

It is necessary to examine this experience, not to lament, but to make a balance. Hence the criticism of 'Rouge' in France against the Popular Union of Chile, is erroneous and criminal. It is not the way to understand

Conclusions of the Transitory Coup and the Heroism of the Chilean Proletariat and Masses

J. POSADAS 16.9.73

critical experiences. They express criticism to smash. What they wish is to show that the Popular Unity, the Socialist party, Communist party count for nothing, to smash them. This is the basis of what they are saying. Hence the bourgeoisie publishes them. On the other hand, it is necessary to make a critical judgement to draw conclusions, as we do. These groups seek to smash the Socialist party and the Communist party and to show that it is they who are worth while. They are hysterical. They do not make criticisms but destructions. One cannot not make a homage to Allende, this is absurd. Allende did not die surrendering, he died defending. The Communists did not betray, they went to defend. They committed a barbarity of errors, but they are errors which it is necessary to correct and which the Communist masses are going to correct. We are helping to correct.

Our objective now is that while we support and organise the resistance to retake the power, we analyse to demonstrate the experiences which arise from the experience of Chile not to repeat the errors. Then to learn to criticise. The problem with 'Rouge' in France is not that it does not know how to criticise but that their objective is not to draw conclusions from this to stimulate objectively, but in competition to smash the Communist party and prove themselves, yet they have done nothing, have not given an idea, whilst the MIR which criticised the government very severely, defended it at every moment and came out with arms in the streets.

The events of Chile are a very rich expression for the International and for the whole of humanity. This blow that has been given is a beginning of defeat but not a crushing blow. If it was a total defeat, the working class would have abandoned the fight. When the fight continues, there is no defeat.

The working class is showing the dignity of its function, its historic capacity through its class function. This is communicated to all the Chilean population and to all Latin America: 'In this way it defends itself'. They have defeated it because the leadership did not know how to organise properly, but the leadership defended and tried to defend. It did not know how to organise, nor know how to live the correct policy; it was naive and believed in the constitution and in the constitutional duties. We apply the constitution; the bourgeoisie, no. Therefore it is necessary to prepare the arms to impose it on them and apply the essential demand of the 'Constitution': the government elected by the people must be respected. It is necessary to do so by force.

The working class showed with its dignity, the security in the rectification and the triumph. It is now persecuted, massacred militarily but not politically or socially. They are defending the factories and where it feels strong and secure in the workers areas, this is communicated to all the country. 'It is necessary to rise up'. And it is communicated to all of Latin America, 'do not yield, don't abandon, don't let any conquered position be handed back.' And in the conquered positions, there is the intervention of the working class as a leading sector which communicates to society the historic security as they did, before and also now.

From here the conclusions are going to emerge to make a leadership with a policy which corresponds to the necessity which is, from the beginning to control, to smash and to make forces parallel to the army and to win part of the army directly, to appeal to the soldiers, to NCO's and the officers, that they do not shoot the people that they turn their arms against the officers and kill them. Appeal to them to obey the popular will, to show to them that it is a social problem; progress on one side, conservative, class egoism on the other. At the same time that the army is being dismantled, to make the organs function, the base for these being the cordones industriales and the comandos comunales where the masses can intervene and control everything, whether the police, the army, everything; organs from the factories and workers areas where the masses intervene and decide, popular tribunals, including armed militias.

All the working class of Latin America and of the world is going to see the dignified behaviour of the Chilean working class, of the peasants, of the petit bourgeoisie and it is going to stimulate the reanimation of the struggle throughout the world, the confidence that although it may be smashed militarily it was not socially or politically. The masses feel themselves to be secure and firm and feel they were defeated not because they are incapable, but because their leadership was naive in believing that the army was not going to revolt. The masses demonstrated that within this naivety of its leadership, they tried to win; the proof of this is the 150 sailors and some officers who renounced the coup and were prepared to smash it.

This function of the working class is decisive, whether in Chile, whether throughout Latin America. It's on this, that it is necessary to base ourselves in the next stages. This stage is not lost nor is it necessary to see it as lost. When after seven days, they could not say by radio, 'it's finished, business can recommence, Chile is open to the world,' it is because they have no security. They have no security in the masses in Chile, nor in the army itself. Therefore it's necessary to discuss, to organise resistance, to prepare a general counter-offensive against the Junta, to make appeals to the army so that it changes direction, so that it stimulates a sector of the army to appear publicly, to attract the rest, to appeal constantly, to turn against the officers, so that although they may not succeed in rebelling against them, the action of the enemy is limited, and to arrange to the maximum possible that volunteers are sent from the whole of Latin America; to make mobilisations openly, to send arms and to appeal to the soldiers to intervene to defeat fascism in the form in which it has shown itself in Chile, led by Yankee imperialism.

The working class has shown the most complete security, it has not abdicated, it has not retreated, it has not allowed itself to be submitted to the dangers or the military superiority of the enemy. It hasn't submitted! It's defending the factories and shows that already it has acquired the consciousness that it can lead the country, it has shown itself ready to lead the country and to attract the whole of the population. And with these attitudes, it is communicating with all the masses of Latin America and the world, the resolution and the courage to confront the coup, without anything! Because it has confidence in the future and it is defending it concretely now. For this reason it is not beaten and it doesn't desert; others would already have deserted. The uprising took place seven days ago and still the workers areas are occupied by the masses, which shows that in every way the government of the Popular Unity carried out an important task; if not, there would have been nothing of this.

It is for this reason, it is necessary to condemn the attitude of groups like 'Rouge' in France. And the workers, where did they get their arms? We criticise the government of Allende and the Popular Unity for naivety and political limitation, but the government was not opposed to this. It is the naivety and the limitation of the government which it is necessary to criticise. A leadership is missing which draws experience from all this to demonstrate that the masses are ready to struggle for power. This is what they are doing today, it would have been better before, all of them armed, openly armed to take power! It is necessary to show that there is no other remedy other than to make an armed confrontation. As Peron did before, when he posed to arm 20,000 militias. That is why they threw him out in that period. But now, on the contrary, in the Argentine the militia are

already armed before Peron appeals. This is the experience which it is necessary to understand.

Vietnam, the Middle East, Greece, Spain, Portugal: in all these places they assassinated. In Greece from 1967 and before the military Junta also, the assassination of the opposition was the result of the agreement between the bourgeoisie. They did not kill each other, they killed the communists, the socialists and the radicals. In Vietnam also and in the Middle East. The Chilean masses have felt the influence of Vietnam. The attitude of the Chilean masses is the same as that of Vietnam. It is a new Vietnam. It is an aspect of the world class struggle, of world dual power and of the armed will of the masses to triumph. This is the effect which Vietnam has directly. The Paris Commune, 1905, 1917, the war against Nazism and fascism, the Chinese and Cuban revolutions, Vietnam and Chile. The Chilean masses are doing the same. The Cuban masses were in far worse conditions than the Chilean masses; they were fighting in Cuba from 1951, thousands were killed and assassinated in far worse conditions with less support than today. Because in that period there were only the Workers States. Today there is Cuba, Mexico, Peru and Argentina and in part Bolivia. Brazil does not have the weight to decide, it's purely comic opera. It has a reactionary government which imperialism uses, but it cannot make it send troops or stimulate movements against other countries, because it has an internal crisis. Hence Geissel has emerged as presidential candidate. But on the other hand the Chilean masses feel secure and firm after the experience they made that they could triumph, and that in three years there has been a constant advance and they have triumphed.

In Cuba they assassinated ten times more than in Chile, in the epoch of Batista. It is certain that Yankee imperialism worked with two objectives, hoping to dominate Fidel Castro when he won; it gave him a certain support. But it didn't stimulate in anyway the overthrow of Batista to install the present Cuban regime. It believed that it could dominate it. The massacre that Batista carried out and the massacre of the guerrilla war, did not impede or contain the development of the war to take power. Thus it is necessary to take power.

The masses of Chile are making a Vietnam. Every important revolutionary movement is like Vietnam. Therefore it is necessary to say to the comrades of the Socialist and Communist Parties, is this a civil war or not? It is necessary to foresee all this for the next stage, to prepare beforehand. It is necessary to have leaderships which accept this conclusion. It is necessary to make discussions throughout the Communist, Socialist, Left Radical movement, the left Christian democrats, the left nationalists, to understand this experience. Besides Chile showed that the United Front was necessary, that the masses made it. But a week before the coup d'etat, they participated in the elections in Huachipoto and other trade union elections, with separate candidates for each of the parties, which shows the backwardness of the leaderships.

Vietnam is in Chile. And if the masses of Vietnam with less possibilities than the masses of Chile, were not beaten and did not disintegrate, if with bombs which corresponded to five atomic bombs, the Vietnamese people were not conquered, which was the principal object of imperialism - to beat down the Vietnamese masses, so that resistance would cease - the Chilean people are certainly not going to abandon the struggle! The proof is that they answered immediately with guerrillas, and although they succeeded in defeating them momentarily, the guerrillas are organising themselves in every way. It is going to impel in Latin America a new more advanced stage of the revolutionary struggle. Much more advanced, impelling much more decisive military forms on the part of the masses. And leaderships are necessary which correspond to this.

THE MARKHAM COLLIERY DISASTER ENQUIRY REPORT SHOWS THE NECESSITY FOR

A WORKERS SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF PIT SAFETY

As was expected, the public enquiry into the deaths of seventeen men and the severe injury to thirteen others at Markham Colliery in July this year, has glossed over the whole affair and refused to put the blame where it belongs, squarely on the shoulders of the capitalist class and the corrupt and inept NCB. This enquiry, like all others into previous disasters has not concerned itself with the real reason for accidents of this kind, the constant drive for increased production at the cost of safety and decent working conditions. All the money and new equipment which they claim has been invested in the Markham colliery has all been put in for the sole purpose of increasing productivity in order to supply cheap coal for industry.

The line of the NCB is to try to show that management and men have one common interest. That they are all partners in a great enterprise. The lie of such statements can be seen only too readily in accidents like this and of the others this year in Louthouse, Cynthely, etc. Management and control of the mines must be in the hands of the people who work there, in this way safety will be the first priority, the planning of production and the risks will be weighed up by the same people who have to take the risks. Today the only interest of the Coal Board is to extract the maximum production and productivity at the cheapest cost. The big disasters hit the headlines because they are spectacular. But everyday there are disasters, hundreds die every week, either quickly in a fall of stones or a runaway truck, or slowly and painfully as the dust seals off their lungs and they die of pneumoconiosis. Yet what is the NCB doing? It weekly throws millions of pounds worth of new cutting machinery, road headers, dinters, boom rippers into the pits to increase the dust levels a thousand fold. The only safety device of these are puny little water sprays which in most cases are useless against the thick wet of dust, or else render the task more dangerous by wetting the stone above so that it dries and

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UNIFY ALL THE CHILE COMMITTEES ON A COMMON PROGRAMME

Committees for the defence of Chile are being formed throughout the country. They are part of the direct and immediate answer of the vanguard in solidarity with the Chilean masses who are fighting capitalist repression. They are going to stimulate and coordinate the mobilisations for Chile, developing at the same time discussion on the experiences of Chile and their importance as an integral part of the struggle of the masses throughout the world to get rid of what is left of the capitalist system.

The developments in Chile have found an immediate echo within the Labour Party and the trade unions. Numerous sectors have declared their active solidarity with the masses of Chile, but even more important, they have initiated a public discussion - drawing conclusions - on the importance of this coup in Chile, how to use the lessons from it to get rid of the Tories, go to government, and from the government to power here in Britain. Within the structure of the Labour Party it is not possible to make an immediate generalisation and application of these lessons, but the vanguard must discuss the experiences of Chile in the Labour Party; deepening their theoretical understanding, particularly on the impossibility of going to socialism through parliament and the bourgeois constitution, and the necessity to see the army as a political force of repression of the bourgeoisie, as it is in Ireland for example.

In order to stimulate the political life in the wards and constituencies of the L.P. it is necessary that they should be able to decide and organise in the party so that all discussions can become a basis of organisation of the struggle on a national level. In this way it will be possible to win to the L.P. a larger part of those sectors of the workers vanguard who vote for and support the Labour Party, but do not militate within it. These united front committees in solidarity with the Chilean masses were developed because the workers vanguard has not seen the possibility, of weighing nationally through the Labour Party. They will be a constant encouragement to the left to defeat the sabotage of the right through local mobilisations in which all parties and tendencies of the workers movement can intervene.

There is a deep emotion felt throughout the country for the heroic resistance of the Chilean proletariat, which is defending with arms, its factories and mines. By its resistance it has already in part stopped the murderous objectives of the Junta which had started out with the intention of exterminating the leaderships of the workers parties, the trade unions and numerous sectors of the proletarian vanguard.

The proletariat is defending the structure of the Revolutionary State, nationalised property land to the peasants etc. through the defence of the occupied factories, and by its active participation in organs such as the Cordones Industriales, and the Comandos Comunales, which in parts of Chile are still fighting arms in hand against the Junta.

Chile shows that capitalism will try to utilise all methods to try to stop the programmatic and organisational progress of the working class. The centre which capitalism has utilised in this country for this purpose has been the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party and the right wing leadership in the trade unions which have a strong base of support in sectors of the workers aristocracy. This bourgeois leadership in the L.P. is today weakened and is unable to stop any progress of the masses. For this reason capitalism will have to rely more and more on the force of military repression in order to try to halt the class struggle, and to try to stop the advance of organs which represent a great advance in the methods of class struggle; the mass pickets during the miners strike, or action committees for instance in the coming struggles. These committees will tend to become organisms with a more constant functioning, discussing not only their particular struggles but all aspects of the struggle against capitalism.

The committees which are being set up in solidarity with the Chilean masses can play their role of obtaining the widest mobilisations for concrete support to Chile by having a programme to unify them at a national and international level, with mobilisations throughout the world. FOR STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS, MOBILISATIONS IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE CHILEAN MASSES, FOR THE COLLECTION OF MONEY HERE TO SEND FOOD, MEDICINES, ARMS, ETC. TO THE CHILEAN WORKERS AND PEASANTS.

DEMAND THAT THE GOVERNMENT BREAK OFF ALL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND FINANCIAL AGREEMENTS WITH CHILE!

Organise the active intervention of the trade unions through a series of mobilisations to **BOYCOTT ALL GOODS COMING FROM AND GOING TO CHILE! AND PARTICULARLY AN IMMEDIATE ARMS EMBARGO AGAINST THE JUNTA! FOR THE IMMEDIATE STOPPING OF ALL WORK ON THE CHILEAN WAR SHIPS IN NEWCASTLE!**

U.S. Imperialism, in direct alliance with various capitalist countries, sought to stop and expro-

appropriate shiploads of nationalised copper, it is now necessary NOT TO ALLOW THEM ANY OF THE PRODUCTS THAT BELONG TO THE CHILEAN MASSES!

FOR STRIKES, DEMONSTRATIONS AND MEETINGS TO DEMAND THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL THOSE MULTI NATIONAL MONOPOLIES THAT WERE INVOLVED IN THE COUP D'ETAT SUCH AS I.T.T. AND ITS SUBSIDIARIES, KENNECOTT, ETC! FOR THE CONSTITUTION OF A NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENCE OF CHILE WITH THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS PARTIES.

We appeal that these committees struggle for this programme and that they contribute to prepare a **WORLD CONFERENCE OF WORKERS PARTIES TRADE UNIONS AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES TO ORGANISE THESE ACTIONS AT AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL.**

CHILE

Continued from page 1

Call to organise a continental stoppage, Latin American stoppage, stoppages everywhere, with the programme of occupation of factories posing the expulsion of imperialism from all countries; the expropriation of imperialism, the organisation of factory committees, of united fronts of all tendencies, in order to expel imperialism and struggle in each country to put popular governments, nationalist governments, socialist governments into power with the effect of transforming the country as a guarantee, as the essential base to prevent imperialism doing the same in the rest of Latin America. For this it is necessary to give power to the workers so that they have the means to be able to defend this power, organs, arms, in order to be able to do it. This is demonstrating that one of the essential tasks which it is necessary to make, is the destruction of the army which comes from capitalism, it is necessary to destroy it. It is the nest of the bourgeoisie. Capitalism has a need of them because they use them as a counter revolutionary instrument. It is a lie that the capitalist army is an instrument of the Fatherland, to defend the country. The only glory which the Chilean army has had, after the time of O'Higgins when they threw out imperialism, is now when it is massacring the proletariat.

One definite conclusion is that one cannot maintain illusions in the democratic legalistic character of the army. It is a naivety of the government of Allende and of the Popular Unity, together with all the bravery and audacity and resolution of them, to believe that the army is not going to rise up against them. And they put about, among the people, the belief that the army was not going to rise. On the other hand, if they had said: 'the army is going to rise, it is necessary to be prepared', everybody would have been prepared to confront the army. And they would have dissolved the army from inside. It is necessary to appeal to the army so that it does not carry out any orders against the Popular Government, against the progressive social measures, against the masses.

The progress of the revolution is uncontrollable, with the progress, the retreats, the deviations, delays, but not on a world scale. On a local scale it is possible to have profound retreats, but not on a world scale. The depth of all this is that conscious leaderships are necessary. But the revolution advances even in this way. It is necessary to draw the conclusions from the military putsch, which is not a putsch, but an action prepared consciously by imperialism.

In Argentina, Peron was defeated in 1955, and hundreds were massacred; the same happened in Bolivia, and Mexico as well, Peru as well, and all this has been retaken by the masses. Brazil has a dictatorship which has to soften to be able to coexist economically, and with the petit bourgeois masses.

Any conclusion which is made about Chile, any analysis, must take these conclusions into

account. What it is necessary to draw from Chile is the experience, what it signifies, what conclusions, how to organise, what emerges from all this? It emerges that it is necessary to organise power previously, that it has to be organised previously with organs of the masses which function, and that power is taken and defended by force. This is clear and definite. And at the same time gain the majority of the population. This is the form of 'winning the majority'.

The other fundamental conclusion which it is necessary to draw is that in the process of advance, it is necessary to destroy the army. The essential task is to destroy the capitalist army, by gaining one part of it, influencing, and disorganising the army as a capitalist apparatus. It is possible to advance inter-penetratively with important measures up to a limit, at which it is necessary to take power by force. It is necessary to discuss the events of Chile on the basis of these conclusions.

These events are quite an important blow to the leaderships of the workers and revolutionary movements. They feel terrorised now, and they try to justify themselves. None of them show that all this could have been foreseen, as we foresaw it, and that it is a blow and nothing more.

The behaviour of the proletariat in all Chile, in the SUMAR factory in Santiago which is known to be a bastion of resistance, has the same significance as the Paris Commune, as the behaviour of the Soviet proletariat defending Stalingrad against the Nazis.

We make a concrete appeal now, to support the resistance of the workers of the factories, to widen it, to stimulate those who are maintaining resistance in the factories and in all the places where they are fighting, because this is going to stimulate the decomposition of the army; and that all the countries of Latin America, those governments who have declared their support, the Workers States and the organisations of the masses send volunteers in defence of the constitutional government and the rights of the Chilean people.

We appeal for the recognition of the government of the Popular Unity immediately, on the basis of the workers who are defending it, and the alliance with the military in Concepcion. A government of the Popular Unity and of all the parties of the left, the trade unions, in alliance with the military. That the trade unions of the Workers States, the Communist Parties of the Workers States, make an appeal to the world proletariat to support Chile, to confront the sabotage of imperialism, to throw out, expel and expropriate imperialism from every country. It is necessary that the trade unions of the Workers States, the Workers Centres, and the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and of all the Workers States do this. They should make this appeal to the world proletariat, and call for a world meeting to organise the defence of Chile, of the Chilean masses. All the Workers States should intervene with all their strength, giving arms, economic support and all support no matter what the risk, if a government representing the Chilean people is formed. So that they don't recognise this military junta and recognise immediately a representative government. Thus as imperialism is intervening openly against a government elected by the masses, that the trade unions and the Communist Parties of the Workers States call to overthrow the reactionary military junta and give unconditional support to the uprising of the masses in defence of the Popular Unity, offering it help of every type against the military junta and imperialism. We call to make a world conference of trade unions, workers centres, communist, socialist and trotskyst parties, revolutionary nationalist movements, all of them, to make a world meeting to organise the unconditional support to the Chilean masses. That the Conference of 'Non-Aligned' countries which was held in Algeria, adds itself to this campaign in defence of the right of the Chilean people. It is necessary to appeal for this support of the Workers States and of the masses of all the world, which is going to stimulate immensely the progress of the revolution in Latin America and throughout the world.

J. POSADAS 13. 9. 1973

NOTTINGHAM

PUBLIC MEETING ON CHILE

A meeting of the Nottingham Ad Hoc Committee for the Defence of the Chilean Revolution, was held on 25th September and discussed the significance of the coup, drawing the national and international conclusions.

The committee was formed as the result of an initiative of our party, it is composed of a broad front of trade unions and political parties. The speakers were Ken Coates of the Labour Party, a speaker from our party, and one from I.M.G.

Our party intervened on the need for international solidarity with the Chilean masses and the need to organise the left in the L.P. on the basis of this experience. There was an important discussion and decisions were taken to continue the activity. The following resolution was passed.

This meeting appeals to the Labour Party Conference and the Nottingham L.P. wards and

T.U. branches to express solidarity with the Chilean Revolution and to call for and organise mobilisations, meetings and strikes of support. This meeting appeals to Conference to call for a World Conference of Trade Unions and Workers Parties, to organise solidarity and assistance to the Chilean masses. This meeting calls on Conference also to pledge the L.P. to a policy of breaking all diplomatic relations with the Chilean regime. We appeal to all the committees which have

been formed for Defence of the Chilean Revolution, to all Labour Party, Communist Party and Trade Union branches to discuss and support this call for an International Conference of Workers Parties, trade unions, and anti-imperialist forces as the next concrete step in the internationalist solidarity with the Chilean masses.

Chile

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

masses of the world see that they can go electorally to the government but they have to defend it by force. It is the example that they have of Chile. And also that of Argentina, a government like that of Peron that had 60% of the votes and the military that overthrew him depend on a small layer of imperialism and the oligarchy. This is going to weigh enormously on the consciousness of the vanguard to give a new leadership without ruptures. The vanguard is learning to make critical judgements.

The heroism of the Chilean masses is beautiful. They have nothing but in the workers areas they are sustaining themselves. It is the elevation of the historic consciousness, and moreover, the concrete and scientific understanding by the masses of the strength which they have. It is not a question of elections but of defending themselves in the workers areas of Santiago and in the rest of Chile. The masses feel themselves to be supported by the whole country, they feel that they are decisive in history and are ready for any type of sacrifice or effort. They are learning to lead, to organise and to acquire knowledge including military knowledge which before they didn't have. Hence they put the military in a straight jacket in many areas of the country. Already they are organising to form guerrillas, all the masses of the world are going to see this. The bourgeoisie is not going to feel secure with this military coup, with this massacre they have carried out.

In Indonesia they smashed the opposition and they killed a million communists and anti-imperialists. Afterwards there was Vietnam; this is to say that the masses didn't let themselves be intimidated, on the contrary they received the experience and drew the conclusions to progress. Indonesia was one experience. Chile another, Vietnam another. Vietnam showed that it was necessary to defend positions arms in hand. Neither with parliament nor with discussions. They didn't ask anything from imperialism, they imposed on it by force. And the Vietnamese masses also imposed themselves on the Soviets. If they hadn't done this, the Soviets and the Chinese would have conciliated with the Yanks. And the Chilean masses are a prolongation of Vietnam, of the decision of the Vietnamese people not to yield. Its leadership committed errors, but it fought with

honesty, trying to make progress. This was not the road. For this the masses didn't detain themselves by criticising their leadership, by condemning it. They went with their leadership to go forward. Hence they continued struggling, they were united in the will to stimulate the Popular Unity towards the construction of socialism. Hence they saw that their leadership could disappear but they wouldn't. The will of the masses to triumph is very clear and conclusive.

We condemn the assassination of all the communist, socialist, trotskyst, radical, left catholic, MIR leaders, but at the same time, we feel the greatest joy for the dignified historic behaviour of the Chilean working class which shows that it is invincible. From the Paris Commune to Santiago it has shown this behaviour. It passed from 1905, 1917, the defence of Stalingrad by the masses, the Workers States formed after the war, China, Cuba, Vietnam; all this centralised the will to triumph of the masses.

It is necessary to make appeals to the soldiers not to shoot, to shoot against the military bosses. This is very important, as much for Chile as for the rest of Latin America and the world. It is necessary to appeal also to the nationalists of Latin America, to the workers parties and to the trade unions, to mobilise themselves in support of Chile, and to develop the conditions to impede other blows like that of Chile, including in Peru. It is necessary to organise mobilisations in Peru in support of the government and in limitation of the political function of the army, because a sector is going to await the moment to rebel. It is going to try to link itself to that of Chile and to the right in Bolivia to make a triangle. Although imperialism has very little force, it is going to try to stimulate the counter revolution. Therefore it is necessary to expropriate imperialism completely, to increase to the maximum the measures of planning and of nationalisation. This deprives the bourgeoisie of power. If in Chile they had increased this, they would have diminished the force of the coup. For example they would have expropriated the lorry owners.

With the appeals to the soldiers, NCO's and officers, it is necessary to explain to them that the cause which the Popular Unity defends is the social progress, and on the other hand, what they are defending is the interests of a small nucleus of owners to continue social inequality, misery, hunger, and the preparation of the war. It is necessary to present

arguments politically in the appeal to the soldiers, that they are the sons of workers families and they are being called upon to kill their own fathers, and brothers, class brothers and relatives, people who are poor like them. That they are not defending a country, a fatherland, nor are they fighting against an invasion. They are defending the interests of the proprietors who have robbed the Chilean people of everything that they have. Therefore argue and appeal to them in relation to what has happened, that the Popular Unity is seeking to develop economic measures which eliminate misery, unemployment, which elevate the standard of living of everyone.

The Workers States must intervene in public defence of the masses in Chile, as they did in Vietnam, and support them socially, economically, politically, and militarily. They must send arms to the Chilean masses and create militias in the Workers States to send volunteers. This is going to stimulate the Revolutionary States and the revolutionary nationalist governments, to confront imperialism and arm themselves.

We appeal to the Workers States and the Revolutionary States, to the popular governments, to condemn and not to recognise the military junta and to help the struggle of the masses to overthrow it; to denounce the crimes and the massacres and to help the organisation of the clandestine guerrillas. It is necessary to support them with demonstrations, assemblies, meetings, strikes, collections for arms, provisions, medicines, volunteers in support of the proletariat and the masses in Chile. It is necessary to organise these actions, coordinating them on a world wide scale to restore the popular government in Chile.

J. POSADAS 16.9.1973.

(1) Cordones Industriales, organisms which organise the defence of factories in an area, with elected representatives from the factories taking part. Comandos Comunales, area organisms incorporating the cordones industriales and representatives from the population. J.A.P.S., popular price and distribution committees.

(2) Fantani, the leader of the Italian Senate.

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OUT WITH IMPERIALISM FROM THE MIDDLE EAST !

The renewal of the war in the Middle East is a proof that the policy of peaceful coexistence counts for nothing. The Palestinian masses see that their problems can and will only be solved through armed struggle, and

Israel backed by Imperialism sees that it can only maintain itself by force. The armed presence of Israel is a continuous threat to any progress made by the masses and by any of the revolutionary nationalist

leaderships advancing along the road of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist measures towards the construction of Workers States. The advances which have already been made (limited though they have been from a social point of view, important from the economic point of view, nationalisations etc.) have had an effect within Israel, where there have been strikes and the development of left Jewish groups seeking a united front with the Arab masses. Israeli imperialism tries to maintain its authority over the Jewish masses demonstrating its power, its military invincibility, but in this war this has in part already been shaken, by the resistance of the Egyptian and Syrian armies armed and trained by the Soviet Union. We salute the anti-imperialist combativity of the sections of the Egyptian and Syrian armies involved which is acting as an encouragement to the Arab masses, in spite of the limitation of a purely military action.

At the same time it is necessary to see that the Arab armies cannot win this war solely by the military actions to which the Sadat and Asad leaderships want to confine it; it has to be accompanied by social measures; the establishment of committees in the factories and workers areas, in the countryside, committees which are armed and prepared politically and militarily to confront Israel. There must be appeals directed to the Israeli masses calling them to take the land and the factories, to form committees and throw out the counter-revolutionary Israeli leadership. The

appeals which the Syrian radio has made to the Israeli soldiers and settlers on the Golan Heights are important, but remain on the abstract plane of appeals for justice, such appeals have to be continued but deepened calling the Israeli masses to take no part in this war, to make the revolution and to take power in Israel.

We make a salute to the Arab masses and to the measures of nationalisation of the U.S. holdings in Iraqi oil wells, made by the Iraqi Baath. This has been so far the most important economic measure taken against imperialism since the start of this war. We call for the extension of these measures of nationalisation to include all the assets of imperialism, U.S., British and French in the Middle East.

Israel has reacted like U.S. Imperialism in Vietnam; it has bombed civilian centres in Damascus and Port Said and possibly Cairo. We call to the Workers States and Communist Parties to give all possible support to the Arab masses, including direct military intervention, but accompanying this by political appeals, appeals for the United Soviet Socialist States of the Middle East with the right of self determination for the Jewish masses; we appeal also to the L.P., the C.P., the trade unions and student movement to organise discussions, meetings, demonstrations, in solidarity with the Arab masses, putting forward these same slogans.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

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THE CONCLUSION OF THE VICTORY OF THE LEFT IN THE L.P. CONFERENCE IS THE NEED TO CONSTRUCT A MARXIST TENDENCY

The capitalist press has shown a tremendous concern with the Labour Party Conference. The conference has not come as a surprise because it is the culmination of a whole process of public discussion since last year, but nevertheless the bourgeoisie hoped that the right wing would be able to contain much more the level of discussion. But now it sees that even if the resolution calling for the nationalisation of from 25 to 250 monopolies was heavily defeated, the right wing have had to accept, and even itself to propose or support an important programme of nationalisations. Ports, ship building, North Sea oil and gas, the aircraft industry, land, sectors of road haulage, machine tools and pharmaceuticals, have all been designated and accepted by conference for nationalisation. Sectors of industry which had been de-nationalised will be re-nationalised without compensation. These resolutions together with the other decisions like the expulsion of military bases or the support given to the Unidad Popular government in Chile, the rapid reaction of the conference to save the life of Luis Corvalan the general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, signify an accentuation of the anti capitalist line of the Labour Party.

The bourgeoisie is worried by the Conference, not just because of the nationalisations, because still the major monopolies are untouched, or the discussion on workers control on taxation and measures which make the functioning of capitalism more difficult, but because it knows that this programme is going to encourage and stimulate the working class and large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie to vote for the L.P., and to support it ACTIVELY with mass meetings, with demonstrations and strikes once it is in government. It sees that as occurred in Chile the dynamic support of the working class is going to give confidence to hesitating sectors of the government so that it carries out its programme and in turn this is going to attract even more the petit bourgeoisie. In Chile the government of Allende in 2½ years with its programme of nationalisations passed from an electoral support of 36% to 44%, attracting wider sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. It will be the same here, middle sectors of society even if not convinced of the superiority of nationalised property are worried about such problems as job security, as the multi national firms switch production from one place to another, or the concentration of monopolies brings about the liquidation of smaller firms, making even the managers, technicians, clerks, etc. unemployed. And the bourgeoisie fears that Wilson and the right wing are going to be prisoners of the masses and they won't be able to act, they have neither the authority nor the support even in the apparatus to act as they once did.

Conference shows the emergence of a left team which is trying to respond honestly to the enormous pressure which it feels from the Labour masses both inside the party and outside it in the factories, in the workers areas and in the unions, which wants to eliminate capitalism and build socialism. This team doesn't have a marxist preparation and for this reason it is not consistent in its positions and it lacks security in what it is possible to do now. But it wants to advance, and it wants to fight for an anti-capitalist programme.

The capitalist class, even if it is not yet ready for a coup as in Chile, is going to use all its forces, all its means of communication to weigh in the Labour Party, to make the right wing which is already luke warm in its support for the programme, go back on, and actively oppose in parliament the nationalisation programme.

In all the discussions between the right and left wing Labour M.P.'s discussing the conference, it is clear to see that the wings have nothing in common - they are like two different parties, one bourgeois and the other socialist, not social democratic, but socialist with the intention of eliminating capitalism. Heffer put it clearly by saying 'We want to eliminate capitalism and do it quickly'. The struggle between the two wings is going to become sharper. The right which voted for the Tories over the Common Market issue and by doing so kept them in power, is going to vote with the

Tories again, against the nationalisations. Capitalism which still relies on this right is going to do all it can to mobilise it against the left. The guarantee that the left is going to continue the advance, is not the honesty of Benn or Heffer, but the impossibility of any capitalist solutions, and the unremitting pressure of the working class expressed independently of the L.P. leadership, in its factory and local organs. They have shown before that they are not prepared to accept incomes restraint under capitalism, whether it is introduced by Labour or not, and their confidence fed by the world process of the revolution, the victory in Vietnam, the progress of the European workers movement, the conclusions which they have drawn from the counter revolutionary coup in Chile which has not intimidated them, is going to weigh on the next Labour government forcing it to advance.

The right wing feels this, feels that it is going to be a prisoner of the masses in the next Labour government, and is frightened to go to the government. Healy and Jenkins intervene in the Conference, to try to lower the confidence in the possibility of implementing the programme, Healy underlines the cost of it, and the need to tax more heavily even wider and lower paid sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, while Jenkins says that Labour must have more than the 38% the opinion polls gives it, if it is to govern effectively still less effect a peaceful social revolution. Their attempts attract no one and they are not meant to, they are meant to stimulate the right wing and hesitant sectors against the nationalisations. Healy, Jenkins and all the right wing are frightened of going to the government and being caught between a pressure of the masses which they can't control and the desperate hostile reaction of the bourgeoisie, and because of this they are trying to lose the next election. The Next Labour government is going to have to confront the economic decadence of capitalism, its inability to utilise and develop the productive forces which already exist, and at the same time respond to a working class which is gaining more and more confidence in its daily life that it can run all the industries, that it can solve all the problems of production and which wants to put the productive forces at the disposal of the whole of society. This is going to force the L.P. to advance.

Whatever the limitations of the conference, limitations which come from the bureaucratic structure of the Party, it has shown that there is an intense political life in the working class, inside and outside the Party branches. Clay Cross, the 65 resolutions calling for sweeping nationalisations, the mobilisation of the local Labour Party branches for Chile and against the Caetano visit, indicate the political maturing of sectors and teams who want a more accentuated struggle by the L.P. against capitalism. Otherwise there would not have been such a move to the left; the base has imposed it. The vanguard is going to be encouraged by the conference because it sees that there is a team in formation, both in the party nationally and within the NEC, which has an

anti-capitalist programme, and a resolution to carry it through. This process of programmatic and theoretical elevation is going to demand more from the party and its militants and at the same time encourage them to intervene more, discuss more, to find solutions to all the problems which capitalism has created, problems of education, housing, health, employment etc. They are going to feel that through the party and its programme they can resolve everything, and they are going to acquire a greater self confidence to act as organisers of society.

The working class must consolidate the victory signified by the resolutions passed at the conference, by taking up the discussion and continuing it in the factories, mines, colleges and schools, in the TU branches, and the branches of the LP and CP. The nationalisation of the 25 major companies, including British Leyland, G.E.C., I.C.I., etc. must be discussed; how are they to be run as nationalised industries, what is going to be the precise form of workers control? The factories have to weigh in the coming struggle in the L.P. supporting and impelling the left. A conclusion of the conference must be to form Labour Party branches in the factories which function, hold meetings, discussions in the factory, and which call local M.P.'s and councillors to address mass factory meetings to explain their record, their positions in relation to the nationalisations and other measures. New Labour M.P.'s must be selected from mass factory meetings. All this will tend to break the old bourgeois structure of an electoral party and give the L.P. much more a structure which allows the vanguard to weigh and decide. Such a structure and functioning is a necessity if the party is going to be able to continue the struggle going from the government to the taking of power, and if it is going to be able to withstand the attacks which the bourgeoisie are sooner or later, as in Chile, going to make against the LP and the masses.

The masses have been able to impose themselves on this conference, in spite of its undemocratic structure. This structure has affected the conference in the way speakers were selected, in the way motions were composed eliminating the most combative ones, in the way Jack Jones could throw all the votes of the TGWU against a resolution on nationalisations similar to one already passed by his unions' conference. Important problems were not discussed; above all Ireland. What does Ireland, the military repression there mean for the working class of Britain, how is it to be related to the events of Chile, what lessons can the LP learn from it in relation to the role of the army during the next Labour

government when it tries to implement the programme? What is the significance of the trial of the 24 building workers of Shrewsbury, held on a criminal charge? The L.P. conference should have discussed and intervened on all these problems, and even if it has not, the Labour left must do so from now, much more than it has done in the past.

The resolutions passed at conference have to be implemented by the next Labour government. The parliamentary leadership, the Shadow Cabinet cannot be permitted to ignore parts or select parts from the programme of resolutions passed. It is the programme of the Labour Party which the leadership has to accept and apply. But as there is still not the structure of the party which can ensure that the base controls the leadership, the Labour vanguard must organise in the factories, and workers areas so that by independent class actions the masses can force the leadership to implement the programme. This is the task of the Labour left in the factories now; to make the widest possible discussion on the programme, to construct organs in the factories and so that in the next Labour government the factories come out with declarations, resolutions, and take strike actions to force the government to nationalise. It is only by mass mobilisations that such a programme of nationalisations as the conference passed, can be applied.

The conference has shown that the L.P. is going towards marxism, no matter how frightened or opposed to it the leadership might be. Marxism is a necessity for the advance of the party which has to be fulfilled by the construction of a marxist left tendency. Already the left sees that it cannot use the structure of the party as it exists, it has to change the structure, impose proletarian democracy, already there is an influence of marxism and a utilisation in a general and incomplete way, of marxist ideas; particularly of Trotsky's Transitional Programme, but it is insufficient. We call on the Labour vanguard to read and discuss the ideas of Lenin on the State, and on the construction of the Party, to assimilate the experiences of the first seven years of the Russian Revolution, when soviets and the Bolshevik Party functioned, to study Posadas's documents on the Labour Party, on the Workers States and Communist Parties, on the Revolutionary Nationalist movement, to give itself the theoretical and political security necessary to structure itself as a left tendency.

Thus the conclusions of the victory of the masses at the L.P. conference is the need to consolidate and affirm this victory by the construction of organs in the factories and workers areas, and the formation of a marxist left tendency in the Party.

DENOUNCE HARASSMENT OF TRADE UNIONISTS

The Political Bureau of the R.W.P.(T), British Section of the IV International (Posadist), denounces with all its revolutionary force, the latest actions of the police, in arresting the 25 trade unionists and students from Colchester returning from the demonstration for the 'Shrewsbury 24'. This action of the police, like the trial going on in Shrewsbury, is an action, which attempts to frighten, and terrorise a vanguard sector of the working class from making political action, from making solidarity actions with other trade unionists, and is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to halt the increasing number of strikes, occupations, demonstrations, etc. which the class are making against the Tories.

The Tories have passed the Industrial Relations Act through parliament, but do not have the strength to use it. The arrest of the 'Pentonville 5' and their quick release obtained by massive strike actions by all the working class, was enough to prove this. Now

they are forced to arrest trade unionists and charge them under criminal laws some of them laws made in the 19th century against trade unionists, and others laws recently passed by the Tories.

The trial of the 'Angry Brigade' the bomb trial now going on at Winchester, the trial of the 'Coventry 7' the trial at Shrewsbury, all are actions of the bourgeoisie to try to intimidate the masses, but on the contrary, the masses retaliate. The constant demonstrations at Shrewsbury, the threats of many sectors of the class, and in particular of the dockers to strike immediately throughout the country if any of the Shrewsbury building workers are sentenced, the constant strike actions of the class, the occupation of the Triumph motor bike factory in Coventry, the massive intervention of the class which was reflected in the Labour Party conference, and the decisions taken there, all show that the class is not intimidated by these actions, but it ready to attack the bourgeoisie.

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ORGANISE THE LEFT IN THE SWEDISH SOCIALIST PARTY ON THE BASIS OF THE WORLD SITUATION

J. POSADAS 3.9.73

INTRODUCTION

The analysis made by comrade Posadas in this document has been confirmed in the recent general election in Sweden. The capitalist press had predicted a routing for the Social Democratic Party of Palme, and a big swing to the bourgeois parties. In fact the Social Democrats lost 6 seats, the Communist Party gained 2 seats, and the alliance of the Social Democrats and the Communist Party still form the government.

The results of this election highlight the demands made by Posadas in the article for the discussion of a programme of nationalisations, 30 hour working week, state monopoly of foreign trade etc. to be made in the Social Democratic party on which the left can base itself. The Social Democrats which have governed Sweden for over 40 years will have to advance, making changes in their programme, and policy in order to maintain their base. It is the whole process of the revolution which makes this advance possible, its been seen clearly in the social democratic party in Germany, in the French S.P., and now it is seen in the L.P. Conference. At the same time as this discussion begins to be raised in the SD party in Sweden, the bourgeoisie sees that it can no longer use the SD party to carry out their own repressive laws - the laws against foreigners taking part in any political activity for example - and will seek to do this in a more direct way. The greater the advance of the left, the stronger the alliance between the SP and CP, the more difficult for the bourgeoisie to react. Already the process has proved that it is impossible for the SD to form a government with any of the bourgeois parties. We salute all the activity of our Swedish Section, for the important role they play in the development of a revolutionary left in the SD and CP, which needs the texts of Posadas - the marxism of today - in order to combat the conciliatory leaderships and go forward to develop a left tendency in the Social Democratic Party.

Sweden is a demonstration of a world process; of how, by which roads and in what form, the world process of the organisation of the left in the Socialist Parties is happening in Sweden. It is not a question of a mere mobilisation or agitation over the situation in Sweden, but a world process in which one and the other are mutually influenced. Sweden, being one of the countries most separated from the vital centres of the class struggle, intervenes in the world process like all the capitalist countries and like all the Workers States, but not with ideas, positions, stimuli, examples. Now they are taking positions which show that they are receiving all the influences of the world. Sweden cannot give an influence to the rest of the world because its economic and social weight is minor. The economic weight of the Swedish bourgeoisie is small. But, on the other hand, the Swedish proletariat receives all the influence of the world situation. The recent socialist demonstration of 50,000 in Malmo is an indication that they live the day completely, living, penetrated and fused with the world process of the class struggle, the advance of the revolution and the most elevated progress of the world proletariat. It indicates the profoundly dynamic life of the Swedish proletariat and that although having comparatively little social weight and percentage, it has an enormous political influence. Such as it is, it is the Socialist Party that decides in the country.

For what is happening in Sweden it is necessary to see what phase we are in, and at what level. Can one pose from here to form a left wing? Or can Palme make a manoeuvre to contain? In everyday life he has to yield, he cannot cut short, throw out, expel, eliminate or cover it up. He has made a series of laws with the foresight that this is a process of inclination to the left, to threaten foreigners who intervene in politics, and to threaten the Swedes too in a direct way. But it has no effect. They are backward laws, very backward. They have an effect, but very limited. The Swedish bourgeoisie has no other means.

The influence of the world revolution on layers of the Swedish proletariat is very profound. Through Palme, the bourgeoisie has to use arguments and pressures saying 'Be careful, look where you are going!' But he has to leave it, because he feels that otherwise it will be worse. It is necessary to bear in mind that all these countries, Finland, Norway, Sweden, have tried out government combinations with the Liberals, small farmers, a series of mixtures that are already surpassed. They no longer have a perspective in the capitalist camp. They have to make them in the workers camp and try to contain by means of the Socialist Parties. When it reaches this level it is because the crisis is very profound.

This process in Sweden expresses the influence of the world revolution on the Swedish proletariat. But what is most important is that although it is a country that is distant from the world centres that determine the world course of the class struggle, they all intervene and they all weigh, but there are some sectors that are doing so through their weight. This is why a small country at a decisive moment can be decisive, because it receives the influence and weight of all the rest. Sweden being one of the countries most distant from these centres, should be separate from everything, culture, literature, revolutionary trade union influence. It lives daily the experiences of the world revolution. The Swedish petit bourgeoisie has a high standard of living compared with the world proletariat and petit bourgeoisie in general. It lives in a country that gives it a small mentality. But they are working with the security of a big country, which shows the influence of the revolution. Whilst the communists say, 'Careful! Don't raise this or the petit bourgeoisie will go like they are doing in Chile, the petit bourgeoisie is working with an immense security.'

An activity of publications, articles, meetings, conferences, discussions are necessary to organise the left. Above all texts and analyses on Sweden and the world. To discuss the world a great deal. To discuss the texts of the IV International, and to begin from here to analyse Sweden, to encourage the socialist, communist, trade union and petit bourgeois vanguard to see that there are all the conditions, the means and bases for the organisation of the left. Although it does not have the immediate perspective of taking power in the trade unions or in the Socialist Party. But in a short stage it will be. All the world is going to this, as is shown by what is happening in the Non Aligned Conference in Algeria, and Brezhnev's letter to the non aligned countries. It is aimed in part at replying to the Chinese, but in part too for within the USSR.

The whole process is going to help the formation of the left. The orientation of the discussion is going to be on the basis of a left programme. A left programme means that capitalism is not going to go on. It is necessary to take measures that affect the capitalist system, measures of nationalisation, of workers control, of factory councils, of planning, of investment directed by the state and the state control of the capitalist system, which contains a series of nationalisations under workers control, planning of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, the planning of investment. The state controlled by the workers must determine where to invest and on what to reinvest. Instead of the accumulation of capital, to develop the economy for the population.

It is on this basis that it is necessary to make a discussion in the socialist left. Not to raise it as a programme that must be applied now or tomorrow, but that this is the perspective and that this discussion must be opened. It is necessary to show the Communist Parties that the process to the left does not depend on Palme. We are not waiting for Palme. or the present leaders of the Socialist Party. It

possible, its been seen clearly in the social democratic party in Germany, in the French S.P., and now it is seen in the L.P. Conference. At the same time as this discussion begins to be raised in the SD party in Sweden, the bourgeoisie sees that it can no longer use the SD party to carry out their own repressive laws - the laws against foreigners taking part in any political activity for example - and will seek to do this in a more direct way. The greater the advance of the left, the stronger the alliance between the SP and CP, the more difficult for the bourgeoisie to react. Already the process has proved that it is impossible for the SD to form a government with any of the bourgeois parties. We salute all the activity of our Swedish Section, for the important role they play in the development of a revolutionary left in the SD and CP, which needs the texts of Posadas - the marxism of today - in order to combat the conciliatory leaderships and go forward to develop a left tendency in the Social Democratic Party.

is a world process that obliges the move to the left. From the trade union field and the political field, the left has to appear in the Socialist and Communist Parties. The left means a programme which affects the capitalist system, of control, of democratic measures superior to the capitalist system. It means workers councils, intervention of the masses. Through the municipalities, through the government, through parliament. Posing a superior form of democratic rights with the aim of elevating the economy - which cannot be done under the capitalist system.

The left has to come out. Inevitably it has to be posed as the norm. Palme wants to stop, the elections are going to give him the opportunity to reestablish himself to win again, to try to give blows and to contain. Yes all this is possible. But the world process it taking away the possibility of maintaining the stability of capitalist domination or repression. It is along this line that it is going to be accentuated.

There is not possibility, not even in Norway or in Sweden, for the reactionary right to gain power. Even if a capitalist sector return to power in Sweden, it is a sector which inevitably has to bear in mind the very great progress of the trade unions, the very great weight and influence in the cooperatives, and in the petit bourgeoisie, capitalism as a economic resource, not political means, it has no authority, neither in the army or the police or the judiciary to be able to impose the counter-revolution. It is preparing it, it prepares the atomic war, it prepares the counter revolution in every country; but it cannot decide the moment in which to make it, nor when to make it. It cannot because it no longer dominates its own structure. In the middle of a wave of repression a police trade union in France comes out against repression.

The left positions which the socialist youth are taking are an indication that in all sections of youth, this is what is in their head. But it is necessary to bring out a programme. It is necessary to make a programme and policy. To raise a full discussion: in all Sweden. Because Palme, once the elections are over, is going to try to contain, stop or to try to find a solution in small improvements which are not going to be discussed further. No, no, the conditions are open for the left in all the Scandinavian countries and in all the world. It is a complete process - not here, there and somewhere else. It is a complete process which is expressed in a very unequal way in one or another country. But a country that begins politically from a great backwardness, like Sweden, in a process of elevation tries to put itself at the most advanced height reached. And it can reach it because, by means of the masses, it receives all the world concentrated influences. This is Sweden. Its importance in the world economy is small, its proletarian weight is smaller still. Nonetheless, it has the most advanced possibilities, as advanced as the proletariat in Europe. This is an indication that they live a revolutionary life, the preoccupation for the revolution. There are all the conditions to make a left.

There are already currents and discussions that go towards currents in the Socialist Party and even in the Communist Party. It is necessary to discuss, posing the formation of the left, and why it is with this programme. The programme is not simply a position more to the left, an undefined workers control. It is a programme of workers control with a programme of economic development, of application, of planning, of intervention of the masses, of wage increases, of shortened working hours. It is necessary to elaborate it according to the needs and possibilities they have to reach such concessions. Possibility - does not mean what the bourgeoisie can give, but what the workers movement is ready to make. It is not a conclusion that the bourgeoisie is going to determine. The workers movement is going to decide if it can give it and if it is ready to struggle for the 30 hour working week and the struggle for the sliding scale of working hours where it is necessary. One essential aspect is the formation of the left, but at the same time, the struggle for these demands.

Sweden has little weight in the world workers and revolutionary movement. The struggle of the Swedish proletariat are not new experiences for the world proletariat, on the other hand those of the Spanish, Italian, Belgian, English, German and Dutch are. But with the growth of the struggles there has been an uninterrupted ascent of the Socialist Party with the weight and influence of the world on Sweden. With the crisis of the capitalist system which is going to go on increasing and getting worse, Sweden's importance is going to increase. The Swedish socialist and workers movement is going to increase in importance. In a short time it is necessary to expect in the Socialist Parties in the form of the Socialist International, a tendency, an attempt to form a centre to contain the left. This is still only beginning, this is still not formulated.

Leaderships that are servants of capitalism must be feeling that they can no longer be its servant to the death like before. This no longer serves them. So they have to try

to modify. The general play of the bourgeoisie that needs new bourgeois leaderships to play the role in this stage of interpenetration, of intermediary between the capitalist regime and the Workers States, is going to be expressed in all the Scandinavian countries, in a much more accentuated form. But here it is more difficult because they are Socialist Parties in which there is a very powerful trade union base, in which the worker base in the trade unions, in the Socialist Parties is going to rise up and is also going to liquidate the workers-aristocracy. Like in England, the workers aristocracy in all the Scandinavian countries too is losing ground and force, it loses historic support and cosine basis. So it is necessary to carry forward an offensive, tending to show that the left can be organised, even if in a later stage. It can be formed and it is going to weigh on and influence the Communist Party, although this does not have an important weight.

This attitude of the Soviet Union to the meeting in Algeria is going to have a very great influence in all the Scandinavian countries. It is going to increase the pole of attraction of the Workers States. Not of the Communist Parties of each country but of the Workers States. It is going to weigh on the Communist Parties - like the Swedish Communist Party - that have a very backward bureaucratic apparatus, with sectarian sectors that express themselves in a sectarian way, while there is another sector which wants to advance. This is going to help to influence partial regeneration quite a lot.

The influence of Chile on them also has a very great importance because in Sweden they are seeing: the solution in Chile is that it is necessary to go to power. They are seeing that for all the discussion and agreements they are seeking with the bourgeoisie, with sectors linked with the bourgeoisie, there is no agreement possible. It is necessary to impose it by force.

LETTER TO THE FRENCH SECTION ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LIP STRIKE AND THE SITUATION OF CAPITALISM IN FRANCE

22.8.73

J. POSADAS

INTRODUCTION

This letter of Comrade Posadas to the French Section makes a very important analysis of the LIP strike and the far reaching effects it has had on both capitalism and the working class movement in France.

The massive demonstration at Besancon last week showed the tremendous solidarity felt throughout the country for the struggle of the LIP workers. Although the occupation is not a central struggle in itself, it has been taken up by the whole of the working class and a big part of the population, and expresses the anti-capitalist feeling existing in the country. The whole social and political climate in France represents a threat to the government and they feel themselves incapable of controlling or containing it. Capitalism has not been able to repress the LIP workers as it would have liked, for fear that a harsh reaction would have provoked

There is the perspective - in not a very long time - of a pretty serious crisis in the French government. The class struggle is sharpening, though still in a very general way. But the LIP strike shows a state of animation of the population. Not only of the proletariat, but of the population. The persistence of the strike and its insistence in searching for a solution that rejects intermediary solutions and proposals, indicates the depth of the masses' will to struggle. This is expressed in the activity, the discussion and struggle in the Communist Party. The Messmer ministry does not correspond to the struggles that are coming, it is not a flexible ministry nor is it capable of having flexibility.

The struggles in France, the LIP strike, show a very elevated level, a very profound persistence. This is why 'Le Figaro' warns the bourgeoisie, 'There must be no repression, it is necessary to negotiate.' 'This is not just any strike, it is not LIP, it is a situation and structure that is in movement. It is necessary to cut it short and it is necessary to put in people capable of understanding this.' Which is to say, it is trying to educate, to exercise the function as a ministry over this ministry. It is a very rich, very beautiful situation that indicates the very great elevation of the revolutionary struggle on a world scale. 'Le Figaro' is exercising a pressure on the government and the bourgeoisie for it to put in people, ministers, politicians and leaders, capable of being flexible in a situation in which they can no longer say, 'Either us or nothing', but they have to slacken.

When LIP, although it is so small, produces such a discord in the government, it is because the impulse exceeds the force of containment; a very great impulse that surpasses the capacity of cohesion of a government that only remains united through its fear of the working class. It is a situation that they neither control or dominate, whilst the workers are increasing their intervention in the class struggle. But more important than the intervention in LIP, the bourgeoisie sees the danger of the Communist Party, which is the centralised leadership that generalises. In itself LIP has a very great importance because it expresses a level reached by the world and local proletariat of wanting to take power.

When the Communist Party adopts the position of supporting this struggle and maintaining it, it is because it feels obliged to respond to the same situation, but in the form of a centralised leadership that rapidly generalises any progress. It does not mean that they are going to take up such a progress, because they are not agitating positions, programme and immediate methods of struggle for an anti-capitalist programme. But the course of the struggle is going to carry them to deepen it, without reaching revolutionary conclusions. It is combined with the attitude of the Soviets who without wanting the revolution, do not want things to stay quiet either.

The declaration of Edgar Faure against atomic armament on the part of French imperialism, shows a pessimistic sentiment bordering on defeatism. It is not defeatism, but it is pessimism with one foot out toward defeatism. Because his formulation is 'In every way we lose, in every way! If we have the atomic bomb it has no importance because we excite the Soviets and they will smash us. And if we don't have it, it's the same. And if we have a lot of atomic bombs we depend on the Yankees and it's the same!' It is a central judgement because he sees that history is going to a definition. It is not the judgement of a political leader that determines a parliamentary electoral policy for today or tomorrow. No. It is the judgement of a leader of the bourgeois class who says, 'We are losing! What can we do?' He shows that they have no perspective.

The experience of the proletariat is going to be different to that which Allende's government is drawing, or the majority of Allende's government, or that which is being drawn by part of the socialist sector which is to the right and the communists who say that it is an ultra-left attitude to want to occupy factories, to want to impose on them, it alienates the petit bourgeois sectors. Not! It alienates capitalist sectors which can never be directly gained. On the other hand, the attitude of taking the factories, of occupying them and making them function under the workers, of imposing on these sectors by force, gains the Christian Democratic petit bourgeoisie, workers and peasants and breaks up the bourgeois apparatus. The Allende government does not draw this conclusion, it only goes part way in drawing it.

On the other hand, the masses of Sweden do; the masses of the world do. They are supporting themselves on this experience and they say, 'Ah yes, this is the solution. We are defeating the army, we are defeating the right. We are breaking up the army like it was broken up in Vietnam'. The masses of the world have this understanding. They feel that they are the ones that have initiated, motivated and exercised the force that is going to smash the intervention of the army and the bourgeoisie. The masses of Sweden are drawing the conclusions to apply it there. It is the masses of the world that are drawing this conclusion. They have seen the ceaseless mobilisations of the masses in Chile.

This is what stopped and broke up the blow from the Chilean counter revolution. This is why they made no demonstration. Why didn't they make demonstrations? They stopped the lorries, some doctors did not go to work, some shops did not open. Where is the mobilisation? Meanwhile, the masses did mobilise, they occupied the factories, they

immediate mobilisations of the population. Their greatest fear, however is of the Communist Party and the changes they see taking place within it as a direct result of LIP. Even though the Communist Party has not extended and generalised the LIP struggle sufficiently, and has put forward very limited solutions, such as making a cooperative of the factory, when, as this document shows, the only workable solution is nationalisation under workers control, nevertheless it has been forced to support LIP.

Big struggles are being prepared in France. The working class doesn't wait for elections in order to influence its party and trade union leaderships, but uses concrete struggles and develops them as a means of showing their answer to the crisis of capitalism.

Edgar Faure is one of the most famous representatives of French Capitalism. And when he is animated to make such a declaration it is a warning to the rest. Nobody recriminated him, or kicked him, or threw him out. It is not a critical analysis and conclusion that results from personal interests, deductions or conclusions. They are class judgements. They do not come from the French, English or North American capitalist class. They are class judgements. It is not the judgement of a political interpreter but of a leader of the capitalist class in France who through his position and function in French capitalism can look, see and declare what the others cannot say or cannot perceive or do not find it convenient to say. And although they perceive it, they cannot say it. Edgar Faure can communicate it.

When such an echelon of the capitalist system as Edgar Faure comes to make such a declaration it is because in the heights, middle cadres and base of capitalism's leading cadres there is a sensation of panic, of not knowing where the future is going.

But he is not the only one to do it. Edgar Faure says it more openly because he hopes that this is going to reduce investment directed to the production of atomic arms and dedicate it to the internal economy and contain the class struggle in France, to contain the proletariat and the Communist Party. He hopes to compete with the Communist Party from the socio-economic point of view and then to settle things with the USSR, to smile at Brezhnev, to smile at the Chinese ... to see if they can go forward like this.

Such a declaration is the expression of French capitalism's inclination toward the pessimistic sentiment. He is not just any leader, he is president of the Chamber of Deputies.

On its weakest side French capitalism shows, on the one hand with LIP and on the other with Edgar Faure, that it does not have decision, because it does not have the social authority to face the problems that this stage of history creates. LIP is not new. This had already been done before. But in this moment LIP is discussed in England, in Belgium, in Holland, in Latin America. LIP is small and it is discussed everywhere, when there have already been other cases. In Argentina the workers occupied factories for months and they have produced and sold. In Uruguay, in the FUNSA tyre factory, the workers occupied the factory, made it function and sold the tyres. In Britain, the Clyde workers occupied the shipyards for a long time. They repaired ships and made ships. In Belgium in Antwerp dockers tried to do the same. There is a factory in Rome that has been occupied and functioning under workers control for several months.

When there is such a ramification of facts that they maintain themselves and communicate, when it wakens and attracts such attention

made them function and they broke up the reactionary and counter revolutionary layer of the army which did not animate itself to draw on the rest, because it saw the rest weakened, doubting and vacillating before the enormous pressure of the masses. And it felt that if it appealed to them to come out, they would come out and join the masses. The masses would face them and win them. This is what defeated them in this stage of the Chilean counter revolution.

The road is to increase the revolutionary measures. To show that it is necessary to make changes. They are constitutional changes when they are made within the constitution; they are changes that are decided by the masses. It is the masses that have the majority, not the others. The army has shown that it has no solution, because it could not come out. Because the masses contained it, they are going to contain it and they are going to destroy it.

The Swedish masses are seeing this experience. The leaderships of the Socialist and Communist Parties have not drawn this conclusion, they are wrong, they are mistaken. On the other hand the masses of the world have. This is why they feel encouraged and see in Chile not just the government negotiating with the military, but that the masses came out into the streets and were not intimidated. The lack of food, the economic disorder that the right and the counter revolution provoked, did not cause the masses to vacillate or fear. The masses of the world are living Chile's experience, as masses and in spite of the weakness of their parties that are not making this discussion. Not one Socialist or Communist Party is making a public discussion of the experiences of Chile. When they do they blame the MIR or the left groups. It is the masses that on their own account have occupied thousands of factories and have intimidated and paralysed the right and the army.

Text of telegram sent to military junta in Chile.
GENERAL PINOCHET, SANTIAGO, CHILE

DEMAND IMMEDIATE RELEASE AND GUARANTEES OF PHYSICAL SAFETY OF
LUIS CORVALAN AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.

Signed. R.W.P.(T). BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

The socialist vanguard in the Scandinavian countries are living the Chilean experience over and above their own leadership. This is the base for the left. Because they are seeing that it is the action of the masses, the organisms of the masses of united front that meet in the factory, in the area, the trade union, and this is what is animating the united front to take the factory from the bourgeoisie, to make it function, to throw them out and show that it can function without any need for capitalism. The army is important but they are not afraid of it. They take account of it, they know that it can come out and kill and bomb them, but they are not afraid of it. This breaks the unity, the strength of the army and makes it weak. This is why they have not protested with a counter revolution. It is not because of the constitutional tactic of the Allende government. The Allende government is mistaken, it is not like this. It is the action of the masses that imposed on the military that if they came out they would smash them. Not only that they would smash them, but that officers, lower officers and soldiers would pass over to the side of the revolution in enormous quantities. This is what contained them. Otherwise they would already have made a coup. The entire scenario these guys created was to make the coup, and they failed.

The masses of the world are observing and seeing for themselves, because they are doing it in different ways in each country, with different means, with unequal stages and circumstances but they all go toward the dispute for power. The masses are learning from Chile, and this shows how the Russian Revolution taught the masses of the world. This is why Communist Parties were formed then in all the world, because the masses of the world took the experience for themselves. Sweden this is going to be expressed with all its force now.

J. POSADAS

3.9.1973.

in activity that replaces the capitalist system or overthrows it. LIP, Latin America, Chile where the masses spontaneously go and occupy the bosses place in the factory, they occupy the factory and make it function better than before.

What is increasing and what is quite clear in history is the progress of ascent and extension of layers of the workers, petit bourgeois, peasant population that replace the boss, the leadership of the enterprise, they make the enterprise function better than before, they distribute better than before and at the same time accompany this with a communist sentiment and make a fair distribution. There is already a functioning in LIP, as before in Argentina and in Europe too, of factories in which the salary was given according to need, and the elimination of grades, differentiation and hierarchy. Going to an equalisation in the function of production. Without having attained the Workers State, being numerically small in economic weight and significance, they already work and organise the activity as a communist leadership. ... This is in LIP, like in other factories in France, like in Latin America, and appears as a tendency and is elevated increasingly in all the struggles of the proletariat to seek equality, remuneration according to needs, not capacity. Before gaining the Workers State, before having abundance to distribute according to what each one needs, the proletariat is already distributing and exercising its function according to 'to each one according to his need'. Not as a class, but not as small groups either. They are not small strata but important sectors. And some of them are of a category of production that is not the most representative of the proletariat, like in LIP. As they are not representative, it means that they do not live the life and activity that permits them to elevate themselves, to feel and express what the proletariat is, which begins from the fact that it is the key to the economy. The watch makers are not essential to the economy. Without being marginal, they are sectors at a distance from the centres that decide. And when there is such a decision, from where do they draw it?

There is no doubt that a powerful Communist and Socialist party exist. But they did it before the communists and socialists communicated to them, stimulated and supported them. They did it before! It is the world influence of the revolution. It is the world weight of the revolution in ascent. Like with the peasants, the same with the workers at LIP. This is what determines the course of history. LIP does not appear because it is a gathering of workers, but because the world is mature for communism. LIP does not appear in a place that is separate. It appears in a process in which this is the norm, the conduct, the will, the thought, the degree of decision that there is in the masses of all the world. And in France too, otherwise LIP would not appear.

The crisis of the Communist Parties progresses and continues. The sense of the crisis of the capitalist system is of destruction. The crisis of the Communist Party is organising a new leadership. When Marchais has to do what he is doing it is because he is fighting an immense resistance in the interior of the Party. If it is true that they give such importance to LIP why don't other members intervene? Why are there no meetings? Why are there no conclusions? Why are there no resolutions? Why is there no agitation from the Communist Party? Why do they maintain a semi-silence? It is not lack of aptitude or positions, but the internal fight. But even so, the positions they have are very limited positions. They are not positions that tend to raise the comprehension and intervention in what is happening. They are very general explanations. Amongst other things, LIP shows that the proletariat wants to take LIP, it wants to make it function. The easiest conclusion is the nationalisation of LIP, functioning under workers control. Charbonnel proposes a cooperative as a means of containing. Which is to say, it approximates to such a conclusion. A conclusion that is given within the capitalist orientation, but which does not strengthen the capitalist system. The reaction of the government is very profound, that to contain they have to propose a cooperative. Since it is so profound, how is it that the Communist Party does not intervene?

If the government intervenes with such magnitude it shows that it feels the profundity of the process. Not of LIP, but the repercussion in the population and in the petit bourgeoisie. The strikes which have taken place for LIP are very limited, there have not been important strikes. They have taken place in many areas but of 500, 1,000, 5,000 people, of one hour or half an hour. They are not mobilisations for LIP. They are not taken as a centre for the organisation of a superior stage but they try to use it to give a blow and to make the government yield. Not because the conditions do not exist but because there is a struggle in the Communist Party. A sector of the Communist Party is against the mobilisations, and in the Socialist Party too. Otherwise as a party or as the Popular Union, they could make a mobilisation and have an immense echo. On the other

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THE STRUGGLES AT CHRYSLERS AND FORDS

DEMAND THE ORGANISATION OF FACTORY COMMITTEES, THE IMPOSITION OF WORKERS CONTROL AND THE NATIONALISATION OF THE CAR INDUSTRY

The struggles at Chryslers and Fords are symptoms of the profound crisis of the car industry and the enormous potential for massive class confrontation with capitalism repeatedly contained by leaderships fearful of the consequences of a consistent policy of class against class. In the case of Chryslers, the electricians are clearly feeling an atmosphere of support, have persisted in their fight taking an initiative which did not come from the EETPU leadership. The form that this struggle has taken is inevitable when the unions as a whole refuse to wage a joint struggle to throw out the government imposed freeze. There is no joint discussion in democratically functioning factory committees of how to unite various wage demands and the result is that sectors of workers to defend their interests will inevitably intervene as the electricians have without the fullest organised support. The division between the TGWU and the AUEW and the EETPU comes objectively from the lack of preparation, to wage any serious struggle at all to confront the government. The fact that the Chapple leadership is notoriously bureaucratic and is only active to sustain its own interests is not the point - union leaderships prepared for a struggle would have intervened to use the struggles of the electricians to formulate a joint programme to throw out the wage freeze, secure wage increases, establish the demand that all wages should rise with the cost of living, and prepare for a decisive confrontation with the capitalist class. The dispute at Fords which led to a very tense confrontation with the management over the sacking of a worker illustrates the continuous fight between management and workers over the conditions of work, speed of the track, control of hiring and firing of workers, which again do not find a real expression in the policies and programmes of the unions involved.

It is necessary to prepare for very profound struggles in the car industry as part of the struggle for power being waged by the masses against capitalism. The car industry is central to the functioning of the capitalist system. The fact that it is so central is a tribute to the utter sterility and lack of creative power of the system as a whole. Utterly incapable of solving any basic problem, only capable of lowering the standard of living, capitalism places great weight on the car industry. But now the world crisis of capitalism is so massive and total that the car industry is not immune and this is very much the case in Britain. Exports are stagnant, while foreign manufacturers have grabbed 25% of the market. Leylands plans for massive investment compare unfavourably with those of Fiat and Volkswagen.

In the extreme world competition for car exports and the inexorable demands for profits to finance further investment, the big corporations inevitably attempt to rationalise production and subdue the labour force by speed up and attempted intimidation. The fight at Chryslers Ryton assembly plant was an example of this - accompanied by the usual threats of switching investment to other countries. What are the conclusions which it is necessary to draw from these struggles, the crisis of the car industry? What are the conclusions which have to be drawn by the forces of the left in the Labour Party?

In the first place it is necessary to reinforce the organisations of the class by the development of FACTORY COMMITTEES with the objective of imposing WORKERS CONTROL. And this objective is not simply to meet the particular exigency of attempted factory closures and mass sackings or lay offs. It is an objective necessity to unite all the various sectors of workers, frequently in different unions who lack a common policy, and to control the atrocious conditions under which car workers are obliged to work. It is necessary to take over the control of the track, to organise the control of hiring and firing, to have complete access to all the books and documents on investment policy etc. OPEN THE BOOKS! Above all it is necessary to discuss the actions to be taken against the policies of the Tory government. Workers control and the general strike are the methods by which to smash the Tory policy. The engineers have put in hefty wage claims against the

How to implement this claim? What preparation for strike action, what preparation for the confrontation by means of the general strike? Factory committees are not in competition with the leadership of the unions but their consistent functioning allows a discussion of issues the leadership may not wish to confront. And their functioning on the basis of the immediate recall of delegates can be an example of how it is necessary to democratise and transform the existing functioning in the unions to eliminate the functioning of apparatuses - like the Chapple apparatus - and make the trade unions real instruments of working class power.

It is also necessary via strong factory committees uniting all sectors of the class to eliminate special interests, 'labour aristocrat' tendencies, claims for 'staff status', which create barriers in the working class. And it is possible via factory committees to begin a whole discussion about the need to eliminate differentials, to eliminate the problem of the high paid and the low paid, so that the mass of the workers weigh on the privileged sectors.

We call upon the labour left to intervene in the Chrysler dispute and other such disputes in the car industry with the central objective of making a political intervention. It is not just a question of criticising the Chrysler management for threats of massive dismissals or accusing them of breaking contracts with the government but of intervening as the Labour Party with the perspective of the STRUGGLE FOR POWER and the ORGANISATION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE. It is necessary for the forces of the left to use the experiences of the UCS and LIP in France, as examples for the car workers to follow and it is necessary that they criticise the way in which the union leaderships are not presenting a common strategy in face of the government. Such a POLITICAL intervention would vastly accelerate the confidence and decision of the class, seeing a leadership that responds to their interventions not just agreeing with the demands in question but giving a perspective for the future, eliminating the inhuman conditions of the industry, posing a workers plan of production and the advance to socialism via the overthrow of the Tory government.

We appeal to the workers organisations, the trade unions, the Labour Party and workers meetings, to take the Chrysler struggle of the electricians as a means of intervening in the problems of the car industry, posing the need to smash the wage freeze entirely, to unite all sectors of workers in the perspective of the general strike, to impose workers control, supporting the programme of nationalisations of the L.P., in this way taking the class initiative, against capitalism, bypassing the passivity of Wilson, opening the way for the overthrow of the Tory government and its replacement with a left Labour government.

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Nevertheless despite the will of the class to fight back against the repressive measures of the police, more actions of preparation are needed. We propose meetings in all the trade union branches, trades councils, L.P. and C.P. branches, and in the factories and workers areas, to discuss all these moves of the police. It is necessary to discuss how to protect workers areas from the searches which the police are making, they use the excuse of searching for bombs, but are more interested in learning of the T.U. and political activity of the class. Homes, factories, trade union and political centres must be protected from the raids which the police are making, discuss how to do this. The engineers of the AUEW have declared that they will protect their union headquarters from being raided by the police, this type of action needs to be discussed on a national level. Discuss the preparation of a workers militia based on the factories and the T.U.'s, and discuss how to pose to the lower ranks of the police and army the necessity for a trade union functioning by them, appealing to them not to make arrests, and offensives against the working class. Already in many countries, for instance France, Belgium, Sweden, there are T.U.'s in the army. One of the conclusions which can be drawn from the recent coup in Chile, is the necessity to gain the lower ranks of the police and armed services. All this must be discussed in all the organisations of the class, in order to prepare for the inevitable offensives that the bourgeoisie are going to try to launch against the class.

FULL SUPPORT TO THE 'SHREWSBURY 24'

PREPARE FOR AN INSTANT GENERAL STRIKE IF ANY OF THE WORKERS THERE ARE SENTENCED.

Statement of a Labour Councillor

We are publishing this article from a local Labour Party bulletin, by a Labour councillor because it shows very well the objective way in which the Labour vanguard has reacted to the Chilean coup, not defending its previous positions but drawing conclusions for its future activity.

'THE LESSON OF CHILE, 1973'

by Cllr. Jim Wheeler, Chairman, Crofton Park Ward of the Deptford Labour Party.

Last July, in this Newsheet, I expressed myself with pride as a 'democratic socialist', and criticised those in the Labour movement who rejected the gradualist and democratic approach. The events in Chile force me to question this long held stand.

The implications of the right-wing revolution in Chile, with the death of the democratically elected President Allende, and the persistent involvement of the CIA, have major import to us in British politics, if only because of the parallels between our two nations.

The similarities between Chile and Britain are startling, apart from the degree of industrialisation. Like Chile before the revolt, we took for granted the political neutrality and loyalty to the freely elected Government of the armed forces. Likewise we supported the division of the military from the civil service and the police. We too held a deep respect for the Constitution, the Rule of Law and the Parliamentary system where Governments answered to the people at a General Election at regular intervals. Like Chile, we have a 'free press' dominated by right-wing capital and control. So do we have a powerful capitalist lobby in the City, willing to veto moves towards democratic socialism if their position is threatened. The 1964-70 Labour Government was by no means revolutionary, but the City ensured the frustration of Wilson's policies towards equality. As in Chile, we have an active section of the CIA operating to protect American influence with bloodshed if necessary. As in Chile, it would take a long while before the pressure of the USA is sufficient to overcome the reluctance of the military to break tradition and revolt against democracy.

With these similarities, socialists in Britain, and indeed throughout the world, must learn from this right-wing fascist coup. The lesson is that the right, in whatever its guise, will only support democracy whilst it suits their ideas of exploiting the majority for the sake of the few. Once democracy leads to a Government dedicated to change, as we hope, will be the next Labour Government, their defence of democracy is exposed as

The almost universal condemnation of the Chilean revolt by the British press may only be British capitalism reacting because they have been found out. I hope I am wrong. Resolutions of support for the socialists in Chile are all very well, and the refusal of governments to support the military dictatorship are essential, but the real need is for socialists in Britain to learn the lessons of Chile, and be prepared.

Acknowledgement to Judith Hart, Labour spokesman on Overseas Development, Labour Research, etc.

hand there are small mobilisations. It forms part of the crisis of the Communist Parties.

The essence of this crisis, of this phase of the crisis, is that in the capitalist system, movements like LIP do not have a solution. The only solution is; either socialism or the capitalist system. As they are not disposed to take power, then they propose measures which proceed on this line, which is nationalisation. Capitalism is in a situation in which it cannot answer to a series of problems of crisis of the system. It cannot. In the large enterprises, it can because these are the great competitive enterprises.

It is necessary to reject the cooperative. It is necessary to have nationalisation under workers control with state finance. It is necessary to give an explanation. The cooperative is the least evil for them, it tends to create conditions so that in a short time it would fail. Because to compete (it is a watch factory) it needs a great deal of financial support. It has to compete with watch factories, which in France are very powerful and also in Germany, and Switzerland. They are going to break it, make it surrender. They are going to break it. It is aimed at a solution which allows them to show afterwards, 'look, they are incapable.' They know it does not affect the proletariat but it would affect the petit bourgeoisie in which the bourgeoisie does have an interest. Then it cuts short the tendency in the petit bourgeoisie to seek for nationalising solutions. This is the objective of this measure. They could have done this before. They tried to avoid it. After the occupation, they could not repress as they wanted. For example, they could have prosecuted the workers for 'violation of company offices', 'illegitimate use of property', 'robbery', 'abuse of confidence'. A whole series of measures which would have resulted in a hundred years imprisonment for each one. And they have not animated themselves to attempt to try them, but they say 'we are going to resolve the problem in a cooperative.' They admit in fact and juridically that to resolve a problem of a factory conflict it is legitimate to occupy the factory, to lead production, to produce, to distribute and sell them, without it being regarded as robbery. Such juridical conclusions are not registered as such but they allow it.

It is necessary to propose the nationalisation under workers control, explaining why there is no solution in self management. It is not a question of entering into conflict, into dispute or attacking those who propose

self management but to explain that it is incorrect. To explain! Not declaring 'do this or you are traitors', but to give explanations, explanations, explanations. It is a discussion of a new phase of the movement. It is new this. So it is necessary to show that the solution is nationalisation which affirms and goes beyond the programme of the Popular Union. It does not limit it to the parliamentary line, to the parliamentary solution or to the resolution of the leaderships but it shows that the workers themselves are seeking to impel, to seek extra parliamentary solutions.

The bourgeoisie cannot understand this process. It is based on the selfish interest, on private property and on fear of the workers. It thinks that if the workers are hungry and are in need, they are not going to resort to mobilisations, to assemblies. This was the conception of the bourgeoisie to interpret the previous strikes. Capitalism lives in this epoch, this is its mentality. They do not feel that humanity has already been influenced by the working class through the Workers States which are the organised material force of marxism. The working class does all this through the Workers States, a superior human conduct has already been generalised.

One of the police trade unions, the most important one, brought out a communication defending the strike of the workers of LIP. It is a disintegration of the capitalist system. It is an increase in the relations of forces favourable to the revolution. This communication which approves the strike and the occupation of the factory approves the methods, the resolutions, the activity against the capitalist system. Together with the crisis of the church, the crisis of the army shows that the organs of the capitalist system are weakening and this forces them to be able to confide each time less in their own organs of repression.

This has a danger, that the workers leaderships conciliate and contain the struggles. But we draw another conclusion; that this shows the influence of the revolution on the apparatuses of the army, of the police who do not see capitalism as the owner who is going to continue. This is expressed in the Communist Party.

There is no perspective in France for any group independent of the centres of the revolution. This is the crisis of 'Rouge'. It is only possible to have a perspective and life if one nourishes theoretically the pro-

gress of the leadership of the revolution, preparing in this way ones own entry as a leadership. The others drown. There is an uninterrupted world process in ascent whose essential feature is the advance of the world authority of the revolution, of socialism, of the Workers States and the progress in the Workers States of the necessity for a scientific discussion. The intermediate groups who want to walk about, to plunder to get cadres, militants, and people who intervene in the revolution but not as a leadership who feel able to lead, remain stagnant or dissolve or deepen their internal crisis because they have neither programme or policy nor foresee nor have a logical course. They continue the empirical activity of the day without programmatic objectives, without a policy, without tactics because they do not have theoretical understanding and are consequently mistaken in the analysis of the Workers States and the Communist Parties. And it is not possible to evaluate history if there is a mistaken analysis of the Workers States and the Communist Parties.

Partial regeneration elevates itself continuously. It demands, in a specific stage, changes, transformations in the leadership of the Communist Parties. The changes and the transformations are not prepared because there is no political discussion, programmatic or theoretical. They are made in an empirical form. But the progresses are expressed among other things in the attitude of Marchais; the secretary of the French Communist Party is going to a small meeting to defend LIP.

The crisis of the French Communist Party continues but it is not a crisis of disintegration but of growth which is given in the form of partial regeneration. The Communist Parties retake, in an inexact, insecure, inconsistent way the necessary principles for the world communist movement, responses, organisms, positions, objectives necessary for the progress of the world socialist revolution and the world construction of communism. This means partial regeneration. This promotes discussions internal life, internal relations in the Communist Parties, which are impelling cadres to homogenise and regularise this conquest and this progress. It is in this process of history, in this progress, our texts the intervention of our teams and parties is a necessary and indispensable factor on a world scale and also in France.

J. POSADAS 22nd August, 1973.

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UNITE THE STRUGGLE OF THE MINERS AND ENGINEERS TO TAKE THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST PHASE THREE

At both the TUC and Labour Party conferences a marked turn towards anti-capitalist policies and nationalisations took place, opening the way for a superior level of action, decision and discussion, although objectives for the situation as it is now, i.e. how to relate general anti-capitalist policies to the immediate struggles of the masses to overthrow capitalism were not determined upon. The AUEW and the TGWU conferences posed massive nationalisations, action committees to unite various sectors of workers, a change in structure of the L.P., but again the conduct of particular struggles here and now and their relationship to the overthrow of the Tory government was put on one side and not discussed. Ultimately this arises because the union leaders and the present top leadership of the L.P. endeavour to maintain the intervention of the masses within the confines of an electoral perspective. There is the attempt to maintain the old social democratic distinction between the distant programme of full nationalisations and the minimum gains to be made in the immediate struggle. But all the struggles and mood and sentiment of the masses are far from these perspectives as has been seen in the many mobilisations of the masses constantly limited, because of the absence of a leadership capable of co-ordinating and leading them into a GENERAL STRIKE on a series of fundamental economic and social demands to overthrow the government directly. Yet last year the mobilisations of the dockers and other sectors, and the threat of the T.U.C. to call a one day strike was enough to release the 5 dockers sentenced under the Industrial Relations Act. The problem is that the union leaderships don't have the marxist preparation nor the confidence in the masses which comes from marxism to organise a general strike whose consequences could be revolutionary.

It is precisely the extreme precariousness of the Tory government and the enormous possibility of a mobilisation releasing the social and political passion of the masses that leads to the equally strenuous efforts of the trade union leaderships to contain every struggle. The paralysis over Chryslers is the most recent case - an impotence to take advantage of all the multitude of problems in the car industry, conditions of work, job security etc. to develop a workers offensive. With Phase Three state control of wages continues, and the threshold agreements - although they illustrate the weak posture of capitalism - are not automatic, have to be negotiated and are based on cost of living indexes decided by capitalism. It is all

a charade, because the capitalist class has literally nothing to offer. The massive inflation, the huge increase in commodity prices, the falling standard of living, expresses its incapacity on a world scale. The masses reject the need to pay for the crisis of capitalism, and through the recent Labour Party Conference, in particular in the programme of nationalisations seek the superseding of capitalism in favour of a planned socialist economy. But this cannot be accomplished simply by electoral methods.

The wage claims being proposed by the engineering and miners unions coincide with the fining of the engineering union under the Industrial Relations Act.

All this requires an immediate and united response. It is not sufficient to negotiate, it is necessary to organise to smash the Tory government. The sequestration of union property is an attack on the basic functioning of the trade unions. It is not enough not to accept the law, but to do nothing to prevent the sequestration of union funds. The South London engineers have proposed to defend union offices against this sequestration. It is necessary to follow this up. The so-called 'law' was smashed over the Pentonville 5, it can be again. The bourgeoisie now shelters behind the law and Parliament but what strength have they got? It is only necessary to look at the demoralised and disintegrated Tory conference to see their lack of policy and profound disagreement, to see that such a government and party is only here by permission of the leaderships in the L.P. and Unions who want to proceed without mass mobilisations.

In such a situation rich in possibility to smash the feeble authority of the government, it is necessary to ignore the attitudes of conciliatory leaderships - Scanlon proposes to discuss with the government although his union expressly forbade this! It is necessary for the engineering workers and the miners to co-ordinate their actions at pit, branch and regional level, calling to their leaderships to make a nationally unified response, developing factory and pit committees stimulating the development of popular committees in the workers areas incorporating all sectors of the population, to prepare a struggle with a general strike as a perspective.

It is necessary also that the struggle is waged not simply on the issue of wages but on all the major aspects of the anti-

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lution of the lessons of the Chilean coup; the necessity of not leaving the initiative in the hands of imperialism and its allies. This decision to strike first, together with the anti-imperialist combativity and heroism of the Egyptian and Syrian armies, trained, armed and encouraged by the Soviet Union, has stimulated all the anti-imperialist forces of the Middle East. We salute the Arab masses, and the Egyptian and Syrian armies in this struggle.

If Jordan and Saudi Arabia must now send troops to the Syrian front it is because it is the least evil for them. The pressure not only of the masses, the oil workers of Saudi Arabia, but also of a quite powerful anti-imperialist sector of the petit bourgeoisie, technicians, intellectuals and part of the army forces them to do it. Hussain and Feisal cannot stand by and do nothing, they do as little as they can maintaining their tacit alliance with Israel, but they have to intervene. U.S. Imperialism sees this, sees that not only Israel is threatened but all the regimes which are economically and politically dependent on Imperialism like Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon etc., and that what remains of its economic interests in the area, above all the oil interests are threatened. Already the war has stimulated Iraq to nationalise the American holding in the Basrah Petroleum Company, and even Saudi Arabia has threatened to nationalise the oilfields.

As Posadas analysed at the time of the 6 Day War of 1967, a war between the Arab countries and Israel, which involves comparatively small numerical forces, immediately entrains the two historically decisive forces, the USSR and Yankee Imperialism. The U.S.A. cannot allow Israel to be defeated, it sends phantoms to replace Israel's losses, sends another 2000 marines to re-inforce the 6th Fleet and threatens to intervene as it did in Lebanon in 1958. On the other side the USSR, influenced by the events of Chile, the 20,000 massacred in Chile, cannot allow a change in the balance of forces unfavourable to the revolution. Chile has increased the pressure of tendencies within the Soviet Union who want a policy more directly against Imperialism, and the results of this pressure are seen in the present encouragement which the USSR is giving to the Arab countries, calling for all the Arab countries to help Syria and Egypt and supplying massive quantities of modern equipment superior to that of the Israelis.

Thus this military struggle is a part of the preparation for the atomic war, it shortens the stages before the atomic war and shows that in this stage a 'detente' between the Soviet Union and Imperialism is impossible. The policy of detente, the Nixon-Brezhnev accord is being thrown to the ground by this fighting, and it is clear that the desire of Brezhnev to maintain this detente has not been the determining factor in the behaviour of the Soviet leadership. What has determined is the pressure of the Arab masses, the pressure of currents within the Soviet Union which see the need to prepare to confront the final settlement of accounts with Imperialism.

CONTINUED PAGE 4

APPEAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

TO THE WORKERS STATES,
TO THE COMMUNIST PARTIES,
TO THE TRADE UNIONS,
TO THE CONFERENCE FOR PEACE, DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM, AND
TO ALL THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS MOVEMENT

FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL SUPPORT TO THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES IN CHILE, AND FOR THE LIBERATION OF
COMRADE LUIS CORVALAN AND ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

30th September, 1973.

In the name of the International Secretariat of the IV International we call on the Communist parties, the Trade Unions and the Workers States to intervene by developing a world campaign to support with arms and international brigades the resistance of the masses of Chile against the assassin military junta. We call on the world workers movement, on the Conference for Peace, Democracy and Socialism that will be held in Moscow, on the Communist, Socialist, left catholic and radical parties, on the nationalist movements, to raise in all mobilisations the rejection, the condemnation of this junta of assassins. Condemn them and call for an attack of the working masses of the world. It is necessary not only to condemn, but to take concrete measures to overthrow them.

We call on the Workers states, on the Communist parties, on the workers movement and on the Trade Union centres of all the world to take a position and to mobilise against this assassin junta, against the world capitalist system because this is a trial of strength between the capitalist system and the future of humanity. This is a blow against the legitimate right to advance towards social progress by

bourgeois constitutional means. It is the arrogance of the capitalist system which opposes social progress within its own laws. They overthrew a government constitutionally elected, legally constituted and functioning, because it took measures which affected interests of the bourgeoisie, or of a sector of the bourgeoisie.

We call for the development of a world campaign with de-

monstrations, meetings, resolutions and stoppages in a united front of all the Workers States, Communist, Socialist, parties, workers and anti-imperialist parties, of all the Revolutionary, Left Catholic and Nationalist movements, to prevent the assassination of Comrade Luis Corvalan, and demand his immediate liberation. And at the same time in this world campaign it is necessary to impose the stopping of the massacre, the murders, the torturing by the Military Junta and the release of all the political, trade union, student, peasant, intellectual, soldier, military prisoners; uniting this world campaign with the struggle of the masses in each country.

We call on the world workers movement to take positions, to appeal to the Workers States, to the Communist, Socialist, left Catholic, Nationalist parties, so that they take positions condemning, breaking relations with the Military

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ON THE 'HISTORIC BACKWARDNESS' OF THE AMERICAN PROLETARIAT

J. POSADAS

7. 8. 73

INTRODUCTION

This article by comrade Posadas answers the charges still heard against the North American working class of being 'historically backward' or lacking in political interest, by illustrating very fully that in fact the proletariat and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie do intervene with a revolutionary passion and capacity that is only limited by the lack of a mass class party - which it has not been able to organise fundamentally because of the lack of help from the world workers movement and of the very limited example of the functioning of the Workers States and Communist Parties, the lack of proletarian democracy and soviet democratic life.

The task in the U.S.A. now is the organisation of the Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, but as Posadas emphasises, because of the advanced stage of the world revolution and the accumulated experience of the North American proletariat, it is necessary to intervene now with the slogan for the Marxist Workers Party based on the Trade Unions in North America.

We appeal to all the British T.U. movement to the Labour Party and the Communist Party to read and to discuss this document and to discuss how to pass on all their own class experiences to the workers of the U.S.A. so as to help in this task.

We also make an appeal for discussions in the American workers movement on the basis of this document, to give it the widest distribution possible, to discuss it in the trade union movement, amongst the Negro masses, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans, in the student movement and amongst the radicalised petit bourgeoisie who mobilised in defence of Vietnam. We appeal especially to the militants of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Workers Party, to see that this is their central task today; the conditions exist for a MARXIST PARTY BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS, the construction of which will signify the elimination of a glaring and unnecessary deficiency in the world workers movement, and will fundamentally weaken imperialism. We salute this document of comrade Posadas as a concrete theoretical foundation for the accomplishment of this task.

The masses of the United States do not intervene actively in the world process of the revolution. Undoubtedly this is an enormous deficiency for the progress of the revolution. It is necessary to incorporate the masses of North America. It is necessary to find the roads, the path, the means to incorporate the North American masses into active participation in the world process of the revolution.

It is not true that the good economic situation in North America prevents the masses from participating in revolutionary political activity. Neither can it be said that the North American masses are so backward that they are not interested in politics. Both of these theories are untrue.

A high standard of living has had and still has an effect. In general the United States has a high standard of living. But still in the U.S. 20 million people live below the subsistence level, 15 million of these go hungry. There are 25 million negroes and chicanos and of these 15 million are hungry.

There is a constant increase in combativity among the ethnic groups who intervene less in the economy of the country and who are economically and socially less powerful and have less weight from the point of view of consumption.

North American trade unionism is very powerful. One of the essential bases of interest of the North American capitalist system is to break the North American trade unions. As it has not been able to break them, nor will be able to break them, it has exercised the function of corrupting the leaders. It can still corrupt them because it finds support on a previous situation and process of structuring of the trade union movement. But the fundamental basis is not the previous tradition but the absence of influences on the North American proletariat, of socialist norms, communist norms of the world workers movement, which has thus remained in the trade union field.

As the workers don't have points of support neither in Mexico or in the United States nor in the rest of the world to develop the activity, the trade union bosses continue to have the possibility of dominating the workers movement. It is not simply a North American problem but a world problem. All the leaders who have passed through the IV International, and the reformist trade union leaders have criticised the North American proletariat. They show disappointment and surprise over why the North American proletariat has not organised itself. And they blame the internal conditions of the United States. They make the judgement that as the North American proletariat lives well, it has no interest in politics, it has a special mentality. All this is false. Constantly the North American proletariat mobilises in trade union struggles and wins. All the main struggles which the North American proletariat carried out in the last period were won. Capitalism yielded. All Coal, railways, electricity, steel, car industries. And in textiles in a recent movement they have just won a considerable increase in wages. Yankee imperialism adopts a policy of yielding not to have a confrontation with the workers movement. It yields to try to contain in order not to have an internal struggle.

But at the same time the North American proletariat which finds that it can extract from the bourgeoisie a series of conquests, does not find in the world camp points of support to develop internally. It does not have points of direct support in the Workers States nor in the workers parties nor in the trade unions. It has the example of the great struggles of the proletariat. It has the example of the great struggles of the Latin American masses. It is moved and influenced by all this.

The North American proletariat has a structure different from those of France, Italy, Japan and Britain. It is a structure which has within it the most powerful workers aristocracy. Its structure and functioning allows capitalism a better control, a greater dominion of the activity of the proletariat and of its life in the factories. The proletariat lacks the political example, the political, organisational and trade union influence. It lacks examples which would determine an elevation of the pressure from the base to stimulate and create new cadres before or during the war, in order to overthrow North American capitalism.

It is the absence in the world workers movement of a free open discussion without limitations of all the problems to develop an openly anti-capitalist policy. Until now neither the trade unions or the communist parties have made an anti-capitalist policy. They have made a policy of conciliation, or agreements, of interpenetration but not an anti-capitalist policy, and anti-capitalist programme. If for four years the Communist Parties took an attitude of complete and open confrontation with capitalism, if they had a revolutionary policy against the capitalist system it would be a very great base to help the understanding and decision of layers of the North American proletariat who want to organise themselves in the revolutionary party. These are the essential factors.

Of these sectors, a fundamental one is that they do not see in the Workers States trade union democracy, the independent functioning of the trade unions, or the independent functioning of the party. They see the USSR intervening and supporting Vietnam, the struggle of the oppressed peoples giving disinterested economic support with low interest - which in relation to capitalism is less than half - giving free technical and economic help. The American proletariat sees this. But it does not see the proletariat, the Communist party exercising this function. It sees the Soviet government, it sees the leadership of the Soviet government carry out this function. It does not see the Communist Party, the trade unions, the factories make such an activity.

If in the trade unions of the Workers States there were normal regular public assemblies, a life of the cells which brought out resolutions, communications with a political life, participating in all the activity of the world process of the revolution, if the Soviet trade unions met regularly or constantly in assemblies, meetings, demonstrations, and made resolutions, activity, programmatic struggle, appealing to the world masses to overthrow the capitalist system; if the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Parties of the Workers States brought out anti-capitalist resolutions appealing to the world masses to take power, if the trade unions of the Workers States in particular made appeals for the taking of power; appealing for the making of assemblies in working hours in the factories during the process of Vietnam or now in all the factories in the Workers States to suspend work for half an hour, to make assemblies and afterwards to make the time up, or to make an assembly after working hours, in which the factory workers resolve on unconditional support to the struggle of the masses of Latin America, to appeal to the masses to overthrow the capitalist system, the help of the trade unions to confront the problem of drought in Africa, all this would have an immense influence on the North American proletariat; similarly if the trade unions and the Communist Parties of the Workers States gave so much of their income per month, which is an immense amount, to help the African masses. Let the trade unions, the Communist party and the assemblies make resolutions appealing to the North American masses to discuss publicly and all the forms on which Yankee capitalism is trying to dominate the world, and to eliminate all this. To appeal to the paralysis and destruction of the manufacture of atomic arms in the capitalist system and on the contrary to build houses. To appeal for the struggle against the existence of atomic arms and to appeal that the only way to do it is to overthrow capitalism. The Workers States do not have an interest, nor by their nature can they maintain themselves in the production of atomic arms to try to conquer the world. Undoubtedly the bureaucracy exists, but it does not have the strength or the freedom anymore to do this.

The absence of this influence on the North American proletariat means that until now it has been confined to the trade unions, to the very backward trade union life. Still this exists. It is not the fault of the North American proletariat. It is not a peculiar condition of the mind, of the interest of the North American proletariat. Through the historic conditions in which American trade unionism has developed in the economically most powerful country, it needed world support so that it could organise itself in an independent form. This help did not arrive.

It is necessary to take into account that American capitalism is the most powerful, that it has weighed and weighs to try to contain and impede the independent action of the proletariat. It is the country which has the most fantastic workers aristocracy. The principle gangsters came from the trade unions. Its a whole nest of gangsters. Even so during the demonstrations for Vietnam against imperialism in Vietnam, the trade unions gave their support and mobilised. Up to 40 million people mobilised. Still with the economic power of Yankee imperialism, the airman who bombed Cambodia, a number of them declared: 'We are astonished, we do not understand why they send us to bomb when there is no war, when there is no combat.' They sent them to bomb without justification. They are not declarations directed at the void. They are the resolutions of airmen who feel a repugnance for this. This is not a personal problem. Always there are conscientious objectors. They exist because there are the conditions to create conscientious objectors. But when airmen of a certain rank, and in numbers oppose bombing places which are not in the fight they are reasoning not as capitalists nor as soldiers in the service of capitalists. They are reasoning as human beings who exercise a function which they consider useful. And they are questioning it. 'Why don't you use us in a better way? Why do we have to kill? Why do we have to murder? This has no sense?' And when North American airmen reason isn't perhaps the North American proletariat going to reason? It is absurd not to count on the aid of the North American proletariat.

We make an appeal to the Soviet Union, to the Workers States that they intervene in North America. The pilots who are subject to military discipline make such declarations without fear of military demotion and show their human feeling: 'This is a crime. 'Why are we going to bomb?' When there is such a conclusion it is because the climate which exists in the United States - not outside the United States but in the United States - permits them to do this. If not they would not do this. From where does one draw this conclusion? From where does such a resolution to confront military discipline come? If the pilots do con-

the proletariat is not far from this? The proletariat wants to intervene, to weigh, and lead.

The situation in North America is of vital importance for the course of the revolution, of the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle. The Communist parties are surprised because they do not understand why the North American proletariat does not move. They believe that it is a peculiar quality of the North American proletariat. A quality which the rest of the proletariat does not have. This is not so, it is incorrect.

The proletariat through its function in society and in the economy is the same throughout the world. It has shown that it is identified on a world wide scale through the same historic orientation. By its nature it is anti-capitalist. It cannot germinate the desire to be a proprietor as in an indirect form some Communist parties and also the Soviet Union judges the North American proletariat. How is it that it does not react? And they give the impression that it could be that the North American proletariat has ambitions to be like the proprietors. It is not so. On the contrary, through its role in the economy, it has to develop ideas contrary to private property. We understand the very great weight, the very great relation of forces which are unfavourable to the proletariat, of the comfortable middle layers of the petit bourgeoisie which has a very great weight and of the aristocratic layers of the proletariat. We understand that the weight of these layers is very great on the proletariat.

But of the North American petit bourgeoisie, the silent sector and the other, the force that has shown itself to be the most important is the other which mobilised to the number of 40 millions against the war in Vietnam, which did not move a finger in defence of Nixon over Watergate, which showed in an indirect form the repudiation of the war in Vietnam.

All the immense layers of the petit bourgeoisie in North America play a very great role in the economy and exercise a very great authority among the proletariat, over the workers aristocracy and the workers aristocracy in the heart of the proletariat but they are not decisive. This weight of the comfortable petit bourgeoisie which is much greater than in any other country, together with a very great workers aristocracy, with the intermediate sectors of the proletariat which is also very large, is not decisive. Because the concentration of production, of investment now eliminating layers of the petit bourgeoisie and elevating the concentration of new layers of the petit bourgeoisie, of the sectors who work in IBM, in the electronic apparatuses. It reduces then its weight and number and cannot reduce the number and weight of the proletariat.

The immense weight of the structure of the workers aristocracy can dominate because the North American proletariat does not receive any help towards developing internal democracy. There are no examples of this. In the Workers States, the trade unions had regular meetings, brought out resolutions, if the Communist Party had a public political life, if there were public discussions, this would have an immense effect on the North American proletariat. It would cancel out the effect of the petit bourgeois layer, the workers aristocracy, the intermediate layers who weigh to try to prevent the proletariat from feeling the necessity of developing an anti-capitalist policy.

The better economic situation is certain, but relative. There are five million unemployed in the United States. There is a constant increase in the standard of living, 7% annually. But in spite of this, it is one of the capi-

talist countries where inflation has progressed least of all. There is an immense accumulation of capital. There is a constant reinvestment of capital and improvement, progress, advance of productivity. There is a constant increase of productivity, of accumulation and the riches of Yankee and world imperialism. But at the same time much more than this accumulation of wealth by Yankee imperialism is the progress of the world revolution, the authority of the world revolution, the example that the world revolution gives that it is necessary to nationalise, to plan and to establish the monopoly of foreign trade. It is not the privileged layers of the proletariat, the workers aristocracy, the intermediate layers, the comfortable petit bourgeoisie or the absence of a peasant weight, of peasant mobilisations, it is not this absence which determines the lack of class movements of the masses of the North American proletariat (there are class movements although not of the masses), but the absence of historic example, of historic help which can also aid them to advance.

For the concrete conditions in which the North American proletariat is living it is necessary to hold to the conclusion of what level we are at of partial regeneration, to consider the situation of the North American proletariat that will be vital for the next stages. It is necessary, and vital, to intervene to help the North American proletariat to intervene now in this process prior to the atomic war although it may not be immediate, in order to elevate the bases, the class development and the development of the masses in North America.

The process of partial regeneration is unequal. It finds points of support in places, countries, zones, centres less developed. It finds points of support in the most advanced places. But it arrives in a very alleviated, less clear form with less influence. And the absence of an important Communist Party or of Socialist parties, the absence of revolutionary currents, of political currents, including the pro-Chinese, the failure of the pro-Chinese and 'Trotskysts' in general have favoured the plans of capitalism to maintain the proletariat separated from revolutionary political activity.

But this in itself does not explain everything. The essential reason is that in North America apart from very short periods of time, no consistent revolutionary organisations have existed. Neither Communist or Socialist. One still cannot measure the North American proletariat, the North American vanguard by the absence of revolutionary marxist currents in North America. One cannot measure the process through the economic development but through the absence of marxist influence on the layers of the proletariat, on the intellectuals.

From Stalin's time, when the North American proletariat could not receive any revolutionary influence, until now, there is no consistent policy against capitalism. Without being revolutionary but against capitalism. There has been no revolutionary policy. There have been no examples for the North American proletariat on how to organise, how to continue, how to discuss, what programme, what policy to make. One cannot take the North American proletariat as a parasite which is immune to the revolution or an immune body. It is necessary to take into account what historic conditions surround the North American proletariat which is with the greatest capitalist power which has developed in the most powerful economic form. And also in conditions of the most powerful individual development. It is necessary to prepare to intervene very actively so that the Workers States, and the Communist Parties intervene.

The Nixon-Brezhnev agreement is against the North American proletariat it does not favour it. If on the other hand, the trade unions and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made appeals, then the North American proletariat would have seen on the one hand the government which has to do this and on the other the party and the trade unions which make another policy. Then it sees the party and the trade unions. These are the essential problems of partial regeneration. They do not have a decisive weight immediately but they will become decisive. It is not a question of a giving up, or abandonment by the proletariat. Both the Soviets and the Communist and Socialist parties want to make the North American proletariat intervene but they meet with resistance, incomprehension and also a certain repudiation.

The 33rd Congress of the Communist Party must draw the conclusions from Chile

The recent developments in Chile have stimulated the opening of a deep discussion within the factories, work places, the workers parties, the trade unions and all the tendencies of the workers movement.

It is a very important discussion because even if the original stimulus comes from the Chilean revolution and the desire to contribute to its defence, it leads to a re examination of the political line and the tactic of the workers movement, to develop a discussion on the anti capitalist programme and on the organisms of power of the masses as instruments to unite all the population to the struggle for socialism under the leadership of the proletariat; thus reaffirming the teachings of Lenin and the October revolution.

In the articles that we published in the last issue of Red Flag, comrade Posadas showed that one of the most important conclusions to draw from the 'transitory defeat' of the Chilean revolution was the necessity of the organisation of conscious revolutionary leaderships in all the world in order to confront the tasks for the struggle for government and power, for the construction of the Workers State and socialism. As we have seen in these last days the left in the Labour party, and the labour vanguard are doing just that as is in part shown by the letter of a Labour councillor which we published in the last issue of Red Flag.

The coming conference of the Communist Party can accelerate the process of definition of forces within the L.P. by making an open and honest discussion of the developments in Chile, preparing in part this defence is done by emphasising aspects of the document, such as the extra parliamentary struggle of the masses, which didn't have much relevance in the original document.

in the anti-capitalist struggle, of which the struggle against the pro-bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party is part.

The Labour vanguard has already proven conclusively that it is open to ideas and programmes coming from outside the L.P., it still maintains its centralisation around its mass political party, the Labour Party, despite its limitations and the betrayals of its leadership.

The programmatic advance at the Labour Party Conference which has just ended proves this. Many of the resolutions proposed by constituencies and trade unions have their origins in the experiences of the world workers movement and in the scientific conclusions of Marxism; they don't originate from the leadership of the L.P. in the same way as the labour masses don't wait, and don't depend on their leaderships to wage strikes and mobilisations. The vanguard shows in this way that it is not submitted to the social democracy and its aims, on the contrary, Social Democracy as an instrument of conciliation and submission to capitalism is in crisis throughout the world, squeezed between the incapacity of capitalism to concede reforms and the socialist consciousness of the masses.

For these reasons the document proposed to the 33rd Congress of the Communist Party is not a sufficient basis for discussion as it is mainly devoted to a retroactive defence and justification of the regionalist and limited perspectives as the basis of the 'British Road to Socialism' although in part this defence is done by emphasising aspects of the document, such as the extra parliamentary struggle of the masses, which didn't have much relevance in the original document.

The Soviets have still not made a true appeal to the North American proletariat. The appeal to the North American proletariat is too much directed as an appeal to its organisations. And its organisations are led by gangsters, they have no mass class party. There is a small class party, the Communist Party. The North American Socialist Party is not a class party, it is ambiguous, of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The party which declares itself to be Trotskyist, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) is not a revolutionary movement. It has some revolutionary positions but others that are monstrous, - among them that they still accuse the Peruvian government of being the oppressor of revolutionaries, of being fascists, of being an assassin government.

There is no mass class party in North America. As a consequence it is not possible to measure the effects of the world revolution, the progress of the world revolution; and the progress of the world revolution as much LIP in France as the 25 points of nationalisations of the British Labour Party, as the progress of the Italian Communist Party and the immense progress of the struggle of the Italian masses. This is part of the world revolution. It is not only the taking of power here or there but the permanent process of the development of policy, of measures, and what is the extent, what is the development of the revolutionary action of the masses. How to conceive then that the North American proletariat is not influenced? It is not as the Soviet comrades say that it is impossible to make the North American proletariat move. It is possible; the North American proletariat mobilised in defence of Vietnam.

Among the essential problems on which it is necessary to intervene in the next stage is that the Workers States, the Communist and Socialist parties direct themselves to the North American proletariat with appeals, with resolutions. But examples are necessary, above all examples of the Workers States; examples of soviet democratic life, of socialist democracy, of proletarian democracy. It must be seen that in Italy, the workers occupy the factories, make factory councils, councils in the workers areas, councils in the workers zones, so that they resolve measures of progress. The North American proletariat must see this. It has to see that they take power, that they do not leave power to capitalism, even though it may be local power as in the LIP factory in France.

But although the North American proletariat has not organised itself in a mass class party - it has a class party but small, the Communist Party, and in part, distantly the Socialist Workers Party - it is listening, reading, observing, seeing the world process, it is not indifferent to it. If it was indifferent in place of the 46% abstentions, there would have been 10%. If it was indifferent the 15 million negroes who did not vote would have voted.

The North American proletariat is listening, observing, seeing this process. It is accumulating knowledge, resolution, it is preparing within. When it begins to move it will not be necessary to go through various experiences as we have done. It is going to leap. It is not going to be necessary to make the experience of class organisation. It is going to pass rapidly and with a conclusion and a quality which today is not fundamental, but certainly it is important for them - who have developed the practical path of this activity. North American capitalism has been characterised and is characterised as having among its advantages which has permitted the development of the United States, the practical sense which was elaborated, developed, affirmed in the stage of the growth of the capitalist system.

North American capitalism wants to show how the North American proletariat has a very high standard of living, it has no class consciousness, no class formation, and tries to make it believe that the power of the capitalist system, superior to the Workers States, has an influence over the North American proletariat. This is totally inaccurate. There are historical conditions in which the North American trade union movement has developed, and the failure to resort in time to external aid in order to allow the North American proletariat to organise itself in an independent class form.

The great weight of the North American petit bourgeoisie is diminishing. A symptom of very great historical significance is the airforce officers, the teachers, professors, artists, intellectuals, who go over to the camp of the revolution or refuse to serve the criminal executioners of capitalism like the pilots. This shows a very profound process of reflection among the petit bourgeoisie and the influence on them of the world revolution. The immense quantity of petit bourgeois as were the 40 millions who demonstrated against the war in Vietnam, indicates that in the normal popular layers of the petit bourgeoisie there is a great influence of the world process of the revolution. What is missing is the leadership, the external aid which stimulates them to organise, to decide, to organise themselves within the United States even if it might not be a great quantity, an organisation which can develop itself with class effects to organise the working class and the petit bourgeoisie.

The democratic Party as much as the Republican but rather more the Democrats, have in their structure wings directed to the task of winning the petit bourgeoisie, the proletariat and to present themselves as a North American Party outside classes, supporting themselves on the economic development of the United States. Previously it created this base of tradition which allowed it to utilise this condition of the United States to influence the proletariat, the workers aristocracy, the higher layers of the proletariat, and the layers more distant from the political activity of the proletariat, to weigh against the independent orientation of the proletariat.

These are all subtleties which have served capitalism for dozens of years. But today there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States. The whole of the world is in revolutionary ferment. Already it is sufficient to weigh on the North American proletariat. When it still does not do this, it is because elements, intermediaries, middle sectors or intermediary bridges are failing to exercise their function. It is the function of the Communist Parties, of the great trade unions, and of the Workers States. Because they have to overcome the social structure of the United States, the great weight of the middle class, the great authority of the petit bourgeoisie, the weight which it has in the economy very superior to any other country, the constant development of the North American economy and the weight of the workers aristocracy which is enormous. And the division of a very important sector, the negro problem which is an internal factor of division, of delay in the independent and class organisation of the proletariat.

The bourgeoisie has turned part of the social pre-

occupation of the petit bourgeoisie against the negroes, and this has also weighed on the proletariat. All this has been so because there was not a class party. If there had been a class party the petit bourgeoisie would not have had the means to influence or weigh. It is the absence of a mass class party.

All the accumulation of understanding and resolution which the North American proletariat is developing and which cannot be applied, is going to develop rapidly afterwards. In the same way that a backward country takes the most rich experiences of the most advanced country. It is not all backward, it is a lie. The proletariat is not inanimate nor disinterested. It cannot intervene, but it is accumulating experiences.

Among the most important aspects to measure as an example of this conclusion are the three thousand young North Americans who went to Cuba a year ago. They were three thousand students, accustomed to pens, to studying and to comfort. And they went to work for a fortnight with their axes. They were learning to see how they could cut off Nixons head. Two thousand went the year before. Continually from the United States thousands of students go to Cuba. It is Cuba which has opposed the United States. And yet three thousand go representing at least ten times more. It is a state of opinion which does not end with three thousand but they are representatives of many more.

It is not necessary to accept either the limitations or the difficulties presented by the fact that there are in the Democratic party wings which are directed to win the petit bourgeoisie. It is not necessary to take this as a difficulty which is going to prevent the organisation of the proletariat. They are means which capitalism uses to divert, impede, prejudice the independent organisation of the petit bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

But when in their own Democratic party there is the candidature of McGovern, who had to present himself as opposed to the war in Vietnam, but whose economic programme in general was not very different from the other candidates, it shows that one cannot expect from any of these parties that petit bourgeois wings orientated towards the working class will arise.

It is necessary to emphasise this, in one stage or moment the Communist and Socialist world movements expected that such a Democratic movement could arise. It is necessary to discount this possibility. On the other hand yes it is necessary to expect that a movement of the trade unions, of the negroes, of the chicanos, of other coloured movements in the United States which would be a whole concentrated mass, centralised in an independent class movement will arise.

We are in the stage of the ascending process of the world revolution and it is necessary to start from this stage, not one of recrimination of the trade unionists, of the communists, of the socialists, of the trotskysts, for the past.

But it is necessary to have as a central point of concern the necessity to help the North American proletariat to organise itself into an independent class party. This is one of the most important tasks. These are the most important tasks which relate essentially to the Communist parties to the big trade unions, the big workers centres, the big workers states, we reiterate our appeal to the comrades of the Communist Parties, of the big T.U.s, of the big workers centres of the Workers States. It is necessary to intervene to help the North American proletariat to organise itself in an independent class form. For over and above the agreements of Brezhnev with Yankee imperialism; the Soviet trade unions and those of the Workers States must exercise this necessary function, the obligation that they have to help the North American proletariat to organise itself in an independent class form. Undoubtedly the problem is not of a day, of a month, or a year, but it is a process which is going to be short.

The weakness of the American proletariat is that it does not have social organisms. Organically as a class it has an immense power but politically it does not have organisms which represent it. It does not have them because through the historic conditions the United States developed a great wealth as the richest country of capitalism with a great development of capitalism and a great weight of the petit bourgeoisie from the top layers to the lower sectors. On the one side the constant development of the economy, the great power and economic dynamism and on the other hand the lack of intervention and of example of the Communist parties and of the Workers States prevented the working class organising itself in an independent form.

The lack of proletarian democracy in the trade unions in the Workers States, the lack of an organic communist revolutionary life, public political life in the Workers States has not served as an example to the North American working class. This has made a thousand attempts to try to overcome this backwardness. The proletarian vanguard, the militant sectors of the North American proletariat have tried to receive the influence of the world proletariat and the Workers States because in spite of the bureaucratic leadership, they have seen their superiority and a superior behaviour of the Communist parties and the governments of the Workers States in relation to the necessities of the revolution. Then they feel themselves animated but they do not have organs. Hence they have made great strikes and also mobilisations in defence of Vietnam.

Vietnam has been an immense example for the North American proletariat. It has seen there militant revolutionary proletarian conduct. It has seen the immense social progress of the Soviet Union, of China, of Cuba, of Poland, of Czechoslovakia and together with this the militant socialist attitude of the Vietnamese masses. Its reply has been the attempt to weigh with the mobilisations which it made to throw Yankee imperialism out of Vietnam. There were mobilisations particularly of the petit bourgeois, students, teachers, but also in workers areas, and trade unions, as the UAW (car workers) which took in principle measures against the Vietnam war.

It is necessary to give an organ to the North American masses. The lack of political organisation of the North American proletariat is a deficiency, one of the greatest deficiencies in history. The Communist party is a little party, the Trotskyists are a small movement. The Socialist Workers Party which is of Trotskyist origin is very distantly a class party, it is a combination because it defends interests of bourgeois democracy and in part the interests of the proletariat. An organ of the masses is necessary where the masses can develop their political organisation and it is necessary to do it in the conditions which exist. The North American proletariat, the students and even a sector of the petit bourgeoisie, but essentially the prole-

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CHILE CONTD FROM PAGE 1

Junta. We call on all the Workers States, on the Revolutionary states to break relations with the Military Junta of Chile, and to continue recognising the government of the Unidad Popular as the legal and legitimate government.

We appeal to the workers, and anti-imperialist parties, to the workers centres and the trade unions, and to all the organisations of the masses in the capitalist countries, to mobilise with demonstrations, meetings, stoppages and resolutions to impose on the capitalist government the breaking with the Military Junta and the recognition of the legitimate government of the Unidad Popular. At the same time we call for the defence of the right for every government, for any country which takes measures of progress against the capitalist system, be it by nationalisations, or be it with movements which develop measures towards socialism, and to safeguard this right against any internal or external threat from the capitalist system.

It is necessary to denounce and show that there was an international plot in Chile, and that, consequently, the proletariat must respond in an international form. It is a measure which it is necessary to discuss uniting it to the struggle of the proletariat about the problems of each country.

We call for a world united front against imperialism and capitalism. While capitalism simulates agreements with the Workers States, while it simulates the policy of detente, it organises, strengthens, stimulates all the counter-revolutionary sectors, groups, tendencies and layers, to encourage them against the revolutionary progress of the masses.

The Workers States certainly have an interest in peace. The Workers States have an interest in a dispute by means of economic, world historic competition. In this competition the Workers State wins, socialism wins, but capitalism is not going to accept. Capitalism is going to respond as in Chile. Chile was a competition between the capitalist system and a government which was advancing even limitedly, in the development of the economy by means of measures which lead to a Workers State and which were a base to construct socialism. Capitalism responded with fury. This is the response which capitalism makes to the competition between the capitalist system and the Workers States. We are not against the policy of detente, but it is an impossible measure. Capitalism is not going to accept it. Not only is the French government against, but Yankee Imperialism and British Imperialism also, they are going to seek a thousand ways, a thousand forms of using the time, to spin out the time to arm themselves and to prepare the war. The Workers State certainly does have an interest in detente, because it wins in the economic and social competition with the capitalist system.

Capitalism is a regime of misery, of exploitation, and of war. The Workers State doesn't have need of war, nor of exploitation because with the historic structure of

its regime which is nationalised property, the planned and centralised economy - it develops the economy and eliminates misery, unemployment, and hunger, and consequently it eliminates the disputes between countries by means of war. On the contrary it tends to centralise and unify countries and concentrate production in a planned way.

We call on the world workers movement to discuss that this event of Chile is not a particular case or an exception, but it is a norm which the capitalist system applies in any part of the world. It is necessary to make at the same time a comparison between the other experiences and Chile. Chile is not the result of a surprise action which capitalism took. The massacre in Chile, the assassin fascist government of Chile, is the response which capitalism gives, is going to give if it can to all the struggles to all the countries which impel, which develop the nationalised and planned economy. The present murders, the wave of terror which they make in Chile, is the same that they are doing in Iraq, and also in parts of the Middle East occupied by Israel, where types hooded like the Ku Klux Klan, kill and mutilate people. They murder in the same way. This is the image of capitalism. This is the method which it employs and which it will try to employ while it pretends that it is making detente with the Soviets and with the Workers States, and pretending that it is in agreement with the policy of peace and of co-existence.

Make a public discussion in all the Workers States, in the trade unions, in the workers areas, in the factories, drawing the conclusion of the need for the unification of all the Workers States. Plan the economy in agreement with the interests of the countries in the most difficult conditions, of the least developed of the Workers States, with the affect of reaching the highest level. Increase the trade between the Workers States themselves, and of the Workers States with the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Support in an unconditional way, the peoples struggle for liberation, for the expulsion of imperialism, be it Portuguese, British, American or French.

Call on the Democratic, Catholic, Radical, Nationalist organisations, to the world socialist movement, to the Socialist parties, for this anti-imperialist United Front with a programme of development of the world economy, with a planning of investments to develop the economy of the most backward countries to the level of the most advanced.

We call for a united front of all the workers centres, of all the trade unions, of all the workers parties, of the capitalist countries, of the Workers States with an anti-imperialist programme against the war which imperialism is preparing, for freedom and the right of all peoples - as in Chile - to develop and to make governments which resolve and develop the nationalised, centralised economy towards socialism. We call on the Conference for Peace Democracy and Socialism so that it makes these objectives its own and organises them calling on the world workers movement.

The Workers States have an interest in peaceful co-existence and in resolving the problems without war because they have no fear of the future. But certainly capitalism is frightened. Therefore it is necessary to declare: 'the Workers State certainly accepts, but capitalism is not going to accept.' Chile is an example, Iraq another one, Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos are others. The policy of French imperialism in indirect alliance with Yankee Imperialism against the detente is a part of the game of the capitalist system. We appeal not to trust any of the promises, any of the agreements, any of the signatures of the pacts which capitalism makes, because it does it to gain historic time, to make the war when it wants. On the contrary, we appeal to all the Workers States to develop the struggle of all the masses of the world to get rid of what there is of imperialism and capitalism. We appeal to the Workers States to support these struggles as they supported Guinea Bissau and as they help in a direct or indirect way in Vietnam, in the Middle East.

We appeal for world mobilisations against Yankee imperialism, supporting the struggles of the masses against the capitalist system. It is necessary to help all the Communist parties, and the Workers, Socialist, Left Catholic and Nationalist movements, in the struggle for

Workers and Peasants Governments, for governments which nationalise the principal means of production and of exchange in order to develop the centralised economy as a base for the economy for socialism.

We call for a united front and for the unification of all the Workers States. We call for the unification of the world communist movement including the Trotskyist - Posadists, in a united front with an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme. We call for support for this unification of all the Workers States, so that they plan production, plan their policy including their military policy, to centralise everything in a co-ordinated way between themselves, to make a policy in the name of the Workers States in the interests of all the Workers States, not of the biggest against the smallest.

We call for a public discussion of the Sino-Soviet differences, so that they are discussed in China and in the USSR, in the trade unions, in the houses, in the workers areas, making a public discussion in the world workers, communist and socialist movement. Make a discussion in which the present disputes of the Sino-Soviet differences are included. This is going to show that there isn't any reason for differences in relation to the interests of the Workers State. They are differences provoked by the interests of the leaderships, particularly of the Chinese leadership. The attitude of the Chinese leadership is a criminal attitude, accusing the Soviet Union of 'Social Imperialism'. It has the previous policy of the epoch of Stalin as an example. The absence of a socialist life, soviet democracy, produces such a conclusion.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL - POSADIST.

30th September, 1973.

MIDDLE EAST Contd from page 1

The Soviets have prepared militarily, sending arms and technicians and in a limited way they have tried to change the structure of the Egyptian army, weeding out the most feudal and bourgeois of the army officers. Thus the Soviet Union has prepared, not utilising a revolutionary marxist policy, not appealing to the Israeli masses to rise up and sieze the land and the factories, to form together with the Arab masses, soviet type organs in which to discuss, decide and resolve all the problems of the Middle East, but nevertheless stimulating anti-imperialist forces.

The British working class movement, the L.P., Trade Unions, and C.P., must discuss and draw conclusions from this struggle. It is necessary to denounce the statements of the Zionist right and of Wilson himself, when they call for the supply of ammunition and arms to Israel; this is not the position of the Party decided at Conference or by the N.E.C., but the position of the pro-imperialist right wing which has to be eliminated. The party itself through 'Labour Weekly' or from the N.E.C. has made no statement because it is paralysed by the internal struggle over this problem. Now is the opportunity to make a political offensive against the Zionist sector making a discussion about the nature and role of Israel. What objectives did Imperialism have with the establishment of Israel, what is the internal structure of Israel, the class forces and social relations which determine its internal and external policy?

Such an examination will quickly dispel the arguments of the right which try to present Israel as a socialist island, in a sea of backward Arab states. The productive forces, the land and means of transport are in private hands, there is discrimination not only against Arabs but against oriental Jews. The utopia of a classless state based on religion, turns out to be a reactionary imperialist base with glaring social inequalities. As a result of this there have developed forces which do not share the reactionary interests of the leaderships; there are the T.U.'s striking, there are the Black Panthers the movement of oriental Jews, there is the Communist Party and the revolutionary

groups like 'Matzpen' in solidarity with the Palestinian guerrillas. All are objectively or consciously allies of the Arab revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and capitalism.

At the same time it is necessary to see what progress the Arab Revolutionary States, Egypt, Syria, Iraq, Algeria, South Yemen, have made, with the help of the Workers States, overcoming the backwardness which imperialism and capitalism condemned them to. They have advanced by taking measures of nationalisation, agrarian reform, alliance with the Workers States, intervention of the masses, even if they still have not destroyed and replaced the organs of the capitalist state. This discussion is going to have a great importance for the formation of the left in the Labour Party.

But together with this discussion there must be concrete actions, resolutions and declarations of support to the Arab revolution. The Labour leadership talks of neutrality while in fact supporting Israel; the left has to state publicly its support for the anti-imperialist struggle of the Arab masses. The T.U.'s must refuse to handle or transport any goods to or from Israel and must stop work on any war material which could be sent there; centurion tanks, spare parts and ammunition for them etc. They must launch an immediate appeal to the General Federation of Arab Trade Unions, supporting its call for the formation of workers militia, and calling for it to occupy all the property of Imperialism in the Middle East.

There must be appeals to the Syrian and Iraqi Baath, the Arab Socialist Union, to deepen the social measures of the Arab revolution, to organise workers militias, to break up the old structure of the army and the police, to allow the full intervention of the masses in Soviet type organs, going towards the socialist unification of the Arab states. Such social and economic measures will have an enormous influence on the Israeli masses, who are not attracted, cannot be attracted by programmes of 'Arab Socialism', they will be attracted if they see a deepening of the Arab revolution and if appeals are directed to them to overthrow their bourgeoisie, take the land and the factories, and incorporate themselves in the United Soviet Socialist States of the Middle East.

this is the next stage to expect.

It is necessary to help the American masses do this task, through the Communist and Socialist parties. This means to give them the example of a socialist democratic life, an example of the struggle to overthrow capitalism. The American masses have to hear from the world workers movement the appeal to confront and overthrow the capitalist system, even advancing within the capitalist system to reach greater conquests and to gain the majority to try to have a great echo through parliament, but at the same time to prepare consciously that capitalism is preparing the counter-revolution and the atomic war. Therefore without neglecting to advance the maximum possible, prepare the mind, the party, the understanding and the organs of functioning of dual power to confront this measure which capitalism is going to take.

It is necessary to advance as much as possible within the capitalist system but at the same time proposing measures and programme against the capitalist system, measures of economic, political and social development, in competi-

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capitalist struggle. The miners should raise the whole problem of conditions in the mines, the need to impose a workers control upon all the organisation of the industry, to control its bookkeeping etc. and the engineers should similarly propose workers control, intervening in the process of production, not allowing their lives to be dominated by the conditions of work imposed by capitalism. The demand that all wages rise with the cost of living on an index decided by workers would attract a mass worker and middle class support, posing the workers alternative to the threshold agreement. The 'economic' and the 'political' cannot be separated. The level of wages is being determined by the whole crisis of the system. This demands a complete programmatic alternative. Out with the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, all wage controls. FOR ALL WAGES TO RISE AUTOMATICALLY WITH THE COST OF LIVING, FOR A BASIC MINIMUM WAGE TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING TO ELIMINATE ALL CASES OF POVERTY, NO SACKINGS, FOR A SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES AND HOURS, NATIONALISATIONS WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

This is the level at which the miners and engineers struggle should be fought. Above all the workers have to be able to function in their own mass committees in the factory and the workers zones. If action committees already exist, they must be deepened to discuss all the most elevated issues political and economic.

We appeal to the forces of the left in the L.P. and the left sections of the C.P.

We the R.W.P.(T), British Section of the IV International (Posadist) make this appeal to the workers vanguard, to utilise this anti-imperialist victory as a base upon which to conduct a struggle against the right and to organise a left tendency in the trade unions and the Labour Party.

16th October, 1973.

to intervene in all this process. It is part of the process of strengthening the ties between the L.P. and the masses facilitating the task of transforming the L.P. for the coming struggle, before and during entry into government, to eject all the pro-capitalist sectors who will resist strenuously the pressure of the masses towards a complete socialist solution.

And we appeal for the preparation of a major struggle over the case of the proposed expropriation of the engineering union funds. Mobilise the workers, making appeals to non engineering workers to organise themselves in defence pickets to meet coercion with coercion. NO UNION PROPERTY TO BE CONFISCATED. Either capitalism stops this or a GENERAL STRIKE AND THE SEIZURE OF A SERIES OF FACTORIES! They must be confronted now. And the leaderships and militants must be in a position to communicate with all sectors of the of the population through mass committees explaining that capitalist law is a lie and that as Chile showed, capitalism only respects laws that suit its purposes. And all this campaign of struggle linking a whole series of demands around a general strike must be continuous. It is necessary that the organisation of the extra parliamentary committees continues after a particular action of general strike, so that there are no moments of inertia when the masses do not have adequate means of expression, and communication. The world struggle as instanced in Chile, and now the Middle East shows the constant concentration of world forces, class against class. The miners and engineers struggles develop in this situation of growing world confrontation. A well organised reply now to the tactics of capitalism would deliver a maiming blow at the tottering Tory regime and vastly facilitate a speedy return of a Labour government, encourage the organisation of the Labour left in the L.P. and shatter the attempts of the leaderships in the L.P. and the unions to contain the struggle within electoral limits.

J. POSADAS. 7.8.1973.

U.S.A.

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tiariat is organised in trade unions. It is necessary to start from here where it is gaining an experience, living and politically centralised, to organise the Workers Party based on the trade unions. But this slogan corresponds to the previous stage because in the development and elevation of the struggles with the preparation of the final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the world revolution; with the experience and immense influence of the struggles particularly of Vietnam with the world maturation of the proletariat, are the conditions to rapidly leap stages and a process of dynamic stages in North America. And now the slogan is not the Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions, but a Marxist Party Based on the Trade Unions. The Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions will be transitory and will rapidly acquire the form of the Marxist Workers Party based on the Trade Unions

tion and antagonistic with the capitalist system, be it in Latin America, Asia and Africa. In such a way that the American masses see a programme, a policy which they can take as an example to apply there in the U.S.A. The progress of the revolution in Asia, Africa, Latin America, the new Workers States, the immense progress of the revolution, from Somalia up to Korea has an effect on the American masses, but they don't have organs, traditions, nor experiences, nor examples which can guide them. It is because of this that it is essentially dependent on the Workers States, the Communist and Socialist parties in all the world, the workers centres, to give this example to the American masses to be able to organise their class party.

ON THE CEASE FIRE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The fragile cease fire in the Middle East, even if it manages to bring the fighting to a halt has no possibility of lasting. Israel is not going to withdraw from the territories occupied after the 6 Day War, if she had wanted to implement Resolution 242 of the United Nations she could have done it in the last 6 years

but on the contrary she has colonised these areas, making military farms and settlements in them. It is true that this time the military invincibility of Israel has been shattered, and as a result sectors of the Israeli petit bourgeoisie are expressing more openly their desire for peace, but with Israeli imperialism as with

U.S. Imperialism it is the assassin military sectors which are determining the policy. This was shown by the offensive by the Israeli military on the West Bank of the canal after they had received instructions from the Israeli government to stop fighting.

At the same time the Arab masses, even if their anti-imperialist will is not completely expressed by the leaderships of any of the Arab Revolutionary States, are not going to accept the cease fire, they want the destruction of Imperialism in the Middle East, and they are going to continue fighting for this objective.

The Soviets and the U.S.A. have put forward this cease fire proposal because they see the danger of the war becoming much more a revolutionary popular war with the intervention of the masses. The Soviets want to stop the advance of imperialism, don't want the balance of forces to alter in favour of Imperialism but also they don't want to stimulate the intervention of the masses. They see that the process is leading to the atomic war, a war which certainly they are confident that the Workers States are going to win, but they feel that the bureaucracy is not going to survive it. Hence they move this Resolution, and it finds the ready approval of Sadat and the Egyptian bourgeoisie.

This war is sharpening the internal contradictions of the bureaucracy, Brezhnev, sends the letter to boumedienne

saying that all the Arab States must rally to the support of Egypt and Syria, while Kosygin goes to Cairo only a few days later to arrange the cease fire with Sadat. The U.S.S.R. calls for a cease fire hoping to find support in a pessimistic sector of the Israeli bourgeoisie, trying to influence it to make a softer policy, to make some concessions. But at the same time they warn Israel of 'the most serious consequences' if it continues to break the cease fire. They are forced by the pressure of the Soviet masses, by a part of the Communist Party, and the army, influenced by Chile, to confront Imperialism and support the Arab revolution, but they don't put forward a revolutionary marxist policy.

The Labour vanguard must discuss this situation, must denounce the statements of Wilson, Callaghan and all the zionists who have taken pro-imperialist positions. The Labour Party and trade unions and the Communist Party must make appeals to the revolutionary Arab governments, to the Baath party of Syria and Iraq, to the National Front of South Yemen, to the Arab trade unions, to make an offensive against imperialism, occupying its factories and oil wells, making them function under workers control and demanding that they are immediately nationalised. This is the way to destroy imperialism bases in the Middle East, and lay the bases for the construction of the Socialist Soviet United States of the Middle East, with the right of self determination for the Jewish masses. There must be appeals for popular organisms, workers militias, workers councils in the factories, peasants committees, to deepen the socialist contact of the Arab revolution, and attract the Israeli masses. These organisms are now a necessity for the continuation of the struggle against Israeli Imperialism.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

Weekly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

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ORGANISE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TORIES BY SUPPORTING THE FIGHT OF THE ENGINEERS AND THE DEMONSTRATION OF THE 5TH NOVEMBER

The decision of the London District of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions, to call out its members on November 5th in protest against the fines on the A.U.E.W. is the most important class response to the governments anti trade union policy since the T.U.C. was forced to threaten a 24 hour general strike to release the 'Pentonville 5'. Still there isn't a national centralised response from the union leadership, but regional organs like this one in London, closer to the base, and expressing more the security of that base, are taking the responsibility of organising resistance. Without any doubt many sectors of the working class are going to support this strike using it to substitute for their own union leaderships which still remain passive and inactive.

with the functioning of pickets, strike committees etc. is going to attract the petit bourgeoisie not repel it. There are many

examples in history of this; the most recent being that of Chile. The Labour left must turn to page 4

RESOLUTION OF THE TROTSKYIST - POSADIST ARAB MILITANTS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

- For maximum solidarity with the militancy of the Arab armies east of Suez and in the Golan Heights
- For the organisation of the intervention of the Arab masses in this war to smash the imperialist zionists!

We give a militant revolutionary salute to the initiative of the Egyptian and Syrian armies which are delivering a blow to the occupying zionist imperialist forces. We salute them with all fraternity in their ferocious fight and triumph East of Suez and in the Golan Heights, which comes as an expression and a reaction to the intervention of the Arab masses and their will to smash Israel the spearhead of imperialism, and to expel imperialism from the Middle East. This will which has been shown in the revolutionary measure of nationalisation of the rest of the American investments in Iraqi oil companies, the march of the Libyan masses to Egypt, the frequent general strikes in Lebanon, and the demonstration of 1/4 million in Lebanon against the cowardice of the Arab bourgeoisie in front of the Israeli raids and in support of the struggle of the Palestinian masses, and also the recent strikes by the workers and students in Egypt.

We give revolutionary and fraternal salutes to the determined Arab soldiers in the battle front, fighting with a far more elevated spirit than the assassin Israeli army. Because, the Arab soldiers are fighting to regain the occupied lands and to affirm the rights of the Palestinian people, and feeling at the same time that this fight is part of the anti-imperialist struggle and that it has an importance for the struggle of all the masses of the world against Imperialism and against the world capitalist system. And in this way, the soldiers of the Arab revolutionary states intervene as MILITANTS fighting against imperialism and against the injustice of the zionist capitalist system and its previous assassin raids against the Arab masses. They intervene as militants for human progress, at the time when the zionists respond with the assassination of the population in Damascus without it being of any worthwhile military advantage. And this indicates the confidence and the force of the militancy of the Arab soldiers and the disintegration of the Israeli troops. And so, independently of the intentions of Al Sadat in wanting to take this initiative to bring about a situation in which they are with a stronger position to impose a peaceful solution, this fight and this triumph of the armies of the Arab Revolutionary States, is a tremendous blow against imperialism and its authority in the Middle East and the world. And even if they will go back to the pre-war borders, the Arab masses have achieved a triumph against imperialism and have broken the 'impregnability' of the imperialist zionists and their 'superiority in the air' with their actions and with Soviet arms. It is a tremendous stimulus for all the anti imperialist struggle in the world.

And this happens at a time when the reactionary Faisal declares his readiness to support the Arab soldiers, which indicates the accentuation of the struggle against imperialism and feudalism in the

Arabian peninsular, Saudi Arabia, North and South Yemen, Oman and the Trucial States. All this takes place at a time when all the masses of the world continue their support for the struggle of the Chilean proletariat against the imperialist coup and for the maintenance of all their anti-imperialist and socialist conquests. And this triumph of the Arab masses takes place in the context of the reaction of all the masses of the world, of all humanity against the coup in Chile, and in support of the resistance of the Chilean masses and their intervention to construct organisms of power substituting for the capitalist apparatus, and acting as the leadership of society, as cde. Posadas has analysed. This triumph comes at a time when the disintegration of capitalism is increasing. When Nixon demands the return of the Arab armies to the West Bank of the Canal and the withdrawal from the Golan Heights.

When the Democratic Senator Fulbright demands that Israeli troops withdraw from all Sinai and part of the Golan Heights, and the French bourgeoisie demands that Israel withdraws from all occupied lands and makes Jerusalem an International city, and when the different sectors of the Israeli leadership are in a dispute over the elections and over the matter of the settlement of the Israelis on the occupied Arab lands. And all this goes on at a time when the class interest of capitalism demands that they coordinate and unify their efforts against the advance of the revolution both in the Arab world and throughout the rest of the world. And now we see that Imperialism is on the defensive and the Arab masses supported by the Workers States are on the offensive, since this 'militant' letter of Brezhnev to Boumedienne, as the bourgeois press describes it, which stimulates the rest of the Arab armies to intervene giving assurances that the Soviet Union

will help. And so this letter is on the same line as the letter of Brezhnev to the Conference of non aligned countries. This is the world balance of forces which is favourable for the progress of the anti-imperialist struggle all over the world. Otherwise why does Japan escape from the hold of Yankee imperialism, making more relations with the Soviet Union and China?

The forces of the Arab revolution made a balance of the military defeat of 1967 concluding that it was due to the lack of an organised intervention of the Arab masses in the war, and it was the apparatuses themselves which decided and intervened. Now it is necessary, and it is possible, to organise the intervention of the masses starting with the application of the resolution of the General Federation of Arab Trade Unions, which was proposed by the General Federation of Iraqi Trade Unions - calling for the construction of armed workers militias in preparation for the war against Israel. And we appeal to all the forces of the Arab revolution, to the National Fronts of Algeria and Yemen, to the Arab Trade Unions, the Palestinian Fedayeen forces, the Iraqi and the Syrian Baath, and the Arab Communist parties to work for the organisation of student, peasant and workers militias to intervene on the side of the Arab armies fighting against Israel, thus organising the intervention of the Arab masses in this struggle in an organic way.

We appeal to the Arab Revolutionary States and all the forces of the Arab revolution to launch an appeal to the rest of the Arab armies stimulating them to intervene on the side of the Arab masses, in opposition to the reactionary sectors in these armies in Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, Tunisia, North Yemen, Lebanon, Sudan and Libya. It is necessary to launch an appeal to the nationalist currents in these armies to stimulate them to intervene to strengthen the front of the fighting Arab armies and to destroy the imperialist bases inside the Arab states represented by the presence of these right wing sectors in the armies.

It is necessary to utilise the accentuation of the class struggle in Israel itself and to intervene in it to gain the Israeli proletariat to the just struggle of the Arab masses, thus acting to disintegrate Israel and open a front against it from the inside. It is necessary to extend the appeals of the Syrian Radio to the Israeli masses, making an offensive towards

turn to page 4

This struggle to defend the property of the engineering union has to be given full support by the left in the Labour Party, not waiting for Wilson and the leadership to take a position. Scanlon's statement about the £100,000 being destined for the political fund, Labour Party money in fact, and calling on Wilson to make a statement about it is not an incorrect way of trying to get the L.P. to intervene to support the struggle, but it is not possible to wait on Wilson. The left must give its support, organising meetings, demonstrations, calling out all the London organisations of the L.P. and the Labour Party Young Socialists, to support the November 5th demonstration. That action is going to signify an important step forward in the preparation of the forces for later more massive actions leading to a general strike. The Labour left should also put forward the demand for the nationalisation of all companies like Con-Mec which

tion of all companies like Con-Mec which make actions like this against the engineers.

One of the elements in the preparation of a general strike is the coming strike action of the miners which is going to signify a blow at the functioning and the authority of capitalism as severe as the last strike. When Gormley says that a miners strike could force Heath to call an election which the Tories would probably win, because of the opposition generated by the strike, he is consciously trying to diminish the miners security. The aim is to weigh on the most backward and conservative layers so that they intervene in the ballot against the strike. What evidence is there that the petit bourgeoisie is going to be frightened off the L.P. as a result of this strike? There is none. The petit bourgeoisie is attracted by what it sees to be the most powerful force. If it sees that the working class is resolved to smash the policy of the government which means effectively smashing the government itself, and if it is convinced that it can do it than it will be attracted to the side of the working class and will vote for its party. A powerful strike of the miners

THE 10th CONGRESS AND THE STRUGGLE OF TENDENCIES IN THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY

J. POSADAS. 21.9.73.

This Congress of the Chinese Communist Party has been a compromise between the sector of Chou en Lai and a sector apparently more advanced of the left. Hence the language which they utilise, of the cultural revolution saying that it was good, that they were going to continue it and that it was necessary to purge the party of the bourgeois elements who might otherwise return. All this implies and conceals an attack on the tendencies of the left but also on the right. They still have relations with the former proprietors who until a short time ago were owners of the land.

It is an agreement in which they feel the necessity of the advance of China towards socialism. They place the accent on this. Chou en Lai has had to refer to the proletariat a number of times as a point of support in the Chinese revolution. At the same time, all this is to conceal a policy of the right. We do not know who this new leader Wang Ho Weng is. Although he may come from the cultural revolution, it does not mean that he is the representative of the left wing, because there is no programme or policy. It is possible that it may be an agreement and compromise and that they have sought to put forward a leader who participated in the cultural revolution to contain and calm the Chinese masses, showing that they are not going to the right. It is a very great preoccupation which they have had whether Chou en Lai or the others, to communicate to the Chinese people that they are not going to the right. Apparently the language is of the left. But there is an absence of programme and of concern for the world process.

This Congress of the Chinese Communist Party shows a transitory stage and resolves none of the problems of China. The Congress did not discuss any of the problems of the world situation; the struggle of the masses, the progress of the world revolution, the progress of the Communist Parties, the situation in Europe and the struggles of the proletariat to take power, the crisis in Chile, the revolutionary process in Chile and in the rest of the world, the struggle in Vietnam and the Vietnamese masses who are extending the revolution. This has been absent, they did not wish to clash with Imperialism nor with the world bourgeoisie nor to give elements which provoke a deepening in the internal struggle of tendencies. It is a situation which cannot last much longer, because it is necessary that China takes a position on all this.

In the later discussion with Pompidou, Chou en Lai put in evidence this policy of seeking agreements with sectors of the bourgeoisie to fortify itself in front of Yankee Imperialism and also in front of the Soviet Union. It is a Stalinist influence, an influence of the bureaucracy, of layers of society who seek as Chinese, as a function of China, economic, social and political development. This has no perspective. In moments in which the process is impelling the Workers States to unite, to seek the world unification of the communist movement, the Chinese isolate themselves, seek to ally themselves with the bourgeoisie against the rest of the Workers States and in consequence also against the revolution. They cannot do it completely, directly, because they have an internal disagreement.

The agreement which they have arrived at internally, in this Congress, indicates the pre-eminence still of the bureaucratic sector which has to make agreements with the wing apparently of the left. This is shown by the language used about wanting to advance the revolution. But there is no concrete policy. It gives the impression that this is a transitory attitude because they speak of incorporating and developing the activity of the trade unions and trade union leaders. All this can also be part of a compromise and of concessions of language, of form, but not of content.

It was a clandestine Congress without preparation, it was made in secret. It was not a Congress made to resolve problems publically, it was made without any prior preparation, suddenly, to define a situation. And in all this, they had to explain about, and take a position over Lin Piao. It is a compromise which they have arrived at, on the basis of making Lin Piao disappear, between the supposed wing of the left, a centrist wing and the right of the party, in which still the right and centre has the pre-eminence. But when they have to explain the problems of Lin Piao, presenting him as an assassin who entered the party in order to be an assassin, a careerist, an agent of capitalism, all the Chinese masses are going to ask as before they asked with Stalin: 'Well, how was it that he was in the party for such a long time? Why didn't they denounce him? How was it that he took the power? Who supported him? Do you wish to say that half the party and the leaders are the same as him? If he could make such an activity it was because he had the support and the consent of the party.' This is to say, they are creating a confusion, an internal disorder and a very great disappointment. But at the same time that it creates disappointment and confusion in layers of the party, in others it creates the necessity to study to elevate the understanding and the capacity to put order into the party.

The Chinese economy is in development but it is developing a wing with interests of a Stalinist type, retrograde nationalist, very linked to an exclusively Chinese interest. It is not the stage to do this. Neither history nor the economy, nor the development of science in the Workers States allows the creation of a Stalinist wing. It can have methods, Stalinist resources as they used in this Congress, but they do not have a perspective of development. On the contrary the perspective is the development afterwards of left wings. All these are conclusions which it is necessary to await. And it is necessary to collaborate in this activity, developing the world revolution.

Vietnam is at the side of China, it has positions of the left and which intervenes as a conscious wing of the world communist movement. It has similar attitudes to us, it coincides with many of our positions, has a similar orientation to us. This shows that the bureaucratic sectors interested in the development of their own country for themselves cannot make the rest of the world submit to them as Stalin could in his stage. The development of the revolution breaks the isolation of each sector, whilst in the epoch of Stalin, the process of the revolution isolated them and submitted them to the power of the soviet bureaucracy.

As a consequence it is necessary to expect great struggles, great discussions in which we are going to, and must intervene. There is no perspective for isolation and the development of Stalinist tendencies. Neither for an alliance of capitalism with China. Capitalism tries to utilise China against the Soviet Union, the other Workers States and the world revolution. It has no perspectives. Hence the meeting of Pompidou with Chou en Lai reached no conclusion. They were simply declarations without any conclusion. They went in search of a 'mutual support and did not have any favourable conclusions for either party. On the other hand there is the advance of the revolution throughout the world, even taking into account the retrocession which is meant by Chile.

The right wing of the Chinese Communist Party failed in its attempt to want to turn against the Soviet Union and the Workers States, which is against the present tactic of the world revolution to impel the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialism. Hence the agreement which Chou en Lai made with Pompidou. There are divergences between them, undoubtedly. French Imperialism did it to try to exploit the Chinese and the Chinese, French imperialism; one against the world revolutionary movement, the other against the USSR. They have both failed and have achieved nothing. The revolution is more powerful and all the insecurity with which they have carried through the secret Congress of the Chinese Communist Party gave them no strength, no superiority in front of the world revolution. They wanted to contain the world revolution. While the tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party was made - which did not bring out any resolution of impulse to the world socialist revolution, which only brought out very general declarations - the Chinese masses demonstrated that they lived basing themselves on the experience, on the security of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat throughout the world.

The resolution of the tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party is one of dispute with the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the soviet government. It is a dispute in which it seeks support in the capitalist system, developing nationalist interests, regional interests which are remote from socialism, when it poses that the USSR must hand over islands to Japan. The Workers State has islands which belong to it and which are the product of social development. Even if in origin, they belonged to another country they have developed socially as a Workers State. They are islands in which nationalised property developed and they are going towards socialism. They have passed from the feudal backwardness of slavery in which they lived to the Workers State. The Chinese asked that they be returned to the capitalist system. It is a stupidity which answers to the interests of the group, of the caste, of nationalist bureaucrats, regional sectors against the Workers State. It is not in function of the interests of the Workers State. Even if these are territories which belonged to another state, if the Workers State has developed them from the superior socialist point of view, there is nothing to hand back. On the contrary it is necessary to ask that it annexes the rest, that it does with Japan what it has done with the other islands.

When the Chinese do not reason in this way it is because they have bureaucratic caste interests, in dispute with the Workers States. But all this policy of the Chinese has an origin also with the Soviet Union in the epoch of Stalin, who had the same policy which the Chinese have now. And in the epoch of Khrushchev also. The precedents which they have are Yalta and Tehran, where Stalin divided the world with imperialism.

The policy of the Chinese comes from the competition and the dispute with the Soviet bureaucracy. But at present there is a superior stage. Even though there are still bureaucratic interests in the USSR, the bureaucracy still existing solidly, there is an internal development in the Soviet Union which is a process of partial regeneration which it is necessary to accompany, to support without stopping criticising the bureaucracy and combating the bureaucratic interests. But it means to discuss within the area of the Workers State. On the other hand the Chinese appeal to capitalism against the Workers States. They associate with Japan, Yankee Imperialism, French Imperialism against the Workers States. They are defending bureaucratic interests and not revolutionary interests. This has an origin in the absence of Soviet democracy, of organs of intervention of the masses, and of the communist life, of soviet life.

It is necessary to pose to resolve the Sino-Soviet dispute to combat this crazy and criminal attitude of the Chinese. It is necessary to pose the birth of the soviets in the Workers States, in the Soviet Union, in China and full soviet democracy, complete discussion with all the Workers States and Communist Parties to make a full, fraternal, communist discussion seeking conditions to reconstruct the Communist International, to unify all the Workers States, to plan together, economically, politically, socially and militarily, the Workers States and to prepare for the war which imperialism is preparing.

In spite of and against the interests of the bureaucracy, the Chinese Workers State has to express itself and finds the way to do it. It is the structure reached by the Workers State, which are the communes, some aspects of soviet forms, the economic and social development, the development of the proletariat, the intervention whether in Korea, or in Vietnam, all the structure of the Workers State obliges them to have to see reality in the most immediate and direct form. Hence in spite of asking that the Soviet Union should hand over islands to the capitalist system, at the same time they have to denounce that imperialism is preparing the war and make announcements and declarations about developing cadres towards socialism.

It is the structure of the Workers State which obliges them to pose this. But when it shows the defence of bureaucratic interests and national interests, is when it poses that the Soviet Workers State should hand over islands to the capitalist system when it should on the contrary appeal to the masses of the capitalist countries that they should act as the Soviet Union to develop the country. Even with criticisms of the political leadership of the Communist Party, they have to act like the Soviet Union which passed from nothing to be the second country in development, and in some aspects the most developed country in the world. The Chinese have to appeal for this to the masses of the capitalist countries to act as in the Soviet Union and not for the Soviet Union to hand over islands to the capitalist system.

All the previous process in the Chinese Communist Party, the delay with which they organised the Congress, was directed to determine a programme of conciliation of a Stalinist type, of conciliation with world capitalism. The base of conciliation is the defence of the interests of a bureaucratic caste and of a bureaucratic sector in competition with the other Workers States and with their leading bureaucracies. They seek to elevate the national interests, of a caste, or of sectors, grouping them in the generalised interest of China against the 'soviet oppressor', which is absurd, it lacks all scientific basis and all real proof. Neither the Soviet Union nor the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is 'social-imperialist'. The criticisms which we make of the bureaucracy and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union arise because it does not put forward a consistent policy against the capitalist system. Even though we support many of the activities which they are making and the intervention of the Soviet Union favouring the struggle of the colonial and semi-colonial masses in the rest of the world.

This attitude of the Chinese sought to impel - supported by the Yanks and by the world capitalist system - a pressure against the Soviet Union by the non aligned countries to try to weaken the positions of the Soviet Union. This is of interest to world capitalism, supporting itself on the dispute, on the competition of the Chinese bureaucracy with the rest of the Workers States to win historic time to prevent the 'non aligned' countries being influenced by the Workers States. It was the reverse: the Workers States influenced all the so called 'non aligned' countries who are aligned in a world anti imperialist front. Although it might not be so, yes, programmatically the resolutions which they brought out are anti-imperialist. Not against the Soviet Union but against Yankee imperialism.

The discussion in Algeria on the non aligned countries is a defeat for imperialism. The intention of a series of countries among them Saudi Arabia was to influence the rest of the delegations against the Soviet Union against the Revolutionary States who are going towards Workers States. This was the reality. They wanted to pose that it was not a problem of class, nor of historic economic structure, nor of regime, nor of a system of production and regime of property but simply of the rich and the poor. The intervention of Fidel Castro, the vehemence, the analysis and the conclusions which he posed showing the function of the Soviet Union, had a decisive weight and broke the attempt of the reactionary wing led by Saudi Arabia among others, to try to direct at the same time a repudiation

against the Yanks and against the Workers States particularly against the USSR. It is a defeat for imperialism, because there it had an opportunity to do this and it could not exert a pressure either with money or commerce or buying or selling, or with military pressure. This means a very great weight of the Workers States on the so called non aligned countries which in their immense majority are aligned with the Workers States. Hence the final declaration of Boumedienne is important. This shows the elevation of the process of the revolution.

The attitude of the Chinese Communist Party through its anti Soviet programme, through the anti Soviet campaign and the concern to show the Soviet Union as the aggressor, shows that it defends the interests of a bureaucratic caste. They are not the interests of a mistaken policy. They are not the expression of a party or of a country which does not know what policy to push forward. No. They are defending bureaucratic interests because they feel threatened by the development of the Soviet Union, interests of inter-bureaucratic dispute and of competition. But the inter bureaucratic dispute has a limit which is that they have common interests against the capitalist system, like the Rumanian bureaucracy or the Yugoslav bureaucracy with the Soviet Union.

The attitude of the Chinese shows that there is a bureaucratic layer which prefers the alliance with capitalism against the Workers States. This cannot resist or last.

It is against all the nature of the Chinese revolution, against the progress, the structure which has been reached, the development of the communes and certain forms of internal democratic functioning of the communes, and against the immense progress of the Chinese population, of the economy, of the social, scientific and technical development of China. This is to say, it has no points of support in backwardness. Backwardness is relative in China. Therefore it is necessary to expect events of importance and the progress of a left wing.

This Tenth Congress which was held secretly, in the middle of the night, in secret conferences, without a programme or an objective programmatic conclusion on where the world is going, without taking into account what is happening in the world, without putting forward as a central objective the struggle against imperialism, brings out an ambiguous conclusion. It does not communicate a word to the rest of the world, programmatically there is no conclusion. What do they seek? For example to develop the country; well, how? And meanwhile what to do with Imperialism and the world capitalist system? What attitude do they have towards the colonial countries, of Vietnam? They speak of it in passing in four lines. There is no attitude towards the countries which struggle against imperialism; neither a condemnation of imperialism nor a programmatic resolution to support the struggle of the people against the capitalist system and against imperialism.

It means the development of a Congress which is transitory, but a Congress which prepares a new stage, because the leadership which emerges from this Congress does not dominate programmatically, is not the result of an internal activity, of preparation, of discussion, of activity in the party to understand, to compare, but a wing reaches an agreement, a compromise which is totally temporary. The proof is that programmatically there is no resolution of

importance. They do not take a position on any important aspect and it is a conciliation with the capitalist system. They are seeking an alliance with the capitalist system against the soviets, hoping to detach themselves from the soviets, to be able to extend the bureaucratic interests of this layer of the Chinese revolution. They do not have occasion or perspective. The proof that the right and centre lack strength is that in this Congress of the Chinese Communist Party they have had to make an alliance with the left; or with those who appear to be of the left.

The explanation about Lin Liao is a performance which has no truth, no explanation. They killed him in the struggle of tendencies. These are Stalinist methods. But it is not a stage which allows Stalinist methods. The liquidation of Lin Piao, justified and promulgated by them shows that they are defending bureaucratic interests. Even in conditions of very great dispute, when they reach the stage of killing, it is because they are defending bureaucratic interests. If it is a tendency which defends legitimate interests, it does not kill, does not liquidate, does not carry out this performance, and buffoonery, to try to justify themselves saying 'for thirty years he was preparing betrayal to capitalism'

For the first time Chou en Lai spoke of supporting himself on the proletariat of China. But he does not represent the interests of the proletariat. He defends the interests of the bureaucracy which supports itself on the proletariat. For the first time, he mentions the cultural revolution and has to admit the legitimacy and besides that the continuity of it. It means an internal dispute and discussion which is not over the economic problems of China, but over the world aspects of the revolution in which it is necessary to expect, in a very short stage, consequences of a very profound crisis again in the Chinese Communist Party.

They will try to weigh against the Soviet Union. If they had succeeded in weighing in the Communist Parties, in the masses of the world among them the Chilean masses, these would have been annihilated by such a conclusion to see that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Chinese Communist Party, the two Communist Parties and the two largest Workers States quarrel among themselves and China utilising Stalinist methods, accusing the Soviet Union of being imperialist and of having as an objective the invasion of China. This serves to confuse, disorientate and break up the cohesion of the world proletariat. The Chilean proletariat shows that nothing has collapsed, that the proletariat has an understanding infinitely greater than all these leaderships, that it feels confidence and security in itself and understands that it is a bureaucratic dispute. Hence in the Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and in the attack on the Soviet Union, it does not see the figure of the Workers State. It sees a leadership, it does not see the Workers State.

If the world proletariat could see in the attitude of the Chinese a conclusion that this was a conclusion from a Workers State, that this was communism, its historic security would have diminished. When it does not collapse in any way, but maintains its struggle and the Chilean proletariat shows the enormous elevation of its security, it is showing that the attitude of the Chinese Communist Party, of the Tenth Congress has absolutely not damaged the historic security of the proletariat.

The proletariat is ready for an immense understanding of all this. We place as an example; the largest Workers State, the most powerful Workers State with most weight in history, after the Soviet Union, accuses the Soviet Union of being fascist and allied with imperialism - as they have just allied themselves with imperialism a short time ago in the meetings with Pompidou - seeking to conciliate against the Soviet Union. This would be sufficient to tend to smash the security, the resolution and the orientation

of the world proletariat; disorientating it, overwhelming it, making it succumb to insecurity in seeing that a socialist country, the second leadership in historic importance attacks the Soviet Union as fascist, employs Stalinist methods, methods of the capitalist system. It employs the lie on all sides. It is evident, it is sufficient to see the analysis, the biography and the condemnation of Lin Piao that it is a complete lie. The accusation against the Soviet Union is a lie.

The Chilean proletariat is not only not overwhelmed by what has happened and not disorientated, but it maintains itself fused, organised and centralised in its parties and in its trade unions which is the most important symptom of its maturity as a leadership of the world working class. Events tend to shake it and to make it lose historic security; its attitude in Chile showed that it had not lost a milligram of its historic security; on the contrary it increased it and is resisting.

This stage of agreements with Imperialism and capitalism is totally transitory. Imperialism prepares for war. If it has signed agreements, if it accepted the kisses of Brezhnev to Nixon, it is because it seeks to win time because it does not feel at present the security to launch the war, but it has a wing which is going to launch the war which is the wing of the CIA which gave the coup in Chile. The behaviour of the Chilean proletariat is a very rich experience to be directed at all the Communist Parties. Comrade communists, it is necessary to discuss such a conclusion; the Chilean proletariat has shown that it lives fully all the world problems of the revolution and of the Communist Parties. It is necessary to support ourselves on this experience, on this capacity for analysis, of conclusion and of the historic behaviour of the Chilean proletariat, which is the image and the representation of the world proletariat.

J. POSADAS 21.9.1973

LOTTA OPERAIA

PARTITO COMUNISTA RIVOLUZIONARIO (Trotskista)
SEZIONE ITALIANA DELLA IV INTERNAZIONALE (Pensiero)

GOES WEEKLY

Lotta Operaia, the organ of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (Trotskyist) Italian Section of the IV International (Posadist), has started to be published weekly since Wednesday the 10th of October. That issue No. 362 with eight pages contained the following articles:
- Appeal of the International Secretariat of the IV International. For the unconditional support to the struggle of the masses in Chile and the liberation of comrade Luis Corvalan and of all the political prisoners.
- An Editorial. Organise a National Conference of the factory councils to prepare the general strike.
- For the Federation of Soviet Socialist Republics in the Middle East with self determination for the masses of Israel.
- Self Management, the Soviets and the Discussion in the Crisis of the Yugoslav Communist Party. by J. Posadas.
- The Workers States must intervene with all their strength to stop the massacre and to re-organise and reanimate the struggle for Socialism in Chile.

J. Posadas. 23.9.1973.
- Full support of the workers movement for GUINEA-BISSAU.
- Organise the left in the Italian Socialist Party.

We salute this elevation in the already considerable activity of our Italian Section which will be extremely important in the revolutionary preparation of the Italian Communist Party as a party capable of confronting the task of the struggle for power and socialism.
We extend our greetings to the International Secretariat and in particular to comrade Posadas organiser of this progress.

FULL SUPPORT FOR THE
DEMONSTRATION ON SUNDAY 4TH
NOVEMBER, IN SOLIDARITY WITH
THE CHILEAN MASSES.

Assemble 1.30pm. Speakers Corner

In the Triumph occupation it is necessary to raise the demand for: NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The occupation of Triumph motor-cycles in Meriden, and the resolution to keep production going, is a revolutionary anti-capitalist response to the managements decision to close the factory. It comes at the same time as the L.I.P. occupation in France, where for 4 months and more the workers have maintained the production of watches and sold them directly to the working class, and after the important experience of U.C.S. Thus the Triumph workers are basing themselves on the most advanced experiences of the European and British working class.

This occupation is a measure which does not find an adequate response in the leadership of the trade unions or the L.P. The base has decided on it, the base has carried it out, and the local T.G.W.U. leadership has given it support, but the national leadership has been silent, when such an occupation represents an enormous force on which it could base itself to organise an offensive against the capitalist firms supplying components etc. it will be subjected to all the blind empirical forces of the capitalist market. Putting workers money into the enterprise is not going to solve any of these problems, the demand has to be NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

organisation of a national campaign of meetings, stoppages, strikes, occupations, with the perspective of organising a general strike against this government and its policy of wage freeze and attacks on the democratic rights of the masses.

However while we salute and support the method utilised by the Triumph workers we believe the demand for a workers cooperative, put forward by the local T.G.W.U. organiser and by the local Labour MP, and which found the support of the Triumph management, is not a solution to the problem. The factory owned by the workers will still face the same problems; it will have to face the intense competition of the Japanese who have already won a large share of the market, it will have to go to the banks to raise more capital, it will be at the mercy of capitalist firms supplying components etc. it will be subjected to all the blind empirical forces of the capitalist market. Putting workers money into the enterprise is not going to solve any of these problems, the demand has to be NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

A sector of the T.U. leadership and that of the L.P. also, put forward the proposal of a cooperative because they see it as the least evil, and as a means of trying to stimulate the development of a workers aristocracy with selfish individualist interests, with whom they can make an alliance against the rest of the proletariat. The management

accept for the same reason that Posadas analysed in the document of the 22.8.1973 on L.I.P.; they think that such a cooperative is going to fail and they can say 'we told you so, you are incapable of running the factory.' Such an attitude is directed not so much at the proletariat, who have a security in their own capacity which cannot be shaken but to the petit bourgeoisie who are in process of being gained by the proletariat and by measures of nationalisation. Fundamentally it is directed to contain and cut short the tendency of the petit bourgeoisie to look to the proletariat as the leader of society.

On the other hand the demand for its nationalisation under workers control, has a perspective. Even now, with the Tory government such a demand can be put forward and imposed by the method being employed at Meriden. The Tories are weak and they don't want to provoke a head on confrontation as they did before with the 'Pentonville 5', and they are not going, if they see that the workers are prepared to resist, to try to eject the workers. Just as they were forced by the very decadence of capitalism itself, to nationalise a part of Rolls Royce, so in this case faced not only with an economic collapse of an important sector of engineering, but with the determination of the working class not to pay the consequences of that economic collapse, they could nationalise. But it would require a more energetic campaign than at present; a

campaign of meetings, discussions, sending pickets to other factories to address factory gate meetings, going to the Labour Party and Communist Party branches, at the same time selling the products at a much lower price than capitalism charges, to the working class and petit bourgeoisie.

Even if the Tory government does not nationalise, it is necessary to maintain the occupation, as UCS was maintained for more than a year, fighting for return of a Labour government in a short period of time. The Labour government will have a programme of nationalisations, and the occupation will be a means to stimulate the left so that it keeps its resolution to carry forward the struggle for nationalisations no matter what the sabotage and opposition of the right wing.

It is necessary for the workers vanguard and the student movement to give full support to the Triumph occupation, in every way so as to ensure its success, and so as to generalise to the rest of the class, the experience of Triumph. It is necessary to ensure that the occupied plant continues to receive supplies, raw materials, energy, so that it can continue to produce. But at the same time as all the actions of solidarity are made, a fraternal polemic must be carried out with the local leaders and the workers of Triumph, posing the inadequacy of the solution of the workers cooperative and posing the necessity for nationalisation under workers control.

THE INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS OF COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE NECESSITY OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

In the last issue of Red Flag, we published an Appeal of the International Secretariat of the IV International in solidarity with the masses of Chile and their struggle for socialism. The resolution addressed the coming Conference for Peace, Democracy and Socialism. This and other meetings of Communist and Socialist parties which have been held recently, or will be held soon, are part of an elevation in the Communist life, in the objectives and the world functioning of the communist movement. They try to answer the necessity of a more coordinated functioning of all the Communist Parties, which is the initiative of the Soviet Communist Party, but that are already by passing the intentions and the will of the Soviet leadership.

One of the conclusions that must be drawn from the developments in Chile, is that 'the bourgeoisie doesn't abandon the scene of history without employing all the means at its disposal.' This is true not only on a national scale in the sense that all the bourgeoisies are preparing to organise coup d'état, and to launch civil war in every country where its role is endangered; but also on a world scale, with the preparation that the world capitalist system, directed by U.S. Imperialism is making of the counter revolutionary atomic war. This is the significance of all military alliances, such as NATO or SEATO which all include plans for dealing with 'internal subversion', and for helping a member country avoid such a 'threat'. The coup in Greece in 1967 was implemented under the guidance of such a plan, and the present airlift of arms and the supply of pilots from the USA to Israel are only further proofs of the fact that Imperialism is going to try to make full use of its military apparatus.

All this stimulates the conclusion that it is necessary to co-ordinate the activity of all the Workers States, the Communist and Socialist parties throughout the world. A recent article in Labour Weekly, shows that in the Labour Party there is a wing which goes towards the understanding of the necessity for a Communist International and breaks away with the reformist ideas of the Second International.

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also take a position on the miners strike. Not just passive support but active mobilisations, putting all the facilities of the Labour Party at their disposal, elaborating a programme of how a Labour government would develop the mining industry, making it safer and nationalising all related industries, mining machinery firms, retail distribution, etc.

Wilson, Prentice, etc. are going to be opposed to any direct active support, they may express support, but they will do nothing. But the left can take advantage of these actions to strengthen its relations with the workers vanguard, to base itself on this tremendous force in order to wage a much more aggressive struggle in the L.P. for the elimination of the right. The power comes from the factories, as comrade Posadas has said, and the Labour left has to strengthen its links with this power, must organise this power with joint meetings, discussions and actions. In this way the

Why is a Communist International necessary? In the stage of Lenin and Trotsky - cde. Posadas analyses, the Communist International was necessary to organise the Communist Parties, to co-ordinate them, to give them a political basis, and a programme, to help to organise the world communist movement. Today this already exists. Today it is necessary that the Workers States should present themselves as a decided leadership of society, with a programme to lead the world. There are already the conditions to do it.

MOBILISE TO DEFEND THE SHREWSBURY 24

Thousands have demonstrated in many parts of the country, Shrewsbury, London, Edinburgh, Southampton, Dundee, in support of the Shrewsbury 24 and the movement is growing as more and more sectors of the class are mobilising into action. Dockers, miners, engineers, have all shown their support for the building workers who are facing over 100 charges ranging from conspiracy to unlawful assembly and causing an affray. Capitalism is seeing exactly the same sort of class mobilisations which brought about the release of the 'Pentonville 5' last year, when the working class spontaneously reacted against capitalism's attempts to stop them organising.

After the failure of the Industrial Relations Act, capitalism tried to test the reactions of the working class by resorting to the criminal law in order to intimidate a sector of them. It didn't have the strength to take on the whole of the class so concentrated on a relatively weak sector of workers in an isolated

anti-capitalist struggle of the proletarian vanguard is going to be much more closely connected to the internal struggle to eliminate the right in the Labour Party. No struggle against the right in the workers parties has ever been able to triumph while it remained inside the apparatus, it remained a struggle fettered by the bureaucratic structure of the party, but if it is allied to the struggle of the proletariat outside the party then it can triumph. This is why the alliance of the Labour left with the struggle of the engineers and miners is so important today.

24.10.1973

Trotskyist Press

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The role of the Communist International today is to give impulse to the world course of the revolution, and to help to construct the Workers States, coordinating them as an essential part of the development of the revolution in every country. Not leaving each Communist Party to itself, but starting from the essential impulse of the Workers States, which are the historic examples already existing. The tasks of the Communist International are infinitely superior to those in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. Without changing the reasons for its foundation - its functioning as organiser of the Communist Parties and of the world revolution - now the Communist International must prepare the construction and the coordination of the Workers States, and help the passing from the stage of the Revolutionary State to the Workers State, and to the scientific construction of socialism.

part of the country, away from the big industrial centres, thinking it would have had more success and so could have aimed a blow at the trade union movement. By holding the trial at Shrewsbury they hoped to further isolate the pickets from any outside influence and support. This seemed possible at the time of the arrests because at that moment there was a relative calm on the industrial front. They also counted on the trade union leaderships not wanting to jeopardise their talks with the government which were taking place at the time, by giving active support to the struggle. But sectors of the class saw the need to defend these pickets, the importance of class solidarity, and showed their determination not to let capitalism smash picket lines and arrest militants one by one as they tried to do with the 'Pentonville 5', as a means of intimidating the rest of the class.

This struggle is fundamental for the working class to be able to defend its right to picket, and the more opposition is mounting to the governments Phase Three with different sectors like the miners and the engineers putting in for huge wage demands, the more Shrewsbury is going to become a centre for these struggles. The more intensive the class struggle becomes; the more collisions there will be with the law, because the law serves purely to protect the interests of private property. As the struggle becomes more acute or takes different forms, capitalism is going to find ways of repressing it, and if there are no applicable laws then they will invent some. This has been clearly shown by the use of the new special laws which give the police increased powers to stop and search anyone suspected of possessing drugs, and also the introduction of the Criminal Damages Act, introduced in 1971, which was used against the coach load of Colchester pickets returning from the Shrewsbury trial. They were held on suspicion of causing a fire, so that the police could search their homes and interrogate them on the aims and intentions of the Shrewsbury protest. All these actions must be denounced by the trade union movement

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the Israeli masses, who time after time paralyse Israel with their strikes. It is necessary to call for a general strike of the Israeli proletariat in support of the Arab masses and armies with the objective of smashing the racist, Zionist, imperialist system in Israel from which the Israeli masses are suffering. And if the conditions are not mature for this, then where does the Black Panther movement come from? And why are the eastern Jews exploited in relation to the western Jews? And why are there these continuous strikes if the workers are interested in and supporting the existence and the war of Zionism against the Arab masses? They are making strikes and their country is in a state of war! We appeal to the Syrian trade unions, the Syrian Baath, and the Egyptian trade unions, to launch appeals to the Israeli soldiers, to the Israeli masses, to the Israeli proletariat, calling for the smashing of imperialism and the construction of fraternal human relationships between the Arab masses and the masses of Israel.

We appeal to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union to send the maximum of military, technical, medical and material help to the battle front. And it is necessary that the Soviet trade unions and the Soviet Communist Party intervene as T.U.'s and a party to organise assemblies and meetings in the factories and the districts in the Soviet Union, to organise mass demonstrations in support of the Arab soldiers in the battle front, calling for the sending of the troops to the Middle East to smash the imperialist base of Israel.

When this 'militant' letter of Brezhnev to Boumedienne, comes after the experience when the

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and at the same time workers must organise their own defence committees to defend their right to organise.

Defence Committees should be organised in all the factories and areas in order to defend all local strikes, and co-ordinate on a national level so as to organise mass picketing. The miners and the building workers strikes both showed the importance and effectiveness of the 'flying pickets' which were a tremendous acquisition and new experience for the class and absolutely terrified capitalism. Confronted with force of this kind they have no alternative but to back down or to confront it with an equivalent force. For this reason they are trying everything to smash this form of picketing.

An important aspect of the Shrewsbury trial however is that it has been transformed by the defence into an indictment of the 'lump' and how this has led to the run down of the building industry, because of the scarce regard by employers for security measures, the lack of site amenities, and the savings made from unpaid insurance. As the lump worker receives his money tax free it is difficult to organise him in a union and still a large number of building workers work the lump. The struggle for full union organisation has been a long and bitter one and has been supported by some Labour councils who have tried to give contracts only to those firms who don't operate the 'lump'. Obviously they have come up against vicious opposition from the employers who are united in their efforts to maintain the lump whatever the cost.

The leadership of UCATT and the TGWU and the rest of the trade union leadership have been slow to give support to the Shrewsbury workers and to wage a campaign throughout the movement for their release. The immediate rank and file actions, the setting up of local committees should be accompanied by positions and initiatives from the leaderships. If the trade union movement pledged full support to the struggle it would rally the movement as a whole into an all out struggle against the Tory government and Phase Three and the Industrial Relations Act.

Soviet Union sold out the Arab masses in 1948, it points to the new structure of the world revolution and its advance, which imposes the process of Partial Regeneration, the process in which the leaderships of the Workers States and the Communist Parties have to respond to the necessities of the Workers States and the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world.

* This letter of Brezhnev indicates the readiness of this leadership to support the struggle of the Arab armies against imperialism, but it does not call for the organisation of the intervention of the Arab masses. And so it is necessary to call for a conference of all the forces of the Arab revolution including the National Front of Algeria and Yemen, the Iraqi and Syrian Baath, the Arab trade unions, the Fedayeen Palestinian forces, the Communist Parties, the peasant organisations and with the participation of the Trotskyist Posadist Arab militants of the IV International, to discuss how to support the battle front with the organisation of the intervention of the Arab masses, and how to include the exploited Israeli masses in the struggle against Zionism and imperialism, and to organise a campaign of support from all parts of the world Communist, Socialist, Worker, and Nationalist movements.

TROTSKYIST-POSADIST ARAB MILITANTS OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.
9.10.1973.

* Refers to the letter from Brezhnev to Boumedienne when he called for all the Arab States to intervene in support of Egypt and Syria.

THE WORKERS STATES MUST MOBILISE ALL THEIR FORCES TO CONTAIN THE MASSACRE, TO REORGANISE AND REANIMATE THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN CHILE 23.9.73 J. POSADAS

(page two)

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

weekly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

No. 194 Year XI Wednesday 31st October, 1973.

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UTILISE THE DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE 4th AND 5th AS A BASE FOR AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE TORY GOVERNMENT

The national demonstration for Chile on the 4th and the day of action against the seizure of the £100,000 from the AUEW on the 5th are both fundamental mobilisations which the vanguard of the working class is going to use as a point of support in the organisation of more concrete forms of solidarity with Chile and the defence of the Chilean revolution, defence of working class organisations and their funds in Britain - and also to increase the pressure in the organisms of the class for an offensive now against the tory government.

The demonstration on Sunday has to be taken as the beginning of a new, more elevated stage of the campaign of solidarity with Chile. When the junta says that the 'stage of siege' in Chile is going to continue for at least 8 months, it is because the armed resistance they are encountering is not being diminished by the Nazi methods they are using to try to intimidate the population. In spite of the massacres, the news reports now say that the junta troops are being killed at the rate of 5 per day in military operations. In the present world situation of collapse of capitalism and overall development and extension of the revolution the junta is extremely weak. It is from these factors that the solidarity campaign must be developed. The armed resistance exists, it is necessary to organise material aid in the form of money, medical supplies and arms. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States to intervene with open military support, organising an international militia, forming a centre for the world campaign to unify itself to smash the junta and reanimate the struggle for socialism in Chile. The Workers States take a firm stand against imperialism in the Middle East - it is necessary to do the same in Chile.

In spite of the present collapse of the so-called 'detente' between the USSR and the USA, and the nuclear alert by imperialism, which indicate how close the war that imperialism is preparing against the Workers States is, the Soviet Union maintains its support of the Arab struggle. It is able to do this, the force of the revolution of the world masses is greater than imperialism and is the one with an historic perspective. Imperialism is in military as well as social, political and economic crisis. NATO is in complete disarray. But imperialism's decision to launch the war soon is reaffirmed. In this situation the Soviet leadership is obliged to intervene in Chile, but it is possible to do much more.

For the campaign in this country to develop more force, the weight of the Labour Party and the trade unions must be brought to bear much more in the Chile committees, coordinating better on a national level. It is correct for the T&GWU to want to intervene in the conference of the ICFTU on this, but it is not necessary to wait for that. The TUs must take a position now, not simply to condemn the junta and its barbarities but to organise aid and promote the fullest discussion of the Chilean experience in all the country. Similarly with the left in the Labour Party, it was a victory for the left to be able to impose in the L.P. conference that Bunster, the Popular Unity ambassador should speak, and the resolution of support that was passed is extremely important. But now it is necessary to apply it on a national scale. If this means confronting the right in the L.P. leadership, well this is inevitably necessary. Wilson still takes no public position clearly against the assassin regime in Chile, on the other hand he does take positions of support for Israeli imperialism. This clique in the Labour Party are of no value to a workers party. It is necessary to defeat and expel this sector.

The left in the Labour Party has to see that party 'unity' cannot be maintained at the cost of being submitted to capitalist policies. The left has to stand as a leadership on ALL these issues, basing itself on the sentiment of the masses - which is expressed for example in the firemen's strike, a service sector at a distance from the centres of production undertakes strike action in a determined and militant fashion, even against its own trade union leader.

The left in the L.P. must take a position on the NIRC line on the AUEW. In this stage of large

scale movements and upheavals in the working class and when fundamental progress has been made in the context of the L.P. programme, it is absurd that the old distinctions between the 'political' and 'trade union' wings of the movement should persist. Besides, the struggle against the Industrial Relations Act, the NIRC and its fines are part of this struggle against the tory government. Who can say the L.P. cannot intervene in this?

It is necessary for the left in the L.P. to intervene in support of all strikes and mobilisations against the theft of the property of the working class, appealing for deeper strike actions and the

The Labour Party must intervene towards the base of the army, to gain support for the programme of nationalisations and for the elimination of the nuclear bases

The experience of Chile has communicated itself very rapidly to all parts of the world, to the communist parties and the socialist parties and the Workers States. It has completely confirmed the basic marxist-leninist thesis that the state apparatus has to be smashed by the masses, that it is not an impartial body. As Engels said the army is 'a special detachment of armed men' and like the police, judiciary and administrative apparatus, is built to defend the structure that defends the privileges of the ruling class.

The army, even if it is a conscripted army with a workers base is still the instrument of the bourgeois state. This does not mean that the base of the army is not important, because if a soldier has a working class background and there has been a good job done of democratising the army, then, in a decisive moment, when there is an illegal or unconstitutional order given then the soldier may refuse to obey. Therefore it is important to develop a work of this kind, but at the same time it is obvious that one cannot limit oneself to democratising an organ which by its nature is repressive and anti-democratic.

Chile has shown that civil war cannot be avoided, but the issue can be decided against the ruling cliques, provided a planned policy of intervention on the basis of mass organs wins over the mass of the petit bourgeoisie and takes advantage of the internal contradictions, disputes and weaknesses of the class enemy. The Chilean bankers, landowners, industrialists did not give up and neither will the bankers and industrialists in this country faced with a Labour government under mass pressure committed to a programme of nationalisations and policies tending to stimulate far greater interventions by the masses against capitalism. Posadas has posed that the essential party of the bourgeoisie in this stage is the army, and that in the development of the struggle for power, the role of the coercive organs of the bourgeois state inevitably increases. Nowadays the role of the army is less the one of defence of geographical boundaries and more the defence of class interests.

Capitalism is actively preparing for the struggle that is coming. The process in Ireland shows the savagery of the methods they are preparing for this country. In Ireland they have teams of professional executioners and bombers - the revelations of their methods in Ireland are just the tip of the iceberg. The policy of intimidation and frame-up showed itself in the trial of the Angry Brigade, the present trial of the Shrewsbury building workers and the way in which they 'investigated' a leftist group 'Workers Fight' recently. These incidents show the repressive tendency in the police and the judiciary but the essential force of the army is also being prepared to intervene. The notorious views of Kitson on the role of the army to keep order against subversives in

RESOLUTION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE RWP(T)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

RESPOND TO THE NUCLEAR ALERT BY ORGANISING A CAMPAIGN TO EXPEL ALL MILITARY BASES

The structure reached by the world revolution does not allow a change in the relationship of forces as a result of the coup d'etat in Chile. It answers with the offensive of the Arab revolution in the Middle East, with the elevation of the intervention of the Soviet Union and, in particular, with the role of the Soviet army that is intervening to hinder a global change in the relationship of forces. It answers with the alliance between the Soviet Union, the Workers States, the development of the world revolution and the need for the unification of the world communist movement.

The structure reached by the revolution and history obliges the Soviet Union to inter-

vene as it is doing now; this does not depend on any individual or any particular factor, but rather from the global force of the revolution that imposes this course. This forces imperialism to take refuge in the preparation of the atomic war when it is faced by its own failure its own incapacity on a world scale. This is the world structure that supports Chile, the resistance of its proletariat and the Chilean masses; this is what has imposed this military offensive and this progress of the Arab revolution, obliging even murderers like King Feisal or Hussein to support this attack on imperialism. There is enormous pressure and to answer and in part to contain it from exploding in Egypt, Sadat has had to take the military initiative and export it to the world with infinitely superior consequences; as the struggle develops, the initiative passes to Syria, to Iraq (that has proposed the nationalisation of all American interests and the expulsion of imperialism from the whole of the Middle East) and to Algeria with the trip of Boumedienne to Moscow.

The Syrian militias, the decision of the Syrians to make their country into a Vietnam, the mobilisations of the masses everywhere all have great importance. Le Monde of 26th of October recounts how in Egypt the masses are discussing everything, opposing the cease fire, forming militias, sending volunteers out through the trade unions. The rejection of the cease-fire by the masses marks a new interior progress of the revolution even if it is only going to be partially accepted and applied by the leaderships. The same is true of the Soviet intervention, directed to warn Israel and Yankee imperialism directly that it will not allow a military defeat of any kind of the of the Arab countries, nor any surprise attack. The immediate atomic threat by imperialism shows that it is utilising its last means and, in situations like these, it can only rely on rockets. It is going to utilise them but, at the same time, it is enormously weakened by its internal crisis, sharpened by the blow received in the Middle East, for this reason the reaction of the masses throughout the world has been very important; they didn't feel intimidated; they were not paralysed by threats of atomic war. They continued in their life with their struggles and mobilisations in Egypt, Syria, Iraq and Algeria. Since Vietnam humanity has developed an immense security in the face of atomic threats and this is a guarantee that is going to greatly diminish the damage of the war. This world consciousness before the atomic threat is part of the world structure already reached and of the socialist security of humanity.

The recent nuclear alert has failed in the objective of terrorising the masses with the perspective of the atomic war. It is necessary to open a wide discussion in the workers movement on the stockpiling of nuclear weapons in this country and on the military alliance between Britain and the USA through NATO.

All trade union branches, all Labour party organisations should fight for the implementation of the LP conference resolution calling for the expulsion of all nuclear bases from Britain.

**BRITAIN OUT OF NATO!
NATO OUT OF BRITAIN!
FULL UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM!**

the world process of system against system and the role of the CIA and NATO.

It is important to place more emphasis at this moment on the preparation of the alternative forces of popular coercion - beginning with the organisation of the defence pickets in strike actions coordinating them to confront particularly brutal interventions of the police in strikes etc. As the process develops the organisation of forces in the workers areas will go towards a workers militia. The forces of the left in the Labour Party will have to see this as a perspective to accompany all the other activity in the preparation for government and for power.

The forces of demoralisation and defeatism are enormous in the British bourgeoisie. This communicates itself to the sectors of the leadership in the army. These latter have an assassin mentality but assassination with

turn to back page

INTRODUCTION

The breaking off of diplomatic relations with Chile by the Soviet leadership as this text of Posadas analyses, is an attitude imposed by the structure of the Workers State, and supported by the world communist movement which is drawing conclusions from Chile on how it must combine the electoral struggle, the struggle in parliament, with the violent struggle for power. This action is going to stimulate a whole discussion within the world communist movement, within the revolutionary nationalist movement, within the Socialist Parties and the British Labour Party, on why Chile failed, on whether or not it is possible to go to power without civil war. Such a discussion is raging now within the British workers movement and in the course of it the left is learning to reason and consequently is increasing its pressure on all the leaderships which fail to, or are reluctant to respond.

But still, in all the world campaign which is going on for the Chilean masses, precise organisational measures and objectives are not being proposed by the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and this permits the workers leaderships to try to contain the movement by making simply abstract declarations of support. This declaration by Posadas proposes concrete measures: the government in exile, the formation of International Brigades, the organisation of the guerrilla, the unification of the world communist movement etc, which not only help the Chilean revolution, but which give the basis for the left in the world workers movement to advance towards the formation of organisms, to give concrete forms to the World United Front which already objectively exists.

Thus this document shows how to transform the retreat which Chile signifies, a retreat which has no possibility of adversely affecting the general process of advance of the revolution in the world into an element of organisational progress of the world communist movement, unifying it with the socialist and communist parties, with the revolutionary nationalist movement in the course of the social revolution in Chile. We appeal to the labour, communist and TU vanguard to apply the conclusions of this document, making meetings in the factories, demonstrations - as the one of the 4th of November - unifying nationally the committees that already objectively exists.

The Soviet Union's break of diplomatic relations with the Junta in Chile was made ten days after the coup. It indicates a great pressure, a great discussion, a great preoccupation in the world communist movement. Including the fact that the Soviet army has intervened, weighing as representative of the Workers State to maintain the relationship of forces favourable to the revolution. It is a political attitude which foresees later processes. It is a policy that must be based on mobilisations of the masses. It indicates that they are inevitably going to have to resort to the mobilisations of the masses. The break of relations indicates a hard attitude. This is why capitalism is afraid. This is why the Yankees have still not made any comment. They are afraid! The alternative would have been a policy of diplomacy, of holding back. Not here though, this is a hard attitude. It is an attitude that supports the Communist Parties to impose a policy of offensive, of attack on the capitalist system, and it promotes a discussion in the world communist movement in which the preoccupation of, 'Well, why did Chile fail,' is going to increase. Without breaking or dismembering, but this preoccupation is going to increase. It is going to show that all that is necessary, the most profound things can be discussed without breaking. Now the world proletariat has the security, it has the 14 Workers States. In the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky, it was necessary to show the world that it was legitimate. Now this is done! The world proletariat vanguard does not discuss with fear of what is going to happen, they are secure that come what may, we will win! This is why they say, 'This is transitory....', which is to say, the defeat is transitory. It is necessary to discuss on this basis.

The attitude of the Soviets marks a new stage of history. It is not a product of the reasoning of the leadership of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. It is imposed by the structure of the world, because they delayed ten days before doing it. If they do it the same day, it changes. The interior resistance is tripled! At the same time we evaluate the historic, indestructible, invincible power which is the structure of the Workers States of the world and of the Revolutionary States. If the Chilean proletariat stays isolated it cannot react like this. It is necessary to remember that the Russian revolution triumphed because apart from the principle factors which were the Bolshevik Party, the Red Army made by Trotsky, and the Soviet masses, there was the behaviour of the world proletariat. And China triumphed through the behaviour of the world proletariat - including the European proletariat who overthrew the capitalist system in half Europe - otherwise it would not have triumphed.

This break of relations of the USSR is not a problem of defence in abstract, but a political measure of the highest historic importance. It is the affirmation of the defence of the right to social transformation even by parliamentary means, by constitutional means. To recognise this government is to legitimise the capitalist system of forces that arrogantly, by means of arms, can impose itself, breaking and smashing the popular will. This is what is in discussion. And the attitude of the Soviets is very important because it implies this; it is the defence of the right of the popular will to go, even by bourgeois constitutional means, to power. This is in discussion too. It is not just a discussion of the fact that they are killing and murdering.

Together with the sentiment of weight and grief for the assassination of the Chilean masses, there is the joy of seeing the dignified behaviour of the Chilean proletariat which is communicating to the world, 'We are invincible, we are defending the progress of humanity'. They are not defending wages or positions at work, they are defending the Chilean revolution. This is what they are defending. And the world proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie sees the dignified behaviour of the Chilean proletariat. It does not see it defending a wage increase, better living conditions, it sees it defending social conquests for all the world, for all humanity. And the pro-

THE WORKERS STATES MUST MOBILISE ALL THEIR FORCES TO CONTAIN THE MASSACRE, TO REORGANISE AND REANIMATE THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN CHILE 23.9.73 J. POSADAS

letariat is showing that it feels responsible for this. And it attracts the petit bourgeoisie to this too. It is going to have some immense consequences in all humanity. And it evaluates its leadership. Although having in mind criticisms of its leadership for not having organised it to intervene, it has not made a criticism of its leadership; it understands that this is not the moment to make criticisms and it is trying to impel it to advance. That is not to say that this is not the moment, this can be done at any moment. But the criticism has no sense now. It is necessary to prepare the defence while making a critical judgement of how to prepare to draw the conclusions for tomorrow. If it were necessary to make critical judgements now, to correct on the march then yes, but they have killed Allende and the Popular Unity government had to pass through this experience.

This attitude of the Soviets is very, very important, it is necessary to put a great value on it. It is a defensive attitude of the Soviets; it responds to contain a great pressure of the army which works as communist, not out of the interests of a caste or a sector of officers but with the communist interest - that we cannot lose the positions conquered in Chile. And the Communist Party of the Soviet Union feels too that it cannot lose authority in the world workers and communist movement and it has to impel the rest of the Communist Parties. Because at the same time it is a warning to the Communist Parties of the world, it tends to impel attitudes that have a greater revolutionary dignity. It is a correction coming from force, it is a correction that comes from the structure of the Workers State. In the same way as when Stalin made the pact with Hitler and the army invaded Poland and Finland, through the need of the Workers State, not of the army. The army in a Workers State is one thing, in the capitalist system it is another. In the Workers State it carries progress, in the capitalist system it carries retreat, backwardness massacre.

The problem that it is necessary to discuss now, is how to carry forward the resistance and how to organise it, and what the objective of the resistance is. The fall of the junta, a provisional government, elections, or the return of the Popular Unity to power? It is necessary to propose an objective. For a start, that all the world refuses to recognise this junta; to throw out the assassins and expel them from human civilisations, to expel them from human knowledge! The Nazis, Jakarta, and Pinochet. Propose their expulsion, to make a referendum of the workers and form a new government with the programme of continuation of the Popular Unity. Continuing, not repeating it. To make a homage to Allende and the government he defended arms in hand. Without annulling the criticism of the political limitation, but it is shown that he did not have the intention of selling out, that such a government could have been corrected, there was time for a correction. It was the Communist and Socialist leadership that were involved in this. So show that it could have been done. And meanwhile, a world campaign for non recognition, for the overthrow of the junta in legal form. It is a government like the nazis who arose by force, with arrogance, with arms. So it is necessary not to recognise them, there is no constitutional right that admits this. It is a bourgeois right of enslavement from the epoch of conquests. It was a democratically elected, popular government, that was carrying forward this policy that the government determined and that had the support of the masses; 1,200,000 people demonstrated in its support one week before the assassin coup. This was a plebiscite. So do not recognise this junta. Because to recognise it is to admit enslavement, nazi arrogance and methods, and to oppose social progress, of which Allende's government was a direct expression of the masses.

It is just foolish, it is historic blindness to want to make a corporate regime in Latin America. No mistake, it is stupidity. Franco never managed to make a corporate regime. And now the Spanish bourgeoisie has to walk around desperately, it does not know what to do to pull itself out of the fascist past. The actual structure of the world rejects and expels any corporate regime. This coup is a plot of the world bourgeoisie, sustained directly by the CIA and North American imperialism, including Nixon. But it is a world plot of capitalism that supported and aided them and that is now letting time pass because this is convenient to all the world capitalist system. Because it was an experience of the masses which was showing that it was going to gain an immense influence because it showed that it could do with nothing, with economic and military sabotage, with terrorist sabotage. The masses were not intimidated at any moment. The Chilean masses did not feel intimidated, disintegrated or disorganised.

This assassin, criminal coup, like Chiang Kai Chek, the nazis, Jakarta, all the most complete methods of human extermination have failed. The proletariat is not discouraged or smashed or deceived, it is struggling arms in hand and it is awaiting the opportunity to go forward. It is necessary to come out in their defence, not recognising the junta, and openly raising one of the greatest preoccupations of all the world proletariat, Communist and Socialist Parties; non recognition of the junta. Not abandoning or leaving things as they are, like it was in Spain. To replace the

Popular Unity in power, correcting the errors, the weakness of the programme and policy and appealing to the Workers States to accompany this activity. And that they recognise the governments in exile too. It is necessary not to recognise the others, this cannot be admitted.

We proposed that the Soviet Union should not recognise the junta and the following day it appeared in the papers that they had broken relations. It is the resolution of a very profound political discussion. Because it is not a diplomatic question, this is a political resolution. Because this has to be accompanied by a tactic and policy that continues it. Which is to say, it is not an agreement, it is not waiting nor adaptation, but they are fairly hard methods that are going to have repercussions later in other aspects. There can be no doubt that this affects the relations with the Yankees. The proof is the Yankee's silence, waiting to see what happens, while on the quiet they are giving support, and they must be sending arms to Chile, munitions, advisers, money, loans, all this. But they are doing it under cover, they are afraid to confront the petit bourgeoisie. Afterwards they are going to do it openly if they can, and if the masses allow them time.

It is necessary to make this appeal throughout Latin America. And in particular to the government of Peron, to face with mobilisations the axis imperialism is preparing to try to gain greater stages and preparing the war, trying to retake lost positions.

The experience of the government of Allende and the Popular Unity is a very positive experience for humanity. It showed that nationalised property is infinitely superior to private property, that the masses intervening in the economy are infinitely superior to all the bourgeois managers and administrators. It is a living experience, that is why the masses are defending it. Not the higher standard of living; they are living without meat, without food because they are being sabotaged. There was not a single desertion in the masses, they are defending a positive experience, of great social historic progress on the march to socialism. It is necessary to appeal for the intransigent defence of this. It is not a problem of government diplomacy but of historic relations and confrontation. This is why the attitude of the Soviet Union is important. It has evidently been imposed, but it has had to yield. This is not Yalta nor Teheran.

It is necessary to appeal to all the world communist movement, to the Chinese too, for a public discussion of the world communist movement, to appeal to the workers movement, to the workers centres, to all the workers parties, the left catholics, the left nationalists and military, for a world united front to expel the assassin and criminal junta from Chile and reimpose the Popular Unity government, with a programme superior to what it had and to advance in progresses of nationalisation and planning.

It is necessary to make all these 'left' groups that accuse Allende and the leaders of the Popular Unity of being traitors, understand that one does not discuss in order to break and disintegrate. We discuss to impel. We are not looking for them to come to us, we want to advance to take power. This is why we do not abandon this critical attitude, our sharply critical attitude. It is another thing to have the critical attitude to shatter or break up and have the false conception of believing that new movements can be organised. This is stupid; there are no stages in history and there is no place. The two things. There are no stages because it is a short time from here to the war. And there is no place because the masses are concentrated in their own parties. What is it necessary to discuss is that this is the process. It is the same with the nationalist movement. What must one do? Break them so they don't take power? Or for them to take power and help them to take measures of nationalisations that will transform them internally and educate the masses that this is what they have to support.

This is one of the great processes that pressure and impel a series of sentiments and positions that are still not decided but that are crystallising now. All are moved and bring out resolutions that they were not previously animated to bring out, or they were waiting. This gives an impulse to advance. Now it is necessary to advance, whether in the Communist or Socialist Party, in the left radicals, left catholics, left nationalists, in Peronism.

There is already a base that shows that the world pressure has an echo. And the world pressure is transmitted to the Soviet proletariat and the army and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is against the policy Brezhnev raised. Here too is the Crimea. The unnecessary kissing and embracing of Nixon by Brezhnev may cost him exclusion. The press has said that Brezhnev has met many difficulties, that the hard line offers many difficulties. And it is not excluded that they will change him. It is necessary to bear in mind what this means. It is a position that means; either he changes the policy, or they change him. And he has had to change, openly. This is why there is the preoccupation of world capitalism which is asking itself, 'What about the kisses for Nixon, the detente, what are they left with?'

The reaction of 'Le Monde' is of fear of the Soviets, this is why they talk about cowards and insult the military

junta. Why didn't they say this before? There were twelve days before this and they were worse, they murdered on a massive scale. Now they leave the others to do the murdering.

'Le Monde' says this because they see that the attitude of the Soviets is an attitude that is going to be shared by the entire world communist movement. So they are afraid. They are saying to the bourgeoisie, 'Get rid of these people, put in others, that keep to the form. And stop the murders because we no longer gain anything with this.' Beside which they are soon going to say, 'In Vietnam we did the same, in Korea we did the same, and how does it leave us?' It is necessary to see that the attitude of 'Le Monde' is defensive. It is not the attitude of protest against the crimes. They kept their mouths shut when they killed thousands with one blow; they themselves said 5,000 killed. On the other hand, they are now seeing that the attitude of the Soviets does not come from irritation, it is not an offended, contemptuous attitude, it begins from a structure that can no longer go back. And this is going to reach the Chinese.

It is necessary to bear in mind that this protest from 'Le Monde' expresses the fear of all of them, to hide from the petit bourgeoisie who are seeing that 'the communists' will do what they want, they have a Sakharov, but not a 'Pinochet'. Their fear is tremendous. Previously they said nothing, they just left them to murder and murder.

This resolution of the Soviet Union is an abrupt conclusion, it is not the result of the conclusion of a discussion but the result of blows that have been dealt. It means that there has not been a preparation, nor is there the preparation to continue it. And it is necessary to continue it. It is necessary to demand the continued application of the non recognition of the junta, which is mobilisation, and carrying all the Workers States to the practical conclusions; to accuse the assassins of this junta, to pose to all the world communist movement, in the United Nations everywhere, the non recognition of these present day Atilas who are enemies of humanity, expel these people from humanity! This is the conclusion that we as the IV International appeal to be applied.

It is necessary to face this attack on existence and life. It was a normal process, a government wins by elections and determines a programme that it had announced beforehand; that it was going to take a series of measures leading to socialism. Well, since they could not face it either socially or electorally, they do this. Which is to say, they are showing with this what they are going to do tomorrow. How can anyone think that they are not going to respond with war? We did not ask for the civil war, we do not want the civil war; They are the ones that make it. They are the ones that violate their own constitution. And if they violate their own constitution, if they violate their own structure and status it is because they do not feel they have any force, they are surpassed by history! Which is to say, the economy and society require forms superior to the capitalist system.

This is a process which is going to go on increasing. This resolution of the Soviet Union is of a very great importance. But it is not necessary to expect them to continue this road and the amplification of what this resolution signifies. It means instead that they have had to yield. One cannot expect them to respond to this necessity. They do not have the preparation. The proof is that the daily papers of the Communist Parties do not talk about organisation, they denounce and describe massacres. One cannot write in the sabbatary about a crime of passion as the crime that these murderers are making. They are aimed at exalting the sentiment of pity and sympathy. What is necessary to show is the necessity of how to be prepared before this, to prevent new crimes. It is necessary to condemn this. What they have to make is documents that show that the working class is struggling and that it is necessary to accompany this struggle. That they struggle without fear and that it is necessary to accompany this struggle with measures, in every country, with mobilisations linking the struggle for Chile with demands, with elections. The base of the Communist Party is ready to do this, it is advancing and it is learning to reason, it is learning to see from a world point of view, it is developing the capacity to reason as a world movement, not as local movements that have interests in common with others elsewhere. They have to achieve this. There is a whole structure, an entire apparatus which it is necessary to break and it is no longer broken like this. It is an existing structure that has material interests linked to the lack of understanding or stagnation, the outdated political understanding that has stayed in the previous stage.

It is necessary to bear in mind that this is a process that obliges the Workers States to take positions that they had not foreseen or prepared for. This break with the assassin junta is not just for Chile's problems, it is from the world relations with the capitalist system. This is a very great progress in taking decisions which is also going to weigh in the world relations with the capitalist system, including with Yankee imperialism. But, the Communist party of the USSR like the Soviet government, is not taking coherent and consistent initiatives. It is necessary to appeal for a mobilisation of the masses, for demonstrations

and meetings to be made for Chile in all the Workers States, for appeals to be made to the North American masses, to the Chilean masses, to the Latin American masses to rise up against this barbarity. To rise up against the barbarity! And to make meetings and discussions in all the factories, in all the world. To discuss the defence of Chile, showing the impotence, the incapacity of criminal capitalism which does not respect its own laws and its own conclusions.

It is not enough to denounce in parliament or with declarations, but to mobilise to create a state of animation and resolution, to weigh in the army, in the police, in the judiciary, in the petit bourgeoisie a complete and constant mobilisation. We want respect for the popular will and we want also the means to apply the popular will. It was shown in Chile that the masses took the initiative with the JAPs, the cordones industriales and the comandos comunales. The government was naive in not seeing that it was necessary to extend such powers and to break the army! The army is for capitalism a centre of counter revolution because it is what it can most dominate through the structure and function it obeys in the capitalist system.

It is necessary not to take what this Commander in Chief of the French army said recently - that they are not defenders of the capitalist system - as a favourable declaration. The rapid response of this soldier was not to make it known that they would be ready to accept the popular will. He comes out in response to a very profound, very worried discussion in French capitalism. Which indicates that they are discussing whether or not to come out, whether or not to come on. In general it is necessary to make a comparison: De Gaulle thought he would do the same, he went to find Massu and today De Gaulle is no more. Several times they wanted to do the same; they had the most reactionary army in all Europe. An army that, like the English expeditionary and colonialist army, is an army selected for the colonial wars. It is disintegrated, the colonial revolution broke it, disintegrated it, smashed it completely.

Without the revolutionary struggle of the masses that smashed the army, a sector of the military, does not pass to favour or support or to be neutral in the socialist revolution. A sector can be gained. But not as an institution. The reactionary wing was broken, but the structure of the army continues. It is necessary to see the origin of the French army to understand that it has a whole structure, institution, preparation and discipline submitted to the capitalist system.

It is not correct to say that there are differences between the French and Chilean armies as leaders of the French Communist Party have said. It is wrong, both are professional armies. The only ones that are not professionals are the soldiers, because they are conscripted in Chile and the same in France.

It is necessary to appeal to the soldiers, as the Common Programme of the Popular Unity in France proposes, for it to have trade union and political rights, for it to discuss every problem, and for it to refuse to take any action that leads it to attacks against the people, against the government based on the popular will. It is necessary to make this declaration, to make appeals to the chiefs and officers. To make a public discussion; which is best, the capitalist economy or that of the Workers State? The centralised economy. Discuss it. Show what the capitalist economy leads to and what the nationalised economy and planning lead to. This is being demonstrated more frequently by the communist leaders, but not sufficiently. Show the economy of the Workers State that has as its result that all the population pass from the most backward levels, like in the USSR and China, to intervene in the process of production, in science and technology. Give examples and analysis. Showing that the Chinese came out of nothing, it beat the most powerful army supported by imperialism in Asia. And it beat them not to impose one country against another, but to develop this country. To use military forces to develop the social well being of the population; to eliminate illiteracy, poverty, want, the struggle between people. This had never been done in history, as it has now in China, the harmonious social relations between inhabitants, determined by the structure of the Workers State. It is necessary to say this to the military and appeal to them, appeal to them to defend this.

This is what the Chileans and Allende's government wanted to do, and this is what we want to do. We appeal to the military to collaborate with this. Not through the interests of one or another, the competition of one enterprise with another, but for social progress in which the development of science and technology imposes. Capitalism cannot develop science and technology for the benefit of the population. It clashes with this! As Marx says, the 'rebellion of the productive forces.' Here are the productive forces. Which is to say, the development of automation, cybernetics, the use of all the scientific capacity that comes with automation. This cannot be used by capitalism, it cannot create the conditions and the social development for it to be used, so it has to be eliminated. On the other hand, here there are the bases for the infinite development of the economy in a short time, to structure human mentality according to social need, not to kill people or to die.

If the Workers States do not have sufficient force, sufficient development, it is not this that has to be discussed. What it is necessary is how, from nothing, in just 56 years the Soviet Union makes such a progress. Not the Sakharov nor the Solzhenitsins, it is this that has to be discussed. Every discussion and criticism we make is when this corresponds to the development of soviet society, not to criticise or to contain. What it is necessary to discuss now is in discussion. We demand soviet democracy in the Workers States, but we defend the Chilean revolution unconditionally, just as we defend the Chilean revolution unconditionally. We are talking about the revolution, not this or the other chief, this or the other leadership.

The Chilean revolution is an immense example for all Latin America. Capitalism came out to cut short this experience. It could not do it to the Cuban revolution, now it comes out to cut this experience short. It is not going to be able to do it to this either. The defeat of the pro-

letariat, the masses, the workers parties in Chile is transitory.

The discussions in the workers and communist movement are going to be sharpened and deepened in all theoretical and political aspects. Why did Chile fail? Can part of the army be gained? Nobody is going to be neutral, part can be gained. So it is necessary to discuss. To carry the discussion forward to elevate the conclusions that one cannot go to socialism without confronting the resistance, to opposition in all forms including atomic, of the capitalist system. It is a question of a system, not of one enterprise. An enterprise may yield because it lacks force, it may be exhausted, but not the system, the system always has the force to oppose. The proof of this in Chile is conclusive.

So it is necessary to discuss this experience. Instead they are avoiding discussion. They bring out pronouncements, but not only this - it is necessary to discuss. It is necessary to open a public discussion in the world communist movement. Of this and of the Congress of the Chinese Communist Party; the aberration signified by a Congress of a Communist Party that demands that the Soviet Union returns islands to the capitalist system, to Japan. Not to return islands, but to hand them over. Islands that are Workers States, that when they were in the capitalist system were nothing. Now they are Workers States, there are no illiterates, there is no hunger, there is no poverty, there is no unemployment, or dispute, or death through malnutrition. This is what has to be discussed. So it is necessary for the world workers movement to make a condemnation of the Chinese for such a proposition. But also, at the same time, to say that this comes from a previous stage, that this was the sort of discussion there was then. And the Soviets must respond by not only condemning the Chinese, but raising a discussion to unify the Chinese and Soviet Workers States. We appeal for this form of discussion; the unification of the world communist movement, the Workers States within it, and the economic social and military planning together to face what remains of the capitalist system. This clearly shows the fragility of Brezhnev's agreements with Nixon.

We are not against the 'detente'. If one can make a detente and go from there to socialism then we agree with it. But it is capitalism that cannot make the detente. It cannot do it because it is not convenient to its regime. The contradictions within it, the competition within it, and its antagonisms with the Workers State prevents it accepting the detente. It is necessary to gain the greatest time possible, agreed, but it is necessary to prepare, bearing in mind that this cannot last. We are in agreement with making the maximum possible effort, but meanwhile to prepare organs of the masses, organs for the struggle for power, organs that struggle for power now. And posing that they are going to resist.

The essential discussion that is raised now in the world communist movement is this; can one go to the government and from the government to power without passing through the civil war? It is necessary to discuss not as an objective in itself but as a function of experience. This discussion - the Soviets breaking with the assassin military junta - forms part of the process of the political revolution which is expressed in the form of the partial regeneration. So it is necessary to discuss both things, together with the changes that are being prepared in the Soviet Union and in China too, changes favourable to the process of advance of the revolution.

turn-to back page

Life of the International

MEXICO

The major demonstration in solidarity with Chile was attended by 100,000 people. It was called by different organisations and our party, the Partido Obrero Revolucionario was among them. Our comrades sold 700 copies of Voz Obrera, the organ of the party.

The magazine Solidaridad, organ of the electrical trade union devoted its entire last issue to Chile. It contained a resolution of the MEXICAN Section of over three pages 'Defeat the Counter Revolution in Chile by Organising the Anti Imperialist United Front.'

CHILE

Two days after the coup the section produced many typewritten leaflets and circulated them in the factories where they found a great response. A few days later the comrades circulated the text of a telegram of solidarity from the French Section. The workers in Santiago and Concepcion to whom it was given attached great importance to the rapidity of response of the International that sought to orientate immediately by telegram.

In the factories where our comrades where they fought arms in hand in the resistance of the first days after the coup. Afterwards they intervened to orientate in the organisation that the workers movement is making in the factories. There have been constant discussions, a fighting spirit and a very great determination. Our comrades inform us that there is no feeling of defeat in the proletariat and the masses. But the main question being asked is 'How did we allow this to happen?'

We take this opportunity to extend our warmest comradely greetings to the comrades of the Chilean Section, to the Latin American Bureau of the IV International and to the Chilean masses in their struggle against the junta and for socialism.

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The assassin coup in Chile, the reaction of the Workers States, although late, is an indication that the process is elevating; it is not quietening down of the detente that marks world relations. The class struggle is what marks world relations. In the midst of detente comes Chile. Here it is. Where is the detente? We make detente, not them. If it is possible it is correct to favour a world economic and social competition with the capitalist system, and this is the depth of the question. But capitalism does not accept this. It cannot accept it because it is against it. Some capitalist sectors, like Willy Brandt, accept it without ceasing to support the capitalist system and imperialism. They have not even raised a discussion in their interior to defend a socialist government like this. Which is to say all these governments that are social democratic or socialist feel that Chile surpasses them. It surpasses the limit to which their Party, with the preparation of their Party could reach. Nonetheless, they are discussing within all these parties to reach the limits of Chile. This is going to have an influence in the Communist Parties too.

The transitory defeat of the Chilean proletariat is also the source of an enormous progress, in which the base of progress is that it obliges, it imposes on the Soviets, on the Communist Parties to think, to draw experiences and conclusions that it is necessary to struggle with a combination of the parliamentary, electoral, interpenetrative progress with force. We have not said, either before or now, that we are going to take power by force. Power comes to us because it is legitimate and necessary for a determined policy. This is how it is necessary to say it. To be able to achieve it, it is necessary to use force. To make a policy necessary for progress, for the development of science and the history of humanity. And we go on with the support of the majority, even if this cannot declare itself electorally.

The Chilean proletariat is defending the progress of history. Not property, interest, its houses, its factories, or bank deposits; it is defending the progress of history. This is the class objective because of its position in the economy and society. It has to be universally objective, to think on behalf of humanity. I insist on the joy of seeing the dignified behaviour of the Chilean proletariat and masses and the Communist and Socialist militants in Chile, and the Catholics, all of them. Our polemic with them is to see what is the best way to advance. The masses of Chile and all the world have an example here to see that this is how you defend yourself. It is naive not to have seen that they were going to rise up and not having prepared in time, making militias, brigades, organs to face the army to destroy the bourgeois structure of the army, of the country. All this is in discussion, and it all shows that it is necessary to destroy them, to destroy the entire structure of the capitalist system.

It is necessary to pay homage to the Chilean masses and proletariat; the Communist, socialist, nationalist, left catholic, radicals, the MIR and their leaderships that have struggled with dignity. None of them have capitulated. They have not managed to make a single leader say, 'Well, we were wrong, it was bad...'. And the communist and socialist masses see this, it feels that the leaders were mistaken, but that they have been dignified, none have capitulated, while half these assassins are going to capitulate because they have no historic future. Meanwhile the Communists and socialists represent the future of history. This confirms the uncontainable triumph of the socialist revolution of the Chilean masses in a short time.

It is necessary to discuss these experiences that arise from Chile and from the behaviour of the world proletariat, which has not felt beaten, nor in retreat, nor does it lament, but it feels that it is their socialist leaderships and in part the Communist Parties that have held back the mobilisation. And within it, one slogan that is urgent, that is clamorously necessary: the world activity of united front of all the trade unions, all the workers parties, all the Workers States, world united front and unity of the world communist movement. ONE CANNOT ALLOW CHILE TO BE LOST! The counter revolutionary coup gave them an immediate success, but success for capitalism is not only to kill, to have murdered Allende, murdered communist, socialist, M.I.R., catholic, and nationalist leaders, but to intimidate the masses of the world, to be able to encourage capitalism and reconquer lost positions and to prepare for the atomic war.

At the time of the nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, initially there was great fear. Later, when there was the Soviet reaction there was a sensation of relief. The nazi army advanced on the gates of Moscow. When they were liquidated at the gates of Moscow, the feeling of relief appeared to be instantaneous, but it was not. In reality, it was in the thought and deduction of the world proletarian vanguard and including the petit bourgeoisie; there was the hope, the confidence that 'The Soviets are going to resist.' This is why immediately, from one day to the next, there was the debacle of the nazis. The debacle began with Stalingrad. This type of process leads in a short stage to a discussion in all the world communist movement. Not immediately because it is combined with the war, with the policy of the Soviets, with the Soviets insistence on peace, 'detente' and all these things. But they soon had to change the policy of embraces and kisses for Nixon from Brezhnev to breaking relations with the junta.

The proletariat has not felt intimidated, it replies with a full activity, with full decision. It is on this basis that we make such an appeal to the socialist, communist catholic, nationalist leaderships for a world united front. Chile is a point of concentration and meeting; it is a lesson from capitalism about its counter revolutionary intentions. It is necessary to reply to it with every force! The reply is not just in defence of Chile but in defence of progress, the conquests, the social elevation and progress in all the world; in which the experience is that one can and must advance interpenetratively, but at the same time, preparing the organs to take power by force.

We are defending the social progress that the Chilean masses and Allende and the government of the Popular Unity defended, with all the errors that we have criticised, the limitations, a certain passivity and naivety. It is necessary to make concrete specific appeals; unity of the world communist movement, including the Posadists; world communist, socialist united front with the Workers States, the workers centres, the trade unions, the left catholics, the nationalists, the military nationalists to go toward taking the governments and smashing what remains of the capitalist system. Even with all the care that it may be necessary to exercise in one or another country, because

FULL SUPPORT FROM THE WORKERS MOVEMENT TO GUINEA BISSAU

Guinea-Bissau's proclamation of independence after 17 years of liberation struggles represents an important blow to the capitalist system and in particular to Portuguese imperialism. It is an expression of the process developing throughout the colonies which Spanish and Portuguese imperialism still control.

The independence of Guinea-Bissau is part of a larger process of development of liberation struggles in all the colonies and semi colonies of Africa and Asia, which includes the numerous successes achieved by the guerrilla movement in Angola and Mozambique. This is linked to and forms part of a powerful progress of the revolution and the anti imperialist struggle throughout the world.

Despite the fact that American imperialism and the Chilean bourgeoisie have dealt a 'transitory' blow to the workers movement, massacring its vanguard, this isn't the aspect which weakens the world structure of the revolution. This doesn't retreat but advances. The throwing out of Portuguese troops from Guinea-Bissau and the setting up of an independent republic are a clear example. The Guinean guerrilla movement haven't felt defeated but simply diminished by the Chilean events.

At the same time the immediate recognition of the USSR and China by the republic of Guinea will determine that these same revolutionary movements look for a point of support in the Workers States and as a conse-

quence allow an extension of the influence of the Workers States and socialism on the masses of these countries. Becoming in this way a determining factor in the qualitative elevation of the struggle, combining the struggle for democratic rights with the carrying out of measures which don't represent anymore the norms of capitalist functioning. As in the specific case of Guinea-Bissau, which combines the installation of the republic and civil rights, with the setting up of popular tribunals in which vast sectors of the population intervene, participating in this way to the life and to a certain extent to the decisions of the country.

Apart from the immediate recognition that the Workers States have given the new independent state of Guinea they should give the maximum support to the republic through loans, the construction of large steelworks, shipyards, a system of road networks and military aid to throw out once and for all the Portuguese troops from Cape Verde islands. Also by sending technicians and specialist to help carry out and accelerate the programmes for development put forward by the new republic. But above all calling on the masses and their organisations to elaborate an anti capitalist development of the country, expropriating private enterprise, nationalising the land and giving it over to the peasantry.

We appeal to the Labour and trade union movement to organise economic, medical and military aid to the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and all countries who are struggling for national independence from imperialism and to give all possible aid to Guinea-Bissau.

The Labour movement must demand that the British government breaks all economic and diplomatic links with the colonial imperialists of Spain and Portugal.

continued from page 1

every prospect of being smashed in the process is hardly a perspective. All this process of despair in the ruling cliques has to be used with constant public appeals made by the LP, TUs and CP to the soldiers on all the political and social issues, preparing the ground for the process that is coming, weakening the capacity of the class enemy so that even when they do resort to violence, it will be short lived and the coercive apparatus of the bourgeois state will be replaced by organs of popular power.

or legal and constitutional restraints, it is still necessary to smash capitalism. This is clear and final; while any power still lies with capitalism it is going to use it. It cannot be dissuaded, it is necessary to impose on it. Including the use of elections as one of the ways to do this. It is necessary to seek all possible electoral conquests, preparing by showing that they are not going to respect any electoral conquest. Just as they respect no other conquest, they sign a wage agreement and then the following day they put prices up on the one hand and increase repression on the other.

The whole process is going towards a gigantic world united front. The rebellion of the productive forces could not occur in each place as Marx foresaw it. The time it takes does not depend on us, nor can we now foresee; but there is an immense concentration in this rebellion. This attitude of the Soviets forms part of this, it is a necessary policy. Late, but necessary. They had to respond. Previously they abandoned and conciliated. Now they have to respond. There is also an element of caution in this policy in case the junta tries to blackmail the Soviet Union. There could be such an element in the policy of the Soviet Union and the GDR but, even so, they took an attitude that stimulates the resistance and the struggle against the capitalist system.

It is necessary to call for demonstrations, meetings in the trade unions, in the factories, in the areas, in the cities in all the Workers States. It is necessary to develop all these ideas. That appeals are made to all the Workers States for a gigantic world stoppage, a world united front against the murder, to expel all these assassins that are declared enemies! Out of civilisation! A world movement for the defence of the proletariat and socialist revolution in Chile. And at the same time, to foresee and prepare for new blows that imperialism is preparing. Appealing for the unity of the world communist movement, as a condition, as urgently necessary for the development of civilisation and history.

This is a necessity of civilisation: and history, a necessity of the world communist movement. Humanity must feel that it has a powerful instrument to face imperialism's plans of murder and devastation, all its attempts at invasion. This requires the unity of all the world communist movement, which in itself means the unity of the world socialist-communist movement. It is an immense power for the development of the progress of history. Discussing the necessity of the preparation to take power by force.

If it is possible to go on without capitalism responding with the civil war, why is the Soviet army preparing? Why is imperialism increasing its atomic arms? The Soviets have just successfully tested a submarine with a greater power than all the Yankees. We are very pleased about this. We are not for war, neither atomic or otherwise. War is a necessity of capitalism, it is going to make war. So we have to be realistic and prepare for the war that they are going to make. If we could reach socialism without the war we would do it, we are ready to wait 20 or 30 years. But capitalism is not going to allow this. It is a mental structure in which their life is property. It is necessary to pass to a new stage of humanity that will be socialism and the elimination of all sentiment of power and property. Meanwhile these sentiments remain as a result of the past, but humanity is seeking to eliminate them through the struggle for the socialist revolution.

This resolution of the Soviets indicates their need to face the threat from imperialism and that they must take this as an attack of imperialism that cuts into the world relationship of forces, trying to incline them in favour of capitalism. As they cannot separate Chile's defence from the development of the Workers States - as it was going towards a Workers State - they have to take this attitude. Although it was late, it shows the Soviet leaderships fear of being surpassed by the masses, to confront or incite imperialism. Even so they felt obliged to take these measures, which indicates that the army has intervened. It is not just the masses, the mobilisations and the world movement for Chile, but the army of the Soviet Union; and it does it as a agent of the Party, not from caste or group interests. There is bureaucracy in the army, like in all the rest, but it has intervened as the Party with a necessary measure.

It is necessary to draw the conclusion that it is not enough to break relations, but there has to be an activity, and initiative to take measures, to appeal to all the world workers movement, to all the Workers States not to recognise the military junta, to make a united front with the 'non-aligned' countries, to make a world united front posing that this is imperialism and it is necessary to liquidate it.

They are preparing the coup in Peru, they are preparing the coup in Argentina, they are preparing it everywhere. So it is necessary to be prepared to weaken, to disintegrate, to break the hegemony and social intervention of the armies. That the army is submitted to the civil power and that the workers have the means to intervene, to participate and decide. Within this, raising the soldiers demand to be organised in trade unions, to read the left wing press, to discuss and make political propaganda. The closed, hermetic structure of the army is against the masses, against the parties. It is in favour of capitalism. The proof is, that they make it their party, their mobilisations, they prepare coup d'etat. Which is to say, it is hermetic in as much as nobody can penetrate an organ that is strictly of the bourgeoisie. So it is necessary to break this, and the Soviet army has to show this. And give examples showing that everything is discussed in the army. And the Chinese too have to show that everything is discussed and that it is the most efficient army in the world. The Chinese army won against Yankee imperialism; the army won against the most powerful coalition there had been up to that moment in history, and it won because it was a politicised army. It is necessary to appeal and show this to the military.

Learning from the experience of the Russian revolution and from the other revolutions, like the Chinese, it is necessary to make propaganda showing how the people and the army live under capitalism. In the army they live in fear of being agents of assassins. They also fear the choice of being assassins themselves or of being killed; and in defence of what? So make an intense agitation and propaganda on this, showing the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and what they are today. In twelve years, what has Cuba done. And having imperialism right beside it, having Guantanamo. It is necessary to appeal to the military; this is what we want to do. This is what we are doing. But above all that it is necessary to give full socialist democracy. It is this that will have an immense influence on the military, it is the step to gain them. But it is necessary to show them that there is socialist democracy. Like the Soviets did before, but now it is much better because there are 14 Workers States, there is the social and military authority since they see that it is no longer capitalism that is the exclusive expert in military affairs. The most important general in history was Trotsky - not Napoleon - because Trotsky expressed the revolution that was transforming the world to one without armies. From the peasantry he made the most efficient army in the world.

The importance of this historic event is that it elevates the function of the Soviet Union. But up until now they are declarations without precise organisational attitudes. It is necessary to impel them to take these organisational measures. It is necessary to take them through the Communist Parties, through the socialist movement, through the world workers and revolutionary movement, to take precise measures of organisation, of non recognition, and at the same time appeals and support for the internal struggle in Chile. Appealing for the defeat of this military junta. This is not to involve oneself in the problems of other countries, it is an act of defence of a legal government. And apart from that, it is to involve oneself in human progress. To measure between the jurisprudence and justice of the United Nations and the necessity of human progress. It is necessary to advance in these conclusions.

In order to profit it is necessary to make appeals to the Chinese that they discuss this. That the Chinese take positions and resolve not to recognise the military junta and appeal for the support and defence of the Popular Unity.

It is necessary to appeal for support to the guerrilla, the armed defence, to defend the legitimate government. It is not necessary to take it as being liquidated or dead, they have overthrown it. The government of the Popular Unity is the legitimate government.

J. POSADAS 23.9.1973

PREPARE FOR THE FIGHT WHICH IS COMING BEFORE DURING AND AFTER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The one day strike by the engineers on Monday 5th November re-affirmed the readiness of the vanguard of the working class for a real struggle to overthrow the Tory government. The engineers, one of the most decisive sectors of the class and faced with the seizure of their funds, attempted to develop a mobilisation of their forces to act as a centre against the government. The problem for them and for all the other sectors involved in confrontation with the government, such as the miners, power workers etc. is the lack of leadership and a coherent programme which can really give the class the feeling that here and now it is possible to carry out a fight to the finish with the Tory government. The miners have imposed overtime bans when a sector of the leadership led by Gormley does not desire a struggle on the basis that the electoral prospects of the L.P. would be affected, but because of the lack of a decided, centralising leadership in the trade unions the struggles of the miners and engineers are separated.

Nevertheless, even without the necessary mass organs which would allow communication between the various sectors, so explosive is the situation created by the total crisis of capitalism the attack on living standards, rising prices, intolerable working conditions, allied to the manifest weakness of the capitalist class, that at any moment a mass upsurge could develop on the basis of a sufficiently decided action by a sector of the class and bring about the collapse of the Tory government.

The form of struggle that is being waged against the Tory government still remains on the defensive plane, which is one reason why sectors of the class are not convinced of the decision and capacity of their leaderships. And the need for transitional demands to link the immediate demands of the class with the more profound objectives for the overthrow of capitalism remains paramount. It is not enough to overthrow the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Bill, protests against rising prices, it is necessary to propose an alternative programme, to rally round all the sectors of the population to a definite struggle, to propose workers control now with access to all the books, control of hiring and firing with the perspective of nationalisation of all key industries under a Labour government. In face of rising prices, all wages should rise with the cost of living on the basis of indexes established by the workers, all the enormous profits from automation should go to the workers in the form of increased wages and a reduction in hours, no worker to be made unemployed. All factories about to be closed down to be taken over by the workers, and nationalised under workers control. All this to be linked with the demands for the return of a left Labour government. This is the way to unify all those sectors who are prepared for the final struggle but do not find the means by which to express their determination and confidence to overturn capitalism. All this requires the development of a team in the L.P. and the trade unions who advance with confidence and programme, rejecting the way of defensive struggle and electoral advance only.

It remains a characteristic at this stage of the struggle that in spite of the posing of massive nationalisations at the L.P. conference the forces of the right and centre can still sustain themselves on the extremely backward structure of the Labour Party, on the lack of a continuous political discussion based on the constant exchange of opinion and in a daily contact with the problems and the intervention of the mass of the population. The forces of the left are without a firm theoretical base and show periods of considerable passivity in the face of manoeuvres from the right. Thus, at the moment of the firemen's strike, the intervention of the engineers, the

proposed work to rule by the power workers, there is no organised sector in the L.P. and trade unions which can weld these elements into an overwhelming combination, or indeed which intervenes in these disputes giving ideas, orientation or stimulus. In other words the party in its present form does not respond to the needs of the class.

Thus at the same time that sectors of the class begin to mobilise, Wilson takes up positions of the most unqualified support for Israel, undertaking the charade of criticising the Heath government for insufficient aid for Israel and maintaining the direct support for Israel that the Heath government felt unable to give at that moment because of fear of alienating its base (as explained in the main article in this issue). Jenkins goes ahead to reassert the necessity of the Atlantic Alliance. All this is in flat contradiction with the L.P. conference condemnation of nuclear bases in this country, which was a direct blow at NATO. There is an identity of interests between the right in the L.P. and Heath, the one coming to the rescue of the other, re-emphasising the fact that the pro capitalist sectors of the L.P. work in the interests of imperialism and prepare to resist to the utmost the extension of the programme of nationalisations on the election of a

Labour government. The re-entry of Jenkins in the shadow cabinet is the inevitable consequence of the structure of the L.P. with a parliamentary

wing uncontrolled by the party. The structure allows the incorporation of the most pro capitalist turn to back page.

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)**

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THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL-POSADIST

The Fourth Conference of the IV International took place at the beginning of September. Delegations from 18 countries participated. The main discussion themes were; the uninterrupted development and extension of the world socialist revolution; the course of the permanent revolution combined to the political revolution in the Workers States, with the revolution in the capitalist countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. the combined forms of this process and the preparation of new leaps in history. The division in the world communist movement and the need for unification of all the Workers States and Communist Parties. A world united front of all workers organisations, both political and trade union. The permanent course of partial regeneration and of the historic re-encounter, fundamental themes which are the fundamental basis in the revolutionary development of this stage of history. The crisis of growth in the world communist movement which signifies the need, the condition for a progress in the life and in the discussions within the world communist movement. The development of the class struggle throughout the world, Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America combined with the scientific, technical, economic and military development of the Workers States creates the conditions for the development of the process of partial regeneration in a continuous form, even if with certain regressions. A need for the planning of the political, economic, military and trade union life of all the Workers States, of all the so-called socialist countries; in order to stimulate the world course of the socialist revolution. The need for the USSR and the other Workers States to give an example showing their social superiority, returning to a soviet functioning. This would be the most complete proletarian democracy where the masses discuss, control and resolve all the political, economic and military problems of the Workers State and the functioning of the trade unions, with meetings, assemblies and resolutions on all the problems of the Workers State and the world revolution. To revert to a bolshevik functioning of the Communist Party. All these fundamental problems were discussed, together with the favourable course of this process which is extending.

The Fourth Conference of the IV International (Posadist) analysed the need for an open discussion in the world communist, worker and revolutionary movement in order to make a United Front of all the forces, communist parties, socialists, trotskyist-posadists, nationalist movements, left catholics, military nationalists, to impel the development of social progress, which means the transformation of the economic structures of production and exchange and the social structures, to eliminate what remains of the capitalist system. The Fourth Conference of the IV International (Posadist) analysed the need to impel the process of political revolution, the development of the Workers States in the least damaging way possible, but at the same time in the final settlement of accounts with the capitalist system, to confront the world atomic war that imperialism is preparing.

Apart from these essential themes there was discussion on the 'historic backwardness' of the North American proletariat. The causes of the 'historic backwardness,' that because it didn't have political class organisation, its weight in the revolutionary process was minimal. The historic causes and the possibility it had to make up for and overcome this 'historic backwardness'

The Fourth Conference paid homage to the memory of Leon Trotsky on the 33rd anniversary of his assassination. Making a salute and a remembrance in the homage to Trotsky. The Fourth Conference saluted all the revolutionary masses of the world who struggle for progress. The Chilean revolution, all the movements advancing in this process, including the Unidad Popular in Chile, and made appeals to stimulate the revolutionary process there. Making the masses intervene in organs of power, and calling for the preparation for the civil war that the bourgeoisie is inevitably going to launch.

The Fourth Conference saluted all the revolutionary and workers movement, the Vietnamese masses, the powerful triumph of the masses in Vietnam and the world United Front which was expressed there. Humanity defeated American

imperialism in Vietnam. We also saluted the powerful world movement of the masses in Asia, Africa and Latin America who are defeating what is left of capitalism.

The Fourth Conference saluted all those sections who for different reasons couldn't attend the meeting, and re-affirmed the very great progress the International had made in all countries, and its intervention in the class struggle. It saluted Cde. Posadas and his texts which orientated the world proletarian vanguard, ending with an appeal to the world communist movement to unite and to plan the Workers States, for the unification of the world revolutionary and communist movement, including the trotskyists, the trotskyist posadist wing of the world communist movement. To build a world United Front of all tendencies, communist, socialist, nationalist, left catholic and military, in order to stimulate the process of national and social independence, the socialist revolution of all countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. To finish with what remains of capitalism, and to foresee and prepare against the blows from capitalism which is preparing the atomic war. To influence the Soviet Union's agreements, to influence the no nuclear attack treaties, because capitalism is preparing for atomic war no matter what, as it is already doing, in a disjointed way, throughout the world.

The Fourth Conference saluted with all its immense communist fervour, the militants of the IV International who are effectively intervening as a 'public good' in history, working and functioning in the world communist and revolutionary movement, with texts, positions, to orientate the proletarian vanguard, to fraternise with the communist, nationalist and left catholic movement, and to build an anti imperialist, anti capitalist United Front to unconditionally defend the Workers States, to smash the capitalist system, to prepare for the final settlement of accounts and to confront the atomic war that imperialism is preparing.

THE NEW ARAB ISRAELI WAR AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

J. POSADAS 26.10.73

We recommend the study of this extremely precise and profound text on the Middle East by Cde. Posadas as fundamental to understand the present stage of the struggle between the Arab states and Israel. This war originated in the need for the Arab leaderships to contain the explosive social pressures constantly mounting in all their countries to smash Israel as the arsenal of American imperialism, by conducting the war on a purely military basis. In the case of Egypt this has been accompanied by the return to posts of command of generals who were sacked by Nasser because of their incompetence arising the capitalist interest of not wanting to pursue the struggle against Israel.

It is important to see the increasing involvement of the Soviet Union in this struggle which simultaneously encourages the Arab masses and poses the need for the Workers States to seek support among the Arab masses and not accommodate the policies of the various governments. Although Nixon's alert may have had elements of manoeuvre, it reflected the depth of the process in the Middle East and the polarisation of the world situation, revolution versus the counter revolution. And in this conflict, yet again the Sino-Soviet dispute diminishes the force of the Workers State and imperiously demands the need for a world wide discussion of the divergences between the Workers States and the need to unify all the Workers States around a common external and internal policy to destroy world capitalism and imperialism. And it is necessary, as part of this for them to pose sharply the need for a policy on nationalisations and planning of the economies of the Arab states, coupled with appeals for the Israeli masses to overthrow the Israeli bourgeoisie with the perspective of self determination within the federation of Arab Socialist States.

We appeal to the forces in the left of the Labour Party and the trade unions to intervene in the strongest possible way against the pro-imperialist posture of Wilson and the rest of the pro-imperialist sectors in the Labour Party openly supporting Israel and NATO, carrying out a task which Heath felt unable to do at this moment from fear of alienating his own base. We appeal for all these We appeal to the L.P. and C.P. to repudiate all this imperialist line of Wilson, reiterating the demand for the withdrawal of nuclear bases and missiles from this country and supporting the intervention of the Workers States on the side of the Arab masses.

This is a war which the Arabs are waging to free themselves of imperialist pressure. But fundamentally it is made with the objective of containing the revolutionary process, the decomposition of the bourgeois leaderships and to give a solution to contain the uprising or the revolutionary pressure, or a crisis which there is within these countries, from the left, but also from the right.

This war, on the part of Egypt was again directed by generals and soldiers who had already been reprimanded as unsuitable and incapable and for having posed an agreement with Israel in the 1967 war. All these generals were thrown out by Nasser for being responsible for the defeat in the 67 war and because they were great landed proprietors and financiers. Sadat put them back in and these are the soldiers who conducted the war. These soldiers cannot lead this war. This is the first aspect.

The second aspect to consider is that this is not a war which can be won or which can be conducted by means of arms. The missiles are important and the Soviet intervention is fundamental, but the intervention and the uprising of the population is decisive to combine the war against imperialism through Israel, with the struggle against the Arab bourgeoisie, which is the way to stimulate the masses of Israel.

To win this war it is necessary to decompose the Israeli front. This front is decomposed by means of the struggle of the Arab masses for power. If there was a military solution favourable to the Arab countries - even being important and a stimulus for the launching of the revolution - the Egyptian bourgeoisie would also win authority and reconstitute itself, or try as it has done before to strengthen its apparatus. It is evident that the bourgeoisie prefers to lose the war if they can secure the leadership of the country. It does not matter at all to them if the Israelis occupy Suez or the other cities, what is important is that they can continue their business activities. The declarations of the Israeli leaders are aimed at this. Also to assure this bourgeoisie that it is not a problem against them. The financiers of Egypt, like those of Syria and Jordan are not interested in winning the war, if winning it means the revolution triumphs. What interests them is to carry on their business, to continue to exploit the means they have, the finances, the investment of capital. This interests them. If the advance of the revolution were to put these interests at risk, then they would prefer to lose the war. Again, for the second time they have committed military negligences which are not the product of military incapacities but of social interest which makes them negligent. They throw themselves into action without sufficient support from the masses, or without having a perspective of it in the event that the war

continues; when it cannot be a war which is sustained only with arms, because Israel is supplied by the Yanks to an infinitely greater degree than the Arab states can be supplied by the USSR. And although the USSR has compensated with arms, Israel has a professional army, Israel is a country installed by Yankee imperialism, while the Arab countries are emerging from a very great backwardness and the military team is formed from this backwardness. They have neither the capacity, the cadres, efficiency or the military preparation which the Israelis have.

The fact that the Israelis have entered Suez shows Egypt's weakness because they could have stopped this. If they had made a mass movement, foreseeing the entrance of the Israelis, they could have organised the militias to impede it. They would prefer an Israeli occupation knowing that they were going to do this, before risking their property. This is a class war. It is necessary to realise that to win this type of war it is necessary to organise the masses from a class point of view. One cannot ever simply make a war of one country against another, even of the oppressed Arab countries which have to confront imperialism through Israel. It is necessary to mobilise the masses to advance socially, to expropriate, to progress in revolutionary social measures and then this would be an example to the masses in Israel. For example if the Arab masses had expropriated big capital, the great landed proprietors, and appealed to the Israeli masses to do the same, they would have had an immense effect in disorganising the bourgeoisie. As they did not do it, it was a problem of capitalist power. Although it was a legitimate war on Egypt's part because it is a country occupied by imperialism, one cannot win the war without the mobilisation of the masses. And it is not possible to win while they wage the war in this way. This is an aspect which shows the limitation of the Arab leadership which prefers to lose the war rather than move the masses because of its class fear.

The intervention of the Soviet Union is another fundamental event. The Soviets have intervened giving a large quantity of arms and many advisors, who have allowed the war to continue for quite a long period of time. This shows that the intervention of the Soviet Union was very good. The Israelis expected to win in two days and the war lasted 17 days, and if they advanced strongly or were going to enter into Suez, they had to retreat in other parts.

We reiterate that the Israelis entered Suez because the Egyptian bourgeoisie allowed them to. But on the other hand the Soviet Union appeared for the first time before all the countries of the Middle East and of the world, ready to support every armed struggle against Yankee imperialism. This shows the weakness of the agreements they made with the Yanks. The Americans' reply with the atomic threat shows their weakness. It is certain that Nixon would have found some manoeuvre to get over Watergate, but he would not have made this manoeuvre if there was not a real necessity. They are not manoeuvres to discuss. They are great manoeuvres which show the weakness of imperialism.

At the same time this shows the insecurity of the European bourgeoisie who made no mobilisation of support for Yankee imperialism. They did not do it because they have seen and felt the rejection of the masses. For this reason they have not intervened. It is a very simple proof that the masses of Europe are against Yankee imperialism. The attitude of Willy Brandt is not simply his attitude, nor is it a superficial attitude, it reflects the very profound opposition of the German masses, including the young people in the Liberal Party and part of the Christian Democratic party. They are against, if not they would not refuse the bases to the Yankees and, on the contrary, there would then be a campaign orchestrated to support the Yanks because of the danger which existed.

This is going to provoke in Yankee imperialism, the need for a series of measures, of discussions, of pressures on the governments, the capitalist parties of Europe to co-ordinate. But this shows that the capitalist governments, in not having yielded or responded to the interests of the Yanks, so do because they are afraid of the masses of their own countries and also of the petit bourgeoisie who at this moment still vote for them. They are afraid of this, hence they abstain.

They all support American imperialism. They do not see it as a problem of Israel and the Arab countries. They see the essence of the problem very well. The defeat of Israel would be an immense impulse to

the revolution in the Middle East. Hence they support Israel directly or indirectly; and the sale of arms which they claim to make to the Arab countries is a controlled sale, in such a way that allows them to waste money and be overwhelmed with military expenses. But they do not give them arms to win. Its not true that French capitalism sells them arms..... Its a lie. It is a calculated sale to get money from the sale of arms to relieve themselves of their problems. The only ones who have helped them in an objective way to smash imperialism in Israel have been the Soviets. All of which shows the confrontation, even of the petit bourgeois masses of Europe, who support the governments and the capitalist parties but in certain measures don't agree with their governments, they are against. It is not a maturing established in this moment, but one which comes from a long time previously. The war shows this.

The USSR has had to respond supporting the Arab countries, not with the urgency with which it should have done, but it has contained the invasion by Israel of all the Arab countries as was its intention to do. It shows at the same time the weakness of the Arab countries, so that Egypt being the most important country is not the force which directs or determines, and that to triumph over Israel and over American imperialism, it has to transform the army. It has to be cleansed of all the people who represent the interests of the land owners, business men and financiers who do not have an interest in defeating Israel because this means the advance of the revolution. It is for this reason that the Israeli High Command directs itself with appeals and communications to this sector. This is class language.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIET UNION IS FUNDAMENTAL BUT THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS MUST INTERVENE MAKING APPEALS TO THE ARABS AND ISRAELIS TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES

The intervention of the Soviet Union is the most interesting aspect of all. It is true that they supported with arms and that they intervened with military advisors, but it was shown that they cannot win in this way. It is necessary to make direct appeals to the masses. The Israeli masses have not intervened. The communist leaders of Israel have been opposed to the war and have simply had collisions with the government and the bourgeoisie. But in the Arab countries there has not been an appeal for the mobilisation of the masses, whilst in Egypt and Syria there have been attempts by the masses to intervene, mobilising. There has not been an appeal and there has to be appeals.

They have to appeal for the mobilisation of the trade unions; they should have appealed for the expropriation of all the capitalists, for planning, to have workers control, workers militias. They have to make appeals for the unification of the Arab world. Then the Arabs will see that it is not a holy war or a war of the oppressed Arab countries, but a class war. This should have been done by the Soviet Union and the Soviet trade unions. The USSR intervened but the trade unions haven't. The trade unions should have intervened and must do so. The attitude of the Soviet Union in containing the Yanks is fundamental, but it has not impeded their taking strong positions from which to negotiate.

It is necessary to make appeals to the Arab masses. The objective of freeing itself from Israel is to allow the development of the Arab countries. They are not going to develop with the bourgeoisie. Therefore it is necessary to transform the country. To appeal to the masses of Israel to overthrow their bourgeoisie. To make a Workers and Peasants government showing that the Arab masses are going to live side by side with them and are going to give them the right of self determination for Israel. Without this programme the war cannot be won.

It is necessary to make a programme of self determination for Israel and to appeal to it to live alongside the Arab countries. It is necessary to appeal to the Arabs to overthrow their bourgeoisie or to advance in positions expropriating the bourgeoisie. They can and must do this. It is not a mad and empirical attitude but one which corresponds to the necessity of the war. The Egyptian bourgeoisie, which is

the one which has the greatest strength in the Arab countries, is incapable of waging war on Israel, because although it has the material means to have won, it is more preoccupied with impeding the Arab masses expropriating their bourgeoisie. For this reason they allowed the Israelis to enter Suez. Everyone says this. It is not that they couldn't have prevented it. They could have. But the Arab bourgeoisies are afraid as much of the intervention of the Soviet Union as of the Arab masses.

It is necessary to see that Israel openly makes the war because it is an installed country, manufactured by Yankee imperialism. It exports a whole team of workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie, intellectuals and scientists. The Arabs do not have this. But the Arab countries, in their turn, have a very powerful bourgeoisie which has been fortified in Egypt by the imprisonment of all the left elements, workers and students. It is this same bourgeoisie which has led the war. Before the war, the Egyptian government set free many students, intellectuals and journalists. They freed them in order to find support, to make an internal front to show a common interest of the Arabs, when what they are looking for is a way to contain the process of radicalisation which is coming, or to contain a blow from the right to dislodge the Arabs and what remains of the Soviets.

The bourgeoisie led the war with the objective of defending its interests. For this reason they could not expel the Israelis. The preoccupation of people

RESOLUTION OF THE N.E. REGIONAL OF THE R.W.P. (T)

REINSTATE DAVE DOUGLASS IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The attempt of the right wing of the L.P. to expel our comrade Dave Douglass is part of the inevitable confrontation between the right and the left in the L.P. and raises the whole discussion of the right of tendency and the necessity for the complete transformation of the structure of the L.P.

In this stage of history the world crisis of the capitalist system and the highly developed degree of consciousness of the masses of the world in wanting to control their own affairs and eliminate the unnecessary backwardness of poverty, unemployment, exploitation, conflict and war raises as urgently as ever the fundamental question of organisation and leadership of the working class. The proletariat centralises itself around the organisations it already has in order to impel and pressure them to advance, so as to make them into instruments which are relevant and useful to the fulfillment of the socialist aspirations of the working class. For example in all the worlds communist and socialist parties there is a crisis, a crisis of programme, policy and organisation. But this is essentially a crisis of growth i.e. a crisis which will result in a strengthening of these parties for the historic tasks they have to fulfill. All policies of conciliation with capitalism are being eliminated in the C.P.s and the Workers States. The socialist parties of the world, British L.P. included are entering a process of transformation from being social democratic parties, interested only in measures of support for capitalism and minor reforms, into consistent socialist parties seriously intended to take measures seriously intended to damage the capitalist system and prepare the conditions for its revolutionary overthrow.

One of the conclusions to be drawn from the Chilean experience is the necessity of a profound political life in the mass parties so that the decision and weight of the working class can be fed into the party so there is a discussion in which the most complete, developed ideas, based on historic experience can affect policy, programme and method. Hence the opportunity for the development of marxist currents which will be ready for the inevitable blows from capitalism (like in Chile), and hence the foresight and policy to be prepared. It is in this situation that this outrageous attack on Dave Douglass is made, calling for his expulsion from the Labour Party, simply on the basis of the ideas he defends, which are not against the Labour Party or its progress. We reject the slanderous accusations made against this comrade and appeal for a full discussion now in the Labour Party and in all the labour and revolutionary movement on this question and the broader issues that it raises.

In this sense the L.P. programme of nationalisations is a very significant advance - true it is still quite limited; true the right in the L.P. will fight tooth and nail to prevent the implementation and, true the present structure of the L.P. is a serious impediment to its development and application. But it is an

showed an immense resolution which demonstrated that their conduct was going to continue and develop the struggle with the social concern to develop the war, to expropriate, nationalise and to plan. The limitations, product of the fact that the war has been led by the Arab bourgeoisie, are unequal because in Iraq there is a revolutionary process. In Syria too, but to a lesser degree. But they are not the ones who decide. Egypt is the country which decides because of its greater weight, numbers, arms and social weight. Hence there is no very great aggressivity on the part of Israel against Egypt because they hope to reach an agreement. They see the danger of the revolution. Nor is the revolutionary process in Egypt convenient to Israel because the process is transmitted there. Even though Israel is a transported country, there are many workers there and a Labour government.

The Soviets, who have been essential in this war have intervened as a determining factor. But more important than the very great help they have given is the fact that they have shown by such an intervention that they cannot be unconcerned to intervene in all countries threatened or occupied by imperialism. They are going to intervene. The observers they sent even if they wear civilian dress they play a role which is preparing for military operations. They are points of support which can always be changed into military at short notice. It is not very important if they don't wear uniform. What counts is that these personnel can be transformed at any moment into leading military organisers. And imperialism has had to swallow all this knowing full well that this is the case.

The fact that the Soviet Union intervenes as an interested party indicates that their policy cannot be detached from this process and they have to intervene, if not Brezhnev runs a risk. And even with Brezhnev intervening it is not the policy he was putting forward before. Brezhnev's reply to Nixon is not the answer of someone trying to conciliate but of one who is trying to contain. Hence they say 'It is necessary to be serious and responsible and not adventurist.' and at the same time send observers. They don't have arms but there will be others with the arms. These military observers are going to see, to analyse and to

exert a pressure to contain Israel. They may also intervene. This will stimulate the Arab masses and the aims of the Soviet Union, that objectively develop the revolution in the Middle East. Even though the Soviets do not mention or speak of the revolution in the Middle East, the development of the struggle against Israel is objectively a development in favour of the revolution in the Middle East.

The policy of the Soviets is not the correct one to put forward. They should have appealed to all the world masses, as they did in Vietnam, to have denounced imperialism as in Vietnam, to have mobilised the masses of the Workers States. To have called for the participation of volunteers, for economic, military aid and also to have posed the need to intervene itself. This parody of the nuclear alarm by the Yanks is a parody which announces real actions. The USSR has not called for mobilisations not only because Nixon is against but because the Arab bourgeoisie is also against it. It has no interest in this because its property, its domination, its control over its property would be threatened.

THE SOVIET UNION'S INTERVENTION IMPELS THE REVOLUTION AND SHOWS THE FRAGILITY OF THE AGREEMENTS WITH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

The Soviet intervention is a very great stimulus to the intervention of the masses. It is limited because of the limitation and delay with which it has intervened. But at the same time it shows the fragility of agreements with Yankee imperialism, and that constantly the breaking up of this agreement and the threat of atomic war is increasing. As a consequence of this parody which conceals the real finality of launching the atomic war. They see the effects in France, Germany and Britain. In France the bourgeoisie is preparing, in case of war, to control those who are going to gain advantage from it, the Popular Union. In Germany, Brandt doesn't want to know anything because it increases the internal crisis at a time of mobilisations of the engineering workers. In Britain the government criticised American imperialism because it did not forewarn them. It is not true. They must have known. They are seeking to justify themselves to the Labour masses and a part of the Young Conservatives who have weight and decide historically in order not to lose electorally, which is their interest as a ruling class. The Italian government has not intervened directly in order to maintain the bases of alliance with the Communist and Socialist Party. Otherwise it would have intervened either supporting or taking a neutral position favourable to Israel. It has not intervened because it feels it would have still further decreased its credibility and authority in the eyes of the masses. The Italian government does not take a position openly favourable to Yankee imperialism, in order not to get too much opposition from the Communist Party. At the same time it tries to profit from this crisis of capitalism, to see if it can salvage Italian capitalism, seek new markets, investments, agreements with the Soviet Union and the Workers States as it is trying to do. They take an attitude of non involvement to contain the communists and serve their own interests.

The Yankees denounce the small support which they received from the European bourgeoisie. It is not a story, a parody or complaint. The European bourgeoisie feel that if they actively intervene, they would have a massive reaction in their own countries. In Denmark, Norway and Sweden they would have a massive mobilisation against. In France the vote for the constitutional amendment proposed by Pompadou, even if it had won would not have had sufficient support to be consolidated and showed to Pompadou that he did not have the superiority he thought he had.

Imperialism made an exercise with the alert but has not been able to intimidate. The Soviets send soldiers dressed as civilians and what's more say that they 'represent the Soviet Union'. They do not let themselves be intimidated. On the contrary in their declaration they said that the Soviet Union would fulfill its responsibilities to all countries of the third world struggling against imperialism. It shows the level of maturation which there is. As the conditions exist for imperialism to launch the war, the Soviet Union has to intervene in any important developments in the world. These are the fundamental conclusions of this process.

Also within the Soviet Union, Brezhnev is besieged by sectors who are to the left of him. His speech at the World Congress of Peace is not in line with the policy of kisses to Nixon. He cited Lenin three times. This shows that the crisis within the Soviet Union and the pressure on Brezhnev are very great. And there are an increasing number of sectors who feel that they should not allow American imperialism to gain any advantage. Hence the attitude of imperialism to try and contain, to intimidate and to show to Israel and to the world bourgeoisie that they are going to intervene. But the European bourgeoisie has not openly supported American imperialism. It

turn to back page

FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE L.P INTO A PARTY CAPABLE OF OVERTHROWING CAPITALISM AND BUILDING SOCIALISM.

FOR THE IMMEDIATE RE-INSTATEMENT OF DAVE DOUGLASS IN THE L.P.

Continued from Page 3.

has supported it, but not openly. This does not mean that this is the attitude of the European bourgeoisie because in any crisis the European bourgeoisie is going to intervene. The proof of this is that the French bourgeoisie is preparing the 'force de frappe', the army to intervene if there is a war or an important general strike. The bourgeoisie is drawing conclusions. Hence the rehearsal, the act which the Yanks put on has a depth of reality. They are aware that to contain the advance of the revolution they have to intervene. On the other hand the masses have shown that they are not going to allow themselves to be intimidated.

The coup in Thailand shows the weakness of imperialist dominion. The retreat of imperialism in Turkey and Greece shows that it is losing points of support. Hence it resorts to a nuclear threat, to threaten the bourgeoisie of all these countries, to try to keep them under their sphere of influence. The reply of the Soviet Union showed that they were not afraid and that they were stimulating resistance to Yankee imperialism. But at the same time they have to do it because within the SU is the sector within the party and the army which wants to contain Yankee imperialism and is ready to confront it. This reply of Brezhnev is a confrontation with imperialism. We appeal to the Soviets to intervene and draw the conclusions of Chile for the Middle East. Imperialism is going to try to gain all the time that it can. In Chile it tried to win authority so it intervened. It has not been able to win authority nor has it been able to recuperate any authority in Latin America, there the struggle continues. In the Middle East it has tried to use Israel to try to terrorise, to contain the development of the Arab revolution. It has failed all the same. While the Soviet Union has increased its relations with the Arab countries, this is going to have repercussions in the USSR and it is going to be felt necessary to appeal to the Arab masses.

The Workers States cannot maintain themselves apart from any developments in the world. They have put bases in the Middle East and they are not going to leave. The Yankees have to respect these bases. Sadat threw out almost all the military representatives. The Soviet Union's policy was to depend on agreements with Sadat. This is going to show them that they cannot rely on a bourgeois leadership which, for its own part, represents the interests of the great monopolies, the land owners and the financiers of Egypt. These land owning monopoly sectors, if they run a risk through the revolutionary process, have more interest in Israel winning. This is going to encourage the Soviets to continue learning tactics and obliging them to seek wider popular support, to link themselves more directly to the masses. This is the conclusion.

On a world wide scale imperialism has not benefited in a single respect. There is no support or progress for Yankee imperialism. On the contrary throughout the world there is a new retreat, whether it is in Turkey, Greece or Spain which has refused to be used as a base of support for Yankee planes in the Middle East. There is the struggle and the reaction of the masses of Chile who are already organising the guerrilla. The process in Mexico is favourable to impel the anti-imperialist struggle. The struggles of the masses in Europe gives no points of support to imperialism but goes against it. We appeal to the Soviet Union to support itself on this process.

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM IS PREPARING FOR THE ATOMIC WAR. UNIFICATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND CHINA IS NECESSARY.

Imperialism is going to launch the war. It is going to wait for the most convenient moment for it, when it can, but it is going to do it. It showed that Chile was not an accident, a chance event or a problem of going too far or of dividing the country. It is imperialism which divides the country. To make the war it has to. Chile like the Middle East shows that imperialism is going to resort to civil war and atomic war because it does not have any other means at its disposal. The process is going to lead to this because it does not have another solution. This is the most important experience. Without waiting for imperialism to launch

the war. It is necessary to gain as many positions as possible through revolutionary struggles, throughout the world. And that means to advance in the dominion of society, of control, of the intervention of the masses in the social struggle and in positions in society, whether in the localities, the provinces or the cities; with an increase of workers control, of the organisation of workers councils, factory councils, district councils. Advancing the maximum possible in this process, and in the meantime to appeal for the unification of the world communist movement. There is no reason for divergences, for divisions. It is necessary to make a public discussion on the experiences of Chile to show that imperialism is going to make the war, that it is necessary to prepare cadres, make adequate organs, winning part of the army, structuring organs and organising the society and the economy with organs of power to confront imperialism.

This threat by imperialism has been aimed at strengthening and animating the rest of world capitalism and to show it that it is disposed to make the war. To show them that it is necessary to prepare. It does not mean that imperialism is preparing to do it now but that it is preparing to do it. Brezhnev had to say 'there are the best conditions for 15 years to push away the danger of nuclear war'. He makes calculations on conditions. Whilst in the world communist and proletarian vanguard the conclusion advances that imperialism is preparing the atomic war. Brezhnev says that detente can continue whilst the vanguard sees that they are preparing the war. In Chile it made civil war. Imperialism shows that it is preparing the war when it defends a country as small as Israel.

We appeal to the masses of Israel to rise up and to make a united front with the Arab masses against Arab capitalism and Israel. We appeal to the North American masses through the trade unions and the Communist parties in the Workers States. It is necessary to push forward a soviet life in the Workers States, to call for discussions, public debates. To invite, demand and impose a public discussion on the Chinese. Showing that there are no concrete or historic causes for differences or divergences. There can be divergences on a problem relating to production, but the Workers States among themselves do not have historic divergences. It is the leaderships who have divergences with local interests. This cannot be an aid to the North American masses to free themselves from imperialism. On the other hand, if they were to see the Workers States discussing, planning, resolving all the problems by way of discussions in agreement with the necessity of concentration, centralisation and centralised planning, it is going to be an immense education for the masses of the United States, which is one of the final conclusions and an impulse of this Middle East situation.

We appeal to the Soviet Union to help eliminate the bourgeoisies from all the Arab countries and to purge the armies of the half who represent the land owners, and big capital and trade and finances. It is necessary to appeal to the Israeli masses to overthrow their bourgeoisie and to make agreements with the Arab countries, and to pose the Palestinian problem. We are in agreement with self determination for the Palestinians. But there is no private Palestinian problem. What it is necessary to do is to make a policy which no bourgeois country can; the struggle for power to push forward the independence which the Palestinians want with self determination. They do not have the conditions to constitute themselves into a country and neither does it have any sense. As it is not a fundamental problem it is necessary to see it as a part of the overall problems of the Arab countries. It is necessary to appeal to the Palestinians to intervene to overthrow the bourgeoisie of the Arab countries, of Israel and to go towards self determination or to organise jointly. This is a problem which has no solution while capitalism exists. Yankee imperialism cannot allow such a revolutionary process to develop, nor the Soviet Union to go much further. Hence the Yanks don't want to consolidate the blow which the Israelis have given and they have to proceed with care.

The threat of atomic war by imperialism, the mobilisation it made, shows its weakness, that it has no confidence that the agreements with the USSR are going to be respected. It feels that even if the Soviet Union respects the agreements to do nothing, will the masses for their part do the same? They have seen

that the Soviet Union cannot avoid intervening in any problem of even average importance. The structure of the Workers State already imposes this. Hence the Yanks threatened. They feel that in the Soviet Union there is a great concern for these problems, they discuss them, but still as yet there is no participation or mass mobilisations in defence of the revolution. We appeal for the organisation in the Workers States, the USSR, China, Poland, Rumania, Cuba of permanent mobilisations of trade union activity, conferences, declarations, meetings, extending support for the revolution in the Middle East as they did for Chile. To appeal to the Chinese to unify themselves with an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme. To appeal for a public discussion which involves the Communist Parties, to discuss support for the Arab countries to overthrow Israel but at the same time to appeal to the Israeli masses to overthrow its own bourgeoisie, to set up its own state, and to ask for Arab recognition of it, and to offer a common planning in the Federation of Middle East countries.

We appeal to the Soviet Union and the Workers States to intervene. We appeal to them to make popular militias and an anti capitalist and anti imperialist programme for the Middle East. To the trade unions of the Workers States, to the communist parties that they call for expropriations, so that the Arab masses feel that the war is a means of advancing social progress, by way of expropriations, nationalisations and planning. We appeal to the communist parties to discuss and make appeals to stop the Sino-Soviet polemic. At the same time to condemn the Chinese attitude which sees the USSR as interested in dominating the Middle East. It is an error which serves the interests of the Chinese in their dispute with the Soviet bureaucracy.

At the same time we appeal for a discussion to be made in the world communist movement, workers centres, trade unions, workers parties on why in two fundamental problems the USSR and China have divergent positions. On both Chile and the Middle East. Not in relation to whom they support, but in relation to the objective. It does not appear logical to the masses in the Middle East nor to the Israeli masses, it cannot give them confidence or security. It allows the political dependence on the bourgeois leaderships to increase. This Sino-Soviet dispute is one of the most harmful factors against the revolution in the Middle East. We appeal to the communist parties to ask, to demand a discussion and a common programme of support to the Arab masses, support for the expropriation of the Arab bourgeoisie, support for the development of the struggle to establish workers states in the Middle East and to appeal to respect Israel. That the Soviet Union and the Workers States appeal for the unification of all the countries of the Middle East, on the bases of nationalisation of property and the planning of the economy. It is necessary to appeal to the Israeli masses to overthrow their bourgeoisie and to make an Israeli country which co-exists with the Arabs, if it wants to integrate with the Arab federation; if not self determination so that it can decide separately. But it is necessary to give it a programme. What programme do the Egyptians have? To overthrow Israeli imperialism? They don't have the military resources to do this but it can be done by mobilising the masses. We call for the making of these mobilisations. We also appeal to the Chinese. The Chinese argue with the Soviet bureaucracy over world activity, relations with capitalist countries and over leadership of the movement of the Workers States and the communist parties. They also argue over the agreement with the Yanks trying to stop the Soviets making agreements with the Yanks at their expense. It is a harmful policy for both the Soviet Union and for China. We appeal that they discuss in the trade unions, in the Kolkoses, in the Sovkoses, in the Chinese communes and in the Chinese trade unions a common plan for the development of China and the Soviet Union and of all countries seeking liberation from imperialism. To discuss a common programme and the planning of all the Workers States in accordance with the needs of all of them, among them the poorest, not just in the interests of the more developed. Also a military planning and centralisation.

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sectors at any moment into the leadership because it is a structure completely submitted to electoral considerations and outside the control of the working class. This situation is further complicated by the fact that the forces of the left lack organisation and a marxist education and on a whole series of occasions allow the initiative to pass to the right. Thus on major strike actions and interventions in the L.P. the left frequently takes no position, has no common voice. This is the inevitable phenomenon in the process of the transformation of the social democratic party into a socialist party, but it is a protracted non-linear one, and the objective situation tends to

advance much faster than the process of the transformation of the party.

The struggle in the L.P. is linked with the fundamental discussion that has arisen in the vanguard over the experience of Chile, over the functioning of the armed forces in capitalism, and it is an experience being rapidly assimilated by the world masses. Already in France it is being clearly posed that the bourgeoisie will never allow the Popular Union to enter the government. Mitterand, the Socialist Party leader has raised this whole issue without proposing programme or policy to confront the problem. The intervention of the working class, whether of engineers, miners or firemen - where the army

was used, but at the same time where a substantial wage increase is offered to the firemen from fear of prolonging a dispute which could detonate others - has to be seen as part of a process leading to civil war in this country. The struggles however limited in the form they may take, are in the margins of this civil war. Chile is the way world capitalism is going to react on a national and world scale, which is why it is fundamental that the forces of the left in the L.P. base themselves on the actual struggles of the class to weigh in the process to smash the pro capitalist right in the L.P. A greater intervention of the trade unions utilising the forces of the masses is indispensable in this process. But at the same

time it is essential for the forces in the left of the L.P. to support themselves on the independent activity of the class, and above all appeal for the formation of the mass organs of the class, factory committees, district committees so that the masses can exchange all their experiences, weigh in a more concentrated way in the struggle to transform the Labour Party and prepare for the fight which is coming before, during and after the establishment of a new Labour government. For the open struggle between the state apparatus of capitalism and the independent organs of the masses, the basis of the replacement of bourgeois by proletarian power.

CONFRONT THE STATE OF EMERGENCY AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM BY ORGANISING SUPPORT FOR THE MINERS AND ENGINEERS

Miners, engineers, ambulance men, teachers, electricians, are all mobilising or preparing to mobilise, despite the resistance of their leaderships. They are joined in this by other sectors of the exploited population, the students and pensioners. The desperate need for the bourgeoisie to impose a legal framework to legalise even further the exploitation of the working population using its police and repressive apparatus, has in fact created the conditions to transform every struggle into a confrontation to bring down the government. In this situation every struggle for wages, pensions, and union rights becomes immediately a political struggle. This further sharpens the already immense crisis of British capitalism. Its divisions and internal contradictions are constantly deepened. The enormous balance of payments deficit, the sharp increase in interest rates, the raging inflation leading to the phenomenal increases in food prices all show the deepening and accelerated crisis of capitalism. It is because of its internal insecurity that the bourgeois government has proclaimed the State of Emergency, because it feels unable to face the coming confrontation, relying simply on its traditional repressive apparatus. It needs extra measures because it has already seen how no amount of appeals to respect the elected government, to respect the law of the land, to wait and to compromise, by the capitalist sectors in the Labour Party will deter the decision of the masses.

A sector of the right in the Labour Party wanted to immediately support the State of Emergency which means to hastily support the introduction of special measures to deal with the miners fight, before its support by the population becomes too widespread; all this at the same time as thousands of Labour supporters and middle cadres prepare to support this struggle as they did with the last one, encouraged and strengthened by the last L.P. conference. They will objectively pose the need for the transformation of the Labour Party from an electoral instrument into an instrument of mobilisation and of social organisation. Such an historic change can only take place where the workers feel their enormous strength; in the factories. There in the most concentrated form they see the ineffectiveness of capitalism and realise their own determining, preponderant role in the economy. It is necessary to base this transformation of the L.P. on the factories and places of work, actively incorporating the trade unions, making factory branches of the L.P. open to all those in the trade union movement who pay a political levy to the L.P.

Without question the mobilisations of engineers and miners, firemen, ambulance men, students, electricians - the depth of the crisis is shown in the incorporation of normally peripheral sectors into the heart of the struggle - are going to accelerate the combat in the L.P. against the pro-capitalist sectors. These mobilisations contrast with the very low L.P. vote in the Govan by election. And that election typified the way in which the structure of the L.P. its slowness, low level of discussion, electoral functioning - plays into the hands of all the conservative forces. This is allied to the lack of decision of the forces of the left who themselves are partially involved in the structure. Although the Govan election was fought on the L.P. programme this on its own is not sufficient when the working class can see that on a national scale the right wing is fighting tooth and nail against the implementation of the programme. It is necessary to launch a national campaign within the L.P. that all M.P.'s make a declaration of their financial interests and publicly pledge support to the L.P. programme. To make a campaign within the L.P. to take up class positions and abandon accommodation with the right. In the absence of a continuous and unflinching struggle with the right, the latter is given a strength which it does not possess.

In making a balance of the poor response to the L.P. in the by-elections, it is essential that the forces

of the left in the L.P. engage in a much more definitive struggle than hitherto. The right in the L.P. are engaged in a whole process of sabotage. They speak of taking years and years before the full L.P. programme can be implemented, they paint frightening pictures of punitive taxation to frighten the middle sectors, they support Israel, they try to put a block on the discussion of ideas, of marxism wherever it is possible, utilising expulsion as in the case of Dave Douglass, they put Jenkins back to sustain their pro-capitalist image. The position of the right is well known and well publicised by the organs of the capitalist press but the positions of the left are not so well known and the left does not appear before the masses as consistent tribunes of the popular will, constantly intervening in and supporting all the massive interventions of the class. THE CRISIS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM PASSES THROUGH THE CRISIS OF THE LABOUR PARTY. To confront Wilson, Healy and Jenkins, is to confront capitalism. They are its agents in the L.P. At present it is the forces of the left who suffer from bans and proscriptions. It is the right who have to be proscribed and thrown out of the Labour Party. This will not damage in any way the prospects for government of the L.P. On the contrary the masses will see a leadership resolved to finish with capitalism and to relate all their policies to the needs of the masses.

In the present situation we appeal for all the forces of the left in the L.P. and the unions to intervene in the mobilisations of the miners and the engineers to confront the preparations of capitalism in the State of Emergency with the programme of nationalisations and workers control. They should make a point of intervening in the mass meetings called by the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions to push forward the union claims.

It is essential to propose the perspective of the general strike, not waiting for emergency, or recall conferences to organise it. It is transparently clear that Wilson etc. are paralysing the L.P. All opposition to the government is purely verbal. The left in the L.P. has to seek its support in the independent intervention of the class. It cannot wait for elections. To do so is to play the game of Wilson and diminish the force and capacity of the working class. And in this as part of the need to prepare for a general strike to unite all the force of the population, we appeal for the establishment of the mass factory committees, the mass committees in the workers areas which intervene on all the necessary problems. Strike com-

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mittees or action committees which have developed for particular purposes may be a base for this, but these factory and area committees have to develop a continuous life and discuss everything from national and international policy to all the local issues of education, housing, prices etc. The housewives who intervened to picket Marks and Spencers in Derby are not people who have only ideas on prices but, want to intervene on all the issues which cause these criminal price increases, who want to oppose an economy dominated by a few large monopolies living at the expense of the masses. All sectors from children to the so called old people have to be incorporated in similar committees. Such a development would give an invincible support to the launching of a general strike. The miners and the engineers would feel all the mass forces around them and provide an inexhaustible decision which would communicate itself to all the organs of the class and provoke those changes in structure in the L.P. to allow a real revolutionary workers party to develop based upon the trade unions.

We appeal to the forces of the Labour left to emulate the decision of the working class, the engineers, the miners, the power workers, the housewives who challenge the big monopolies, by using and deepening the programme of the Labour Party not in an abstract way but making the link between the full socialist programme and the immediate demands of the masses. All wages to rise with the cost of living! All the profits of automation to the workers in the form of higher wages and better working conditions! To confront inflation, open the books of the factories and shops and stop the profiteers from unloading their crisis on the masses! For a planned economy based on nationalisation of all the key enterprises and banks without compensation and under workers control. A general strike with this perspective, not a defensive line of opposing phase three or protesting against price increases would bring down the Tory government very rapidly and open the way for the victory of a Labour government obliged to carry out an anti-capitalist programme.

THE FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE ITALIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The Fourth National Conference of the Partito Rivoluzionario Comunista (trotskista) Italian Section of the IV International (posadist) was held on the 12-14th of October. The conference discussed the conclusions to be drawn from the coup in Chile, the Middle East war and the international situation. A balance was made of the party's activity since 1970 and the tasks for Italy, on the basis of a document by J. Posadas general secretary of the IV International, sent by the International Secretariat. The conference was attended by delegates and cadres from the different regions of Italy, representatives from some sections of the International, leaders from the Latin American Bureau and the International Secretariat of the IV International. The participants discussed in depth the two reports submitted by the Political Bureau on the basis of documents sent by Comrade Posadas.

The conference was held in a world situation characterised by the close alliance between the Workers States and the revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the countries in revolution. By the rapid advance towards the final settlement of accounts between the cap-

italist system on the one hand, and the Workers States and the countries in revolution on the other.

The conference showed how, on the basis of a study of the international situation, its concrete development and its consequences in Italy, the section is preparing itself to help theoretically and politically the development of revolutionary currents in the Communist Party, Socialist Party and the trade unions. To stimulate the formation of a left Christian Party on the base of a split with the ruling Christian Democrats. The conference posed the urgent need to deepen the theoretical grasp of the texts of Cde. Posadas and for the political and organisational growth of all the organs of the party, developing from the stage of propaganda group to the one of small party, as posed by the International. As part of the general task to stimulate and organise the historic re-encounter between the world communist movement and its trotskyist - posadist wing.

The editorial board sends warmest communist salutes to the Italian Section for this successful conference.

INTRODUCTION

We are publishing this article of comrade Posadas on Greece at a moment when all the internal contradictions, within the military and the government are coming to the fore. The document shows clearly the difference which exists within the leadership between tendencies which want to continue the hard policy in alliance with NATO and US imperialism, and those which want to contain the revolutionary process by making concessions to the workers and peasantry and by developing the economy. The clashes between the army and the students and young workers, the bloody repression which has taken place by the army, is a response by the right wing sector who see that now a part of the junta is ready to make concessions, is proposing a civilian government has released most of the political prisoners, and is allowing exiles to return, is strengthening its agreements and links with the Workers States, has intervened against Grivas in Cyprus supporting Makarios who is anti-NATO, anti-US imperialism; the right intervenes to stop this process. And if the students can fight as they have done now with the support of some workers sectors, it means that they have been encouraged by the concessions already made.

As Posadas analysed in the previous document on Greece, 'The Military Junta and the Class Struggle in Greece', dated 24.4.1973, and as he repeats in this text, it is not possible for the junta to develop the economy within the capitalist system; Greek capitalism does not have the capacity to compete for world markets or even the internal market against imperialism. The only way to develop the Greek economy is on the basis of nationalisations, collectivisation of the land, monopoly of foreign trade; the economy of the Workers State. Greece is almost surrounded by Workers States, and very much influenced by the advances in the Middle East and Turkey. It is not possible to develop now a fascist dictatorship with the support of large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie; a military regime can control certainly for a time, but a process of internal disintegration will soon set in.

We appeal for a discussion in the Labour Party, the unions and the Communist Party on the process in Greece using the two texts of Comrade Posadas. The recent student uprising is going to strengthen impressionist tendencies in the world workers movement which does not understand Greece; it is going to accentuate the tendency to analyse Greece as a fascist dictatorship. Such an analysis is not going to help the world workers movement to intervene in Greece. This document gives a scientific analysis, showing that Greece cannot be another Spain, because the world situation does not permit it. This is a very profound basis for the security of the world proletarian vanguard.

21.11.1973

We are in a stage in which no movement can go back on the conquests of the masses, of the Workers States and the experience that it is necessary to have a revolutionary policy. The masses of the world know this already. For this reason the crisis of the bourgeoisie has such a depth and dynamism, as for example the crisis in Greece. It has taken a long time to change from a monarchy into a republic. They voted for a republic and now, in a few months, they have expressed more than in all the previous seven years. There is an immense crisis, because they do not know what to do now. And in this situation of uncertainty, there is a tendency, the one of Makarezos or someone else, for the moment its Makareroz who appears which realises that they can't go on in this way any more. This tendency is more to the left and is not capitalist in the strictest sense. It is Makarezos or someone close to him.

Even Makarezos' statements indicate this. When he says that everybody can speak, discuss and intervene, it is because he wants an agreement to contain a process and to give the bourgeoisie chance to re-animate. That they function in a bourgeois democratic regime instead of under a monarchy; they want to make a historic change painlessly. It's not possible. A transformation both of property and of production is necessary. This cannot be done without new leaderships. The bourgeoisie cannot do it, but a sector can. A sector of the socialists may associate themselves with this. But another socialist sector, in which Papandreou is probably involved, sees that this is not worthwhile, that there will be a tremendous crisis shortly and that there is no perspective for the development of capitalism in Greece.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS POSSIBLE ONLY AS A WORKERS STATE.

Greece is one of the most backward countries, and to develop capitalism means to compete with the capitalist world. To develop the proletariat and to confront the proletariat in wage disputes, to compete on a world scale. There is no room for this. The economy can be developed but not as a capitalist economy. As a Workers State it can. Greece borders with Bulgaria and Albania and Yugoslavia is very close.

One shouldn't be influenced by the fact that they are a rigid military, but by the fact that they are military who give an historic

THE INTER BOURGEOIS STRUGGLE AND THE CAPITALIST CRISIS IN GREECE

24.10.73 J. POSADAS

impulse. They had a certain audacity, as when they broke with the king. This opens the way to doubts regarding the structure of the capitalist system under the king, but also to doubts concerning the capitalist system itself. Because they see that this is not progress and they see that Greece is still a backward agricultural country. They also see Albania, which used to be even more backward than Greece, and they see it as it is today. What enormous progress it has made. Right next door to them. They are obliged to ask themselves: "To develop the country, what is it necessary to do?"

The capitalist aspiration does not develop in all of them in the same way. They do not have confidence in the need for socialism, but neither do they have it in capitalism, otherwise they would not have delivered this blow at the king. When they give a blow to the king, it is because they answer to a tendency which attacks the structure of the country. Otherwise they wouldn't do it. Because they are aware that it is a matter of overthrowing a king, with such mobilisations in this epoch, in a country which has had two revolutions, but which has also had the nationalist movement of Venizelos; it is a country which has had certain traditions and in which therefore, they cannot impose just any solution.

All the world events influence Greece, the events in Turkey will have a very great effect on Greece. The Peoples Republican Party has won approximately 25% of the vote. The military dictatorship in Turkey is breaking up and collapsing. The gains of the Peoples Republican Party shows this, the declarations of one of their leaders who proposes a popular programme with certain measures which are not strictly favourable to capitalism, and the decomposition of the bourgeois opposition, split into different movements.

The bourgeoisie feels the need to see that a process is coming from which it must learn; therefore, it splits and forms factions. The army in the Argentine, has shown that it is impotent and, before long, the Chilean army will do the same. The declaration by Peron referring to the Chilean military junta, that it 'won't last long', is not just any declaration. It is because it sees that it is collapsing. All the present declarations against marxism being made by the peronist party and the right wing in Argentina are not going to go on for long. Peron tries to combine a bourgeois policy with some progressive measures, which he sees that the bourgeoisie cannot do. This is what he wanted to do in 1946 as well. Now, it is not possible to do it. And in Greece, they feel that to contain the revolution they must contain the struggle of the masses, their very great politicisation. Even if the weight of the proletariat is very small, there is a very great politicisation and a desire and a determination for progress, which is very great. Even though there are no great organised peasant movements, these, stimulated by the struggles in the surrounding countries have a great influence on all this. For example, Bulgaria was a peasant country. All the countries surrounding Greece, were peasant countries. Bulgaria was a country of Shepherds. And today, Bulgaria exports machinery. It sends experts to Latin America in order to set up the installation of this machinery; in Mexico, there is a Bulgarian team to install machinery. And the Bulgarians have been peasants for hundreds of years. There is a team within the army and peasantry in Greece, which sees this and who says: 'We can live better than this'. This has a very great cultural and political influence on them and elevates them. On a world scale the process tends to stimulate, elevate, and consolidate the sector which thinks in this way. Not that they want to make a revolution, or impel the proletariat, but they realise that in order to advance, they must ally themselves to the proletariat and the peasantry. This is something new. They realise that they must make an alliance.

They try, and they will try to avoid any commitment, any dependence, to seek to keep it under control, but they have no other solution. If they want to progress, they have to do it. They did not go to China to see Mao Tse Tung. They went to China to make an economic programme, which indicates the tendency of these people. On the other hand, another sector appealed to the bourgeoisie, to intervene, as it appealed to Karamanlis.

When they appeal to Karamanlis and ask him to come, it is because there is a struggle of orientation and of political leadership. Otherwise, they would not need to call him. They are appealing to old movements, with a bourgeois base, to confront this current, which has weight in the army and which is going to attract the support of workers and peasants. They are seeking to make a front, to oppose it to the other front.

If they did not have any rivals, why call on him? It is the government which imposes, which dictates conditions. On the other hand, they appeal to him saying: 'If you do not come, we are in trouble, because there are other forces which will give a solution'. The crisis of the government in Greece arises from the fact that when they want to pass to the concrete organisation of the social structures of economic progress and from the bourgeois point of view, this is not possible. To appeal to Karamanlis is a retreat, a stagnation. They have no need to do it. What economic policy can they pursue? They could invest, put up one or two factories, improve the exploitation of the land, which which would be convenient to them.

This would be convenient to many of them, they could industrialise the country. They have to make a transformation and if they do it, they can create conditions of development which can go against them. It is necessary to take into account that it is a new process. They went from the monarchy to the republic. They got rid of the king; they paid him a great deal but they got rid of him. They did not want to make any revolution. And now, they are divided into two currents. The one of Makarezos, looks for support in the working class, which does not mean that he is forming a revolutionary and anti-capitalist party, but, to develop the economy, they have no other remedy than to make an alliance with the working class. It has no other solution. Either big capital, capital which has no development in Greece, or a policy which justifies worker and peasant and petit bourgeois support. Which means a policy of nationalisations and planning. Otherwise, they could not do it. For this, the Communist Party is paralysed and disorganised because it sees that this process is like this, but it conflicts with all its conception, education, and tradition.

A SECTOR OF THE ARMY AND OF THE GOVERNMENT IN GREECE SEES THAT ANTI-CAPITALIST MEASURES ARE NECESSARY TO PROGRESS

This is the process developing in Greece, for this reason it is influenced by the world process. It is most important to be aware of what is happening in Greece, and what perspectives there are which are not immediate because there is a great struggle and an immense fear. Papadopoulos, is scared stiff. But at the same time Makarezos went to China and they had to allow him to go and make business deals with China. They allowed him to make declarations where he made a eulogy of the Chinese and of the Chinese economy He said: 'Why can't we do the same?'. Naturally in Greece, they do not have a party, and the Chinese have. The Chinese have a Communist Party, a Revolutionary Party. But the layers in Greece are seeing and learning that to advance they need to adopt forms of property and economic structures which capitalism cannot give.

In Peru, Velasco Alvarado, began by saying: 'We are neither communists or capitalists'. And he took a series of measures which were neither communist nor capitalist. Now, they stress 'neither capitalist nor even communist'. Nor even communist means a space has to be filled. In fact he is anti-capitalist. He says: 'We are against the capitalist system', whilst he does not say why he is against communism. But, of communism, we have the experience of Stalin'. They say this. It is necessary to see that they are generals without any prior preparation.

Makarezos sees that from the capitalist point of view, they cannot compete with the European Common Market, nor with the world. They look for a way of developing the economy, and capitalist power. Then, they orientate tendencies to find a substitute without depending on the proletariat, but appealing to and interesting the proletariat to intervene. The liberties and the certain amount of democracy which they permit, is the product of an agreement with the Makarezos tendency and others, and at the same time, gives rise to the need to give certain guarantees so that the people may intervene, to make it feel that they can demonstrate, exert a pressure by means of the democratic movement under Papadopoulos, and through certain struggles and to block the way to the solution offered by Makarezos or by someone else to the left

One clear conclusion from all this, is the failure of a strictly capitalist and reactionary solution carried by a tendency which supported and supports itself on Papadopoulos, a tendency which sought to negotiate to the limit with the bourgeoisie, and with Karamanlis. They cannot conciliate because their economic interests do not coincide with those of this junta.

This Junta has to make economic measures of development, of investments, agreements, of the world market which the old monarchy could not take nor the old layer of the military, the politicians, the economists dependent on the bourgeois layer, old feudal or semi feudal oligarchy. They cannot restructure the economy in this way. This creates a void in the Greek economy, which, in order to fill, a dispute and struggle among themselves is needed to reach an agreement, a declaration, a clarification among themselves, on what measures to apply, on what economy to commit themselves to.

But meanwhile, there are the masses, the people, there are the Workers States. Then, they cannot do it with tranquillity, peacefully to maintain a void in history. No. They do it in full ascent and the world development of the revolution in which the masses tend to intervene although the leadership does not exist, either within the Communist Party or in any other leadership of the workers movement. The masses through their own experience in the Trade Union field, are trying to exert pressure and to be as successful as they have been in the construction industry or other industries. They communicate this to the rest of the population, including the peasantry.

THE WORLD PROCESS SUPPORTS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

On a world scale all the process tends to support the currents and tendencies looking for a non capitalist answer and a progress of the economy. There is no backward country which can develop economically and socially within the capitalist system. No country can. The bourgeoisie and imperialism can take power, but it does not develop the country. The world concentration of capital, the so-called multi-national concerns, the concentration of big and middle production and the production for the war, deprives the backward countries of a field of competition. These cannot compete. To do so they have to make an economy which, without closing itself to the world market, has to take much more into account the internal market and production for internal consumption which would attract the masses. No capitalist economy can do this. The capitalist can make big investments in products for large scale consumption, but at the same time, so that he can compete, he has to export and compete with the rest. He has to import machinery and pay the cost of installation, which he cannot afford without having the perspective of recovering it in a short term. Imperialism is not interested in this. For imperialism the backward countries have been, and still are sources of raw materials and centres for capital investment. This is so for backward countries, whether in Europe, Greece, Spain, Turkey, Latin America, Africa or Asia. It continues being the same, but now capitalism does not invest any more, because it feels that where it invests great quantities, it runs the risk of being expropriated. It runs the risk of a development and elevation of proletarian and petit bourgeois work which it cannot control or dominate. It cannot create an aristocracy, either within the proletariat or the petit bourgeoisie. It cannot create as before subsidies, concessions and organisations for planners, technicians, managers and administrators in the economy and in the universities. It cannot create them, hoping that they will serve them, because they create them and they develop and become revolutionaries.

Universal thought now is that in order to advance it is necessary to put the economy at the service of the country. But the country is not the bourgeoisie. For backward peoples, for all the world, the bourgeoisie is not the country. The country is the poor masses, the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants. This is a progress, this conception of the country. While it was big capital, with capitalism and imperialism who gave the orders and invested the money, the flag was the expression of them all, the feeling that the country was theirs. While now the people say, 'no, the country is us, therefore we are going to develop the country.' To develop the country means to develop it in such a way that it takes into account the interests of the population and develops the economy.

In Somalia and South Yemen they have nothing, and yet socially and politically they are more advanced. More so than the Soviet Union politically and socially, although economically less so. But this is where they have better communist relations, better sentiments and activity. They are the poorest revolutions, but politically they are the richest.

It is important to consider that capitalism may act in defence of the junta, the government and the bourgeoisie, but there is little it can do. Only in a backward country, without perspective can a

ship builder appear with such power. Today is not the epoch for this. For a ship builder to make millions for himself and be the centre of the country's economy. It is the immense backwardness of the country! Yugoslavia, Albania and Bulgaria are close to Greece. Three countries that were even more backward than Greece. And it is necessary to consider what they are now. This weighs within Greece. Within Turkey too. And it will weigh more and more, because the more the world process advances, and it advances uncontainably, the more it weighs on the intellectuals, the petit bourgeoisie and the military. This is why Papadopoulos rushes to tell the capitalists, 'come and invest, Give confidence by investing otherwise the army will go over to the other side.' But they can see that they go over to the other side because they realise that there are no perspectives for capitalist development.

THE ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE TRADE UNIONS.

The influence of the world process is going to weigh a lot in Greece. The recent trade union struggles, which are quite important the gains they made and the concessions made by the government are an indication that they are seeking support and consent to provide a bourgeois solution. But when the workers saw the first opportunity to express themselves, they took it. As with the tram strike. The government gave them the increases, leaders were taken by the police, but were released and the strike continued. It must be realised that this branch of transport - the buses and trams - which isn't very important in other countries, is important in Greece. And being important means that it reflects the public opinion of the workers, petit bourgeoisie and peasantry. It is important for this reason. Elsewhere it is the engineering industries that have this weight. But because Greece is a small country in relation to economic weight and development, such a small industry has such a much greater importance. Tomorrow this is going to change but today it has this political importance. It means that the proletariat is neither intimidated or disorganised. It is fighting, even if only partially. Not as a whole, but it is fighting nonetheless. The railway and building workers have had strikes and have made gains. The proletariat with a weight in the economy or in the economic relations of the country, like in transport, has intervened and knows how to profit in order to exert pressure and advance. On the other hand the communists and socialists have not intervened in this process.

In Greece the communist have shown that they have not understood the process of the military junta. They have maintained the discussion and criticism of the junta without foreseeing that the junta could not survive without developing the economy. And to develop the economy it has to get rid of the dictatorship. They did not foresee this. This cannot be done anywhere in the world. Not even Van Thieu remains because of the dictatorship. He is maintained by the Yankees with the atomic bombs, otherwise Van Thieu on his own would fall.

END BANS AND PROSCRIPTIONS IN THE LABOUR PARTY

On Saturday the 17th November, a lobby of the hearing of Dave Douglass's appeal against his suspension from the Labour Party was held in Goole. Banners were carried from Y.S. branches, the N.E. Regional of the IV International (Posadist), and the Socialist Charter. The lobby was followed by a public meeting attended by about 50 people, with a speaker from our Party and one from the Socialist Charter. The speech by our comrade was centred around the defence of the right of tendency within the L.P., for the end of bans and proscriptions and for the waging of a campaign in defence of the Labour Party programme passed at the last conference. The committee that met on the 17th is going to make a recommendation to the NEC of the L.P. This makes it even more imperative to step up the campaign with resolutions, and meetings, to demand the reinstatement of comrade Douglass in the Labour Party, and a real end to bans and proscriptions in the L.P. We appeal to all L.P. branches and L.P.Y.S. branches to pass resolutions to the NEC.

For further information please contact, Goole Constituency L.P.Y.S. c/o, 289 Station Rd., Dunscoff, DONCASTER, Yorks.

The Socialist Parties and above all the communists have not known how to understand this, and the disintegration and dissidence within them is a product of this. Because they have not understood the interior process. If they had understood it there would not be the disintegration, the crisis and the formation of four leaderships and two Communist Parties. The communists have not taken part in this process of interior struggle in the bourgeois camp which wants to save the capitalist regime, and to do this they have no choice but to weaken the bourgeois structure. The duty of every party of the working class, is without having complicity, to help the decomposition of the bourgeois apparatus. This does not mean supporting it, but to maintain a functioning of struggle to support a tendency, not posing difficulties. Without being submitted to it, to maintain the struggle for democratic demands. This sharpens the struggle between them. They sharpen it and they understand it, instead of saying to everything 'its a dictatorship' as they do. The communists have not been able to understand that it is not all a dictatorship and that there was a tendency which Makarezos came from. This is why they feel isolated and without a policy. And they will go on like this for a long time.

IT IS NECESSARY TO INTERVENE IN THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST PARTY, TO SHOW THE NEED TO PREPARE THE PARTY TO TAKE POWER.

It is necessary to intervene in the crisis of the Communist Party, to deepen the argument. To show that this is how it is, that they have been mistaken because they have neither method, comprehension or the party prepared to take power. They see a dictatorship in any military movement because it competes with them. They believe that in this way they are going to win the support of the masses, of the proletariat and sectors of the bourgeoisie itself like Karamanlis, to whom the government now makes appeals for an alliance. Just as L'Humanite and L'Unita made a eulogy of Karamanlis, saying 'it is true that he's a right winger, but he is a democrat.....'

It is necessary to discuss with the communists showing that their crisis is due to them not having understood the process of disintegration that the fall of the regime signifies. That it was necessary to have understood the process, then they could have weakened the junta and helped develop within it a nationalist wing which would seek support from the workers and peasants movement. This did not mean giving their support to any military sector, but means not making difficulties for it, whilst continuing the struggle for democratic demands, for nationalisations, trade with the Workers States, workers control, the sliding scale of hours and wages, the nationalisation of enterprises, and for agrarian reform. This is the discussion it is necessary to raise with the Communist Party. To make appeals for a discussion to make a united front of all the workers parties and tendencies with the effect of presenting a workers tendency if there are elections for a democratic government. To stand in the elections on a programme of demands from the workers movement, of developing democratic rights for the masses, nationalisations, planning and trade with the Workers States. This is the general line of the activity it is necessary to make. At the same time it is necessary to combine this task with an analysis of the world process of the revolution, showing that it is a process that gives no aid, no support, no basis of existence to any bourgeois government. The world process tends to weaken the entire system and structure of the capitalist system. Therefore it is necessary to analyse this in every analysis made on Greece.

To show Turkey, Thailand and Spain also. It is the fourth time they have postponed the trial of Camacho in Spain. The fourth time! They should have sentenced him some time ago. There is a tendency within the army, even in Spain, which is trying not to deepen the confrontation with the working class, to develop the economy and to try to relax the tensions. It is not a result of the Soviet Unions' policy, which calls on them to ease up, but it is the persistence, the iron will of the working class that weakens all of them. If the working class had retreated, there would not have been the events in Turkey and Thailand. The Middle East shows imperialism would not only have given more arms to Israel but would have invaded all the Arab countries to smash them. They try to smash the working class, the proletariat, to intimidate the working class and the world proletariat and to encourage the petit bourgeoisie to permit and support all the war plans of Yankee imperialism. The struggle of the Arab masses showed that by containing imperialism in Israel they played a historic revolutionary role. The fact that the USSR intervenes openly and faces the Yanks shows that the Soviets have to intervene. This is going to weigh enormously in Greece. It is necessary to discuss with the communists showing that they have not analysed from the marxist point of view, that they made a sectarian analysis, and at the same time with a false conception of the class struggle. This does not mean submitting to the junta but understanding that this is convenient to the development of history - convenient compared to the king - because it sharpens the struggle. It permits the development of the struggles, it allows intervention. It does not require support, suivism or eulogy of the junta, but to understand that it is a better situation, more favourable for an inter-bourgeois struggle which weakens the cap-

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FOR COMMITTEES IN PRESS, RADIO AND T.V. TO EXERCISE WORKERS CONTROL OVER THE NEWS MEDIA

The bourgeoisie using its instruments of propaganda, the press, radio T.V. etc. has during the past few weeks placed a great deal of emphasis on the activity of the Communist Party and the left groups. They have precise objectives with these articles and programmes, objectives set within the general framework of the attack on the democratic rights and the living standards of the British masses. With this propaganda they seek to warn the capitalist class as a whole, the rich petit bourgeoisie, and the pro-capitalist sectors of the union and Labour Party leadership of the danger that marxism is developing in the workers movement.

It is the influence of the world revolution and of the Workers States, together with the role in the economy of the working class which is giving it a greater security, teaching it new methods of struggle, giving objectives of nationalisation and workers control and weakening the bureaucratic structure of the trade unions. The occupation of U.C.S., and of Triumph, the flying pickets invented by the miners and generalised to other sectors, the demands for nationalisation under workers control are not fundamentally the result of the intervention of the C.P. and the left groups (these have supported such actions but haven't initiated them) but are the product of the growing political maturity of the vanguard, in the main the Labour vanguard.

When the BBC broadcasts the programme *Reds Under the Bed* giving

Chapple the right wing leader of the electricians union the central position in the programme to attack the work of the C.P. in the unions, or when the Sunday Telegraph has an article 'Far Left Line up Against Phase Three', giving prominence to the International Socialists and to the Socialist Labour League as well as to the Communist Party, as forces important in organising the struggle of the miners, the power workers, the engineers and train drivers at the present time, it is orientating the bourgeoisie to attack these organisations. They seek to do this, to stimulate the right in the trade unions to expel sectors linked to marxist ideas, as a means of containing the development of a revolutionary current in the trade unions, who are not organised by the C.P. or the groups but who are utilising marxism. The bourgeoisie without any doubt is preparing more repression, but as they have not the security to attack the central sectors of the class, remembering what happened with the 'Pentonville 5', they are going to strike first at marginal sectors like the groups, and also at the Communist Party.

With this propaganda they also seek to influence vacillating layers of the petit bourgeoisie who have shown a support for the working class. The Tory government has to defend the Phase Three policy at all costs, even if certain bourgeois sectors like the CBI begin to question it, for Phase Three is the corner stone of all its policy to try to stabilise British capitalism and make it more competitive.

Now it has to confront the miners, a sector which as its last strike showed, has considerable support in the country not only in the workers movement but in the petit bourgeoisie. The Tories are trying by this propaganda to mould petit bourgeois public opinion, to separate a sector from the working class trying to frighten it with stories of gangsterism, violence and un-democratic actions of small groups. This is the way that they act, not the way of the working class, and this propaganda is going to have an effect on only very small layers of the petit bourgeoisie.

But nevertheless the experience of Chile has shown that as the class struggle sharpens the role of the right wing press, television and radio stations become more and more important as stimulators and organisers of counter revolutionary forces. The workers in the press, radio and television etc. must begin now to make discussions, to form committees in all sections of these industries to begin to exert more and more control over the content of the published or broadcast material. What the print workers did in refusing to print a vicious cartoon against the power workers, or the strikes of the French television personnel against the right wing material being broadcast over the RTF have to be generalised and extended. It is necessary to form committees so as to have the organs which permit workers collectively to refuse to set up, to broadcast, to distribute in any way, material which is against the interests

of the working class. It is necessary to have the perspective of the occupation under workers control of newspapers, as happened in Nottingham, so that the occupied newspapers be made instruments of the trade unions, of the working class in struggle, and of the exploited population of the area.

The Labour Party has to intervene in this calling for committees which exert workers control over press, radio and T.V. and that they incorporate into their programme the proposition to nationalise without compensation under workers control all the means of communication which persist in making attacks on the working class and its organisations. Such programmatic points are going to be especially important for the next Labour government when press and television are going to go mad in attacks against the left of the L.P. against the working class and against the implementation of the Labour Party programme. Press, radio and television are important weapons in the hands of the bourgeoisie to propagate their class positions, to influence vacillating sectors against the working class, as they are trying to do now. The vanguard in the L.P. and the unions, in the industries concerned must respond with programmatic and organisational measures.

NEW PUBLICATION

THE MASSACRE OF THE MASSES,
THE WORKERS PARTIES,
COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS,
TROTSKYIST-POSADISTS, MAPU,
MIR, CHRISTIAN LEFT, RADICALS,
IS A PAINFUL EXPERIENCE
WHICH WILL NOT IMPEDE THE
CONTINUATION OF THE
SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN
CHILE.

J. Posadas. 21.10.73

CONTD. FROM PAGE 3

istal system. The communists have not understood this, as they did not understand when Velasco Alvarado made the military coup in Peru. As they have not understood peronism which they called fascism, and now, after 25 years they end up supporting Peron while Peron is the same as before, and on the contrary uptill now he is less than before because before he nationalised a series of industries and weakened capitalism in Argentina and throughout Latin America.

There is no discussion between the two Communist Parties based on a programme, on a class conception and on class objectives, nor an analysis of historic experience to use to know what it is best to do. There are far more disputes than objective discussions. The two Communist Parties have to discuss and they have to unite the Greek communist movement. We want to see the Greek communist movement united.

We appeal for a discussion throughout the communist, socialist, nationalist, left catholic workers movement to make a programme of trade union movement for a united front of all tendencies - including the peasants for the agrarian reform and revolution - and a programme of demands for the struggle, whilst drawing experience from the previous stage and from the world. We appeal to the communists for them to intervene and make this discussion, showing and bearing in mind that the communist comrades have to consider that the split was not due to programmatic class discussions. It was due to divergences of positions, but divergences of positions does not justify a split. When there is a split it is because there is a political and programmatic vacuum. Otherwise it wouldn't happen. But they are united by the programme, objectives and methods; so there can be occasional divergences on a point. When it produces splits of such a nature it is because of the absence of conscious class programme and objectives. We appeal to them for a new discussion and that they appeal for the unification of the world communist movement. To discuss why China and the USSR are separate, why each Workers State has its revolution and that all the Workers States are not unified. The need for a common planning of the economies of the Workers States, a common policy, the objectives to give full support to the world revolution wherever it appears, and to have as its objective to smash what remains of the capitalist system, to reject the conception that it is possible for capitalism to accept peaceful co-existence.

THERE IS NO PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE; IT'S CAPITALISM WHICH CAUSES THE WAR.

Vietnam, the Middle East, Chile show that there is no peaceful co-existence. All together there are at least 40,000 dead, if they kill no more this is not a justification to say that this

policy is right because there are these deaths, these murders, these attempts to contain the process of history. On the other hand if the capitalist system had been eliminated, if it had been overthrown, even if there had been the atomic war it would be suppressed. When they kill 20,000 in Chile, another 20,000 in the last stages in Vietnam, thousands in the Middle East and maintain a constant army of invasion, this indicates that it is not conciliation or 'detente' that convinces imperialism. On the contrary, it maintains the pressure that they can unleash local or general war at any moment. There is no such 'detente'. When they make local wars and in part general wars like Vietnam, it is because they are preparing other greater wars. If they accepted the 'detente' all the wars would cease. They would stop invading countries, they would leave Vietnam, leave the Middle East, leave the military missions they have in Latin America, which are no more than advance preparations for war.

We appeal to the communist comrades to discuss. We are not against the 'detente' if this is possible. We are not against peaceful co-existence if it is possible. It is capitalism that is preparing the war, they are the ones that make the war, they are the ones that employ violence and we defend ourselves because we have no other means than violence to save human lives, to gain historic time, to prevent capitalism making more disasters. It is necessary to argue and show the necessity of a programme of united front of all the Workers States with the workers parties of all the world, a world anti-imperialism united front. But there has to be a conference a declaration and a programme of action and of struggle; not only the conference - a programme of action and of struggle; trade union, political, economic struggle. A programme that calls for trade union and economic action in which the basis to be able to progress is to sweep away capitalism by expropriating, nationalising, planning with workers control, preparing political and military forces because imperialism is going to respond on a local and world scale with military means, with civil war. The proof is Chile, the proof is the Middle East.

To draw this conclusion, means to advance to the maximum possible by means of democratic demands and struggle within the capitalist system and preparing the organs for when they show they are ready to have them prepared to rise up. It is a sort of preventive war.

It is necessary to bear firmly in mind that for a period the trade union movement in Greece is going to carry on an activity of class reorganisation. At the same time, the sharpest problems of demands are going to be raised. If there are elections in which the socialists participate they are going to get a lot of votes. Even so the class is going to move with more confidence and

security in the trade union field, but it will still try to push forward the socialist party, or another. It is going to look for an instrument which will allow it to express itself coherently in all the country and to influence all the country.

The process in Greece is one in which the trade unions and political parties have little weight. The trade unions, for example as a consequence of the repression, of the dissatisfaction that it has provoked, of the pressures, the tortures, and the persecutions have had little weight. But they have not ceased to function. They have had little weight, they have not been able to play the role of concentrating centres, of class opposition to the bourgeoisie. It was a class opposition but not a concentrating centre. But in this stage it is going to be a centre. The trade unions in Greece are going to develop much more than the parties because they are going to be the centre that is going to enliven the functioning of the class struggle. To enliven it, but it is not dead. To enliven it means animating it more than it is. It is going to stimulate discussion, the formation of currents and tendencies and the left of the socialist party. If Papandreu goes to Greece and stands in the elections, intervenes in activity and develops a socialist party it is going to be a centre that the communists will intervene in. But a left tendency linked to the trade unions is going to appear in the socialists. And since even so, the party of Papandreu is not going to represent revolutionary class interests, the people are going to seek a centre in which to express themselves, and it is going to be in the trade unions. It is necessary to intervene in the struggles to combine democratic demands with economic demands, workers control, nationalisations, sliding scale of wages and working hours, investments, the orientation of investment under workers control so that it is invested according to the interests of the country. And the country means the interests of the masses and consumption. And to combine the struggle for democratic demands with alliances, with a united front to advance in democratic demands with a programme of economic development of nationalisations, workers control, trade with the Workers States and make nationalisations and planning. If in this process a sector of the army shows nationalist tendencies and wants to advance, support all the measures it takes without submitting oneself, maintaining the independence of the workers movement and continuing the struggle for demands and a programme of nationalisation and planning. This is the objective.

J. POSADAS 24.10.1973.

RESOLUTION OF THE R.W.P. (T) MASS MOBILISATIONS STRUGGLE INTO AN OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE TORIES

Once again it is the miners who are in the vanguard of the class struggle in this country. In greeting these comrades, we recognise that they have already shown in the previous strike, that they can mobilise the whole country, and make nonsense of the Tory government's attempt to make the working class pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. We call on the miners to base themselves on the gains of the previous strike, to take all the experiences of that struggle - particularly the 'flying pickets' - and to act as a leadership in a struggle against Phase 3 of the Tory policy, and for the overthrow of the Tory government, to impose a Labour government - with a Labour Party in which the Left has taken power - based on an anti-capitalist programme.

This struggle of the miners takes place in world conditions where the revolution advances, and where the Soviet Union and the other Workers States, are intervening in a way more favourable to the revolution, and where imperialism and world capitalism sink deeper into their total crisis. On every level, economically, socially, and financially imperialism and world capitalism are in their death agony. In their desperate attempts to survive, to concentrate and 'rationalise' their capital investments, they show more and more their utter contempt for the life and safety and working conditions of the working people. In such conditions, we call on the miners to elevate their struggle into one which is an offensive on the Tory government, and above all the capitalist system itself. There is no basis for the defensive policy of some of the leadership of the NUM except in their own timidity and lack of preparation for an all-out struggle. As with the rest of the working class the miners have no need to make excuses for their actions, since the 'crisis' facing the country, is that of capitalism and the solution comes through the class struggle against it. The miners are in the leadership of this struggle. It is a struggle not for the defence of the working people, but against the capitalist system that would like the working people to pay for the crisis of capitalism. The characteristic of the struggle of the working class on a world scale, is that whatever form it takes it is fundamentally, a struggle for power.

The present overtime ban, is an economic preparation for a strike - in the sense that it runs down coal stocks - but it must also be used as a method of political and organisational preparation for a national strike, which can provide the centre for a General Strike. The first step then, must be to make links with those sectors of the class who are either in struggle or preparing to launch a struggle. Already, the power engineers, the ambulance crews, are 'working to rule'. The engineering workers, the dockers, the railway workers, the teachers, and the students are all preparing for action. The Triumph Motorcycle factory is still occupied by the workers. We greet the statement by the NUM that they support the students, in their struggle for higher grants, and we call on the miners to translate these words into action, and create direct, organisational links with all these sectors.

In order to draw all these sectors together, as a nucleus for a general strike and to attract other sectors of the population, a programme is necessary, which includes demands for wage increases and better and safer working conditions for the miners, also demands for an immediate freeze on prices, on rents, mortgages, a guaranteed 35 hour week, £35 a week, equal pay for women, all wages to rise with the cost of living, all profits of automation to go directly to the workers in the form of higher pay and shorter working hours, all factories and mines about to be closed to be placed under workers control, retirement pensions to equal the average workers wage and to rise with the cost of living, the nationalisation of the land, banks, insurance companies, and all major companies to their former owners.

The 'flying pickets', were a fundamental gain of the working class because it was a form of organ which linked the miners to other sectors of the population. Now it is necessary to take this experience, at a higher level and to create permanent organs of workers power. Organs which answer the necessity of a struggle in which the most advanced methods - like occupation and running under workers control - must be used. We call on the miners not only to strike but to occupy the mines and to run them under workers control.

The demand for greater safety in the mines can only be fully answered by miners control itself! We urge the miners to take the experience of the LIP workers in France, who occupied with factory, ran it under their control, and sold the products to the working class. To occupy the mines means the necessity to create Pit Committees with delegates from each section and face. All delegates to be subject to the mandate of those workers who elect them, and to instant recall. At the same time Area or Action Committees, should be organised which link the Pit Committee with the local population in such a way that in the first days, all aspects of the working population's life in the mining areas - transport, prices, housing, etc. is controlled by the population itself. The rich experience of Chile, an experience which has not been destroyed by the military coup, provides a basis and a confidence for the development of the miners struggle in this form.

Nobody is in any doubt that the struggle - any struggle today - is now against the Tory government. The overthrow of the Tory government in its turn raises the question of the elimination of the right wing of the Labour Party, which over every important issue such as the miners strike, gives the Tory government every support. A public and open struggle is now going on between the right and the

TO MAKE THE MINERS'

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

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left of the Labour Party over the programme of the Labour Party Conference, and over the question of support to the workers struggles. It is essential that the miners intervene in this struggle to defend the programme of the Labour Party Conference, from the attacks of the right wing and to give confidence to the Left in the Party. By giving confidence we mean, primarily, to transmit all the rich experiences the class is making in order to encourage the Left in the Labour Party to structure itself,

as a tendency in the Labour Party, on the basis of the defence of the trade union struggles at this moment, the Labour Party Conference resolutions, and the organs which have been created by the working class so far. In general, the Labour Left has not the experience of strike committees, of 'flying pickets', on a national scale, with which it was possible to close the power stations for example.

turn to back page.

CONFRONT THE SO-CALLED 'ENERGY CRISIS' WITH THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS AND A WORKERS' PLAN OF PRODUCTION

The so-called 'energy crisis' has two aspects; firstly the immediate situation created by the industrial action of the miners and power workers together with the cutback in oil supplies from the Middle East, and secondly, in the long term, the complete lack of perspective for the capitalist system to be able to develop the economy or even to maintain the standard of living of the majority of the population. The two are clearly related and raise the necessity of proletarian and revolutionary solutions.

The struggle of the Arab masses against Israeli and Yankee imperialism includes the use of oil as an economic weapon against the capitalist countries. This is legitimate - it is limited because in order to win such a war it is necessary to mobilise the masses in the expropriation of imperialist and local capitalist owned property. But the use of the oil weapon to attack and disrupt the capitalist economies is not incorrect. This is adding to the total world crisis of capitalism, causing havoc in the stock exchanges and monetary markets, causing the bourgeoisie itself to talk about a gigantic recession and to bring forward its plans for atomic war. Imperialism's threat of military intervention in the Middle East against the oil cutback derives from this, but also, more fundamentally, from its social decomposition and the historic competition of the Workers States, fed by the development of the revolution in all the world. It is necessary to support this action of the Arabs with the demand for the NATIONALISATION OF THE OIL MONOPOLIES LIKE ESSO, BP, ETC. WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, as a means of active solidarity with the Arab revolution.

But also, the essential task facing the British working class at this moment is the organisation of mobilisations of solidarity with the miners, the power workers, engineers, ambulance drivers, teachers and all sectors in struggle; and the extension and coordination of these mobilisations for the General Strike to bring down the government and impose a left Labour government in the conditions where it will be possible to progress in the application and development of its programme of nationalisations. The bourgeoisie and the gutter press make every effort to organise opposition to the miners and power workers on the basis of the inconvenience caused by power cuts, shortage of coal etc. It is an indication of the crisis and social weakness of capitalism that such powerful movements as occurred during the 1971 miners strike can develop, in which a great many students, office workers, petit bourgeois joined the strike and followed the lead of the working class. The present stage of maturity and consciousness of the working class means that it not only realises that the inconvenience and hardship caused by power cuts are a direct

result of the capitalist system and the responsibility of the capitalist system, but also that the only solution is to finish with capitalism. Hence the crisis in the Labour Party. All the present 'energy crisis' stimulates the polarisation of forces in the LP - within which Benn pledges Labour's support to the miners in opposing Phase Three and the Tory government. It is necessary to progress in this line, but emphasising the necessity of WORKERS CONTROL (eg. in the pits) and a WORKERS PLAN OF PRODUCTION, as the anti-capitalist solution. Because it is only with the centralised and planned economy on the basis of nationalisation with workers control that all the population can intervene in the formulation of a plan of production in the interests of the masses. The policy statement that is being prepared jointly by the TUC and LP on energy policy has to be prepared in the context of the LP programme of nationalisations and a public discussion of how to apply it. The trade union movement must develop a detailed plan of production now for the entire economy on the basis of the widest discussion of the necessity of centralised planning without waiting for further economic collapse and stagnation.

To talk of the 'energy crisis' at this moment is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to create a diversion from the real issue of the class struggle; and also to try to confuse the present crisis with the long term perspective capitalism sets itself of running out of energy resources. It is necessary to be quite clear, THE LONG TERM ENERGY CRISIS IS NOTHING OTHER THAN THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM WHICH CONSTANTLY EMPHASISES THE NECESSITY TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM AND CONSTRUCT SOCIALISM. It is quite true that capitalism cannot find solutions to the growing energy needs of the world economy. But this is precisely because 'the anarchy of production' under capitalism, as Marx called it, prevents the coordination and planning of the use of resources and the best development of science and technology. In other words the individual producer is in contradiction with the needs of the population as a whole in this stage. This, together with the enormous cost of the war preparation of imperialism and the world counter-revolution, prevents the degree of investment in the research and development of energy supplies

that is necessary. Capitalism does not have this perspective, the Workers States - even with the bureaucracy - do. It is important to bear in mind

turn to back page.

THE S.L.L. IS NOT TROTSKYIST AND IS NOT LINKED TO THE IV INTERNATIONAL

Recently the Socialist Labour League, an organisation which capitulated from the ideas and conception of trotskyism has changed its name to the Workers Revolutionary Party (British Section of the International Committee of the IV International.) We, the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) British Section of the IV International (Posadist) denounce before all labour and communist militants and all sectors attracted to trotskyism, this provocation which has the objective of creating confusion within the workers movement. This is the continuation of the policy of this organisation since its foundation - when it capitulated to the pressures of capitalism by renouncing the fundamental conclusion of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky that no class abandons the scene of history without utilising all the means at its disposal, and its conclusions applied to the present world situation: the inevitability of the atomic war between imperialism on the one hand, and the Workers States and all revolutionary forces on the other. Today the leadership of this organisation keeps its base within a regionalist conception and form of organisation which is alien to the ideas of Trotsky concretely expressed in the foundation of the IV International. But the growing force of trotskyism today forces the counter-revolutionary leadership of this organisation to invent an otherwise non-existent International Committee of the IV International. It does this in order to maintain its authority over its base, so to be able to carry on its policy of denunciation of every force and current developing towards marxism in the labour movement, serving this way the interests of British imperialism.

We appeal to the base of this organisation and to all tendencies attracted to trotskyism to study and discuss the texts of J. Posadas, secretary of the IV International in order to prepare themselves to participate in the central task in this stage, the unification of the world communist movement and the organisation of a left tendency in the Labour Party.

INTRODUCTION

This article by cde Posadas has an importance in relation to the common problems facing the various currents in the workers parties and unions throughout Europe, who are engaged in the fundamental task of constructing a new leadership. There has been a continuous impasse in Belgium since the great general strike of 1960-61 from the point of view of taking advantage of the manifest incapacity of Belgian capitalism to advance and win new areas of social support. But Belgian capitalism has continued to decline and has had to survive on the bases of coalition with the Socialist Party and trying to utilise the language differences to disunite the Belgian working class, and petit bourgeoisie.

It is necessary to stimulate a discussion in the Belgian trade unions the Belgian Socialist Party, and the Belgian Communist Party, to propose the alternative programme to capitalism, to utilise all the experience of the advance of the Workers States, the world revolution, the manifest inability of capitalism to develop the economy, to give confidence and consciousness to the cadres to advance.

In this respect it is fundamental to generalise the experiences of the European workers parties and trade unions at this stage, which is why it is necessary to develop conferences and meetings between all the European workers parties and unions, East and West to discuss a European strategy to overthrow capitalism. This fundamental interchange of opinion and ideas would enormously accelerate the development of the left forces and leaderships in the mass class organisations.

In this way the struggle in the Labour Party in Britain can weigh in the process in Belgium and visa versa. In this way the Workers States can weigh in the struggle and a more elevated political life develop in the mass parties and the workers areas, changing these parties and developing at the same time the independent activity of the masses in their organs of power, factory committees, workers zone committees.

The crisis of Belgian capitalism has no solution. No capitalist country can overcome its crisis by increasing production, productivity, consumption or investment. The crisis has to be overcome, even the economic crisis, by means of a very acute struggle or war. And while they carry out this very acute struggle, there is a reduction in consumption, an increase in inflation. They can regulate it, undoubtedly - as they are doing - with monetary crises, with loans, and with this money they are inventing to patch up the cracks, the tremendous holes in the capitalist system. It is a currency which allows a country to enter and determine what money it is going to use. That is to say, it's a complete swindle in relation to production and to the small countries that are going to pay the consequences.

This creates a whole process of instability in the capitalist system of which the Belgian is one of the most unstable. It does not show economic stability anymore because it has a high level of productivity and exports, above all of arms, coal and steel; it produces a series of raw materials which allow it to compete. It also has the Societe General which is a dominating centre of the economy, with the concentration of Yanks, French, Germans and Belgians. But the lack of decision for a political solution creates in capitalism the awareness that it cannot last, hence it wishes to form this professional army. Otherwise it has no sense, because it costs a great deal. It is a counter-revolutionary army, a standing, mercenary army.

This is not a stage for a standing army of mercenaries, because the influence of the development of the revolution and of the Workers States has reached all layers of society, including the layer which in other stages of history was very numerous, that is the 'lumpen'. Now the 'lumpen' has very little value to them. Capitalism cannot utilise the 'lumpen' as it did before. There are unemployed and declassed sectors, because they do not have a place in the class, but they are included in the class. For one of the factors which increases the weakness and the instability of the capitalist system is this. It allows, consequently, the winning of stages and compensates for the weakness which comes from the absence of a leadership which can use the crisis of capitalism to give an anti-capitalist solution, whether through trade union struggles, the general strike, the preparation for the taking of power, to lead and win a sector of the army; preparing for this.

There is an immense crisis of Belgian capitalism and an immense crisis of all the leaderships. It is still not expressed because there is no movement, but the proletariat of Antwerp showed it. The proletariat of Antwerp, with its persistence in the strike, said 'We are right! We are going to continue!' This has stimulated and organised the determination to form the left. It is appealing to the Belgian proletariat and the rest of Europe to see the conditions which exist. This is not new; before there have already been dozens of mobilisations of the workers movement, which, because of the facility of conditions, were led by the dockers. On various occasions they have acted together, with sabotage against capitalism, opposition to the loading of arms against Vietnam and the unloading or keeping of copper as a weapon against Chile. There is a good development of these measures.

Neither the communists, socialists, Catholics, Walloons or Flemings have an answer to the need for the organisation of a left programme for the Belgian proletariat. The Belgian proletariat also feels the strength of the immigrant proletariat which influences it.

The immigrant population, which is considered as a protegee within the Belgian trade union organisations, is impelling the Belgian proletariat to advance. It shows that it absorbs the influences of the revolution and is developing with a very, very great resolution. It intervenes very well and influences the Belgian proletariat with its behaviour, attitude and determination which is not beaten down. A conclusive proof of this behaviour which influences the Belgian proletariat and also the French and German - although in these cases not so much because they have a greater social weight - is that the immigrant workers from other countries of Europe have not adapted themselves to capitalism, been corrupted, nor is it a support for management against the Belgian workers. None of them has worked in this way. This is because the immigrant workers live the world class problems as a class. And those who arrive, not yet incorporated into the active class struggle, because of their youth, quickly become incorporated. The proof of this are the 15, 16, 18 year olds who

THE PROGRAMME FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR THE LEFT IN BELGIUM

J. POSADAS

4.11.73

have just taken jobs and who are already socialists and communists, all on the left. None of them are looking for a career. Capitalism cannot attract any of them; everybody intervenes immediately; communists, socialists, left Catholics, left groups.

One of the conditions in Belgium is that the structure is ready for the organisation of the left. This must be taken into account and dominated, to allow a sure understanding of how to influence and how to link stages. In Belgium the stages are not linked, in the world they are.

The immigrant population, which is considered as a protegee within the Belgian trade union organisations, is impelling the Belgian proletariat to advance. It shows that it absorbs the influences of the revolution and is developing with a very, very great resolution. It intervenes very well and influences the Belgian proletariat with its behaviour, attitude and determination which is not beaten down. A conclusive proof of this behaviour which influences the Belgian proletariat and also the French and German - although in these cases not so much because they have a greater social weight - is that the immigrant workers from other countries of Europe have not adapted themselves to capitalism, been corrupted, nor is it a support for management against the Belgian workers. None of them has worked in this way. This is because the immigrant workers live the world class problems as a class. And those who arrive, not yet incorporated into the active class struggle, because of their youth, quickly become incorporated. The proof of this are the 15, 16, 18 year olds who have just taken jobs, and who are already socialists and communists, all on the left. None of them are looking for a career. Capitalism cannot attract any of them; everybody intervenes immediately; communists, socialists, left Catholics, left groups.

One of the conditions in Belgium is that the structure is ready for the organisation of the left. This must be taken into account and dominated, to allow a sure understanding of how to influence and how to link stages. In Belgium the stages are not linked, in the world they are.

Capitalism has no hope of stabilising. It is going to continue with this crisis. High finance seeks to submit the socialist parties, the Catholics, the liberals, communists, Walloons to it and it cannot. It has to put up with them, and high finance does not have a mass party. It tries to use them all. In its turn all these parties have the masses behind them who don't submit, the parties have to respond to them. The masses want to improve life and see that the world is going towards socialism.

It is necessary to see that this crisis prevents capitalism from stabilising. As a result the need for a left continues and is going to increase, both in the trade union and political field. It is necessary to call for the formation of the left in the socialist party and the communist party, the Flemings and Walloons, everywhere there is a party linked to the working class, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry. The necessity of supporting the left means a consistent struggle of demands of improvements for the proletariat, of working conditions, holidays, job security, wage increases, a sliding scale of wages and a programme of nationalisations. To make a united front between the trade unions and the workers parties for a common programme and also for democratic rights. To break with the bureaucratisation of the trade unions and to establish a programme of intervention by means of right of recall. All delegates must defend the programme that comes from the trade unions and the factory floor. The delegate is answerable to his department. The mandate which the department gives him must break with the secrecy of the discussions. What secret is this? It is the professional secret of capitalism. The delegate is answerable to his factory and department and this must determine his actions, whether it is the partial demand of a category or as a branch. It is necessary to call for a united front of the trade unions and parties with a programme which includes as an essential basis; no policy which is submitted to capitalism, to war plans, to a war policy, to NATO. Out with all this. For a policy which takes into account the development of Belgium with investments which answer the needs of the population, who invests, the orientation of investments, the result of investments and who controls it. For this reason it is necessary to have power. This poses the need for the nationalisation of banks under the control of the workers and employees, nationalisation of the principle industries, instead of arms factories to make factories for utensils, articles for living, collective transport. In a country where the damp climate normally leads to many deaths from heart and lung diseases, a plan to eliminate all this is necessary. Every progress of technology and of automation to be for the benefit of the masses, not the accumulation of capital. The accumulation of capital leads to the accumulation of the decisive centres of capitalism in which a small nucleus decides what a country is going to do, and dedicates itself to the atomic war. As a result, it is necessary to increase the intervention of the masses and the nationalisation of the principle sources of production, including agrarian production, appealing to the left to intervene.

The problems in the trade union field cannot be really resolved if they are not resolved in the political field. But it is not possible to wait whether in the political or the trade union field. It is necessary to begin in the most available field. This is the task which is necessary to carry out. The structure of the whole world structure favours the development of the class struggle in all countries. It can retreat, momentarily, stagnate, but now this is the necessity.

Belgian capitalism is in crisis, it has no solution. The so-called multi national firms are an expression of this crisis of the capitalist system. It is not the power of the capitalist system. If capitalism could develop, concentrating at the same time that it develops the economy, production and consumption, it would not be in crisis. But to form the 'multi-national firm' which is the concentration of capital from different sources in a single enterprise is done at the expense of the population and of other capitalists. The revolution advances more than they do, the Workers States too. Also the revolution in the colonial countries and the crisis of the capitalist system. They are facing a crisis, meeting it by means of the state apparatus artificially accumulating a series of factors of crisis, absorbing them, but not eliminating them. In such a way that

when their crisis breaks out, it is not as other crises which can have phases, time. No, it is going to break out in a catastrophic way, too quick to have time for emergency measures. Before they could find time to repair the damage, now no. They are eliminating every possibility of points of transitory support. It could be the atomic war at any moment. These are the social historic conclusions of this stage of the functioning of the capitalist system.

The 'multi national firm' is imperialism's means of existence today. For this it needs fascism. As in the epoch of Hitler, the development of German capitalism needs fascism. On the other hand Willy Brandt has to deny bases to the Yanks for help to Israel. This is the weakness of capitalism. If they are not overthrown it is because there is no revolutionary leadership.

It is necessary to call for a trade union united front for concrete actions, being very explanatory, very didactic. Explaining that every technical, scientific progress has to be for the benefit of the population, of the proletariat. The two aspects; for the benefit of the people means prices, for the benefit of the proletariat means the conditions of work and wages. It is necessary to demand the direct participation of the masses in the productive apparatus. And to demand proletarian democracy so that the workers can speak, so that all tendencies may intervene, sell all the publications within the workers camp, to stimulate the intervention of the proletariat as a leading class which can intervene today to decide and determine in the productive apparatus. For this it is necessary to make a conscious intervention which defends the interests of the proletariat, which projects, foresees and orientates itself to consistently defend the interests of the proletariat. And to defend the interests of the

THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITANT FUNCTION OF THE HOUSE WE LIVE IN

J. POSADAS 9.11.72

In publishing this document we appeal to all the organs of the party and to all forces in the Labour movement to use it as an instrument of organisation in the struggle for socialism. The social organisation of capitalism imposes a fracture between consciousness and existence that is the inevitable result of the forced separation between production and the ownership of the means of production. In bourgeois parties the separation between words and deeds is necessary in order to preserve the bourgeoisie and its system based on exploitation. In the workers parties the separation between the fight for socialism and the 'private life' is the consequence of a degeneration which comes from a limited and regionalist conception of marxism and of the multiple pressures exerted by the capitalist system. But the masses, and in particular the masses in Vietnam, with their organisation of the sentiments and human relations submitted to the objective struggle for socialism, have shown that there is no other way.

This is the same conception with which Posadas is constructing the international, and, through documents like this one the communist and workers vanguard throughout the world.

Dear Comrades,

You have invited us to inaugurate this house and it is very important for you to realise that you have a new place in which to work. Whether or not it is a new house is not important, but it is a place that must be better used than the last one. This has to be a locale for you. It may be a Party locale, but it is a locale for you. You have to live here with the understanding and the determination to progress a hundred times more than before. A hundred times more. This change of home must mark an increase in your revolutionary activity.

The change itself is unimportant. What is important is to use new means - even if they are the same as before - which will make it easier for you, and make you determined to increase your militant capacity, will and discipline. This has to be the conclusion of this inauguration. The inauguration in itself is not important, it is an opportunity we have taken - for fraternal discussion - to be able to raise and talk over these problems, as we are doing now.

It is necessary to improve the militant life, the militant preoccupation and the militant preparation. It is fundamental that before any action there is preparation. You have to take this place as a place of discussion, of study, of fraternal life, of communication, in which the most capable, the most elevated, can communicate with the rest and live together, relating to one another and elevating the militant relations and human relations too. There is no difference between the human and militant relations within the party. One can say militant and human relationship only when the party is not the centre that welds and unifies the whole of life. In the party there is no separation between militant and human, it is militant and human militant.

You have to associate the life here with the struggle for power in the country you live in. And to organise yourselves, to make a better organisation of the life in the house. I do not know, I am not familiar with the life in this house except through a very general reference, but I do know what necessity we have and what the contribution is. The need is very great, the contribution is small. The effort is very great, but the organisation of the effort is not. So you have to inaugurate this new house with a plan of theoretical, political and organisational progress. Begin by living together in a very profound way, in which the relationships are elevated in such a way as to construct fraternal relation and a fraternal such a way as to construct fraternal relations and a fraternal atmosphere, a fraternal preoccupation, fraternal communication and concrete activity, conversation and discussion. Wherever we work and organise we drink tea, coffee or mate together. Some comrade usually makes a cake and we comment on the news in the papers, on the radio, we make texts and discuss problems of culture.

proletariat, doing it in such a way that the proletariat has to take power. For this reason it is important to write on Chile. Not to condemn or judge, but to draw from experiences and also to make the necessary criticisms.

Chile shows that the bourgeoisie uses force. The bourgeoisie is a class, thinks as a class and is not going to abandon what it has. This is the principle established by marxism. Marxism is the most important instrument to understand history through the dialectical method.

A trade union left is necessary to defend the interests, the conquests, and not only to defend them, but to increase them. The development of technique, science and production must be placed at the service of the population through the workers who favour the people in general; the proletariat, the peasantry, the middle petit bourgeoisie. It is the proletariat which can do this. And for this it has to have a trade union leadership which responds to this, and a political leadership which concerns itself with doing this. Capitalism is weak and has to resort to the socialist party to be able to live.

The other fundamental aspect to include in the programme for the organisation of the left concerns the language problem. Capitalism cannot resolve it. It is necessary to pay attention to the problem of the Walloon and Flemish languages, because they are problems which almost all the petit bourgeoisie and part of the working class live. The bourgeoisie artificially raises them in order to divert the attention of the class, to impede the activity of the class, the unity and centralisation of the class, to impede unity so that it does not think as a class. It is necessary to show that the division by languages is totally unnecessary. The tendency of culture, of the economy, of social development tends to unify everything. In a country which has existed for so many years it can be seen

that an aspect of backwardness is still the lack of unification of the country. Capitalism is incapable of uniting it. It is not a necessity of history to have two languages which divide the country, but capitalism made it through its way of life. In the Soviet Union there were many more than two languages and they are all unified. In China too. It is necessary to resolve the language problem as an objective function of the development of humanity, the economy, social relations, by means of culture in the service of the development of society. On the other hand, to divide the country by languages is an attempt to prevent unification and the country progressing.

It is necessary to appeal for the unification of the workers movement of all Belgium and to establish that the difference of tongues is not the fault of the proletariat. It is the incapacity of capitalism which keeps Belgium so backward. Even when, in the interests of commerce and investment it is not convenient, capitalism chooses the lesser evil, so that it may be an obstacle to the development of the unification of the masses, and to prevent the petit bourgeoisie being won or influenced by the objective development of the class struggle. The Walloon-Fleming problem has been artificially created. The top layers of the petit bourgeoisie transmits this interest to the rest. They can do this while there is no leadership which proposes to resolve the problems by means of nationalisations, workers control and the planning of the economy. Planning Belgium would finish with the problem of languages. It is necessary to take the example of the USSR, of China, of Vietnam, who speak an enormous number of dialects yet have united. Therefore what benefit does it have to maintain the division of the country by languages? Does it favour culture, science, the economy? What does it favour? The social division of the masses and the petit bourgeoisie.

The language problem is also an expression of the inter-bourgeois struggle, of the contradictions of the capitalist regime. In this bourgeois struggle, the Flemish bourgeoisie tries to profit from the fact that it most controls the productive apparatus and commerce, it has more weight and tries to increase its weight in the leadership of the country. It uses the inter-bourgeois struggle, giving it far more importance than it actually has in order to prevent the petit bourgeoisie being won by the proletariat and to maintain it on the plane of the struggle for the fatherland, country language etc. In this sense it is necessary to affirm and to extend the discussion, that it is absurd to contain the development of the country on account of language problems. It restricts the cultural, scientific,

that this is the best and fastest and most complete way to progress. Take the necessity that one has to study and one has to have a plan of progress.

There is a good progress in the Party, but it is inferior to what it is possible to do. And the lack of order and organisation of the intellectual preoccupation prevents you drawing much more profit from the magnificent desire expressed in these cadres. We are very grateful for the very warm and good and fraternal reception you have given us. And within this gratitude there is our preoccupation for you to render ten times more. All the comrades. Ten times more is possible.

You must lead a more fraternal, more profound and more explanatory life with Ta., more reflexive and more persuasive. To feel that this comrade child has to see in you, in all of you, the preoccupation to educate her, not to fight her or dispute with her. She has to feel this. She has to feel in each one of you the preoccupation to give her explanations at the level of her comprehension. But at the level too of her intellectual preoccupation, which is very elevated. Her capacity of comprehension is still limited, her intellectual preoccupation is very elevated. She is interested in reading a book by Steinbeck on a strike in the United States. It is a book which she may not understand. But you observe Ta. when she sings. She sings with a lot of passion, with a lot of harmony and with a lot of sentiment. In this she is expressing her sentiments, the degree of evolution of her sentiments which are not finding the necessary reception. And also the product of an education that has occurred in a decentralised way. You must set yourselves the project of helping Ta. to elevate herself, beginning by elevating yourselves. In such a way that Ta. feels fraternally welcome. Not repressed. Never repress a child. Even in the most important stages there may be critical judgements that may be severe, but not to repress the child. And an unjust attitude with a child is repression. And they take it very hard.

You have listened to Iv. who I have taken as an example from which to generalise - and do not think that I have taken him by chance, I take him because he merits it. I have criticised him very severely, but never repressed him. Because to repress is to smother the forces of reason and oblige him to be what the capitalist world teaches him to be, to fight everyone else. To provoke the individual reaction. Ta. has to see in the relations of the house the relations of justice, the preoccupation for her progress and explanation. She has acquired a series of habits - which is logical - habits of self defence like the capitalist system teaches. You have to understand that Ta. is a thermometer of all the rest of you, whether you are living permanently or passing through. She is a very great source of education. Very, very, very great, of education, or order, of interior harmony. And this permits the development of forces of sentiment, of affection and consciousness that signify and permit the basis for centralisation. You have to see this. And at the same time, propose concrete progress: whether with Ta., or with yourselves. This is one of the most important consequences of the inauguration of this beautiful house. Not because the house is beautiful. The atmosphere is beautiful, the sentiment given by those that live here. The house in itself is just stone and walls. It has no importance. If it were a factory here, it would just be a factory, it is unimportant. But on the other hand, Trotskyist comrades live here and give the house a structure, of harmony and fraternity, in which the essential basis is the scientific decision to gain knowledge to accomplish the tasks which you have to fulfill. As a cell of this house to elevate the communist life, to communicate and organise the communist life; beginning with Ta.

economic development of the country and shows that the bourgeoisie is incapable of leading the country, without resolving on the basis of the selfish interests of a small clique. The proletariat in power is going to resolve these problems as it did in the USSR and in China.

The world masses have seen through the Middle East that the Soviet Union is going to intervene and that they are stimulating the intervention of everybody. For this reason it is infamous that part of the Chinese leadership accuses the Soviets of acting as a super power. The masses of the world make comparisons, and in China too. Who are these arrogant new czars in the Soviet Union who are giving arms to the Arabs against the Israelis, therefore against the Yanks. There are changes in the Soviet Union, it feels obliged to do this in order to maintain and develop itself, to find bases of support in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It has to intervene directly even at the risk of world war. One thing is Assad, another Sadat and another is the world masses who are showing that they want to overthrow the capitalist system. The masses feel secure of being able to overthrow the bourgeoisie of each country. This is going to provoke an immense crisis in the communist parties. It is a tactic and an understanding of the world which they do not take into account nor agree with. They have a contemplative understanding which expects a numerical growth in the communist party, that the masses are going to come to them, as in Belgium and in Germany. On the other hand, this open crisis in Germany is profound and a sector of the world communist movement is going to say to the German communists what we said to the small communist parties, 'you are not a mass party, you are a small party which must help the left to take power'. Marchais said it to the German communists. As a result the German communists made a Congress and drew up left resolutions in which there is an anti capitalist programme, a thing which up to a fortnight ago they did not have. In all the communist parties this is going to happen, it is inevitable in Belgium too.

These are the principles which are generalised throughout the world. There is no longer the separation which existed before between developments in one country and another. Now it is all united. The attitude of a sector of the French communist party requires a left. But they turn to back page

We are in the conditions to make a much more elevated progress than is actually being made. All of us. Much more elevated. A better life, a better functioning, permits an infinitely greater elevation. A better relation between you and with Ta. is going to permit a greater security in the sentiments of each of you. Security, force and capacity to face any sort of problem. The most difficult problem for us is that 'we have no money' and 'we have to bring out the Marxist Review. We need more time to be able to study and read, all of us. And we need to be able to publish all the texts that are going to be necessary.

When comrades refer to the patience we have, this is the way to see it, but it is not a question of patience. It is the organisation of the capacity to think and to foresee how much time is needed. It is not a question of patience, it is not an act of idealism of fate, but the comprehension that such an amount of time is needed for such a thing. The same when the proletariat waits to take power, it is the historic patience of the proletariat. This is the British proletariat that has been capable of waiting, of knowing how to wait and not allow itself to be taken by individual or clique sentiments and disputes but it has known how to wait historically. We say historic patience to give a common or popular example. It is valid to say patience because this means the capacity to wait, but this does not correspond to the quality required in this stage. It is dynamic, not passive waiting.

In the name of the International Secretariat and of the team that is working here, we salute and embrace all of you. The food was very good but that is not important. What is important is the fraternal meeting we have made and the conclusions for the future progress of all of us. We have organised our responsibility, not just accepted it but organised our responsibility to fulfill our historic function. And we are fulfilling it. But we need very much more. We do not have sufficient means. Neither does the Communist Party have the means. It has got money and militants, but it has got no ideas. It lacks means. We are ready to fulfill this historic function. We are ready and we are doing it. Our yield is still quite insufficient.

I salute too with all the comrades, the brief but very important meeting that we have made and which shows that every meeting ends as a cell meeting. It begins with a meal and ends with a resolution. It is the concrete way to unite the need we still have to make a celebration, with militant and organisational conclusions.

I am very happy to have been here tonight. The food is not important because we can eat without the need for food. The meal was an excuse. We embrace you for the reception you gave us and for this fine food. The food is not important. I repeat, I ate heartily and I ate everything. But don't think that I ate out of gluttony, but to celebrate and through the happiness of being here. Next time you invite us we will make a balance of all the progress made. In the name of all the International I salute this new activity of this house cell which will have a very great depth and is necessary in all the life of the International.

VIVA the new cell of the IV International in this house! VIVA the communist welcome made by the comrades and the promise the night holds ... an incessant progress! VIVA the ascent of comrade Ta. which will be the communist ascent of this house-cell!

Another comrade:
VIVA Comrade Posadas.

J. POSADAS.

9.11.1972

BRITISH IMPERIALISM CAN GIVE NO SOLUTION TO ITS CRISIS IN IRELAND

The arrangement patched up between the Unionist Clique of Faulkner and the leadership of the SDLP is a mere facade for the continued reign of terror of British Imperialism. Whitelaw has already made it clear that they intend to strengthen the forces of Imperialism to counter the rebellion of the masses. We condemn this rotten arrangement with Imperialism but at the same time we say, that it gives no base for the solution of Northern Ireland within the needs and perspectives of the capitalist system. The decomposition of Unionism is complete. None of the existing Protestant structures, the followers of Craig, the Paisleyites, the UDA etc. can mobilise in favour of British imperialism. Apart from the fascist murder gangs in Ulster, the British army stands by itself. Although there seem to have been concessions made to the SDLP, including plans for an extensive housing programme, at the same time the chances of such a programme being carried out by such an administration are very remote. Nevertheless, the fact that the Unionists have had to concede to to such a programme shows the weakness and division it has in its ranks.

The real struggle of the masses has been waged far away from the 'assembly', in the rent and rate strikes and in the refusal to be cowed and intimidated by the brutal fascist repression designed to flatten the masses into acquiescence. And it has been waged in sustaining the military activities of the IRA which with all its limitations, the masses see as a weapon against the imperialist repressors. But it is a struggle which does not find the necessary leadership and programme. And a prime responsibility for this lies with the lack of intervention from the forces of the left in the trade unions and the Labour Party. Even now with the tremendous struggle between the left and right in the Labour Party which is going to continue right to the end with the conclusion of the expulsion of all the forces of the capitalist right, Ireland is not referred to. The policy of bi-partisanship is maintained. But it has to be broken!

It is not possible to prepare for government and the power in Britain without an intervention directed towards Ireland. To ignore the experience of Ireland is rather like ignoring the experience of Chile. It is fundamental because in Ireland, British Imperialism shows what it is ready to do when it has exhausted its possibilities of conciliation and concession. Electoral roads to socialism have been buried in Ireland as a prelude to their burial in Britain. And the present assembly offers nothing to the exploited masses of Ireland. It is in fact the complete bankruptcy of the parliamentary system. It is totally empty handed. What plans can it have to improve the conditions of the Irish masses when British imperialism is attacking the conditions of life of the British masses?

In this situation we appeal again for a frank and open discussion about the Irish situation in the Labour Party and the trade unions, with meetings and conferences with the Irish workers parties and trade unions, IRA, and all the progressive forces seeking a solution to the problem of Ireland. The socialist unification of Ireland cannot be undertaken without a joint struggle with the British masses, and this requires programme and policy. It requires a systematic intervention towards the Protestant workers and this can only be done by a clear anti-capitalist programme and policy.

A programme of nationalisations and planning of the economy, a workers plan of production, a programme of public works to eliminate unemployment, expropriation of the large estates and collective running of the farms, the exercise of workers control, the appeal for the immediate withdrawal of British troops, making direct appeals to the troops to abandon the struggle and desert, preparation for the formation of the workers militia, an appeal for the planning of the joint strategy of the British and Irish masses to bring down the Tory government, the protector of Unionism, would have an enormous impact. This must be the preoccupation of the left in the L.P.

It is necessary to see this as an essential part of the struggle against capitalism in Britain. It is absurd not to be based on the enormous courage and stamina of the Irish masses confronting the full weight of the professional terrorism of the British army. It is to deprive oneself of an ally in the coming showdown with British capitalism. And the left of the trade unions

have a particular role in play in all this. In the absence of strong workers parties in Ireland the trade unions have an especial role to play. We appeal to the left of the trade unions, the engineers, the miners, the transport workers, to take an unequivocal position on Ireland, to integrate the demand for a socialist Ireland with all their other demands for a nationalised economy, all wages to rise with the cost of living etc.

And we reiterate our appeal to the forces of the IRA to reconsider their mode of intervention towards both Britain and Ireland. They have inevitably to conduct a guerrilla military campaign but it is necessary to link this with a series of appeals to the British and Irish Labour movements that give a line and policy as we have indicated above. There is no separate 'Irish solution'. British imperialism will only leave N. Ireland when it is liquidated in Britain itself. The capitulation of the SDLP can stimulate a profound discussion on the way out of the impasse, in N. Ireland. The forces of the left in the LP by intervening in this can elevate the whole course of the struggle.

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THE MINERS STRUGGLE

Continued from Page 1

The Labour Left must be stimulated to give full support to the miners strike, and the other actions of the class, and to join the miners committees, as many of them did during the last strike. In each constituency Labour Party, in each Labour ward, the Left must organise committees of support for the miners struggle. And, without waiting, the miners themselves must organise mass meetings, to call on the Labour M.P.'s and Councillors to come and show their support.

In this way, the Labour Left can intervene in the struggle, as a political leadership and at the same time, begin a process of organising, of structuring the Left as a tendency inside the Labour Party in preparation for a defense of the programme of the Labour Party Conference. Out with the right wing in the Party that is against the resolutions passed at Conference. This sector is showing itself to be the direct agent of capitalism inside the Party. This process, however, is not going to be advanced only on the basis of simply denouncing the right wing, or insisting that the Left had a majority at Conference, it has to be an active intervention by the Left basing itself directly on the workers struggle and the organisms which the class is in the course of building.

The tasks which face the working class on the road to the overthrow of capitalism, is the transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle, into a Revolutionary Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. This transformation in itself based on the structuring of the Left as a tendency, through which a new leadership is created, fundamentally

on the basis of organs of dual power which are going to appear in the next period.

It will still, however, be based on the Trade Unions and the present structure of the Unions does not answer to this necessity. Therefore, it is necessary for the miners in the course of the present struggle, to demand full workers democracy inside the NUM. This means that all representatives local and national, must be subject to the decisions of mass meetings organised by the Pit Committees at which everything is discussed and at which every miner has a voice. All representatives must be subject to instant recall and paid the average miners wage. The miners have already overthrown the 2/3 majority rule on strike ballots, and it is now time to impose full workers democracy in the NUM.

We, the Political Bureau of the RWP(T) the British Section of the IV International (Posadist), pledge our full support and our warmest revolutionary sentiments to the miners. We remember the fact that the miners in the last strike mobilised a million engineering workers on strike in Birmingham and ten thousand on the streets to impose the closure of the Sattley Coke Depot. In next days we are confident, of seeing this experience repeated on a national scale.

FULL SUPPORT IN THE FORM OF INDUSTRIAL ACTION FOR THE MINERS STRUGGLE!
FORWARD TO A MINERS VICTORY!
FORWARD TO THE UNLIMITED GENERAL STRIKE TO OVERTHROW THE TORIES AND TO ESTABLISH A LABOUR GOVERNMENT! with a Labour Party in which the left has taken power - ON AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME!

SALUTE TO THE FOURTH WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

We salute with all our communist conviction the IV world conference of the IV International which took place in September. The press communiqué of the International Secretariat on the conference was published in Red Flag issue 195 and we apologise for the delay in publishing the salutes of the section.

We salute all the sections of the International who took part and particularly to Comrade Posadas, whose texts and organisational interventions prepared for and ensured the success of this conference.

The conference discussed in depth all the developments of the world socialist revolution, the permanent revolution combined with the political revolution of the Workers States, and the revolution in the capitalist countries of Asia Africa, Latin America and Europe.

The Fourth conference had the primary objective of preparing all the sections of the

International to intervene in these developments as a world party. To homogenise a world team capable of intervening with the required political and theoretical understanding and preparation as part of a centralised world party.

The conference re-affirmed the great advances made by the International throughout the world and the correctness of our political line and tactic as they have been elaborated by Cde. Posadas.

The conference marked a considerable advance for the British section both in its political understanding and in the fusion with the other sections of the International in Europe and Latin America. The section is determined to apply all the resolutions made at the conference, to publish more texts etc. to enable us to intervene as an organic, integral part of the struggle for power in Britain.

ENERGY CRISIS

Continued from Page 1

that petrol rationing existed in many states of the USA before the present war in the Middle East started, when there was no shortage of supply. This is an indication of the incapacity of capitalism!

Private transport is a decisive centre in the big capitalist economies, and links the petrol and oil industries with steel, glass and engineering in the huge car plants. As Posadas has analysed it is not possible for capitalism to abandon or diversify its investment here - yet private transport the private car is the chief source of pollution of the air and a major user of oil fuels. It is only with nationalisation, workers control and a workers plan of production that it will be possible over a period, to transform the car plants into factories making items useful to the population as a whole (as the Fiat workers in Italy have proposed) beginning with an efficient free transport system.

There is no 'absolute' level of energy resources that will eventually run out as the scientists of the bourgeoisie constantly howl. These people are restricted by capitalism's own lack of perspective and the straitjacket of the bourgeois conception of science - this is why more and more of them detach themselves from capitalist interests. According to scientists in the Soviet Union, controlled thermonuclear reactors will be in use in the USSR by the late 1980s. These reactors produce no radio-active waste and can use sea water (in extremely small quantities) as fuel.

The Soviet space programme also includes the investigation of the possible use of high energy particles in outer space - something that Cde. Posadas predicted some years ago. Only the Workers States can have the aim and the possibility of concentrating resources on the development of technology to undertake such products. The necessary technology already exists to build an orbiting space station to convert energy from the sun into micro-wave radio signals to beam energy down to receiving stations on earth. This would be an extremely efficient source of electricity and the technology already exists for this. But capitalism concentrates its productive forces in the destructive aim of trying to maintain its own survival by nuclear war against the Workers States and the world revolution.

The possibilities of human progress are entirely limitless. The so-called energy crisis is only one aspect of the rebellion of the productive forces capitalism has developed. It is not possible to progress further under capitalism; it is necessary to overthrow it. This conclusion has to be drawn in all the discussion in the trade union movement of how to make the economy progress, posing the need for centralisation and planning of the economy with the full intervention of the masses as the basis for the rational organisation of the economy and society. It is necessary for the trade unions and the Labour Party to discuss, publicly, a plan of production now, developing the organisms in the factories and workers areas to be able to apply it in the perspective of the overthrow of the Tories and the imposition of a left Labour government.

continued from page 3

do not animate themselves to do it. Nevertheless it is stimulating people who in a stage, in a process, in a strike can emerge as a left. Already the discussion is leading to this. In the socialist parties the same. The resolution of the Paris Federation of the Socialist Party on the Middle East is a break with the line of the Socialist Party and an attempt at a dialectical explanation. This shows that it is not a resolution of a group of militants, but a state of understanding which exists in the party.

All these are factors which determine and have to determine changes of positions and a new leadership, new people, new leaders. They are monolithic structures in which there is no internal life nor inter-change of scientific opinion, there is delay. But as the pressure and the process is much more important, it eliminates all this; and there are all the conditions for the formation of the left. In a direct form they are beginning to function inorganically. Already there are elements to do this. The communists, socialists, Catholics and nationalists want power. The concili-

atory, interpenetrative, reformist leaderships cannot lead the way any more. It is necessary to be based on this to show that these are the factors, the means to organise the left.

J.POSADAS 4.11.73

THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST PROCESS IN ARGENTINA AND THE TASKS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP

J. POSADAS 27.9.73

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PREPARE TO MEET ATTEMPTS AT AUTHORITARIAN RULE WITH WORKERS' COMMITTEES AND OTHER ORGANS OF DUAL POWER

The confrontation between miners and government develops in a world capitalist crisis of very great dimensions. Falling quotations on the stock exchanges of New York and London - the latter has fallen by 15% in the last three weeks - proclaim the enormous insecurity of the financial centres of capitalism. The accelerated competition of the world capitalist powers constantly plays havoc with economies and currencies. The dollar has gained somewhat over the last period but the Japanese Yen has been obliged to revalue and the economy is so precarious that a massive reduction in the rate of growth has been recorded. Massive and continuing inflation is going to be firmly linked to failing production and a profound deterioration in the standard of life of the masses. Posadas has already predicted the total crisis of the capitalist system, its inability any longer to prevent serious decline in its functioning and all the recent events, compounded by the oil crisis, have confirmed this.

The miners struggle is being waged in a situation of enormous weakness, economic, social and political, of the capitalist system. Already the struggle of the miners has deepened the crisis of leadership and contributed to the open fight now being waged between the left and right in the Labour Party. Gormley, in replying to the Heath government, said the miners would welcome a general election to dispose of the Tory government, but the miners struggle should now be fought, not waiting for a Tory initiative to call a general election, but with the perspective of unifying as many sectors as possible of the working class in a massive offensive to destroy this government.

This is the opportunity to develop permanent organs of the class that do not wait for Parliament, but allow the class to express itself in the most direct way possible, to prepare for the return of a Labour government; to prepare for all continuous confrontations that are going to occur with the capitalist class until the system is overthrown as the principle centre of working class intervention at this stage. It is a purely defensive strategy to speak about the 'just claim' of the miners. The government has already shown that it regards the struggle as far more fundamental than that. The miners are rejecting the whole mode of capitalist government, the parliamentary system that passes laws to the detriment of the masses. The miners are struggling for power, to overthrow the whole capitalist system. They will use parliamentary means where they serve the interests of the class. But there is nothing sacrosanct about Parliament.

Parliament is a bourgeois institution, largely representing the most completely useless people, parasitic on the working class. It is fundamental that the miners press forward - as we argued in the last resolution of the Political Bureau - to organise joint committees with the engineers and other sectors of the population, based on the factories, mines and workers areas, not only to organise mass meetings and demonstrations, but also to discuss all aspects of the programme of the Labour Party, nationalisations and planning the economy with other transitional and fundamental demands for workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, the price indexes to be decided by the workers, all profits from automation to go to the workers, for the preparation of the GENERAL STRIKE to enforce these demands without waiting for the possible election arranged by the Tory government.

The 'public opinion' which is scandalised by the determination of the miners only represents the bourgeoisie and the well heeled sectors of the community. It is way behind the objective process to wage the miners struggle in a defensive way.

THE LABOUR PARTY MUST DRAW CONCLUSIONS FROM CLAY CROSS

We salute the courageous and militant stand taken by the Clay Cross councillors who have stood out against the Tories 'Housing Finance Act' long after the other Labour Councils had capitulated and who attempted to defy 'Phase 3'. To put it no higher, had the majority of councils supported Clay Cross, taken its example, life would have been even more difficult for the Tories and the Tory government could have been brought down. The complete lack of leadership by the Labour Party to the movement against the Tory Rent Act was shameful. It is necessary for the Labour Party to take a national position against all the attempts of the Tories to lower the living standards of the masses. It is not enough to wait until another election and hope that the masses will be sufficiently tired of the Tories to vote Labour. The Labour Party must act as a political leadership - on the basis of its programme - for all the industrial and social struggles of the masses. When the programme of the Labour Party is under attack by the right wing of the Labour Party, the best defence is to mobilise the masses to impose aspects of the programme even before a new Labour government.

Nobody doubts the courage of the Clay Cross comrades in trying to defend the living standards of the working class locally, but inevitably, the structure of the local council - a bourgeois structure - proved useless for this purpose. The resignation of leading council officials, and the strike of administrative workers was not just a question of their fear of being prosecuted for disobeying the law. It was the revolt of a structure which was created for the defence and administration of the system of private property, and, as such, cannot be used by the working class for its own interests. The same applies to the bourgeois national state structure, as Chile demonstrates. What is necessary in Clay Cross is the creation of organs - Committees of the Workers Areas, Action Com-

At the same time we appeal to the miners in their branches, committees, their regional and national meetings to intervene with all their force in the Labour Party. A profound struggle is taking place there, certainly accelerated by the determination of the miners to confront the government. It is a struggle over two aspects - vital aspects - in the application of the policy of the Labour Party to give support to the industrial struggles of the working class and the intervention of the trade unions, and the need of the Labour Party to make central the issue of nationalisations. The pro-capitalist sectors of the Labour Party like Prentice and Jenkins are preparing to play the capitalist game to the limit. Both inside and outside Parliament they will fight to contain the working masses. Tony Benn has already pointed

to the intentions of these gentlemen. They would like to perpetrate a Chile here. They would indeed like a 'national government' dedicated to the preservation of capitalism.

The crisis of the capitalist system expresses itself in the Labour Party and capitalism watches the process in it with growing fears. The total world crisis of the capitalist system undermines the right wing of the Labour Party. Now capitalism can no longer rely on its agents in the worker party to sabotage the struggle of the workers and it has to look for other methods to try to stem the rising struggle of the masses. This is the significance of all the discussion on authoritarian methods, now being opened in bourgeois circles. This can be seen in leading bourgeois

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mittees etc. - by which the working class imposes its own decisions, its own demands. The Action Committee should be based on Street Committees which actually impose the decisions of the tenants on housing and which send delegates to the Action or Workers Area Committee which would also include delegates from the factories and pits in the area, the Labour Party, trade union branches etc. The Workers Area Committees must also have a permanent functioning, constant discussion of all the problems and the application of its own decisions.

The failure of the movement against the Tory Rent Act was that it was based on one issue and that the various tenants and Action Committees did not have a constant, permanent functioning. It was a movement of protest which confined itself, in the main, to lobbies of parliament and councils. The rent strikes which did take place could not have survived in isolation from all the other actions and problems of the population. It is true that some rent strikes still continued but they are declining. Above all the full centralised industrial weight of the class - the factory - was not brought into the rents struggle because the means, the organs to do it did not exist.

The conditions for the imposition by tenants of their own decisions and demands concerning the housing they live in are already in existence. The occupation of factories by workers and the running of them under workers' control - even if this is still in a limited form - demonstrates this. In another way this fact is demonstrated by the squatters movement. It is true that the squatters tend to be students and middle class sectors but they draw their example and confidence from the struggles and the consciousness of the working class. They also react to the obvious impotence of capitalism to solve any problem. However the squatters come from strata of the population

which would not have the confidence to expropriate private property if the conditions for it did not exist.

The reason why Clay Cross remained isolated was not that it lacked support in the working class in general, or in the Labour Party in particular but because the structure of the Labour Party would not react to the necessities of this type of struggle. Indeed the rent struggle provoked a crisis in the structure of the Labour Party on a national scale. Up and down the country the local Labour Parties themselves voted to oppose the Housing Finance Act and, in the main, the Labour Council groups voted to implement it. Since the structure of the Labour Party is geared to elections and administering capitalism, it was the right wing, the pro-bourgeois wing of the Labour Party which prevailed. What is demanded by the rising struggle of all the exploited masses is a transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle which can provide a political leadership for the working class in all its struggles, social, political and industrial. This processing has to go through a structuring of the left in the Labour Party and the expulsion of the bourgeois wing, people like Prentice and Jenkins who have no place in a workers party. The Labour left has to ask itself why, when there was a national movement against the Tory Rent Act, it was not possible to smash it. It has to ask why the Tory government is still in office when it staggers from crisis to crisis and when the working class launches strike after strike against it. It has to ask itself why, when it has a majority at annual Conference, the right wing is still able to flout the policy and programme of the Labour Party. Clearly good intentions and correct ideas are not, in themselves enough. Organisation is also necessary and this means the structuring of the Labour left as a tendency within the Labour Party and the construction of organs of workers power.

INTRODUCTION

This document of J. Posadas is particularly important to help us understand the very peculiar character of the class and revolutionary struggle in Argentina, and the developments in the country since the return of Peron.

As in Britain in the Labour Party, the Peronist movement is having to respond to the urgent need to develop the country, and is realising that this can only be done by way of nationalisations.

Subjected to this pressure the Argentinian government has passed a law giving the trade unions the right to participate in a limited way in the parliamentary system. Posadas analyses that this is done in order to give way to the powerful trade union movement and, at the same time, keep it isolated from the economy and the means to control it directly. This is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to control the trade union movement by creating a workers aristocracy within it which develops as a leadership and hinders the democratic functioning of the trade unions. However we are no longer at a stage of workers aristocracy, it can neither be sustained or renewed. Therefore there is no historic perspective for this manoeuvre which only exposes the profound weakness of the bourgeoisie and the increased power of the trade union movement.

On this basis it is possible to immediately surpass the concessions made by the law, using the advantages it gives and go past the limitations imposed by the Peronist leadership. We demand the most complete trade union democracy and for the intervention of the trade unions, not just through Parliament but directly in the economy. There are sectors in the left of the Peronist movement who support this and who can structure themselves so as to help in the construction of the Workers' Party based on the Trade Unions.

The force that is going to determine the course of events in the Argentina is the massive intervention of the trade unions because they are the centres where the proletariat is organised. The Peronist party is very important for the elections, or to mobilise when Peron asks it to. But, if the proletariat is not brought together in the trade unions and in the factories, Peronism does not have a base, cohesion, or unity to mobilise. Thus, it is necessary to see the evolution of the trade unions, the struggle in the trade unions, the force which they represent, and the political maturation which is expressed through them; and thus evaluate the strength of the proletariat, the evolution, the development, and the maturity of the proletariat.

It is necessary to organise a conscious left in the Peronista movement, which pushes it forward, to advance from nationalist to conscious, socialist, positions. It is already developing, but it is yet neither structured or programmed. What is important, is to see the maturing of the Peronista movement, in order to help it to mature. These assaults, which are taking place like the assassination of Rucci, are designed to impede political maturation, the function and the political intervention of the trade unions. It is necessary to pay fundamental attention to the trade union life and to analyse it. The maturing sectors have to base themselves on the trade union movement, as a central task. The apparatuses the planners, the bourgeois apparatus, are important, but the deciding forces in the last instance, are the trade unions. It is upon them that Peron depends. For this reason, we have appealed for the Popular Government Based upon the Trade Unions.

THE PROJECTED TRADE UNION LAW, THE CRISIS WITHIN PERONISM, THE PROGRAMME AND THE CLASS ORGANS.

This projected law on the trade unions, has the objective of giving them a parliamentary authority. In a certain manner - even though they still do not propose it, they give the trade unions an authority which gives them the force and category of organisms which could be that of soviet types of organs, organs of dual power. It is a very advanced conclusion, whose objectives on the part of the bourgeoisie itself and of the bourgeois and bureaucratic sectors of Peronism is to make an alliance, to maintain them in a conformist road and, at the same time, to free them from parliament and use the trade unions indiscriminately. But also for corruption. However, this is not an epoch which allows corruption to succeed; it can be so for one, two, twenty or thirty individuals but it is not possible to corrupt the class or its organs. The working class has never been corrupted, but trade union organisations have. This can be seen in the reformist trade union movement, which was placed at the service of the bourgeoisie, and the same with the leaders of the communist or socialist parties and the trade union sectors who make a policy of alliance with capitalism, without being agents of capitalism, but who make an alliance with capitalism.

This trade union measure is an attempt, by the government and sectors linked to the proletariat, to seek to organise the proletariat in such a way so as to have an instrument to weigh on the bourgeoisie, to maintain a game of internal pressure. This event indicates the maturing of the process. Now, Peron cannot continue - as before - to subject the movement by the division of the trade union branches, women sectors, civil branches, etc. He has to give to the trade unions a force which others, who are merely parliamentary or electoral ones, do not have. They do not have a strength which by-passes the legislative. They do not have the legislative capacity which is to resolve, but they have an authority of dual power, and this is going to incite the proletariat to utilise this law. It is going to utilise it as an instrument, which is going to by-pass if it is applied, the limits which the Peronist bureaucracy wishes to give it.

It is necessary to pay attention in order to see how the instruments and organs, are evolving, and how the national bourgeoisie has to seek to support itself on the proletariat. All this demonstrates the process of permanent revolution and the internal struggle in Peronism which is part of the class struggle. To contain, they have to make a concession which is a base to be by-passed later.

THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST PROCESS IN ARGENTINA AND THE TASKS FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE CONSCIOUS LEADERSHIP

27.9.73 J. POSADAS

While supporting this law, we do not remain submitted to it nor do we remain in expectancy of what Peron is going to do, the evolution of Peron, or the Peronist team. We support ourselves on the trade unions, and we tend to impel the trade unions, the independent force of the trade unions, to pose the programme and the action to the maximum, independent and class programme. This is our objective. If not, we remain subject to the expectancy of what Peron is going to say, what Peron is going to do, or what the Peronista team is going to say or do. And we take into account, that Peron is to the left of his own team. In an infinity of projects Peron is to the left of his own team. And they have to strike a balance, because there is a bourgeois wing which weighs, the army which weighs and he has to balance in this game. But also, and at the same time, because the Peronista party is not a workers party, it is a party with a bourgeois origin and structure.

It is necessary to make our party live, to see that it discusses lives preoccupied with how to wage the struggle within Peronism to see how the class organs are being formed, how the weight is developing, the programme of class organs, not waiting for what Peron is going to say, what he is going to do. It is certain that, there are manoeuvres by Peron, which tend to impel a nationalist policy. But it is still in the bourgeois camp. What must give us joy, and what we have to seek to impel, is the work in the trade union field. And we appeal to make a discussion so that in the trade union field, there is an elevated consciousness of this facility which the law allows, giving the right to intervene in politics. This is the basis for the workers party based on the trade unions. Then we pose the workers party based on the trade unions. Sanctioned by the law, we are allowed to function in politics, allowed to have trade union assemblies. They cannot legislate but they have authority to intervene as judges or as parliamentarians. It is a great progress, which is going to influence Latin America. This is not new, it already existed in Bolivia before, and in part Cardenas did it in 1938. But they are developing it now in Argentina, where the weight of the proletariat is very great. It is a base for the Workers Party Based upon the Trade Unions.

This law which certainly, they can approve, because they have an absolute majority in parliament, means a superior status for the function of the trade unions, and an attempt to regulate them. But, this is the same proletariat, which 18 years ago succeeded in imposing on Peron and which now, is to the left of what Peron was before, and it is going to remain there. This is not the epoch to reproduce and create a workers aristocracy to smash the proletariat. It is not the epoch, nor are there the historic conditions, nor the historic means, nor the concrete economic conditions for this.

We support such a law, which may be a progress in trade union rights, in democratic rights. The bourgeoisie has an interest in dominion over the workers movement, to give concessions to it, and to develop a layer so that it develops in turn as a trade union leadership, but which impedes the trade union movement and to make a workers aristocracy through the trade union leadership. Hence, it sanctions a series of rights of a parliamentary type, so that it impedes the independent development of the workers movement. But when it has to reach such a level of concessions, it is because the bourgeoisie has to pay a great deal. That is to say that there is a very elevated process of pressure of the trade unions, of organised forces, and the bourgeoisie has to use such means to succeed to contain the workers movement.

It is necessary to see that the trade union law, is accompanied by periodic assemblies, meetings, discussions, liberty of trade union discussion, freedom of tendency. The right to intervene politically, but with the right to elect candidates in agreement with the class behaviour, to defend the rights of the proletariat, its social conquests, the struggle to make the function of the proletariat progress in the leadership of the economy, and to proceed to exercise the function of the total leadership of the economy.

It is in these conditions that it is necessary to support such laws and to make a full discussion throughout the country. The party must put forward a discussion, push forward a campaign to make known its point of view, our judgement, and to make the discussion of a most complete type in the factories, the workers areas, in the trade unions, everywhere. To show that such as was proposed by the trade union bureaucracy, this form of trade union functioning damages the creative capacity of the workers, still leaves the development of the economy in the hands of the bourgeoisie, and leads in conclusion, to the periodic crisis of the capitalist system, to the brutality and the assassination of the masses.

All the laws which are made by the government have to pass through the test of acceptance by the masses. And on the other hand, all the masses make laws, and with their actions, impose laws.

We are not against the trade union legislation, if this represents the right of the workers to intervene in the factories as co-participants, as a dual power, as the trade union law is essentially. But for this, there must be full trade union democracy, full right of tendency, of ideas, to determine the workers movement completely; if not, it is a movement protected by two three, four leaders, who do what they think, according to what they happen to understand, and they decide for the workers movement. This is what it is necessary to discuss.

We have to demonstrate that contrary measures are anti-democratic, and directed to sustain the interest of capitalism, because it impedes the workers from thinking, reasoning, deciding what they can ask, what they can impose, and developing the economy. In this way, they leave it open to the free play of capitalist competition, the progress of the economy based on the exploitation of the masses, where these cannot decide the distribution of wealth which they produce, in the form of wages, etc...

The conclusion to be drawn from this is the necessity for the Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions. This is the most important conclusion. To promote a discussion on the trade union law, emphasizing the aspects in which the power of the trade unions increases, the workers delegates to be subject to trade union democracy, to the assembly, to the programme of the class struggle, of the struggle against capitalism by the working class, and for democratic elections of the delegates with right of recall and the delegates to be subject to the decisions of the plant, the decisions of the factory, or the section.

It is a manoeuvre to attract the bureaucracy to careerism. But this is not the historic stage for the workers aristocracy nor the careerism of the trade union tops. We are against and we reject everything that impedes, annuls, subjects or regulates trade union democracy. We are for complete trade union democracy. We unite the trade union legislation with full democratic rights, with the right of tendency, right of discussion, of decision, assembly and in the factories, in the plants. Together with the trade union law we reject the anti-democratic means. But although they make the trade union law and reduce trade union democracy, this is not going to last long. Their own necessity is going to break all this.

Among the slogans to pose, there are two fundamental aspects. Sliding scale of wages and sliding scale of hours of work, trade union democracy, revocability of mandates. The elected delegates must apply the programme that the factory, the plant or the section imposes. Assemblies of the section, of the factory, must decide the programme, discuss the experience, etc... There must be periodicals, publications on problems, with a full discussion, exchange of ideas, national, Latin American, and world wide, explaining the construction of the leadership of the workers movement which supports itself on the world experience of the struggles of the proletariat of all countries, including the workers states.

It is necessary to discuss all this, and to propose the rejection of the law of professional associations, as was posed and on the other hand, to pass a law which allows the proletariat to intervene on how to make the factory committee. In place of the professional associations, factory councils in which the immunity of workers delegates is established. As there was in the beginning in the early days of Peron, in 1946. At first, it was done in this way.

NATIONALISED PROPERTY AND A PLANNED DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTION ARE THE MOST COMPLETE BASES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRODUCTION,

The intervention of the masses, because of their initiative, is the most complete stimulus to the economy, because they have collective - not private - interests. Capitalism has its own private interests, guided and stimulated, and led by competition. It is interested in individual accumulation. While the masses are interested in social accumulation for the benefit of the whole of society. It is on these conditions that it is necessary to discuss and make our judgements. The functioning of the capitalist system is based on competition and the market in which 40% of human production is lost. Whilst the proletariat, through its place in society, because it has no personal interests tends to express itself not through competition, but through the centralised production which eliminates competition. It is a superior form of production which benefits the whole of humanity.

It is necessary to discuss, bearing in mind this comparison between nationalised property, centralisation and planning, and the individual interest of capitalism. Showing how the individual inter-

est of capitalism is guided by accumulation of capital, achieved through competition, which means an immense dispersal of human forces and of production, and a limitation in the development, consumption and the possibilities of economic, social and, in consequence cultural, scientific and human development. The proletariat through its place in society has no interest, cannot have an interest in private property. It is interested in collective property and the planned development of production which then allows humanity to prevent the squandering, the wasting of millions of hours of work, of production through the effects of competition in the market, of disputes between capitalists over the market. It is necessary to discuss in this way not only that it is necessary to nationalise and to function under workers control but to give scientific arguments for this which can be understood by all the workers.

The Peronist youth, the Peronist trade union leaderships, the leading Peronist technologists must push forward a discussion of all these problems. To advance from there and to elevate the consciousness on how it is possible to stimulate much more advanced class organs. Discussing why they must be class organs. Inevitably there is a conciliation within Peronism but the economic struggle, the struggle over programme, struggle for the progress of the country is going to pose class divergences. It is not possible to conciliate. It is necessary to pose that the conciliation which Peron is looking for is not complete or total. Peron himself admits that there is a struggle. It is necessary to insist that this is a class struggle - and it is inevitable. In order to advance the country needs an economy which develops without obstacles, without the limitations imposed on it by the interests of the investors. This is already shown in the development of the Workers States, in the Revolutionary States, such as Peru, where nationalised property provides the most complete basis for the development of the economy. If the objective is the well being, the development of the Argentinian people, then it is necessary to pose this discussion openly. Already there is a base, consisting of technologists whose programme - although it has a generally nationalist tendency - goes towards marxism. It is not possible to talk about planning without going towards marxism. Because it is not possible to plan without nationalisations, centralisation and a planned production.

HOMAGE TO COMRADE PABLO FREDES MURDERED IN ARGENTINA

We pay homage to Cde. Pablo Fredes (Martin) militant of the Workers' Party (Trotskyist) Argentinian Section of the IV International, murdered by the CIA and the Peronist right wing who used the armed thugs of the trade union bureaucracy. Our comrade was a delegate and leader of the UTA (Transport Workers Union) the principle organiser and leader of the Peronist organisation, 17th September, which adheres to the JTP (Peronist Youth Workers). This murder is the inevitable reaction of the bourgeoisie to try and break the development of revolutionary tendencies within Peronism, the united front of the Peronists with the Trotskyist-Posadists and especially the development of Trotskyist-Posadism within the proletariat and the Peronist masses as the conscious expression of the struggle to overthrow capitalism in Argentina.

The immediate reply of the vanguard was a combative class response. Our murdered comrade was named honorary president at the meeting of 30,000 people held at Luna Park in Buenos Aires, called by the JTP, the combative trade unions, the Peronist base and the Monteneros.

THE C.I.A. COUP IN CHILE DOESN'T INTIMIDATE THE VANGUARD, SECURE IN THE TRIUMPH OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

All the world process helps this process in Argentina, it doesn't go against it. The difficulties, blows, containment, detention, retreat or partial retreat as the coup in Chile or Uruguay is transitory. It is immediately accompanied by other successes. The blow in Chile is tremendous, it has meant the assassination of hundreds, they attacked and smashed unions, they murdered Peronist militants. At this time the communists were allied to the government, which was the agent of imperialism. The Peronists were murdered, thrown out of the unions by bands who attacked the unions in which the communists were present. All the press and news reports of that time showed this. They put the military into the trade unions as they did in both Brazil and Bolivia. The result is that 18 years later Peron returned on a more left programme than when he went

away. It is the world process which nurtures the development of the revolution. It is necessary to show this. When they threw Peron out, his programme was far inferior to the programme he now has. Now his programme goes much further than it did before, because he makes a series of proposals, including the one of breaking the military alliance with imperialism and recognition of Cuba. Also to give loans to Cuba, such as the credit of twelve hundred million dollars. It is a policy which stimulates the development of the permanent revolution.

It is important to realise that the world process feeds this process and that the coup in Chile is compensated by the victory of Peron, because it helps the Latin American masses and the petit bourgeoisie to be won by the workers movement. Undoubtedly, the coup in Chile is very important, it is very profound. But the resistance of the Chilean masses, singing the Internationale when they were being shot, and in their homage to Neruda shows the combative resolution, the security to triumph. In a state of siege, in full massacre in which there is no hesitation to kill - any soldier can kill who he likes - they sing the Internationale and they don't feel able to repress it, it is because they feel the security which the people have. The population is neither intimidated or fearful. It is not afraid. Otherwise they would not sing the Internationale. The simple fact of going to Neruda's funeral means they looked for a centre to be able to gather round and to transmit security. We are going to win! Hence they sing the Internationale. If they had felt consternation or the sense of being crushed by the massacre which the military carried out, it would have provoked demoralisation in the population, they would not have gone to see Neruda. Or if they had gone, they would have gone in silence, simply attending a funeral. Here, no! Here they raise the flag of the living! Singing the Internationale! This shows the will to triumph. Part of this is the victory of Peron which contributed to stimulate all this.

When the influences of the progress of the revolution succeed so rapidly, and on the other hand the defeats do not have such a devastating influence - although they have an influence, it is not such a devastating one - this shows that the social conditions are ready for the organisation of a left in the Peronist movement, of a conscious left.

It is necessary to discuss and see the influence which this is going to have in Argentina and the singing of the Internationale in Uruguay and also in Brazil. This giant with the feet of clay is going to feel the repercussions immediately. They don't have anyone singing "Save the fatherland", but on the other hand the workers sing the Internationale.

The other very important aspect is the internal struggle with in Peronism. This type of struggle, of massacre isn't because they have no other means nor does it express a political backwardness. NO, it is because the CIA is within it. This is going to have consequences. Therefore it is necessary to push forward a struggle to eliminate it, to give a political explanation and to carry out a political campaign of application. This demands a rigorous preparation of the party, a more rigorous life. This means a very elevated political preparation, more profound and conscious, more scientifically prepared.

The life of our comrade is prolonged in the world struggle for the revolutionary programme and policy, the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism. It is prolonged in all the fusion of the Posadist militants of the IV International with the rest of the world communist movement.

We salute with all our warmest communist sentiments the immense and successful effort of our Argentinian Section to organise the revolutionary leadership in the Argentine, to communicate the ideas and methods of marxism through the texts of Cde. Posadas to the trade unions and to the Peronist masses.

VIVA COMRADE MARTIN!

VIVA THE UNITED FRONT OF THE PERONISTS, THE TROTSKYIST-POSADISTS AND THE OTHER REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES TO CONSTRUCT THE CLASS AND REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN ARGENTINA.

ORGANISE THE FULL INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES AND BREAK THE CAPITALIST STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY.

It is necessary to consider the coming struggle and that imperialism is not going to stand still, but will launch a campaign to oust Peron. The campaign to oust Peron will be accompanied by criminal attacks, assassinations, bombings, killings, kidnappings together with declarations from trade union leaders that it is necessary to be calm, that there is danger. That is to say stating an obvious fact in order to draw conclusions favourable to its anti-democratic monopoly. It is necessary to say, yes, it is necessary to fight against all the attacks which they want to make but that the basis to do this is trade union democracy which allows all the population to intervene. Then, so that the population may intervene it is necessary for the organisation and intervention of organs of the proletariat which can intervene. This will clash with the

bureaucracy, the government, the bourgeoisie and with a part of the army. But on the other hand it is going to be welcomed by a certain part of the army, a certain part of Peronism, because they are aware of the fact that the bourgeoisie is going to organise the counter-revolution, a huge counter-revolution. It is necessary to realise and expect from now on that imperialism, allied to the bourgeoisie, and particularly to the land-owners, is going to immediately organise the counter-revolution. They are going to exert pressure in every way in order to do the same as in Chile. They are going to try to do the same, to try to prevent the consolidation of the Peronist victory.

A struggle must be waged to keep the Peronist government and the development towards more left nationalist positions. The oligarchy and imperialism are looking for the right moment to weaken, to create internal conflicts within the Peronist movement, to provoke shootings and to prevent the Peronist masses from uniting and attracting the petit bourgeoisie against capitalism.

It is necessary to be prepared for this, preparing organs of the proletariat, arms also, appealing to the army but not allowing the army to determine. Taking measures which answer the needs of the economic development of the country against imperialism which is the basis for this stage against capitalism. It is necessary to develop proposals within the army on democratic rights for soldiers, NCOs and officers; to openly discuss politics as they would outside the army, so that the barracks are not enclosed buildings of the army but they are just as any other institution, a college, factory or any other institution. This would not reduce or diminish its defensive or organisational capacity or the efficiency of the army. On the contrary the more it develops its political function, the more it develops. Capitalism prevents discussion, prevents the army living a political life, to block the infiltration of politically progressive ideas. In this way, they keep in the structure, sectors and cadres dedicated to capitalism, defenders of the capitalist system. Then, it is necessary to combat this.

Almost everywhere in Europe, the police are trade unionised. In the Swedish army, the officers are organised in trade unions. There are police congresses in almost all Europe, in which there are tendencies which defend the democratic system against fascism, against repression, the repression of the masses. This is not a parody. It is the enormous progress of the authority of the revolution which partially penetrates capitalist institutions like the police force who are won for the future. As an institution, they depend on the high command. But this process weakens the structure of the army and the police force.

It is necessary to pose in the Argentine, that the police should be organised in trade unions, so that they live the life of the whole country. The bourgeoisie wants to impede them discussing politically so that they carry out the policies imposed by capitalist defence of private property, repression, inhumanity etc.

It is necessary to influence the police and part of the army, to weaken the juridical institutions of capitalism. To prepare to transform them in such a way that they are not in the hands of the officers but in the hands of the government and the trade unions, and that the unions intervene.

The world process helps the development of the class tendency within Peronism. The lack of consistent leadership and programme has impeded until now the formation of the conscious revolutionary current. It is necessary to intervene in the Peronist movement with literature to help the tendencies develop their awareness of this process. The military junta in Chile will try to influence Argentina, but it will have neither the time nor the means to do it. It has the force to intervene but it does not have the safe conditions to do so. Neither the world process nor the process in Latin America favours or helps it. The failure of Banzer in Bolivia in his attempt at conspiracy shows that there will be a left nationalist coup there shortly. He tried to disorganise a part of the plot. The plot cannot come from the army alone. If it comes, it will come from the army. Well, and where are all the military detained? They have tried to spread confusion to prevent a conspiracy in which they certainly would have been killed, but the real conspiracy is not this. The true conspiracy is shown by the reaction of the masses which is not a conspiracy but a mobilisation to overthrow Banzer. The unanimity of the general strike is fundamental. It indicates the very great preparation of the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie in Bolivia. But at the same time its weakness, because the peasants did not come out and they had no organs in which to intervene. Without the peasantry, every movement in Bolivia could triumph but the result is not certain. Still they have not succeeded in mobilising the peasants.

THE PERONIST VANGUARD IS LEARNING THE PRINCIPALS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND IS SCIENTIFICALLY PREPARING ITS CONSCIOUSNESS EVEN THOUGH IT DOESN'T CALL IT MARXISM.

The Peronist vanguard needs class explanations, it possesses will and capacity for combat. What it does not have is mental and political formation. Therefore it lacks the principal bases, but it is searching for them. They are seeking contact with the world and the best, most complete way to make contact is the Internationale. For his they sing the Internationale. As the workers who were being executed in Chile sang the Internationale in which they are saying "We do not die, we stop living but you carry on, life continues in you". This is why we compare it with the Paris Commune. "We will

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THE GENERAL STRIKE IN FRANCE HAS BEEN A BLOW TO THE EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIE

The working class, the masses have triumphed throughout France. They have beaten the government, the bourgeoisie and its regime in the trial of strength of the 6th December. The strike by millions of workers affected all the vital centres of the country. There were massive demonstrations all over the country. The demonstration of 600,000 people dominated all the life of France for six hours. It was the vital centre of the gigantic united front of all the masses, united around the proletariat. This united front expressed the powerful will and decision of the masses to take power. The decision of the trade unions and left parties to jointly call this strike was extremely important in order to be able to achieve this objective.

The objective of the left, in calling this mobilisation against the rising cost of living, has been to show to all the country the impotence and incapacity of the government and the bourgeoisie to answer to any of the problems of the masses. This objective, which was fully obtained, represents a great progress. All the vanguard mobilised to make profound changes in the country, not simply some improvements in the standard of living of the masses. The general strike and demonstration expressed with an unbeatable force this will for change.

All the working class has intervened in the demonstrations throughout France, and in Paris in particular, to impel the left to go to power. This demonstration has been an example of determination, order and proletarian discipline. This powerful concentration expressed an immense communist fraternity and a tremendous feeling of unification of all the masses. The working class has attracted the petit bourgeoisie by showing that it wants to go to power. There hasn't been a demonstration such as this since 1968 and it is more profound than then, and it is going to have an immense effect on all the working population of France and Europe.

The Union Populaire rather than the CGT (the communist trade union) has been the centre

of the preoccupation and of all the slogans. Not against the trade unions, but convinced that the solution is going to be a political one. For the same reason, the slogan - 'the only solution, revolution' which was taken up and repeated with such insistence by the demonstration, especially the younger militants, was never posed in contradiction to the Union Populaire and the Common Programme. All the slogans were political, against the government, the capitalist system, for power, and the Internationale was sung repeatedly. All this shows the very high degree of understanding and politicisation.

Many workers took part, but also many students, small traders, office workers. The old people, young people and children all intervened in a very vehement and enthusiastic way which was very moving to see, and the cemetery workers received tremendous support for their struggle by way of collections and applause.

The Union Populaire, the Common Programme was the political centre, because it represented a concrete organ, a programme already established which could act as a centralising force for the masses, to go to government and to prepare to advance towards taking power.

The participation of the police contingent at the Paris demonstration is extremely significant. They were representatives of a vast number of policemen who didn't take part directly, but who felt the need to demonstrate. When a demonstration such as this can attract a sector of the police, it means there is a decomposition of the organs which most directly defend privilege, power and bourgeois corruption. These people feel indignant at having to carry out this function. The sentiment of human dignity is developing in them, - Vietnam has stimulated all this! It is one of the most important symptoms of the maturity of conditions for the struggle for power.

It is necessary to launch a campaign towards the police and army to persuade the sectors which can be more easily influenced and who are aware

of the class struggle and the mass mobilisations, so that they serve the democratic will of the people. The police and the army - as institutions - act in defence of capitalism, but many sectors can be gained to the struggle of the masses of France and the world. They must be persuaded. But at the same time, organs of united front must be made, to exercise the power of the masses, to dispute power with capitalism with factory committees, area committees, a united front of all left tendencies and the trade unions.

Our French Section, which participated in the strike and demonstrations of the 6th December with the central slogans of: **FACTORY AND AREA COMMITTEES, THE LEFT TO POWER and for a SOCIALIST EUROPE**, appealed to the communist militants and leaders, socialist and left groups, and all the workers movement to discuss together and draw conclusions on the way to organise the struggle for a left government and for power.

EDITORIAL

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newspapers and in the rule of law speech by Hailsham. This has also been seen in the context of the proposal by Mark, police commissioner to the Metropolitan Police, to abolish juries; and the trial of the Shrewsbury 24, and legal action being taken against the Birmingham building workers. However, perhaps the most significant move in this direction is the moving of Whitelaw from N. Ireland to 'deal' with industrial troubles at home. It is not just the moving of an individual minister but the preparation to use the same methods in this country as British imperialism is using in N. Ireland. Since Whitelaw has solved none of the problems of British imperialism in Northern Ireland, there can be no other reason for the move.

It is necessary to be supported on all this, which is going to have an immense effect on the Peronist masses. The Peronist masses have not been educated or organised theoretically or politically. They have a very great heroic sentiment. Hence, they form guerrillas, from heroic sentiment. As it has no past, it seizes hold of the Commune, of the Russian revolution, of the Chinese revolution, and of Cuba also. The rapid advance which the Peronist masses are going to make, they are going to make also here; above all the youth, which launched itself into the struggle seeking a justification and explanation for existence.

And the Chilean workers are saying to them: 'This is the way, comrades!'. And they are influencing them. All this has an immense weight, for the triumph and for the progress of the revolution, more than all the assassinations which these murderers are carrying out in Chile.

It is necessary to realise that this is a stage of an immense richness. It is necessary to influence a wing of the Peronist movement, a young wing. This sector has neither a party tradition, nor a party discipline or trade union discipline. It has developed in a constant struggle with a hatred of the bureaucracy, and all of the apparatus as if it was Stalinism. They unite Stalinism with the Peronist apparatus of the right and the Peronist centre. It has no historic antecedent on where to support itself. The communists betrayed it, they educated no cadres; on the contrary, they tried to pervert politically, presenting the Peronist movement as fascist.

Hence the slowness in discipline, in the organic form of the party. And the tendency to seek forms like that of the Monteneros because they find there a more adequate means where they can intervene because they do not have a party where each one can intervene believing that in this way he can weigh and decide. It is the form of establishing the means to triumph and the democratic means which they believe it is possible to gain. But they do not have antecedents, they do not have traditions. Neither the communists, nor the socialists have left any traditions. Thus, they believe that this way is the most complete form of impeding bureaucracy, of opposing it, of opposing every apparatus. To feel free to apply all the revolutionary will which they want, they develop the Monteneros. But at the same time, the trade union movement shows that it progresses and maintains itself without break, unified without destroying itself, without disintegrating.

The trade union movement has put up with all the attacks which capitalism has made against it from the communist movement to the socialists. It is necessary to appeal to the Peronist youth to see that in the trade union camp, their natural allies, are to be found those with the most complete strength, and it is necessary to be linked to the trade union movement through a programme of struggle for socialism. Although they call it 'National Socialism', it is the struggle to take the principle sources of production and of exchange

THE MASSACRE OF THE MASSES, THE WORKERS PARTIES, COMMUNISTS, SOCIALISTS, TROTSKYIST-POSADISTS, MAPU, MIR, CHRISTIAN LEFT, RADICALS, IS A PAINFUL EXPERIENCE WHICH WILL NOT IMPEDE THE CONTINUATION OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN CHILE.

Available from the address of the paper.

It is necessary that the masses draw the conclusions from all these discussions and that it is correct to struggle for a Labour government but with the consciousness that capitalism is perfectly prepared to intervene - if it finds the strength - to prevent another election. After all, it abolished the Stormont which was much more favourable to it than the next Labour government is likely to be.

We advocate the use of the 'flying pickets' or more advanced forms of organisms by the miners, but this has to be done with the understanding that capitalism is going to intervene - sooner or later - with the army, with armed forces. Therefore, among other organs of the class, it will be essential to create workers defence committees. These committees will be directly under the control of the central organism of the class - factory committees - flying pickets etc. - but charged with the task of ensuring the physical defence of workers and the gains which they have made. Gains such as occupied factories. It is clear that another Saltely Coke Depot incident would find the workers faced not just with a few hundred policemen but with armed soldiers.

At the same time as organising for the physical defence of the workers, it is also possible to intervene to decompose the army. The demand must be raised for trade union rights in the army. It is necessary to appeal to the ordinary soldiers in this way, showing them what the role of the army is, that it is an instrument of class oppression. Already the struggle of the N. Irish masses have started this process of decomposition of the army as the many deserters in Sweden and the Irish republic demonstrate. An army in which the soldiers think, discuss, have their own trade union organisation IS USELESS TO CAPITALISM AS AN INSTRUMENT TO EXPLOIT THE MASSES.

into the hands of the state. And to plan in such a way, that all may intervene, to give a great importance to the technologists. The Peronist youth have to be helped to understand the necessity of the party as an instrument.

It is necessary to rely on the sentiment of heroism of the Peronist masses; to rely on the fact that they are going to find an orientation for their sentiments in singing the Internationale. We pay homage to the Peronist youth and to all the Argentinian youth who are involved in this struggle. We appeal that they seek a scientific and political orientation for this heroic sentiment, so that it can be useful. Peron depends on this, in part stimulating and in part containing it, because of the bourgeois elements and Peron's own lack of security. The proof of this is their failure to smash the assassins of Rucci.

The forces which oppose the process and made the provocations are very powerful. They are not guerrillas because otherwise they would have smashed them. In reality they are supported by the military. Peron does not repress them because he fears a reaction from the armed forces. Otherwise this attitude is unjustified. Why not give battle instead of just containing it? Because the other side has military strength which is very powerful.

The general strike has been to affirm the support to Peron. It was not a strike for Rucci. It was a strike to affirm and maintain support to Peron and to maintain the conquests which the proletariat have made to sustain its president with a nationalist-revolutionary programme. The masses want it although their leadership does not accept this. It is necessary to feel that the youth in the Argentine - as throughout the world - have a very great historic responsibility, and are assuming it. Throughout the world the youth has a responsibility and a very great will to combat. They are not allowed to participate. In the Argentine, they have possibilities to participate; it is necessary to organise young teams who weigh and who can work together with the technologists and with the other teams, to be able to influence in this process, in a conscious manner. Making preparations with the scientific understanding although they do not call it marxism. Afterwards, they are going to find that marxism is the consistent instrument to understand. It is necessary to help the youth and the technologists to understand and to weigh. And not to make a fundamental issue of the trade union law. It is necessary to campaign against the reactionary aspects of this law, because it is certain to be approved. It is necessary to prepare the conditions of opposition. You have to prepare for these tasks.

J. POSADAS. 27 SEPT. 1973.

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return by every route' as the communards said when they were being shot.

This stimulates the Peronist masses, but it is necessary to take into account the need to educate the Peronist masses. Not with college education, or with courses, or cadre schools, or conferences. Although all this is necessary, the Peronist masses are learning in a very empirical way, but they are learning the principles of the class struggle. They are applying them in the trade union camp. But to push them forward in the political camp costs them a lot. Above all, as they do not have previous experience and they distrust the communists because they have seen them deceitful, and manoeuvrers; and they do not count on the socialists. Then, it is logical that they have reservations. Many reservations, and many doubts with marxism, with communism. It is logical that they have them. There is going to be resistance. They are going to accept political positions, orientations, but there is going to be a resistance to a programmatic character of this activity.

All the Latin American process goes towards Chile. Chile is an immense example. Already, the proletariat has shown that it is guided by a programme, by policy and centralised in its class organism. The Peronist masses are seeing the reaction of the masses of Chile which they want to make. We have to be the transmitters of all this experience.

The reaction which we foresee is going to produce this blow as a 'boomerang', has already begun to function. The song of the International is the return trip. The song of the International, for the Chilean workers shows the limit to which these assassins have to stop. They are going to continue killing but this shows that they do not intimidate, and that they do not smash the population.

When they sing the International, they show that this is the limit. Because they communicate: 'Here we are'. They show this to the world and they say: 'We are not smashed. They have not defeated us'. We reiterate, the murdered workers were not defeated by death. 'We have ceased living', they said, 'but you carry on, our life is prolonged in you'. This is what they meant when they sang the International when they were being shot, and also in the cemetery to render homage to Neruda singing the International when the rifles were pointing at them. When there is such a large team of more than a thousand who were ready to do this in such conditions and the junta had to let them go, it is as we posed, that already there is an internal decomposition in the army. We do not wait for them to decompose now, but it means that among them there is a feeling of repulsion a series of preoccupations, disquiet, uncertainty caused by the heroism, the historic dignity of the proletariat.

THE POLITICAL CAPITULATION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN FRONT OF NATO

J. POSADAS 8.11.73

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MAKE THE CAPITALISTS PAY FOR THEIR OWN CRISIS! NO LOSS OF PAY, NO FACTORY CLOSURES AND NO DISMISSALS!

The three day week and the economic measures which the government are taking are an attempt by British imperialism to make the working class pay for the crisis of the capitalist system and, at the same time, an attempt to use the crisis to launch an attack on working class organisation and standard of living. The working class movement must make a smashing reply that is going to devastate capitalism. There is less and less room for manoeuvre and discussion; it is class warfare, pure and simple. All the conditions on a national and international scale exist for a body blow at capitalism; because of the limitations of the workers' leaderships the capitalist system may survive such a blow, but it has no perspective of recovery.

Three day working must be met by unifying the struggles of the railwaymen, miners and engineers as the basis for the General Strike to overthrow the Tories and impose a Labour government, with the left taking power in the Labour Party. Beginning, concretely, with a conference of all the unions involved to prepare a programme and strategy of action. The CONFED call for mass assemblies of all the workers is important and has to be applied energetically, discussing and imposing a sliding scale

of hours and wages. That is, full weekly pay if there is a reduction in working hours, no unemployment, all wages to rise with the cost of living, the occupation of any factory threatened with closure, making it run under workers control. This is a basis for a powerful development of revolutionary currents in the trade unions and a stimulus to the process of change in the Labour Party, opening the way to the transformation of the Labour Party into a revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions.

This economic crisis forms part of the global crisis of the world capitalist system. The costs of the world counter-revolution, Vietnam, the nuclear war that imperialism is preparing, the historic competition with the Workers States and the constant and uninterrupted mobilisations of the masses have led into this crisis, and the perspective set by capitalism itself is a perspective of world recession, inflation, stagnation and collapse. It is not a typical capitalist recession, the crisis in the stock exchanges and the virtual collapse of the Japanese economy, for example, indicate its catastrophic character.

This is not the situation in the Workers States. The USSR has no fuel crisis and no inflation. On the contrary,

there is a constant progress, and this includes profound political changes, like for example the discussion in Georgia of the need to 'return to a boshevik functioning'.

The response of the European bourgeoisie to this crisis has been to launch a fierce offensive against the working class; this is the significance of the spate of meetings of the Common Market ministers, as Posadas has analysed. There exists no possibility of compromise with the trade unions and the class; the capitalist system cannot function with any more concessions to the miners or any other sector. This is why the Tories take these measures to reduce the standard of life of the masses and terrorise the workers' leaderships into submission. This is their aim; economic terrorism!

The Tory measures will cut industrial production by about 50%. This is entirely disproportionate to the combined effects of the oil shortage, the miners overtime ban and the power engineers action - even taken together with the ASLEF dispute. It is a line of confrontation. The statements of the CEEB that

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power cuts will be 'brutal', 'massive' and supplies 'to hospitals will not be maintained' confirm this line. The open split in the bourgeoisie against sectors like the chairman of Courtaulds, who says there is no alternative other than to pay the miners what they want, indicates a position of weakness but the sectors of capitalism that are most decisive are seeing that concessions to the miners now would open the floodgates to a whole economic and above all social and political process that capitalism could not control. Even if they have to make concessions later, their essential objective is to reassert their authority as a ruling class.

And the right wing in the Labour Party gives them full support. This miserable bourgeois clique of Wilson, Jenkins, Callaghan, Prentice and so on that appeal for 'national unity', the spirit of Dunkirk, etc. are capitalist rabble. It is necessary to denounce and reject the whole range of class collaborationist positions they have taken on this crisis. We condemn them as bourgeois, as instruments of the class enemy, and we appeal to the left in the Labour Party to wage a vigorous struggle for their expulsion from the L.P. now. The crisis which exists is the crisis of the capitalist system; its only solution is through the class struggle and the taking of power. This is why the idea of a 'national government' is so false and so treacherous. The left in the Labour Party has to see the necessity of structuring itself as a tendency and to intervene as a leadership; to go to the factories and workers meetings, to discuss; take the opinions of the workers, get the feeling of the class, to make its own local, regional or national meetings independently of the right wing and to discuss how to campaign against the right, how to organise the General Strike, how to overthrow the Tories and progress in the application of the programme of nationalisations, to extend it and impose workers control. This is what the Labour left has to discuss with the class! Benn etc. are correct to oppose the discussion of a 'national government' but if they are to differentiate themselves from the pro-capitalists they have to support, endorse and appeal to the independent organisation and intervention of the working class. It is necessary to support the call for a joint LP - TUC conference to plan the

policy, programme and organisms for the General Strike, to raise the programme of nationalisations, workers control, a workers plan of production with the intervention of all the masses in their own organisms.

But it is necessary to insist; one cannot wait for the trade union leaderships or the Labour left or the joint LP - TUC recall conference. The masses themselves are seizing the initiative, and it is this aspect - **THE INDEPENDENT ORGANISATION OF THE MASSES** - that it is necessary to stimulate, because this is decisive. It is necessary to push forward the process into the general strike with the greatest decision. In spite of the fact there are not prepared leaderships, the left in the LP is still disorganised and lacking

confidence to play the role it must; the Communist Party emphasises elections when it is a question of General Strike; nonetheless, the consciousness of the working class is such that even if these leaderships fail to advance in the process and so limit the gains that are made, the class will gain an enormous experience and progress in controlling its own organisms. The world structure of the revolution that advances and advances must be kept firmly in mind in determining the perspective. The European proletariat is intervening with a force and security which is undefeated; it was shown for example in the General Strike in France on the 6th, when 600,000 people demonstrated in Paris. It is necessary to organise this force on a European scale. Against the Common Market we counterpose the perspective of the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. We appeal to the Soviet Union and the other Workers States, to their Communist Parties and trade unions, to intervene in support of the European proletariat. We appeal for a European Conference of workers parties and trade unions (including the USSR) to plan a European strategy against capitalism and to prepare the European General Strike.

It is necessary to organise mass meetings and mass committees in all the factories, mines, workers areas, pit villages to discuss the resolution of the crisis in the interests of the masses. It is necessary to form organisms of struggle to organise the General Strike, Action Committees in each area with delegates from the trade unions, the

Labour movement, workers areas and delegates from joint strike committees of the engineers, miners and railwaymen should themselves be composed of delegates elected from the base and answerable to the base, democratically controlled and subject to the instant recall of mass meetings. The trade unions themselves have to develop a more intense life at all levels, making a political discussion, bringing out their own news-sheets to communicate with all the population, organising support, attracting sectors like the students and housewives. Area and factory committees can follow quickly from these, having a permanent functioning involving all the masses, developing as organisms of dual power on the basis of a soviet type functioning, i.e. a permanent life of discussion, decision and action with the full participation of the population.

It is necessary to bear in mind that the discussion of the use of troops to break the strike movement is not simply a question of having troops working in the power stations or moving coal supplies, but at some point the soldiers will be used as soldiers, as a repressive military force against pickets and demonstrations. It is necessary to make an organised and systematic intervention towards the base of the army to gain all those sectors possible, to show that it is not the proletariat or the strike that is disruptive but capitalism itself. Capitalism cannot make society or the economy progress; the working class can. A whole campaign of agitation and propaganda can be made in the army now to gain sectors and weaken it, but this in no sense neutralises the army as a military force that capitalism will use. It is fundamental to understand this experience of Chile and discuss the conclusions from the process there.

We appeal to the miners and engineers to occupy the factories and mines and make them function under workers control, selling the produce to the working class at prices determined by committees of workers and housewives. We appeal to the newspaper and television workers to black all bourgeois propaganda.

We appeal to the left in the LP and trade unions to intervene in the organisation of the General Strike to overthrow the Tories and impose a Labour government to rapidly extend and apply the programme of nationalisations.

We appeal to the left in the LP and trade unions to intervene in the organisation of the General Strike to overthrow the Tories and impose a Labour government to rapidly extend and apply the programme of nationalisations with workers control, a workers plan of production. This left has to base itself on the independent actions of the class, stimulating its independent development in organisms of dual power in preparation to take power.

This issue of Red Flag appears this week in this format because the governments' restrictions on power supply have prevented our printer from operating normally.

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN EUROPE, THE STRIKE OF THE SMALL TRADERS IN FRANCE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

J. POSADAS

11.11.73

European capitalism is preparing to globally confront the proletariat. Hence the 'nine' have decided on the wages freeze proposed by Giscard d'Estaing. He made the proposal which was accepted by the others, to regulate their own struggle, to contain it and reach a price agreement at the expense of the masses, of the small business man and the petit bourgeoisie, to cease their very small confrontation in order to join forces to socially smash the proletariat.

It is possible to foresee great struggles throughout the next stage. It does not mean that they have approved it, but they are on the way to approve it. This shows the course which the process is taking. Great struggles are coming throughout Europe. Not just in one or another country but throughout Europe. In this process the slogan of the United Socialist States of Europe is going to be put forward against the European Common Market.

This discussion of the 'nine', although it may not have decided definitively on a prices and wages freeze, has the aim of confronting the workers movement. Capitalism is preparing a confrontation and an attempt at a global trial of strength with the proletariat of Europe. Big capital has a thousand ways of evading price controls because, in reality, the wages and prices freeze is a freeze on prices only. The working class has to face the freeze because the boss simply does not pay.

To confront this a central slogan necessary to struggle and agitate for, and which it is nec-

essary to give priority to now as a form of dual power, is the sliding scale of hours and wages. Also that every achievement and development of industry and technique must be for the benefit of the masses, with a reduction in hours of work and no reduction in wages. No to the wages freeze; a sliding scale of wages and every progress of technique and production for the benefit of the masses! Make capitalism pay! Make this a mobilising centre throughout Europe.

This does not mean that they are ready to repress immediately. But they are trying to take world measures which correspond to a world war against the masses. They want to do globally what is being done by capitalism in the Common Market with the wages freeze. To confront the masses. They are also in competition and confrontation with American imperialism, with the Japanese, and with the Workers States, but essentially this is a confrontation with the masses, and this struggle is going to increase.

prevent the unification of these forces. Yankee imperialism has made an agreement and then changed. It is not only a change of the Egyptian bourgeoisie which always wanted this, but a change by imperialism which is going to have repercussions in Israel. This does not mean that Israel is any the less an essential support of imperialism. Yankee imperialism is obliged to confront the revolution in the Middle East. It is not a question only of the war, or of Israel as a support of imperialism. It is a question concretely that the war in the Middle East has produced the bases to greatly stimulate the revolution in the Middle East and also in Israel. The rehabilitation of the Israeli Communist Party which is very good, the position which it has is very good, is an indication of this. It is not only the Communist Party, there are extensive layers of workers, intellectuals, of the educated and comfortable petit bourgeoisie who accept that the solution is to finish with imperialism in the Middle East. The dissidence and disagreements within the Israeli leadership is also a product of this. Cheppil's criticisms of Dayan because he did not smash the Arabs immediately, shows that the right is conscious that every stage in the prolongation of the war is going to produce the intervention of the Soviets. They want to smash the Arabs at one blow and not to give the Soviets the opportunity to intervene. In exerting a pressure on Dayan they want to put a pressure on the Yanks also, to continue following their earlier policy and smash the Arab masses. They failed because the Arab masses were not intimidated. Although the political leadership of Egypt betrayed as before, the masses were not smashed and did not collapse. All this intensified the crisis of imperialism and affected Europe particularly severely.

THE MIDDLE EAST WAR INTENSIFIES THE INTER CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS.

It is necessary to assess the four by-elections in Britain. Three constituencies had previously been held by the conservatives, now they heavily lost two and the liberals won. These were very bourgeois areas. In Govan, which had been a labour constituency, the Scottish Nationalists won. Labour did not lose. They were Scottish Nationalist votes which before went to labour and now go to this party. It is a partial retreat by the Labour Party but still within the camp of opposition to the capitalist system, because they are Scottish Nationalists with a very important trade union and social activity, putting forward a separation from England but also attacking the Queen.

This is towards the left. It is not a defeat for Labour. It is a redistribution of votes in the Labour camp. But the other three constituencies are a real defeat for capitalism. The Conservatives regained only one, and with less votes than last time, but it is an aristocratic area. In two they lost and the Liberals won. There is a constant flux in the capitalist camp. The petit bourgeoisie goes over to Labour, abstain or go to the Liberals. Throughout Europe it is like this.

It is necessary to foresee the course of this process, linked to the problem of the Middle East and the considerable crisis of the United States. The Middle East crisis is a very great blow to the capitalist system. It has made capitalism alter course and change points of support - and the deepening of the struggle of the masses in the Middle East is going to be elevated with the Soviets' presence - to contain the entry of the Soviets, block the struggle of the masses and

Yankee imperialism must dispose of immense agricultural surplus in Europe, and if it came over it would ruin all the agricultural production in Europe, because Yankee imperialism produces tomatoes, vegetables, wheat, milk, eggs, butter at half the price of Europe.

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With a consumption of butter that is relatively much lower in Europe, there is a massive surplus of thousands of tons which they sold to the Soviet Union at half production cost. It is a surplus, but on the other hand it is also a means of trading with the Workers States, which shows the anguished situation of capitalism from every point of view. If it was strong it would not do this, because it weakens its internal markets and strengthens and affirms the very powerful, central sectors of capitalism at the cost of small and middle scale production. It socially weakens its own market and its own class composition because it has no solution.

It is necessary to foresee a world course of capitalism in Europe against the masses.

THE MEETING OF THE NINE AND THE PREPARATION FOR THE CONFRONTATION OF CLASS AGAINST CLASS IN EUROPE.

The meeting of the 'nine', the proposal of G. d'Estaing for the wages freeze as one of the means to stabilise the situation corresponds to the intentions of the other capitalists to take a common attitude in order to confront the proletariat. It is a conclusion, a global solution by the system, not by one or another country, to confront the proletariat united, to prevent one exerting a pressure on the other. They are trying to co-ordinate their actions, but at the same time Giscard d'Estaing proposes an agreement on the sale of primary agricultural products which would allow the Americans to sell in Europe.

The Americans have a very great surplus, they can increase production by 20% quite quickly, and at half the price which the best farms in Europe can produce, whether Germans, British or French. This is linked to the wages freeze, to the agreement with the Yanks in agricultural production which is one of the keys which the United States has, and one of the means which it needs to compensate for its constant deficit in its balance of payments.

All these are factors of pressure for the general strike and for a much greater resistance than the general strike. It is part of the process which is going to link with this movement of small traders.

It is necessary to understand the level of the crisis of capitalist society. When Maire General Secretary of the French trade union centre has to speak so assiduously against capitalism without making a programmatic speech he is showing the feeling of a very large layer of small traders in the population. If the population had not shown such solidarity with the small traders, there would not have been such a tremendous crisis. Everybody complains that everything is bad. When the bourgeoisie is not able to channel this antipathy and popular fury against the small traders, to make it seem that they are to be blamed for all this, it is because the fury is much greater and this is not the only issue.

Maire speaks to the small traders to unite them with the workers, and is stimulating the small traders, the family and an important sector of the petit bourgeoisie to unite itself to the workers movement. The essential problems of the

Global in intentions and plans that is. But it does not have the necessary agreement to be global. In the situation in Germany, Belgium, France,

Britain and Italy there is an identity of purpose. Shortly these governments are going to show that they do not have the unanimity to make this confrontation, because each one has a particular crisis under the pressure of the masses of each country. It is necessary to foresee such a tendency. To appeal for a common movement throughout Europe to confront this attempt at a wages freeze with a programme of sliding scale of wages, of the best of science and technology in workers' hands and also support to the masses of Spain and Portugal to overthrow the dictatorship.

country exist without being resolved. The threat of the general strike - even though there was prior warning given of when it was going to take place - is a real general strike. The masses see that to find a solution to the problems, they have to use methods of force. And they criticise the Communist Party for its passive attitude. The proletarian vanguard, at the same time that it criticises its party, continues to stay firmly in the Communist and Socialist Party. There is no decline in support either for the socialists or the communists. There is an increase. The CGT has increased its votes in all the recent elections. In the municipal elections the left won and when it didn't win, such as this recent election which the UDR won, the UDR lost 2,000 votes and the left gained 800. Everywhere there is a great progress of the left, a centralisation and polarisation. The problems of the army are discussed as the vital problems of the country. The bourgeoisie is preparing already and cleaning its arms, its two arms, the material arms which is the atomic bomb and the arm of political preparations. It is very clear what is being prepared. All this shows that there is no possibility of passivity and that the factors of crisis in the Communist and Socialist Party are going to increase. The communist and socialist vanguard are going to be even more concerned to intervene.

It is necessary to be guided by these conclusions. The declaration of Maire which the bourgeois press print is very important. In reality he tries to gain advantage from the process to put himself as the leader and to try and contain it, because there is no programmatic answer on how to link this struggle of the small traders with that of the workers, peasants and white collar workers,

how to unite them to fight together and to give a solution together. The outcome as a whole is against the capitalist system. He said this, but the problem is how? It is a declaration without a programme. A programme which unites all the demands of the workers movement, to be able to intervene. These shopkeepers who are on strike, by the nature of their situation have links, connections and greatly depend on the state apparatus. They are electoral clientele of the government, an electoral clientele which doesn't depend on labour force but on particular situations. When these sectors openly show themselves in opposition to the government and threaten it, when they say that they are going to do the same as the workers, it is because the depth of the crisis is very great. It is not only a problem of fruit and vegetables, it is much deeper. It is necessary to appreciate that this crisis is much deeper and is going to have repercussions. It is going to be linked to the general strike which the parties and trade unions are preparing, allowing a months warning so that there can be negotiations. The declaration of a general strike is a means of pressure, but also a stage to discuss and come to an agreement when the factors for a strike and general mobilisation are very powerful. When the movement reaches the shopkeepers of Paris and extends to the rest of the country, it is because of the depth of the crisis of capitalism. They do not have the resources to answer to this necessity and capitalism tends constantly to unload the crisis onto the small shopkeepers, the transport workers, the intermediate sectors and the workers.

This is the crisis of the capitalist system which is expressed through inflation, monetary crisis and the increase in prices. By the nature of the capitalist system the small traders have to be dislodged by the big business men. They cannot be annulled completely; not because capitalism is not disposed to do it, but because through the structure of the economy, the poor layers have to spend on the day and have to buy from the corner shop. They do not have the money to buy in bulk and store purchases. Therefore they need small shops. But this small trade which previously consisted of thousands of shops has declined by almost 60%. The attitude of the government tends to support this process to eliminate the small trader even on the level of distribution and the sale of small agrarian production and it favours the big monopolies. This is the European Common Market, the inevitable conclusion of the capitalist system and of the European Common Market. It is happening now in France with the tax increases which burdens and hits hard the shopkeeper, but it's the same situation throughout Europe, because capitalism has no solution. To compete with the rest of the world, among them the Workers States, to strengthen the large financial consortia they have to hit at the small and medium business man. It is not something that happens by chance now, because in making the tax lists they impose more on the small traders;

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THE POLITICAL CAPITULATION OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT IN FRONT OF NATO

J. POSADAS 8.11.73

Chou-en Lai has declared to an American journalist of the 'New York Times' that he supports the strengthening of NATO faced with the Warsaw Pact. Such a declaration signifies a conception antagonistic to the Soviet Union and shows the decomposition of this leadership. If it does not have more immediate political consequences in the internal struggle, it is because economically they are maintaining a certain elevation in the production. But it is a policy which is against the will, the desire, the capacity, the comprehension and the consciousness of the Chinese people and therefore has to be expressed in the internal struggle.

As it does not come out publicly it is not known. In the same way as the Tenth Congress was secret, this has to be discussed a lot internally because it is a complete capitulation. It is necessary to denounce the attitude of Chou-en-Lai in this way; it is a political capitulation in front of imperialism in order to defend chauvinistic national, economic and territorial interests.

It is necessary to make a denunciation and a world campaign calling to the world communist movement, to the workers movement, to the socialist movement, to the catholic and nationalist movement to make a world movement to condemn this policy of the Chinese government. Make an appeal to the Chinese people, direct oneself to the Chinese people and to the Soviet people also, so that as a part of this campaign, soviet democracy is developed in the Soviet Union, so that the trade unions function independently, and so that they direct themselves in this way, posing the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. Call for an alliance of all the colonial and semi-colonial countries against imperialism.

The declaration of Chou-en-Lai marks a very great decomposition. It also indicates that they are seeking to give in to capitalism at all costs. In the conception, in the relations, in the policy, it is yielding enormously. It is a very great weakness, looking for the support of the Yanks, making concessions from every point of view. After the 10th Congress of the Communist Party, we posed that the agreement with the left was not going to last much longer. The left could not put up with it. There must be a very great state of discontent. This statement of Chou-en-Lai is not a question of a mistaken policy, it is infamous. It is comparable to the stage of decomposition when the Stalin clique in the Soviet Union allied with Hitler!

To recognise NATO and defend it against the Warsaw Pact and against the Workers States is a very dangerous political capitulation because it weakens the Workers State, not because it will succeed in allying itself with imperialism against

the Workers States, because that could provoke a revolution in China. It is impossible that they do such a thing. But certainly it weakens the structure of the Workers State and allows time and means for imperialism to take concessions and advantages. It serves to contain the crisis of capitalism, to help it maintain itself without greater deterioration. It is necessary to denounce that this is a political decomposition. Such a denunciation has to be accompanied by an appeal for the unity of the world communist movement and a discussion on why the leadership has such an attitude. It is not the product of the Chinese but a lack of political life, of soviet life, of communist life in the Communist Parties of the Workers States. The example has to come from the Workers States; in the USSR, in Cuba, in Czechoslovakia, that the trade unions, the party, that the cells live and direct themselves directly to

the world, that the trade unions, the workers centres carry forward a life of assemblies, conferences, meetings, that the Communist Parties organise meetings in the workers areas and zones, in the cells, and they direct themselves to the world, to the Chinese masses and the Chinese trade unions.

The Chinese leadership is going to hide it, to cover it up, to evade it. But it is going to reach China. It is necessary to pose that the problem is not simply between the leaderships of China and the USSR, but of the masses, the organisms of the Workers States. It is a problem that these must function as organs of the Workers States. A programme to plan the unification of the world communist movement, including the Posadists, and of the economic planning of the Workers States is necessary; economic, social and military planning. Call to the Chinese people to discuss, by every means, by radio, articles, in a million ways, in such a way that an appeal reaches the American masses as well. It is the means of contributing to the independent political organisation of the American masses.

THE POLICY OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP FINDS NO POINT OF SUPPORT IN CHINA.

By the intervention in the Middle East and in Chile, imperialism demonstrated that it is spying, waiting for the conditions to launch the war. The attitude of Chou-en Lai of recognising the military junta in Chile is criminal and moreover it gives the junta authority in front of the Chilean masses. On the other hand the Soviets, correcting previous attitudes, have broken relations and are not going to play football in Santiago, making an accusation against the military junta, which means exerting an enormous political pressure to disintegrate the structure of the junta.

This is the objective which they have. The Chilean masses don't need to see that the Soviet Union is not going to play football in order to have political security against the murderous military junta. This Soviet decision is directed in addition to stimulating the Chilean masses, the Chilean proletariat and the Popular Unity - to break the internal block of the junta. It is a correct policy which it is necessary to support. While on the other hand the Chinese recognise the junta to defend their bureaucratic interests, of mandarins, not as communist leaders. They are expressions of bureaucratic, chauvinist, regional interest, of the regional and family application of marxism. They apply marxism in part for the economy, for the development of science and

technology but not for the policy, for the development of the Workers State as the basis of the new human civilisation, as a new base of history. This is the essential centre of marxism; the understanding of the process of history expressed through the struggle to reach the construction of communism. It is the essential part of marxism because it permits the resolution of problems which are going to permit the resolution of all the others. Eliminate the capitalist system, oppression and war, eliminate having to use violence to live. This gives the basis to afterwards resolve all the other problems.

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they have always done this. But besides doing this they want to eliminate them, to leave control in the hands of the big financial consortia. Hence we say that the capitalist system is not growing but that it is contracting. Financial power and concentration is increasing but the radius of social action and capacity is diminishing.

The appeal to the small traders must be an appeal for the transformation of society. The Workers State does not have an interest in eliminating this sector but in winning and elevating it so that the effort which this sector makes to try and live reasonably decently can be done by living in the Workers State, without the need for such an effort. There is no need to promise them that the Workers State is going to give more than the capitalist system. This is a lie. We want to put an end to their devoting every day, from six in the morning until twelve at night, to the barbaric life which they live. There are many big family problems among these people who do not have the time to live a family life. We want them to live as human beings and for that it is necessary to transform the régime of property. Before long they are going to see that it is more convenient to be a worker, to live like everyone else and to be a hundred times better off than the small business man, because they are going to understand that the sentiment of property is surpassed by the social sentiment of progress. We appeal to the communist comrades that they intervene towards them, explaining this. That they lead a slavish life. The small shopkeeper is going to be with us for some time yet, but we must explain to them that it is a slavish existence which they lead, and that we do not want this. What we want is to elevate society to eliminate having to live in this way in order to be 'independent'. The small shopkeeper wants to be a proprietor. Why? So that he can show his independence, believing that this is better. We also want this, but it is necessary to eliminate the capitalist régime. With the development of socialist society, there is no need for them to live like brutes. Socialism is going to win all of them. It is not possible to make promises as the communists do. It is not possible to do this. The Workers State, to develop

the economy, has to be centralised, collectivised; otherwise it would be a better run capitalist economy. It is necessary to link this situation to the general strike.

All these experiences show the need for the Popular Union government with the extended 'Common Programme'. It is necessary to discuss also the experience of Chile. It is not possible to put on one side such a profound experience. One cannot forget that Chile is being discussed. Capitalism throughout Europe is discussing the function of the army. It is necessary to propose to open a discussion in the workers movement, in the workers parties on the function of the army and how to appeal to the army to collaborate in the construction of the Workers State. One cannot expect the army as an institution to come over to the revolution, but necessary changes can be produced within, so that a differentiation develops and it can be possible to win a part of them, to prepare for a selection. It is necessary to take up the proposal of the Socialist Party journal 'Eris' to discuss openly. There is no danger, no retreat; the petit bourgeoisie is not going to go away nor is the army going to stop being what it is. On the contrary the only way to win it is in this way. A very great part of the army feels that its function, to kill or be killed, has no reason. It feels that it is defending the interests of owners to sustain a small team against an immense number of the population. We have to say that we want to eliminate imposition, the subjection of one human being to another. Hence it is necessary to pose the destruction of the social and economic base of this. Also that the proletariat is the force that is going to do this, not because the proletariat has educated itself and learnt this. It did this, but because of its function in history, its function in the economy. It has no other solution but to free all society, not to be a new boss, through its role in the economy which is to replace capitalism. It is necessary to pose clearly; the historic function of the proletariat is determined by its place in the economy and in society. It is necessary to discuss all this, the Middle East, Chile, the crisis of capitalism, and link it to the general strike.

German capitalism feels that in the present situation, survival depends on the Yanks or European capitalism and it has no possibility of arming itself, nor has it the historic time to make a large army and if it did so all its economic power would collapse completely. It has to choose. It is a pessimistic choice which it elects in accord with the Workers States. It is not a dependency, it does not submit to them, but it makes such an agreement which gives a very advantageous base for the workers movement. Capitalism cannot control, dominate or impede such an inclination of the Germans. Capitalism is weak, but at the same time it is preparing an offensive because it wants to prepare for the final settlement of accounts. The war in the Middle East has stimulated them towards these measures. It does not mean that they are going to sanction or apply them, because there is a polemic and contradiction between Germany and the others. A very great polemic. But it indicates the roads which capitalism is taking, it is acting as a system in order to save itself. If not it would not hold this meeting of the 'nine', which was not a commercial meeting. It was a class meeting of European capitalism to confront the revolution in Europe and throughout the world. It sought to concentrate around the high financial sector to defend itself from the proletarian offensive.

One of the events which capitalism sees that weakens it in a very profound way, is the offensive of the German, French, Italian proletariat and the triumph of Guinea Bissau. The resolution itself of NATO officially declared support 'to every colonial movement, even with arms, to dislodge every external oppression'. They have to make such a concession because in every possible way the masses are going to do it. They try to unload the crisis onto the less powerful states, as in this case Portugal, to dislodge from above a great pressure from the countries of Asia, Africa and in part Latin America.

It is necessary to consider that in this decision of the 'nine' - the European bourgeoisie - other measures are going to follow, and the situation is going to pose now the reply to the wage freeze situation; the United Socialist States of Europe. To face the Common Market a policy is needed which elevates the struggle towards a solution superior to the capitalist system, as in part is to be found in the Common Programme in France, which poses the struggle in Europe for democracy and socialism. It is necessary to insist on this measure without neglecting support for stages and measures which can impel the struggle against the capitalist regime.

THE STRIKE OF THE SMALL SHOPKEEPERS IN FRANCE AND THE PREPARATION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE.

The meeting of the 'nine' prepares a new offensive of capitalism but it is hidden and clandestine. European capitalism is preparing a massive reply with the wages and price freeze. As regards prices, they are not going to block anything, but wages yes. Capitalism is not in the position to yield. On the other hand neither are they in the position to yield to Germany but the masses are seizing hold of conquests continually and they have provoked an internal crisis which forces the government to allow the policy of Weller. It is a policy which tends to increase the separation of Germany from the 'nine'. Without separating it, this is a pressure away from Europe.

J. POSADAS 11.11.73.

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It is necessary to condemn this attitude of Chou-en-Lai which, qualifying NATO as a necessary organ, links politically with imperialism against the Workers States. It is a criminal attitude determined by the chauvinist interests and whoever does this has the door open for new, more important concessions. Internally in China he does not have a point of support for such a policy. It is a policy carried out by the leadership isolated from the Chinese people. There is no literature in China which justifies this. It cannot be justified because the Chinese people are against, just as the Soviet masses were against the policy of Stalin.

A struggle against all this political capitulation, this alliance with imperialism against the Workers State has to express itself within a short time within the Workers States. When he shows that NATO is necessary, Chou-en-Lai is politically supporting one of the essential centres

of aggression, of the imperialist war against the Workers State, against the people of the world, against the countries which seek to smash imperialism. The Chinese do not intervene either in the Middle East or in Latin America. They don't take positions in order not to clash with imperialism. And when they take a position they recognise the Chilean junta. They recognise NATO

and declare that they are not intervening in the internal crisis of US imperialism, in Watergate, on the pretext that they are the internal affairs of another country. It is necessary to intervene showing that Watergate is the decomposition of the capitalist apparatus and that it is preparing a military dictatorship to launch the war. This is its objective.

THE WORKERS STATES INTERVENE AT THE HEAD OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.

The intervention of the Soviets in the Middle East whatever be the result, already signifies that the Soviets are an inseparable part of a whole activity in the Middle East and in all the world. The Workers State already intervened as a factor at the head of all this process. Because of this the Chinese leadership say that NATO is necessary; it is its egoism of a little region against the world development of the revolution. It is not that it lacks an idea of tactics.

In the struggle against Chiang Kai Shek they showed that they had a lot of tactical ability. But in the world process the tactic against Chiang Kai Shek in which they unified all the national and regional tendencies and appetites, is no longer enough. Now it is a question of the development of the world, which requires a revolutionary programme.

This doesn't mean that they have betrayed China. They have capitulated in order to associate themselves with the Yanks against the Workers State. If they continue with this policy it will stimulate the counter-revolution. They will not be able to go much further because the structure of the world and of China defeats them. Otherwise they would do it. This political capitulation prepares a team which acts docilely in agreement with the Yanks, taking into account its own national, regional, local and domestic interest. Because of this they employ domestic marxism for the economy, nothing more. For the analysis of the problems of policy which are for essential problems of the class and revolutionary struggle, there is no marxism. There is the interest of the master of the house, thus because of this they eulogise NATO and pose that it is for NATO to contain and menace the Soviets. Because of this they don't intervene in the Middle East and in Chile they have intervened against the revolution, supporting the junta. They are domestic interests which the Chinese Workers State cannot put up with because it is in antagonistic contradiction with it and this will inevitably be expressed.

Because of this it is fundamental to make a world campaign to contain the criminal attitude of the Chinese, without omitting the criticisms of the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR but in this case it is a question of an appeal to the Chinese.

It is necessary to link this appeal to a discussion for the unity of the world communist movement on the basis of an economic, social, political and military planning; for the reanimation of soviet democracy in all the Workers States, for the independent functioning of the trade unions and the workers centres so that these direct themselves to the world workers movement, to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, to the workers centres of the big capitalist countries to organise a world united front against imperialism.

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FOR A EUROPEAN CONFERENCE OF T.U.s AND WORKERS PARTIES TO ORGANISE FULL SUPPORT FOR THE GREEK WORKERS

The new military coup in Greece is an open admission by Greek capitalism that it is weak, divided, insecure and that tendencies within its own institutions are looking for solutions to the crisis in the country with measures that do not favour the capitalist system. In Greece the class struggle is combined to the inter-bourgeois struggle and also with that of the bourgeoisie and the national bourgeois sectors. The present coup confirms completely the analysis made in the article by J. Posadas of the 24th October (see Red Flag 196) and in previous articles where Posadas showed that this inter-bourgeois dispute was reaching gigantic proportions and a sector of the army and of the government in Greece was seeing that anti-capitalist measures are necessary in order to progress.

The government of Gizikis, Ioannides, Andropoulos etc. has the declared intention of returning to the aims and policies of the CIA organised coup of 67, 'to return to the objectives of the 67 revolution and to end the slide into an electoral adventure'. All the leading team of the present coup were involved in the previous coup, and intervene now to end Papadopoulos's slide towards elections, a 'full discussion', his weak attitude toward strikes of the working class, and to cut short the influence of the Makarezos tendency that uses the Chinese economy, the economy of the Workers States, as an example of how to develop Greece. It is no accident either that the coup has taken place just after the Middle East war, when the Americans need Greece as a point of support for them in that area, and they cannot rely on someone like Papadopoulos, but need a sector more submitted to them. The military with their civilian allies in the government (supporters of Karamanlis and the traditional right wing) intervene to make this coup. But their weakness is enormous. The fact that they have released some of those arrested in the students riots and certain communist leaders and that they talk about measures for a far greater distribution of wealth, and talk of elections 'at some point in the future' indicates that they have a very weak base of support in the bourgeoisie and that they have to combine with sectors that may have a perspective quite different to their own, in order to make the coup.

But it is necessary to be quite clear that even if they had a determined cohesive team with broad support in the army they would, nonetheless as soon as they came to power, face precisely the same problem as the Papadopoulos regime faced. In this stage of the world economy and the world revolution, it is not possible to make a significant

development of any economically backward country within a strictly capitalist framework anywhere in the world. Any capitalist government's attempt to develop the internal market and hence industrialise the country leads to an immediate clash with the interests of imperialism and its 'multi national' economic forms. To advance a backward agricultural economy like Greece it is necessary to centralise the economy and invest in the state, and consequently to undertake a series of nationalisations and a relationship with the masses. This is the process in Peru for example where the government has developed a whole series of anti-capitalist measures leading to the Revolutionary State, providing a basis for the intervention of the masses in the further development of the revolution. In this stage of total crisis of capitalism and the mortal combat between imperialism on the one side and the revolution and the Workers States on the other, there is no scope for development of any backward economy to be able to compete in world markets. This is why the Chilean junta faces immediate crisis - even if it were to stabilise itself militarily and socially (which is impossible) - it could not bring the economy to an equilibrium, let alone develop it in a capitalist framework.

But also the enormous force of attraction of the revolution and the Workers States have an influence within the Greek army and peasantry who see Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia which have made tremendous economic and social progress as Workers States. These are the reasons why tendencies like Makarezos exist now and why there is this coup. It is necessary to exploit this weakness. The working class in Greece with its strikes, and the mobilisations of the students have tended to deepen the crisis within the bourgeoisie. Sectors of the traditional right such as Kanellopoulos and of the centre right like Mavros have tried to utilise the magnificent struggle of the students and workers, profiting from their revolutionary and democratic motivation in order to break the policy of Papadopoulos and Markezinis who, in order to find support from the petit bourgeoisie were putting forward a policy of 'controlled democracy'.

In this situation it is possible to see the collapse of the unnatural alliance between the masses and Kanellopoulos and Mavros which has never really existed and which has been made in the name of 'democracy'. Now a real anti-capitalist unity is being forged including all the forces of the workers movement, and against the monarchists and the pro-American 'democratic' bourgeoisie.

It is necessary for the communists to understand that it was not simply 'fascism' under Papadopoulos, nor is it simply 'fascism' now. It is a combination of tendencies in which it is possible to develop a nationalist wing in the army, not submitting to it but impelling its development whilst developing the independent organisation of the working class so as to ultimately disintegrate and destroy its structure as part of the apparatus of capitalism. At the same time impelling the struggle for democratic demands, nationalisations, agrarian reform and trade with the Workers States.

It is important that the British trade union movement intervenes to consolidate this unity of the workers movement in Greece and to help give confidence to the emerging anti-capitalist forces. To make demonstrations, industrial action, boycotts and all measures which will weaken the junta. We also appeal for the European workers movement to call a Conference of Workers Parties and trade unions to coordinate actions of support to the peoples of Spain, Portugal and Greece to demand democratic rights and to give full support to the struggles of the masses of these countries.

errata

We apologise to our readers for two mistakes in the last issue of Red Flag. Line 6 in the editorial should read 'devalue' not 'revalue' and the very last line should read 'to repress the masses' not 'to exploit the masses'.

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