

# THE SOLDIERS AND THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN ETHIOPIA J. POSADAS

26.11.74.

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)  
NO. 234 YEAR XII TUESDAY 14th JANUARY 1975 PRICE 5p

## WORKERS CONTROL IN THE FACTORIES TO IMPOSE THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS!

*Wilson's violent attack on the car workers is symptomatic of the constantly aggravating crisis of perspective of the capitalist system. Its threats of unemployment, mirror all the hopelessness, the total lack of capacity of capitalism to defend its positions, the total lack of any programme or pretence of a programme to revive capitalism. Such an attack in face of the solid and profound concentration of the will of the British proletariat to extend the programme of nationalisations and its refusal to tolerate the imbecile policies of private property, is a mark of despair, despair of capitalism and more specifically of all those fossilised sectors of the right in the LP who cannot function as in the past*

*The efforts of the right in the Labour government are aimed to delay the functioning of the National Enterprise Board, prevent trade union intervention over the use of state funds, siphon funds through the usual banking channels and above all delay measures of nationalisation. Support for co-operatives is another way of containing the process. But whatever the manoeuvres, state intervention becomes more and more inevitable and even if in part such intervention is used to prevent total nationalisation, the prostration of private business and the recourse to state funds continually destroys the pretensions of capitalism, and multiplies its social weakness.*

It is fundamental that the trade unions and the left in the LP intervene with all their force in this total crisis. The present experience of world history shows without any prevarication, that nationalisation and planning of the economy is the only solution to a situation where the capitalist system has shown conclusively that it can solve none of the problems facing humanity. Ethiopia is a classic case of a country maintained in total backwardness by the alliance of feudalism and Imperialism. In order to progress capitalism has to be jettisoned, the banks nationalised, agrarian reform proposed. Venezuela nationalises oil and now iron. Backward and impoverished Dahomey proclaims advance to socialism under the banner of Marxism and Leninism. In the centres of capitalist power, whatever the existing infra structure, whatever the size of large bourgeois strata of the population, the system has also shown conclusively that it can only reach a certain level of functioning and then collapses and falls right back. The rich get richer, the poor get poorer, the system in incapable of invest-

ment. All the line of the process is class against class. Capitalism does not even pretend otherwise — the workers must accept wage reductions, that is the line, nothing else.

### BRITISH IMPERIALISM CANNOT RECOVER

The whole process in the world is determined by the preparation for the final settlement of accounts. The masses of the world and the Workers states intervene constantly to get rid of the barbaric and antiquated system of capitalism. All the vital energies of capitalism go into the massive production of atomic weapons even if this leads to generating further social conflicts. On the other hand before the actual collapse of the capitalist system, sectors of its apparatus begin to desert. In Portugal and Ethiopia actual armies of capitalism, the central organs of coercion of capitalism adopt the programme of socialism. Why don't the left in the LP and the trade union leaderships make resolutions and analysis on these events, draw conclusions? It is absurd to ignore events like this. Under the impact of the weight of the

Soviet Union, the Egyptian Proletariat intervenes against Sadat because it wants socialism in Egypt and the end of Israeli imperialism. At the same time the communist army of Vietnam constantly weaken the regime of Thieu. All these are struggles of class against class, system against system. When there is a massive general strike in Nov 19 in Paris this is part of the struggle for power to overthrow D'Estaing's government and put

in a government based on the Common Programme. This world process does not allow British Imperialism the opportunity to recover. Its immense dependence on the world market and world finance constantly undermines its structure whereas its earlier domination of the world market was a source of strength. It cannot recover. The left in the trade unions and in the LP have to assimilate the lessons of Ethiopia. They have to

assimilate what was meant by the execution of the sixty top landowners, bosses and military men. Socialism is resisted and the process is one of civil war. British and world capitalism would like to settle for the Chilean solution in Britain but they cannot find the strength. This does not alter the fact that civil war is coming and in some respects has already begun whether it is with CIA organised explosions or the brutal military

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## The organisation of the mind, Marxism, and revolutionary militancy. J. POSADAS

8th MAY 1974

(CONVERSATION WITH A COMRADE) J. POSADAS

The division into conscious, subconscious, unconscious, corresponds to the normal functioning of the brain in this stage of history. The functioning of the brain, of the entire organism, the structure of the brain comes from nature. But social life with its influence has given it certain forms which did not exist in origin. In establishing the divisions determined by social relations, modifications have been also introduced into the process of nature. Therefore, the human being who is a part of organised and conscious nature, incorporates nature and gives forms to the brain which are superior to those which nature by itself has been able to develop. This is the result of the social relations, and this has determined the division of the brain into three compartments, into three strata: conscious, subconscious and unconscious.

The conscious related to daily constant life which requires action, the subconscious registers movements, thoughts, desires, forms which have to intervene and which are submit-

ted to the judgement of society, friends, family, mother, child. They are submitted to the relationship with society and need a certain caution before being expressed, because there is a fear of clashing or producing harmful effects, or being harmed. The unconscious registers desires, sentiments, will and thoughts, not only desires to be censured or unhealthy desires, but the thought which is still not animated to develop, and the unconscious maintains them because they express the desires of the individual which — through the life we lead — cannot have the full consciousness of itself. Marxism, the workers movement, the revolution, provides this consciousness.

Thus, three compartments are formed, one of which exercises the function of repression, of containing, of selection, to prevent clashes with people, in actions of immorality, deceit, or fraud, but also to organise just, logical, necessary, scientific thought which does not have to be repressed. It depends on what is organising the mind.

The organisation of the mind is determined by the social rela-

tions. One of the essential conditions for this is the fear of being judged, condemned, repressed. This forms in the mind a selector which contains and does not let thoughts develop freely, but selects ideas so that they do not clash with society. The unconscious organises and sustains desires which it does not succeed in expressing because it is afraid to clash with society, because it fears the confrontation with the judgement of public opinion. But also the revolutionary makes of the unconscious a source, a constant deposit of ideas which, afterwards, can be elaborated; nothing to be repressed but a source of ideas which can be elaborated. That is to say already in the revolutionary the functioning of the brain undergoes alteration so it is no longer submitted to capitalist relations, but to revolutionary scientific need. It has nothing to repress, it is a question of organising. In socialism this will be complete, meanwhile it is like this.

For example, one of the most powerful repressions is sex, robbery, stealing, deceit, infidelity. Bourgeois society condemns all this, but it is a lie

## introduction..

Since this text was written by Comrade Posadas, the military in Ethiopia has announced the nationalisation of the Banks and Insurance Companies and declared that the road ahead for Ethiopia is now the one of Socialist construction, as part of the Socialist transformation of the whole African continent. The Ethiopian Trade Union centre has declared its support for the military; Students have been sent to the countryside as part of a massive plan of elimination of illiteracy, and this is to be accompanied by the construction of Communes according to the example of the Chinese Workers State.

As Comrade Posadas poses in a more recent text on Ethiopia shortly to appear, "the military, not one sector or other of the military but the military as an institution, is acting increasingly as a political Party abandoning the camp of the capitalist system, abandoning the conceptions of the capitalist system, such as those of "Hierarchy" and the defence of the "Fatherland." They no longer act with the arrogance of people who want to impose, but as a function of putting themselves at the service of the people, for the development of the economy, and of the country. The latest measures of the nationalisation of the Banks and Insurance Companies are not important because of the amount of capital involved, but because of the fact that this brings Ethiopia rapidly on the road towards the construction of the Workers State! This military leadership does not act for the interest of the military, or for one or other group in Ethiopia, but as they say, "for the development of Ethiopia and of the whole African Continent". This is beyond the simple nationalist conception, it is a revolutionary conception, the one of the direct confrontation with imperialism and for the construction of Workers States everywhere in Africa, the planning of their economies, as part of the construction of Socialism in the whole of Africa.

The process in Ethiopia towards the Workers State shows also that in this stage of history, there is no way by which

The most important conclusion from the events in Ethiopia is the resolution of this military team to take the decisive measures of shooting, killing generals and colonels. All the people they killed were the bosses. When they kill them, it is not the result of fear or to replace them in power, but they kill them in the name of the programme, of ideas, of the objectives of progress. And when they take such measures it's because the decision and support which they have is very profound and it does not only exist in Ethiopia. If it was simply an Ethiopian support, this would be very small, it has little strength, the support is world wide and this world support is the world course of the revolution, the relation of forces favourable to the revolution, to the struggle to impel the economy, social relations, the life of all the population. This is expressed everywhere, and when the soldiers are stimulated to shoot the other soldiers who are agents of Yankee imperialism, they do it in the name of this support, this strength to impel the progress of Ethiopia. They didn't do it as the function of one camarilla against another, they didn't do it through fear, through the struggle of a group but against a sector linked to Yankee imperialism. They show directly that they support a position directly opposed to Yankee imperialism, and they do it in defence of, in support of a position to impel socialist measures because they have eliminated an important layer of military support and of a structure which supported the landowners, the feudal lords and the agents of Yankee imperialism. This means a very great progress of support for measures which are going to be expressed socially, very soon.

It is clear that they have in Ethiopia a very great backwardness, that they have great economic difficulties. It is a country which produces very little, which just produces some agricultural products and some oil. But on the other hand they have very great decision, as in Portugal, as in Somalia, in Dofar, and in South Yemen, they are now going to find how to apply a policy of production for the transformation of raw materials.

When the soldiers take such a decision in a country which has nothing and break with the Yanks who supported them, this shows that they don't fear the economic consequences, but that they are taking measures to eliminate the domination of the Yanks and that they are going to find a way to be able to progress with a programme of which the essential basis must be as the Chinese Commune, and with the support of the Workers States, they are going to resolve all this. And they have to carry out a task as in Dofar and South Yemen of education of the masses on the way so that they intervene as an essential factor in production and leadership.

imperialism can retain such countries within its orbit, and that the development of the economy, of human relations, all the progress of humanity has to be made outside capitalism, by breaking it. The force and strength of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States in the world, and the process of the Partial Regeneration, as Comrade Posadas analysed, constantly feeds, sustains, stimulates and supports the revolutionary processes everywhere in the world. When this reaches the point that in Ethiopia the army as an institution fulfils a role which approximates the one of a revolutionary Party, it means that the process of the disintegration of the organisms of bourgeois power on a world scale is well advanced. This is the index of the actual level reached by the world revolution and the degree of penetration of the Workers States inside which is left of the structure of the capitalist system.

The Labour Party and the trade union left must draw the conclusions from this text that even if the army of Britain, a deeply structured army in the imperialist role cannot be completely won as an institution to the programme of nationalisations and the planning of the economy, nevertheless, the structure of the capitalist state in Britain is deeply affected, disorientated, shaken in its centralisation by the same process as brings Ethiopia rapidly on the road towards the construction of the Workers State! This military leadership does not act for the interest of the military, or for one or other group in Ethiopia, but as they say, "for the development of Ethiopia and of the whole African Continent". This is beyond the simple nationalist conception, it is a revolutionary conception, the one of the direct confrontation with imperialism and for the construction of Workers States everywhere in Africa, the planning of their economies, as part of the construction of Socialism in the whole of Africa.

The process in Ethiopia towards the Workers State shows also that in this stage of history, there is no way by which

functioning is the judiciary, parliament, the president, the treasury, the police, the army which is in their hands.

It is necessary to foresee that the strength of the enemy, of the bourgeoisie, of imperialism, is based on this structure and it is going to be utilised, as in Chile when they believe it convenient. And they are going to rebel and make counter-revolutions as in Chile. The attitude of the soldiers of Ethiopia shows that this is the way to act, not to wait to be able to win a parliamentary majority or an administrative or judicial strength in order to impose, and so giving the opportunity to the counter-revolution to intervene. Thus it is necessary to intervene as the soldiers have done in Ethiopia, and all the new revolutions, all the revolutionary process of the world is going to learn that this has to be done.

It is necessary to intervene on, to show, to stimulate, to advise on and to develop these experiences so that all sectors see that this is the way to contain the counter-revolution which is certainly going to come. It will be a base of extension of influence in discussion with the Communist Parties, Socialist Parties, in the world workers' movement, the catholic trade union movement of the left, the left nationalists, the soldiers, to show how it is necessary to prepare the measures to confront the counter-revolution.

This action of the soldiers is going to intervene and weigh in the orientation of the discussion, the experiences and the resolution, that it is in this way that it is necessary to intervene, to block the counter-revolution, to keep a step ahead of the counter-revolution. The Yanks were preparing a counter-revolution and this blow smashed the counter-revolution.

### THE ROLE OF A SMALL TEAM OF SOLDIERS BASED ON THE WORLD FORCES AND ON THE WILL OF THE MASSES

They have killed capitalist, landowners, financiers, a whole essential base of the general staff of Yankee imperialism and the Ethiopian bourgeoisie. This is going to have very great importance and at the same time it shows an elevation of the soldiers again in Ethiopia after the experience of Portugal, Peru, Ecuador and Somalia. The attitude of the soldiers shows a very great security in intervening, which cannot be at the service of interests, of competition, of disputes with others. It can only be done when there are superior ideas, a superior programme to confront Yankee imperialism. They don't do it in the name of the bourgeoisie, of the financiers nor of the local interests of the landowners, but in the name of the policy, the programme and superior objectives. This gives them strength and explains their attitude.

What is influencing the soldiers and wins them is their superior function supporting progress in history. They feel that they are representatives of a force which utilises them to sustain elements which progress in the economy, in social relations, to improve the standard of life of the population. To achieve this, they are going to learn on the way that they are going to have to take measures of socialisation, nationalisation, planning of production, and this stimulates them to the understanding of the need for Social-

ist measures and economic measures of planning and of a Socialist programme.

This shows that the soldiers, above all in the very backward countries, are sensitive to the world influence of the revolution and that the concept of the defence of the fatherland, of these sectors is being broken. They see the fatherland is an instrument of the capitalists and they do not work as a function of the defence of the fatherland which is to work in the defence of the interests of private property but they work in the defence of the interests of progress in each country. Thus they associate the defence of the fatherland with the defence of the capitalists and they judge socially. They see that the Workers States are superior to the capitalist regime, that the economy developed by the landowners, by the feudal lords of Ethiopia was in the service of a small layer of the population against the immense majority, and the world development of the revolution has a very great influence over them.

The local relation of forces was important and favourable to the soldiers who made the insurrection, but on a world scale they were favourable to the soldiers who took such an initiative. If Yankee imperialism or world capitalism had real strength it would have rushed to the defence of the Negus, through Djibouti or some other region and would have given the necessary arms, the army and justification to intervene. When they could not act as they have acted before, so that they cannot support their own allies, it is because the relation of world forces no longer allows them. The relation of world forces is above all the Workers States, who have the military strength to intervene.

The Workers States are accepted by and have authority over the masses of the world and they have to intervene in any event in favour of the development of the progress of the revolution or of democratic measures which advance towards the suppression of capitalism. Now, it is not possible to exclude the Workers States, they have to intervene and also the masses of the world, who in front of events like this, if imperialism intervenes, increase their decision to smash capitalism, above all the North American masses. And imperialism has to take into account the North American masses.

This is the world balance of forces, the economic and social world crisis of capitalism, the political crisis which was expressed in the last elections in the United States, in which only 38% of the population voted. This shows a concern of the population of the whole world, and particularly of the United States with the problems of the world situation and against the intervention of world capitalism and imperialism. Imperialism is more and more disunited, and the profound level of competition leads to constant confrontations within capitalism. Economically they are competing, but socially they have to agree to confront the Workers States and the world proletariat.

This is a condition of the relation of forces unfavourable to imperialism. If it had been able to unite, it would have united, and the Yanks would have provided the forces to contain the process as they did before. When they do not do it now, it is because of these conditions: the attitude and the intervention of

the Workers States, the relation of world forces, the intervention of the masses who intervene in all the world events, and are ready to intervene and to weigh. This is the world base of forces on which the soldiers find support even without understanding it. At the same time, as the captains shot all this rubbish, who were the bosses of Yankee imperialism, who were organised to stop or disturb the revolutionary process in Ethiopia, it must be seen that these decided measures did not originate with Ethiopia, but from the world because internally they did not have the strength to make such a confrontation, and to have a base of support to confront the Yanks. It is the world course of the revolution, which influences them and gives them such a decision. The concrete and decisive experience which arises from Ethiopia, is that a small military team based on the will of the nation, and on the world process, can act like this in Ethiopia, not working as a camarilla but as a small decided team, which attracts the rest, because it has matured to do this. Hence the Communist and Socialist Parties have to take example from this. If in the army there is such a case of unanimity, of uniformity in the decisions, in the masses this is much more. If the masses do not have a unified and centralised attitude in the elections, it is because seeing an electoral solution, they accept the apparatus which exists. On the other hand when they see military resolution to resolve the problems then, they support it. Ethiopia is an example of this. These are the conclusions of this experience.

### ORGANISE A DISCUSSION OF ALL THE MASSES ON THE PROGRAMME FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ETHIOPIA

It is necessary to organise an open discussion in Ethiopia, and to appeal to all the peasant masses, the workers' masses, the students, to discuss about the future in Ethiopia, about progress posing the need to collectivise, to distribute the land, to make a plan of production on the basis of collectivisation, and nationalisations and with the participation of all the masses. It is necessary to make a plan to overcome illiteracy on the basis of the progress of the revolution. The way of overcoming illiteracy, should be on the basis of the themes which deal with the development of the economy and the revolution, and making an appeal to all the Workers States to intervene in economic life.

It is necessary to appeal to all the Workers States, to the Socialist countries, so that they give one day's work a month in support of the world development of the revolution including Ethiopia. Between them, all the Workers States could procure monthly more than 15,000 million dollars, and this could be used to finance and help this process.

It is necessary to make a plan of discussion with the Eritrean Front and the basis of the discussion should be the complete development of Ethiopia which includes the right to self determination of Eritrea but making a Federation for the complete development of the economy, and appealing for agreements with the other countries of Africa, to develop the economies of all the countries. It is necessary to see that the world workers' movement gives support: the trade unions, the workers' centres, the Com-

munist and Socialist parties, to oblige even capitalist countries to support these countries in Africa. It should be shown that if they support them, it is because the revolution is imposing it, for example, if Italy or France give support. It is necessary to appeal to all the Workers States to support them. To have the support of the Workers States, of the workers' movement, of the Communist and Socialist parties, the left radicals, the left Catholics, the left nationalists. There must be a programme of the economic transformation of the country. Power was in a few hands, and this facilitates the rapid step towards more important economic measures. There it can be shown also that it is possible to go from the tribe, to Socialism. As in South Yemen, Somalia, Dofar, as in Vietnam, China, which progress from feudalism to Socialism. They do not proceed through the stage of the bourgeois revolution but go directly to Socialism.

Now, certainly they do not have the strength in Ethiopia, but neither did they have it in Dofar or South Yemen. They do not have the strength nor the social or economic conditions to advance from the tribe to Socialism, the strength is worldwide.

It is necessary to nationalise, to make a plan of production, to call meetings with the peasants and to pose to them the perspective of economic development to resolve the problem of the economy, of all the peasants. It is necessary to show that the development in an individual form is difficult, that it cannot be done, that it is necessary to do it in a collective form; that what they would seek to achieve in the individual form of property, they can succeed in doing in a collective form with the support of the State, and appealing to all the Workers States for support. It is necessary to show the need for planning by means of electrification, so that the peasants discuss, to take measures which lead to the satisfaction of the needs of all the population, collective planning, combined with the support of the small proprietors, of small peasants, and to appeal for a combination of the collectivised production, or for Socialist Cooperatives to develop production.

And an important and fundamental aspect is that all the population should intervene, all the peasants, and that they participate, see and feel that this is the way. It is necessary to see that the functioning of the regime is changed from top to bottom, that wages should be arranged according to needs and that there should be a maximum income.

A campaign should be organised—although immediately it is not going to succeed—to win the soldiers over to this function, and to associate with this, the students who are one of the essential factors of this movement. All the students should intervene, it was they who demanded that the assassins should be eliminated and killed and they should intervene with this programme. Such a programme of production should be done in a combination of workers, students, peasants. All the people should discuss a plan of increase in production, to finish with droughts and hunger. The forms and the functioning of the State should be very modest and should be open to the control of the population, so that all the masses who intervene in a democratic form, should be able

to control, decide and prevent the formation of camarillas, and deal with the question of wages, of production, of planning, so that it should be under complete discussion and everything should be discussed to produce in accordance with the needs of the population and exports. This is not like the Russian revolution, which encouraged the world retreat of the revolution, here, Ethiopia finds the world in progress. It is necessary to be based on this, on a perspective of development and of very rapid world support, because the process is advancing. It is imperialism which does not have the strength to prevent the triumph of the revolution in Ethiopia because of the world instability of the capitalist system.

The world crisis forces them to have a constant preoccupation through their economic and social crisis. There is a very great inter-capitalist competition and internal struggle. They have all manner of monetary and other crises. Thus, it is necessary to make the masses and the military leadership feel that they can support themselves on this favourable process.

It is necessary to construct immediately a revolutionary leadership with a programme, which seeks the development of the economy in a centralised and planned form, so that they carry out agrarian reforms, distribute the land to peasants' sectors, and so that they expropriate and plan the big landed estates, and make them produce in a collective and nationalised form. It is necessary to make a federation with Eritrea, posing the necessity for nationalisation and economic planning, with Somalia, South Yemen, and the other countries of Africa. It should be shown that the right to independence is not with the object of increasing the historic difficulties with the formation of new states, otherwise it would be to maintain a series of attitudes which are still of the past in relation to the right to independence. It is necessary to propose that all these countries are developed and for this, it is necessary to plan the economy, maintaining the ethnic differences which there are,—they are not many—in the same way as we pose with the Jews and Palestinians.

### ORGANISE THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WITH THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

It is necessary to form a revolutionary Party with the programme for the development of the country, to open discussion throughout the country, to show that to develop the economy, to finish with drought, to develop agricultural production and to establish factories, it is necessary to act like the Workers States. Pose the example of Hungary, which was very backward, of the USSR and China, which had nothing, and today China is one of the most advanced countries in the world! And China, has only 26 years of being a Workers State! It is necessary to make a campaign to overcome illiteracy and to discuss all these problems.

It is necessary to discuss that democracy is not an abstraction, but that it is a means and a form of relation, and that democracy is needed which allows the development of the country. It is not a democracy which allows formally someone to say who he is voting

for, or who can order him about or arrest him, but a democracy which allows all the population to intervene in all the problems of the economy to develop production on the basis of the needs of the population not to see who gets the most. It is necessary to show that this is what is to be done and that imperialism was defeated because people wanted to make an economy which corresponds to the needs of the population.

The attitude of the soldiers is very important. Their resolved attitude is not through a problem of competition, of military conflict, because if it is, they would respect the others so that tomorrow they would not kill them. When they kill all of them, it is because they want something infinitely superior. They are impelled by the world revolution, and the comrades of Ethiopia have to base themselves on this. We salute and embrace all the students who have been a factor of progress in all this, have been transporters of revolutionary ideas, of the revolutionary decision and will to impel the revolutionary struggle in Ethiopia. Now, they have to intervene and it is necessary to organise the revolutionary Party with the programme of nationalisations, state intervention, planning of the economy and complete democracy, for all the masses, formation of peasant trade unions, nationalisation of the more important land, distribution of the land to certain sectors of the peasantry and form cooperatives, resolution of the problem of production, of water, of the problem of the transformation of raw materials and to ask for aid from all the Workers States. A monthly wage from all the Workers States to help Ethiopia, and all the revolutions, plus Sino-Soviet unification. It is necessary that they demand Sino-Soviet unification which is the essential problem for the progress of humanity.

These soldiers are intervening in the resolution of a discussion, on the conclusions of the transitory defeat of the revolution in Chile, and in their turn, are an expression of the world force of the revolution, the two aspects. Therefore it is necessary to take the example of Ethiopia to generalise it, and immediately in a country so backward to be quite clear about what economic measures to take. Ethiopia is very backward and has to take measures which are quite primitive although this is not the epoch of primitive measures. Meanwhile, it is necessary to appeal to the Workers States to intervene so that they send machinery, technicians, money, food and plan the economy.

The attitude of the Chinese is the opposite, that is every country is supposed to advance by itself. It is not a question of a problem of competition between one country and another, as with the capitalist country, but of the help of the more developed to impel the development of all and to suppress the historic backwardness, to suppress war, unemployment, misery, hunger, everything which is produced by the capitalist regime. It is a contribution to the world development of the revolution, and the experience of the masses to intervene in the revolution. At the same time, it is the confirmation of the conception of the permanent revolution of the Trotskyists and

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the Posadists. In the most backward places, it is possible to make the revolution with the most advanced objectives, because these base themselves on the world process which prevents capitalism from intervening or containing. And this revolution should be based on the most advanced experiences so that it takes the economic and social measures, the most relevant examples to develop the economy.

The triumph of the Ethiopian soldiers is going to impel enormously the peasants in the revolution, towards measures which lead to the progress of the revolution. At the same time, they disintegrate all the schemes and the strategy of imperialism. They are the direct and indirect allies of the Workers States. It is necessary to consider then, that for the triumph of Ethiopia, the existence and armed strength of the Workers States is decisive. The existence of Sth. Yemen, Somalia, Dofar, the former Portuguese colonies, show that they are part of the world process favourable to the revolution. All these relations of forces which are favourable are to be counted upon for the development of the revolution, and the development is going to be made on this basis.

Capitalism and imperialism are going to intervene but they do not

have the strength to say when and how. The liberation of the Portuguese colonies has a great importance for this struggle, it stimulates enormously the attitude of the Ethiopian captains, it stimulated them to make a revolutionary intervention. The liberation of the Portuguese colonies is a combination of mass movements for the liberation of the colonies and the captains of Portugal. The relation of forces is more and more favourable and more and more united to the development of the revolution. The Communists and the Socialists must consider this for the development of the United Front. There is a real world United Front which exists. It shows the conditions of maturity of the masses of the world, of the captains, of the soldiers, to make the United Front on the basis of which they are maturing on the measures to take and on the understanding of the socialist resolutions. Today, it is easy. People see that the solution is social, and through their experience in the economy, that human relations to develop have to be Socialist. The Communists and the Socialists have to discuss, to deepen this conclusion. Humanity is ready for Communism, and consequently, ready for the world United Front.

J. POSADAS

## The organisation...

because they all do it. But this is the relationship that exists and therefore the individual contains and represses in his mind these activities and the mind is vigilant to see that these don't emerge. But suddenly this attitude can escape when the concentration of the desire is more powerful than the mental container, and it emerges. This is when people say: "He made a gaff, he committed an error". This is capitalist society because it has to repress relations which it encourages which are gross, impure and corrupt.

As we do not live this life, we do not need to have the division in the brain submitted to fear and inhibition, but subordinate to the need to organise the mind so that it gives us ideas: To feed the mind so that it organises and lives; instead of repressing, to stimulate. Hence we can make at any moment an exposition of a few hours, without a guide, without notes, an intervention of some hours which is very good, which is not a commentary, statistics and information, but analyses, analyses, analyses. This is the form in which we organise the mind which tomorrow will be infinitely superior than now. This is a guide to what we are doing in social relations now. We have nothing to repress, we explain. It is not a question of repressing anything, but of explaining, explaining, explaining. If there comes about a desire which is unjust or incorrect, or inconvenient let it come, and explain it to yourself. Don't just take hold of it, conceal it, or close your eyes to it, no, open

them, put on the lights within and without. Then explain it, and if it is possible realise the intention if it does not clash with the objective necessity, with science, with moral relations, with the objective conclusion, discussing it. If not, if it clashes with this and is against, say: "No, this cannot be done.", and explain. Therefore in the mind the desire does not just remain deposited, an unconscious sensation, originating from the sensations produced by capitalist life. Life in this society penetrates shelters itself in the unconscious, and afterwards is sustained by means of sensations. Thus, you explain it, "No, this cannot be done", and explain. Therefore in the mind the desire does not just remain deposited, an unconscious sensation, originating from the sensations produced by capitalist life. Life in this society penetrates shelters itself in the unconscious, and afterwards is sustained by means of sensations. Thus, you explain it, "No, this cannot be done", and explain. 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# The E.C.M., and the unity of the European workers movement

The statement by Benn that "there are no conditions under which Britain could stay in the Common Market is an expression not of the force and decision of Benn but of the struggle inside the Labour Party. If Benn makes this statement it is because he feels this pressure and feels that he has a base of support in the Labour Party. It is important because the question of the common market is not one of a balance of advantages in the form of prices, or employment outside the EEC but one of the survival of the capitalist system. The common market represents the attempt of capitalism to survive by concentrating itself, by concentrating capital in the face of the advance of the Workers States, and world revolution and the struggle of the European masses; and it is a complete failure. It is a failure because the concentration of capitalism, of its investment in Europe-forced on capitalism, particularly Yankee capitalism by the loss of investments in Africa, Asia and Latin America — means an enormous increase in intercapitalist competition. Thus the 'nine' are unable to agree on anything. Countries like Germany and Britain who have highly mechanised agriculture cannot agree with countries like France, Italy and Holland who depend much more on agriculture than industry and have large peasant populations. At the same time the increase in competition destroys the smaller and weaker enterprises and further erodes what little social base of support capitalism has retained. Thus more and more layers of the population are won to the struggle of the proletariat, are attracted to the proletariat as a leadership in society and this is shown in the attitude of the police in Italy who have proposed that they should be a force to help the population and not to repress it. Equally in France the demonstration of the police in Paris included sectors of the CRS which is an elite force used primarily for the repression of the population and this was the role it played during the revolutionary general strike of May '68. The army in France is in a state of revolt with sectors demanding full democratic rights and calling for support from the workers movement. It is the same with the peasants — in France and Italy in particular where they have a great weight — who have mobilised on a European scale in anti-capitalist demonstrations and who develop links with the proletariat.

Regardless of what Benn says the struggle against the Common Market is not a struggle in defence of 'parliamentary democracy'! The bourgeoisie have demonstrated in this country and on a world scale that they are only interested in parliamentary democracy when it serves their interests; are the lessons of Chile so easily forgotten? The repression and terrorism in Northern Ireland, the jailing of the 'Shrewsbury 2', and the bombings organised by British imperialism in this country have nothing to do with 'parliamentary democracy' — they are preparations

for civil war against the masses. At the same time the struggle of the working class which is what impels the struggle against the common market and which is the pressure exerted — mainly through the trade unions — on the Labour Party is not to defend 'national sovereignty'. The working class struggles for power and in opposing the common market seeks to link itself with the working class in Europe. To talk of the defence of parliament is to try to contain the anti-capitalist struggle of the working class. There are elements of the bourgeoisie who, for their own sectional interests, are against

the EEC; Enoch Powell for example!

There cannot be a struggle against the Common Market in abstract. What has to be discussed is not 'out of Europe' but 'what sort of Europe'. The struggle against the common market, the campaign around the referendum — which is not the best method of struggle but can be used and, whatever, it is a victory which the Labour Left has imposed — has to be based on a programme of anti-capitalist demands with the perspective of a Socialist Europe. The working class has already demonstrated through its trade union actions, through the Dunlop/Pirelli strike, through the links between the Ford workers in Britain, Belgium and Germany, through the actions of solidarity of miners and dockers, though its actions of solidarity with the workers of Spain and Greece that it seeks a common solution to the problem of the dictatorship of the 'multi-nationals' with the workers in Europe. This is what the left of the Labour Party and the trade union have to base themselves on in the fight against the EEC.

In conditions where capital is concentrated — in the form of the 'multi-nationals' — and where, at the same time, "all Europe goes to the left", to try to confine the struggle to this country serves nobody's interest but that of the bourgeoisie. The class struggle is not determined by the boundaries of this country! The trade union links with the workers of Europe are important but they have to be seen as a bridge to a much more organic link with the Workers Parties, with the Communist and Socialist Parties. Under the pressure of the struggle of the working class and the total crisis of capital both the French and Italian Communist Parties are preparing for a struggle for power. It is true that it still takes the form of a parliamentary perspective, of going to the government elec-

torally but it also has the perspective of finishing with capitalism. Fundamentally this has been determined by the struggle of the class, by the imposition of dual power in Italy with the trade unions deciding the price of electricity and the fares on public transport and with the agreement imposed on Fiat. The workers of Fiat have imposed on the company a years guaranteed wage, that all questions of investment, production and work methods are discussed with the trade unions. At the same time the French working class have mobilised in the General Strike of November 19th.

Above all there is the unification of workers parties expressed in the 'Popular Union' of the Communist, Socialist and left Radical Parties and the growing unification of the Communist Movement in which the Communist Parties in a series of meetings — in Brussels, Lyon and, recently, in a conference on the problems of women in Rome — are beginning to formulate a common strategy and programme for the anti-capitalist struggle in Europe. The left of the Labour Party and Trade Unions have to base themselves on this process as a fundamental point of support in the struggle for power in this country. Understanding also that the bourgeoisie prepares for repression, for the civil war and that NATO is an instrument which — together with elements of the British army — it is going to use. The struggle against the EEC is also a struggle against NATO! The demand, then, which has to form a centre of the programme of the left is for the end of the EEC, for the end of NATO and for a conference of the European trade unions and Workers Parties to discuss and formulate a common programme and strategy.

It is a general phenomena that in the absence of a decisive lead from the Workers Parties the trade unions tend — because they are more sensitive to the struggle and demand of the working class — to substitute for them. This is an important aspect of the conference in London — last December — of delegates from the engineering unions on a world scale to discuss the problems of the car industry. It was a limited conference in the

sense that it did not allow a full intervention of the working class but, nonetheless, it was an attempt to formulate some kind of common programme of demands and action for the workers in that industry; and what proposals and interventions there were had basically an anti-capitalist character. The other significant aspect was that it included delegations from the trade unions of the Workers States which means a step towards the unity of the workers movement centralised around the Socialist Parties (and the Labour Party in this country) with the World Communist Movement and the Workers States.

The World Trade Union Conference is also an expression of the fact that the Soviet Union and the other Workers States seek the means to intervene in support of the anti-capitalist struggle. This fact, together with the existence of a development towards unification on the part of the World Communist Movement, and the growing unity of the world trade union movement means that the conditions are ready for the unification of the workers movement on a European scale. This is what has to be discussed by the Labour and trade union left, in the factories and the workers areas. The referendum can be used as a means to do this but it is necessary not to wait for it. It is necessary now to stimulate a whole process of discussion, of meetings in the factories and of links between the workers organisations — shop stewards etc. — in this country and in the rest of Europe; on the basis of a programme for a sliding scale of wages (all wages to rise with the cost of living) and hours (work sharing without loss of pay) but recognising that these important demands are, in themselves insufficient to answer the total crisis of capitalism. The essential elements of the programme have to be for the nationalisation of all major industry, the land, banks and insurance under workers control and without compensation, for a single trade union centre in Europe including the Trade Unions of the Workers States; for an end to the Common market and NATO, for full Trade Union and Democratic rights in the army and police, and for a United, Socialist, Soviet States of Europe.

## Editorial

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regime in N. Ireland or the appeals for private armies to deal with law and order.

In such a situation the struggle and the discussion cannot be conducted on the level of piecemeal reforms and trade union demands. There is no perspective there. All the disputes, all the main strikes have to be accompanied by the programme for the complete transformation of the economy, nationalisations, planning, workers control, mass organs of dual power in the factories and the workers districts. The Manifesto of the Labour party is just an introduction to a complete comprehensive programme of a social transformation, and is already bypassed by events. When the trade unions call a mass lobby to win the freedom of the two trade union militants imprisoned by the arbitrary laws of the bourgeoisie, it should be accompanied by the programme to maintain full employment, to prevent the closure of factories, the programme to nationalise, to open the books, for workers plans of production, for permanent assemblies in the factories and the worker districts to discuss all the problems of the economy and the running of the economy; to do otherwise is to run away from the central problem, the need to finish with the system. The lobby should be accompanied by stoppages and mass meetings, discussing and reiterating the demand for nationalisations and workers control.

## PREPARE THE ORGANS OF DUAL POWER

British Imperialism enters the next stage with world capitalism in a state of growing defeatism. The forces of coercion cannot be relied upon to carry out the tasks of the counter revolution. A recent advertisement for officers in the Guardian posed a completely defeatist perspective — NATO and the defence of Empire were meaningless and the main task was to defend the constitution against subversion. And what does the leadership of the French army now say? That in a new 1968, the French army could no longer be regarded as reliable. . . No, they are all falling to pieces, the most they can spew out against progress are gangster types, brainless assassins in the service of the CIA. That is why they all fear the continuation of the present Labour government, they fear the possibilities of a more fluid line of Labour Party in relation to N. Ireland which could undermine the fascist set up there. They fear the pressures under which Wilson tries to survive. The brains of capitalism are all addled by their preoccupation with accumulating property and capital. No wonder their paralysis increases, their whole system is like a prolonged nervous spasm turning into paroxysm and finally death.

Clearly the organs of the class, the Labour Party and the trade unions are not sufficiently prepared for the historic tasks of this moment. The fact that the Labour Party could be used by such a mediocre, banal careerist like Stonehouse is a sign of the wholesale reconstruction

necessary in the Labour party. A great deal of rubbish lies around in the Labour Party and the unions, people are there whose sole interest in life is to use these class organs for their own personal advantage. A wholesale purging is historically necessary, but the rigidity of the structure cannot be eliminated overnight, what can be done is the forces of the Left to take all possible initiative to develop discussion of marxism in the Labour Party and the Unions, impose a discussion of the programme for socialism and base themselves on the factories with meetings and conferences. The working class are going to weigh in all this, their pressure will grow and this will facilitate the development of an organised Left in the Labour Party closely linked with the trade unions. At the same time this Left has to use the programme of nationalisations linked with workers control to mobilise the masses and paralyse the forces of the right. All the experiences of UCS, Dowty Seals, have to be generalised to develop a permanent organisation of the masses in the factories and the workers areas, so preparing to confront all the bourgeois state functioning, weakening it and preparing to meet the eventual civil war, expropriate the expropriators overpower capitalism and construct socialism.

*In Red Flag, no 232, (Nov 26) in the main article, second paragraph, a sentence begins "As they have not been able to launch the atomic war, because they would not lose it, the second not destroys the sense. Imperialism will lose the atomic war hence their fear of launching it.*

## The organisation...

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that moment, because it is not convenient for the organisation. Therefore, your head is tranquil, it does not alter in any way the opinion, the functioning, the mobilisation of the thought.

This division of the brain, into the conscious, the subconscious, and the unconscious, is determined by the relationship with society, and of this, with property. The basis of property determined all the relationships of life, including the organisation of the brain, because it is organised in the life of society, and the organisation of the economy. The formation of the brain into three compartments is the direct result of the relations of private property, which includes relations which are pernicious. Lying, deceit, fraud, swindling, mystification, conceit, vanity, all these are the consequences of the life of private property. When the objective course of having to live with lies disappears, living with deceit, fraud, conceit, then its reflection in the mind disappears, and the brain is re-structured. We are doing this now, therefore, our functioning now, corresponds to, tomorrow, to the Communist thought, or the thought of Lenin, the Bolsheviks, the thoughts of Marx, Engels, and Trotsky.

Our head was organised by the relations of private property, which determined for example, that it had to lie. Commerce, is lie, deception, mystification and fraud, the head is organised for this. Hence there is a very great distance between conscious-

ness and existence. Marxism establishes unity, because it allows one to work consciously on nature, on the economy, on human beings, whilst the commercial interests leave a void in the consciousness, it is not occupied with others, it determines that each one does what he wants in the empirical life of private property. Then this void, is filled therefore, with a series of subterfuges of the capitalist regime. This is capitalist philosophy. Our mind is the product of this, it was formed in the life of the society of private property.

The life of the Party demands and leads to the elimination of this form of functioning of the brain, and leads to the purity of the brain, so that it thinks objectively. In thinking objectively, it thinks around the necessity of Communism in all that is necessary, determined by the impulse, the relations, the progress of Communism. But as we have the mind organised by the previous life, thus, there is an interpenetration in which the need to open the way to Communism wins, and we prepare now the mind for tomorrow. There is not going to be an instantaneous effect, but there is going to be a gradual progress of the sectors, the layers, who pull along and influence, whilst the rest advances a little more slowly until the general progress is homogenised in the general progress in the later stages of life.

J. Posadas 8th May 1974.

# THE TASKS FOR THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

## J. POSADAS

15th.9.1974

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## LINK THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET WITH THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATION AND WORKERS CONTROL

The referendum over the Common Market gives the possibility for a very great deepening of discussion on the perspectives and programme for socialism. A determined effort by the forces of the left in the Labour party and the trade unions to elevate the struggle against the Common market by discussing all the problems which are central to it, i.e. the total crisis of capitalism, the role of NATO as part of the counter revolutionary war in preparation against the workers states and the masses of the world, the need for a workers Europe as against the Europe of the Monopolies and the programme to achieve this, is essential. It would assist profoundly the process of the transformation of the Labour party into a party genuinely representative of the working class, that is a party based on marxism, a mass communist party.

Because of the conservative character of the apparatus in the Labour party and the trade unions, every effort is being made to conduct the struggle on the most superficial basis, that is within bourgeois categories of thinking. This allows the broadest of broad fronts to include the sector of the Tories who represent sectors of the middle and small capitalists against the hegemony of the big monopolies. This certainly shows the disintegration which is characteristic of collapsing capitalism but to submit the discussion to the level of "economic" arguments i.e. that British capitalism runs an unfavourable trade balance with the rest of capitalist Europe is accepting the capitalist terms of reference. The economies of Europe are inter dependent, the question is under whose auspices, big business or the working class? To use the nationalist argument i.e. Britain versus Europe is totally crass and so is the argument about preserving "parliamentary sovereignty". Socialism is not going to be constructed in Britain by itself and as for parliament, its use no longer corresponds to the deeper interests of capitalism and it is of minor value to the working class and its allies. (The Stonehouse affair has demonstrated the impotence and casuistry of Parliamentarianism). The whole world perspective is conditioned by the approach of world war and civil war. Attempts to evade this issue in the Labour party and the trade unions are all part of the efforts to contain the intervention of the masses and represent the fantasies of the apparatuses whose role is extinguished in the course of the process.

### YANKEE IMPERIALISM PREPARES FOR WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The crisis of the ECM, the fact that a major pillar of world Imperialism under a labour government is putting continued membership to a referendum is all part of the persistent fracturing and disintegration of the world capitalist system. Its only response to the

agony and torment of its crisis is war. The war in Vietnam was part of the attempt by Imperialism to organise the world forces of the counter revolution but it failed and because of the uninterrupted loss of strength by world capitalism in every continent, preparations for the war have to be increasingly clandestine. But the constant interventions by Ford and Kissinger posing the possibility of war against the Middle East oil producers is no game. It is part of the preparation for war, part of the initial justification, applying pressure on the Soviet Union and the Middle East states, but primarily geared to promoting an intervention. It is a very dangerous game because the actions of the Soviet Union have shown conclusively that peaceful co-existence at any price is a thing of the past. They have rejected the trade treaty and now the Communist parties of Europe have issued their appeal for struggle against the attempted world dictatorship of Yankee Imperialism. Whatever the limitations of programme and policy such an appeal tends to prepare and mobilise all the masses of the world for struggle against Yankee Imperialism and its allies.

All over the world there is a constant record of successes for the advance of world socialism. In Portugal the enormous pressure of the vanguard through the communist party and its alliance with the movement of the armed forces, has imposed a single trade union centre thereby concentrating the proletarian forces in the country and at the same time through this example and the united front of communists and army, stimulating similar thought and action throughout Europe. The general strike in N. Spain and the clear development of a "portuguese tendency" in the Spanish army are preparations for a new leap forward in the European situation, weakening yet another base for NATO and shattering still further any efforts by capitalism to unify its increasingly dispersed and defeatist forces. Even areas formerly apparently quite stable for capitalism enter into sharp disagreement with Imperialism. Brazil is obliged to object to the discriminatory trade policy of Yankee Imperialism against the oil

producing countries and at the same time the massive nature of the external debt is forcing a discussion in Brazil on the need to completely reorientate the economy to develop the internal market. Imperialism is

unable to organise with any consistency the counter revolution in South America. Bolivia where capitalism has organised bloody repression after bloody repression is totally unstable. The massive

rebellion of the miners is a blow at the remaining forces of reaction throughout Central and Latin America.

turn to page 4

## Economic development and the cleansing in the Workers States

### J. POSADAS

7th.10.74.

In the world communist movement they are adopting decisions against the previous structure. They are seeking to cleanse. They don't propose anything much more important but they want to cleanse the most prejudicial aspects, which in part paralyse the apparatus.

In the USSR, in Czechoslovakia, in Poland, in Hungary, they are trying to eradicate the crudest sectors of the bureaucracy, of the old apparatus who don't discuss, who don't think and who are obstacles in the economy. Above all they block the development of the economy and hence they throw them out. But this is not accompanied by an extension of democratic rights.

They need to put an end to this sector because it harms the economy and then they cannot compete with capitalism and this puts them in difficulties. They want to throw out these sectors, but at the same time not to encourage the development of workers democracy or to contain it because they see that they are going to have to make concessions. Now the tendency to cleanse is much more pronounced much more homogeneous and much more continuous. At the same time that there is a competition with the capitalist countries, above all in agriculture and in part in industry, all these sectors block the economy, block planning, are incapable, are only interested in themselves, have an outlook of a camarilla and so they make total forward planning very difficult. Hence they throw them out.

In these changes the preparation of the war also weighs, but in the short range, its a problem because these sectors do not allow the full development of the economy. Planning requires objectivity, to compete and to intervene in the capitalist countries of Africa, Latin America and Asia, the Workers States need a support, a very great expenditure which is not recoverable or only very slowly because they are loans or gifts. These are the costs of the Workers States which form part of the class struggle and they are sustained very well.

All these sectors interfere with this, because they don't want and are against this policy. They want to increase co-ordination and conciliation with capitalism and not make these investments. The dream of capitalism would be to find a Workers State which is opposed as much to the USSR as to capitalism, and this is because it doesn't have any other strength. These are backward sectors of the bureaucracy which through their position and interest have not developed accompanying the interest of the development of the Workers State. Therefore it is necessary to throw them out.

But these are very calculated purgings. They are not the object of a public discussion, because then it would weaken the bureaucratic apparatus and increase the possibility of the pressure of the masses. The same is happening in China. Breznev is seeking himself to compete with imperialism, making alliances with French imperialism. But even so this requires a security that there are no sectors which could produce a Dubcek. They see what happened in Yugoslavia and what happened in the beginning in Poland.

Therefore they are drawing on that experience and trying to take measures of separation and neutralisation; without punishments so as not to create tensions in the bureaucratic apparatus, since they fear this.

At the same time the acceleration in the meetings of the Communist Parties and the efforts at agreements that they are making, indicates their turnaround to confront all this situation which comes from a very great crisis of capitalism about to break out; a crisis which can develop into local or partial wars and an effort at localised atomic war is not excluded, or a general atomic war. The Soviets are preparing for this.

The advance of the struggle of the masses forces all of them to go forward and to acquire a certain consciousness. Then a selection is produced in the big team of the bureaucracy, giving opportunities to accentuate the role of consciousness and not the role of interest. Without being freed entirely from interest; it is more and more consciousness which is weighing. This is the depth of these measures whose evolution it is necessary to follow, because it is the form which the road of partial regeneration is taking. The process of history forces them in every way to have to change and in part through sectors which do it consciously. The bureaucracy is afraid of everything which is scientific. If science serves them for production, to diminish the time of production, to compete without damaging their social and political leadership, they are happy. They lock it in a draw and let it work. But as science that is locked up

seeks in every way to get out, although they hide all the locks and block up all the walls, science comes through because it is necessary. They can't lock it up. Feudalism and the Jesuits locked it up for many centuries, but science has to advance because it is necessary for the development of humanity, and political ideas with even greater reason still. Science before, advanced slowly because it didn't have any historic perspective to advance, on the other hand, socialist ideas have a whole world historic perspective to advance.

Our confidence is not based on the expectation that one or other understands. Progress is a necessity of history, it lies in the structure of history which is to say in the structure of the mind of people, in the capacity of people, in the experience made by people and of the necessity of the economy and nature. Who can get hold of and smother all this? It cannot be done, this is life. It develops in an imperfect form because the ones who lead are the apparatuses. But this is life and it is going to find the way to establish equilibrium and to advance on two legs and to think with the mind and not with the apparatus.

The Workers States, Soviets, Soviet democracy, the unification of the World Communist Movement, the identification of all the Workers States are a necessity of history. The apparatuses could obstruct, they could kill Trotsky, they could kill, they could liquidate all of us — not one but all — but now the ideas exist, the experience of the world vanguard exists, the knowledge of science diffuses the need to reason with science. Who is going to overthrow this to go back? Now there is a very elevated process which shows that in spite of all the retreat of the Workers States of all the bureaucratic interests, they all have to go to the meeting of the Communist Parties. It means an immense advance of history. Although they don't reach concrete programmatic conclusions, they are going to reach them. This means a greater flexibility on the part of the Soviet bureaucracy and the Soviet Communist Party. The two things, there is still a bureaucracy but it is already working in part as a party, and in the other Workers States, the influence of the need to progress and the influence of the revolution which comes through the vanguard of these parties is already weighing. Imperialism has spent half of its wealth, of the robbery which it makes to prevent this and history laughs at it and goes forward. It can spend all it wants, but it is confronted with the necessity of history.

# The tasks for the left in the Labour Party.

J. POSADAS 15th.9.1974

The forms in which the preparations and the movements towards the organisation of the left in the Labour Party are developing, are of very great importance. There is no organised movement, and we re-iterate what we have said on other occasions, amplifying it, that through the nature of the Labour Party, through its roots in the heart of the bourgeoisie, it has an apparatus which controls and dominates based on the workers aristocracy, and as before, it dominates the Labour Party and the trade unions. But from 15 years ago, even from the time of Atlee, they made successive, continuous concessions, and these are programmatic concessions. As there is not the possibility of a movement, a rupture, which organises a new Party, the British proletariat has shown itself to be firmly centred around the Labour Party, it does not break. The Communist Party is the most vivid expression of this, seeing that it continues as a little sect. Therefore it is necessary to make all the prognosis, all the calculations, and the perspectives on the basis of the Labour Party. It is not possible to make calculations outside this.

It is possible to make predictions of growth, of influence among intellectual circles and workers leaders, but these are very limited. All the mass movement is submitted undisputedly to the Labour Party. The world proletarian vanguard has a historic notion, not programmatic consciousness, but it has a historic idea, intuition and sense, that the final settlement of accounts is drawing near. It sees and observes this. When in Ethiopia the generals rebel, who before led elephants, — without contempt for this, is a function of people who are among the most subjected in history, when before they sustained the Negus — who is an elephant without the qualities of intelligence of the elephant, — and today, they decide to overthrow him, to break, to begin the liquidation of the monarchy (it is still in a phase of liquidation through internal struggles), when this reaches Portugal and the same thing takes place in Turkey, it is because the influence of the process of change in history is a very, profound transformation, it affects all the established relations. Therefore, it makes every leadership, uncertain, insecure, inconsistent, even one with the most solid relationship with the capitalist system, like the Labour Party. It makes it insecure, it has to yield. They seek to yield to maintain the same function, because it is not prepared historically for changes and transformations. It does not believe in them, and because the policy of the Communist Parties is not a point of support and influence in the Labour Party. That policy is the same line of reforms, of changes, of subtleties, and it is not a revolutionary conception. For example no Communist Party of Europe has an analysis of the capitalist system from a Marxist point of view. They condemn the capitalist system, but as a whole they make a reformist evaluation. The evaluation is reformist, the conclusion, and the condemnation no: they tend to be revolutionary. The crisis of the capitalist system is total, that is to say nothing more can be expected from the capitalist system, it is necessary to change and transform it.

On the other hand they accept and diagnose the crisis of the capitalist system, but as a means to present electoral perspectives, to

increase electoral weight and number with the trade unions and then, to produce historic changes without civil war. Every historic calculation, every programme which is not based on civil war, is false. It may not be completely false, it can have correct points and aspects, forms of analysis and criticisms of the progress, of policy to progress, but as historic objectives to secure, no, it is false. It is not possible to pose any perspective without being based on the fact that the civil war is inevitable. And that capitalism is going to launch the war. Capitalism is retreating as in Ethiopia, it is losing basis, forces in NATO, Watergate itself continues, but there are no forces which represent revolutionary progress in the United States. Therefore capitalism can prolong its existence, its bases and its perspectives.

In Britain also, the leadership of the Labour Party tends to yield programmatically, containing everything in the margin of the capitalist system, but the programmatic conception is very profound. It develops the concern, the forces, the inclinations, the currents, — accepting and supporting, to afterwards develop, that historic transformations are necessary in Britain. It develops but it does not create or lead these forces.

An essential point to discuss in Britain is to say: "Good, what are we going to do about the Monarchy?" "What is the Queen doing here?" They do not discuss the problem of the Queen, nor the constitutional regime in Britain because this poses the problem of the historic transformation. They fear to pose the changes from the Monarchy to the Republic, which would be a very limited progress but it would be a progress — they fear that it would not remain at the level of the Republic, but would go towards the total transformation. The left itself which has quite a deep programme, does not pose the problem of the Monarchy or the Republic, nor even the problem of Ireland. But even so not posing or eluding these questions, they are obliged to deepen the programme of nationalisations.

It is a leadership not prepared for the transformations which are coming in Britain and which are

inevitable. The forms which show that they are inevitable in a short stage, are expressed in the continuity, the acuteness and the depth of the struggle in Ireland: the depth and the intensity of the Labour left around a programme to contain the pressure of the proletarian vanguard; and the preparation of the civilian army of the bourgeoisie, for civil war.

In front of this there is no organised left with its own programme, policy or leadership. There is a combination of agreements, and of reciprocal concessions between the right, the centre, and the left. It is not a fraudulent game, concessions have been made. It is not necessary to attribute to the left that it makes policies deliberately to deceive. The left makes concessions because it does not have much strength, because it does not feel secure. But the fact that the Labour Party has to make such concessions, is because the maturity for historic changes in Britain is very profound. Therefore our concern must be to orientate our concern, our activity, our movement toward the formation of a left in the Labour movement.

It is necessary to help to give theoretical, political and programmatic capacity to the left, based on the process in Europe which goes to the left. All Europe is going to the left and it is necessary to be based on this, not to be based on what is happening to Britain, but on what is happening to the world, which has its repercussions in Britain.

Our Party has to write more articles directed to the Labour Left and in part to the Communist Party, to influence a part of this. The Party has to have as an objective the organisation of the left, to discuss, where is Britain going. It is going to the revolution, this is certain, and it is necessary to develop a series of stages. The more important stage for us is to prepare our Party.

The world crisis of capitalism is developing in Britain. Britain is one of the capitalist countries which is most involved in the crisis of world capitalism and is one of the weakest. It has a well developed high finance which can dominate a great deal, but it cannot dominate as before. Hence, they prepare private armies for the civil war, and they are intervening in Ireland as a means of preparation, of making an experiment. Ireland, is an experiment for civil war, and a means to maintain permanently and constantly mobilisations and justifications for military mobilisation. Even so, they failed. There is a process towards civil war, and it is necessary to prepare the Party to intervene. It is necessary to win the left, there is a perspective even officially in the Labour Party, for a left which is programmatic. It is not a leadership, but it is a left which seeks to

advance, the resolution of the trade unions show this. It is true that the trade unions yield on the question of wages and prices, but the government has to yield on nationalisations. This is to say that there is a compromise and that the left feels that it has a certain strength to impose. It is necessary to count on the world process which influences Britain, a great deal and the Socialist Party influences the Labour Party. The French Socialist Party, the Italian, the Belgium, the British even a wing of the Dutch Socialist Party are to the left and this is going to influence the Labour Party. Now the Jenkins cannot be the ones who dominate the Party. Hence capitalism prepares with private armies, because it feels that a process of nationalisations is coming.

One cannot expect in Britain a revolutionary movement with the army of the proletariat but a movement which tends to nationalisations and afterwards, the armed movement develops.

The proletariat in Britain does not do it; now Ireland yes, and the British proletariat are looking at Ireland to do the same thing itself. Now, it is necessary to deepen much more the programme of nationalisations, to put it in the forefront, together with workers control, and committees in the workers districts. It is necessary to elevate the organs of power and control based on the population, so that they intervene and lead. It is necessary to discuss the problem of Ireland also, preparing for later stages, in which capitalism is not able to re-establish its power. Even in the next elections, Labour is going to win. The wing of the Labour Party which imposes this programme is not going to remain quiet, and all the events push forward to a unification with Ireland. It is necessary to unite Ireland with Britain for the activity.

All Europe is going to the Left, it is not one or other country, it is the whole of Europe, which forms part of the world process of weakening and disintegration of the capitalist system. The capitalists do not have any courage. Before, British imperialism had plenty of resources, now it does not have any, and its principle shortage is that of not having any ideas, neither ideas nor perspective. Then, they cannot resort as before, to discussions and containing. When Wilson has to yield to a programme of the left, it is because otherwise, he would collapse.

He has to yield to a programme of the left to be able to sustain himself but at the same time, a wing of the Labour Party including a wing linked to Wilson feels that it has to change. It feels this, and they seek non transcendent changes without revolution. They see that capitalism is disintegrating and they seek changes which do not mean revolution or civil war. They are seeking this, and in the heart of world capitalism, there is a current which sees that it has to change, that it cannot sustain itself any longer in the capitalist system. They seek what is called "interpenetration", to see how communists and Socialists can integrate themselves in the capitalist system. This is stupid, it is not possible to integrate them, and they are trying to carry out the least evil and in Britain, also. But when they do not deal with the Monarchy, it is because if they do this, everything collapses.

The groups do not have any importance in this process, in which

it is necessary to give ideas and a programme. The coming of the final settlement of accounts is going to eliminate any existence of the groups, because the process is concentrated, the necessity for historic concentration is necessary, and this means programme, policy and consequently, the maturation in the great mass movements, like the Communists of currents which tend to understand history. These groups are backward, antediluvian elements.

It is not necessary to totally ignore the groups, some have importance and we are interested in intervening towards them. But every group which does not discuss theoretically, programmatically and politically, today dies. The essential task is not of mobilisations or agitations but one of what policy? How to combine trade union life, Party life, the national process with the world process. No group has a reply to this; the groups are drying up. They fight amongst themselves and dissolve because they do not answer this need: policy, programme, objectives and tactics. They are accustomed to a policy of opposition to the Labour and Communist Parties and a policy of criticisms and accusations. But it is not a programme and now, they have to make a programme, and they do not have a programme, policy, or objectives. It is on this base that we have to develop our Party.

The process in Britain forms part of the world process and of the world crisis of capitalism which is going to accentuate, on the economic, political and military level. All of capitalism is badly shaken. It is constantly by-passed by the world progress of the revolution. They have no reply to this. As a consequence the left of the Labour Party cannot be a means of containing for a long time. They cannot have confidence as before in the Labour Party that it will contain the revolution. There are going to be great leaps in Britain as a result of the world revolution. The maturing is very profound and the present levels of discussion etc, does not correspond to this maturing. The Liberal Party is collapsing throughout Europe. Also, the Radical Parties, which become Social Democratic parties to the left of the Social Democrats. The Liberal youth is in agreement with the marxist programme as in Germany also. This means that the social structure cannot develop or give confidence to maintain any of the old movements which were the left wing of capitalism linked with the workers movement.

The leadership of the Labour Party cannot contain this process of disintegration of capitalism. Internally from the programmatic point of view this is not expressed by the level which it has reached. But the masses have been influencing and exercising power since at least ten years back. They are making an exercise of power, nationalising on their own account, appropriating private property and making it function, linking with the Workers States, influencing layers of the bourgeoisie, disintegrating them and winning over their children, as with the youth of the Liberal Party. This strength which is not expressed programmatically and organisationally, has to find an expression, and it is part of our strength of tomorrow. It is necessary to write for this.

J. POSADAS 15th September 1974

# The disagreements of the «Nine», and the world crisis of capitalism.

15th december 1974

J. POSADAS

The crisis of capitalism is absolute and total, it involves all aspects, of the system. The crisis is total but are the Communists Parties going to wait for it to fall? The French Communist Party shows that it wants to take action, for example with strikes and mobilisations. With this they expect to make the government fall; so that there are new elections and so that new deputies and a new President are elected. This would happen in 1978 and in that way they seek to impose an electoral path. There is no time for this. But it can be imposed to the extent that they have to go to the government through the means of mobilisations and struggles, combined with appeals for measures which show the necessity to overthrow the government. It is necessary to win the army and the police, in France this is easy. The army and the police are quite close, the police are very close to the workers and half of the army also. Therefore it is necessary to discuss all this.

The interview of Ford with Giscard shows what little perspective they have and besides the very great divergencies and the brutal competition between them. Imperialism cannot emerge from this crisis. If it comes out of this crisis and still they have not overthrown it, if the proletariat and the Communist Parties don't throw it out it is not going to emerge with the same concentration and strength as before. It is going to centralise the leadership of the economy, but as a class the divisions within it are going to increase enormously and an immense number of the petit bourgeoisie are going to be thrown into the camp of the revolution. This is happening now.

The centralisation of the economy is a natural consequence of the concentration of capitalism, of competition, of workers struggles, of crisis. The financial sector of the Liberals in Germany proposes to let the crisis in Germany continue, so that unemployment can increase, maintaining a certain control with subsidies, to rationise the economy and to ruin the small and weak enterprises, which cannot stand the crisis in order to try to strengthen the capitalist system. This is false, capitalism is centralised more but it is not strengthened. Centralisation is the natural weapon of the crisis of capitalism which has to concentrate in the apparatus of the bosses, in the economy and in finance, but at the same time it throws into the enemy camp a great number of bourgeois and weakens them socially because the number of bourgeois is less. As a consequence these people support opinions, judgements and criteria against the system. As a class the

bourgeoisie cannot be won but individually they can be won. When they propose measures like this that are being discussed in Germany, it is because their crisis is very profound. They expect afterwards to reanimate the German economy on the basis of their great concentration of funds, which amounts to a balance of about twenty-two thousand million dollars. They hope to use about ten thousand million dollars to reanimate the economy. But even so they are not going to be able to do what they want, because the whole capitalist world is like this. This measure is going to provoke the reaction of the masses. The Communists and the Socialists are going to use this and they are going to have to go to the left favoring the development of the sectors linked to capitalism who before were defenders, sustainers or passive contemplators a base of support, for capitalism. The bourgeois sees that its own base is rebelling and wants to overthrow the capitalist system like the Social Democratic Party. They want to preserve the position of Europe because they need a market in which to sell. In the countries of Africa and Latin America there is not much of a market and at the same time the development of the revolution in these countries, the development of Socialist and Nationalist governments towards the left favoring the development of the economy. Then this allows certain sales to the Yanks but not investment of capital. Sales are quite limited and the productivity of the capitalist countries increases a hundred times more than the purchasing power of these countries. They need to invest capital even though the sales that

they make are important. They need to invest because they have an enormous amount of capital. All this creates an enormous competition among them, which the Workers States use showing that they do not have crisis and that they can negotiate with the capitalist countries.

The investment of Kuwait in Hungary links Kuwait with the Workers State because it depends on it, and these besides are investments by the state and not individuals. It is the state of Kuwait that is investing, and although this isn't correct, neither is it a measure which is against the development of the revolution. It is not correct because for Kuwait to invest there means that capitalism remains on its feet. They are seeking the least evil to make the revolution in this form and to weaken capitalism. On the other hand if they made a correct and just policy, capitalism would have already stopped existing particularly in the United States.

Capitalism in Europe feels that it has to try to seek mutual agreement to confront their common crisis. The crisis means social mobilisations where there are powerful Socialist and Communist Parties and they know that they are going to utilise and win them. At the same time there is the competition between the various capitalist countries and the internal competition of the bourgeoisie, in agriculture, industry, finance with struggle to take possession of the state apparatus. Hence the meeting of the bourgeois day, every hour, and they finish by saying "we communicate that the meeting has been a success and we are all in agreement." "Over What?" "That we are not in agreement."

Each one of these countries has different levels of development in agriculture. The Germans defend the small properties and the farming population — as in Britain — is smaller than that of any other country in Europe, because they have large scale capitalist agrarian production which is very mechanised. Then German big business needs an agreement with the other countries particularly over agriculture, to lower the price of production and costs for them, to make

concentrating the decision and the homogeneity for the solution by war, to go forward, but the solution is war. The war can be in the next month, the next year, or in two or three years according to opportunity. A proof of this is that in the French army a leading general made an investigation and reported that in May '68 the army was not excited, it was concerned but not excited. On the other hand now if there is a new May, the army would be moved from head to foot says the report. This report was against capitalism and immediately all the newspapers came out to say that it was inexact. But this process of the decomposition of capitalism cannot prevent the Yanks preparing to sustain themselves. Imperialism doesn't have a programme in which it can determine stages. It must move times in history. It is dragged all over the place and has to run behind events, but it runs behind events whilst preparing the war.

Imperialism is preparing the war but at the same time, it has a very great quantity of problems to resolve and in these the Communist Parties have to intervene with the sliding scale of wages, hours and the need to expropriate and plan. It is necessary to plan production, why? It is necessary to counterpose this to capitalism which even yielding cannot yield to those measures which are the only ones which can guarantee the development of the economy. Capitalism cannot do this, it has no interest.

A capitalist government cannot resolve the problems of society, the cost of living and employment. Capitalism cannot respond to this, governments of the left are necessary, throughout Europe to respond to this need. They must push forward a programme of sliding scales of hours and wages, opening of the books, factory councils, committees to control prices, workers control of factories like those of oil, nationalisation of the key centres of production. The Communists and the Socialists are the ones who have the strength to lead, and it is necessary to do it now. The changes that are necessary in France have to be achieved throughout Europe. They are changes which are going to develop inexorably and it is necessary to prepare for these changes.

## Answer the crisis in the car industry with factory committees to control and plan production

The rapidly deepening crisis of the car industry in all the major industrialised capitalist countries is an expression of the total crisis — total final and world crisis — of the capitalist system. The car industry is an important barometer of the state of the capitalist economy inasmuch as a great deal of its investments is centred in the car industry. This fact in itself shows all the lack of confidence and perspective of the system since the production of individual, private cars had little social use in the first place and none at all now. Nonetheless capitalism hasn't the confidence to invest elsewhere, in industries which produce commodities which are socially useful or are actually in demand. The system has not the confidence nor the interest for this. The car industry represents a powerful demonstration of the absolute insanity of the capitalist system. Even the logic of increasing production by excluding private cars from Leyland have done recently — when demand is falling, is crazy. At the same time British Leyland for example begs large subsidies from Labour government without any proposal, any idea or perspective for the future of the industry. They don't even propose minor changes in production linked to some improvement in public transport which would mean the production of more buses, coaches etc, and less private cars. It is, in this context, ironical that the one small success that British Leyland can claim in the last period is an order for buses from Venezuela; an order which is the result of an attempt by the Venezuelan government to rationalise transport by excluding private cars from city centres. The fact that between 1961 and 1973 the cost of buying a car increased by 20% (and running cost by 75%) whilst the increase in fares on public transport was 125% for buses and 135% for rail in the same period demonstrates the total imbecility of the capitalist system. The result, of course, has been a lowering of the quality of public transport which anyway wasn't very good in the first place, complete traffic chaos in the cities and an almost complete absence of public transport in the countryside.

The necessary solution is clear: the nationalisation of the car industry; the immediate decrease of production of private cars, an increase in the production of vehicles for public transport and the turning over of whatever productive capacity is left to the production of commodities which are socially useful. Capitalism is obviously incapable of doing this but neither is it possible on the basis of the nationalisation of the automotive industry, since it has to be related to the economy as a whole. In other words it demands the planning of the whole economy and this, in turn, demands a programme for the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control. The total nature of the crisis of capitalism excludes the possibility of any half measures, excludes the possibility of nationalising one, or other capitalist enterprise in order to prop the system up. The system cannot be held together any longer and this fact explains a great deal of the uncertainty and hesitation which the left of the trade unions and the Labour Party display at this moment.

This isn't to say, of course, that there aren't immediate actions and demands which have to be made in order to protect the working class from the short-time working and threats of redundancy which result from the crisis in the car industry. The fact that the bosses have been unable to impose many sackings — certainly below the level of the United States for example — is not because they don't want

to, but because the strength, confidence and organisation of the workers in the industry prevent them from imposing large scale redundancies. Obviously the idea of massive sackings has its attractions for the bourgeoisie; but in a situation where factory occupations — like that of UCS — are an acquired method of struggle by the working class it is, for the bourgeoisie, a socially and politically dangerous measure. Thus the management at Cowley have not been able to take advantage of the 'engine tuners strike' to impose redundancies or even short-time working. In previous years they would have used short-time working as a means of attacking the redundancies and the measure normally used to cut production when it served them and to try to force sectors on strike back to work. Now they fear the consequences not only on a local scale but nationally. However it is clear that the bosses will try to impose large scale redundancies and the two-day week at Chryslers, the 4-day week at Vauxhalls and the redundancies among clerical workers at Chryslers is a prelude to this.

It follows then, that it is necessary to raise the demand for work sharing without loss of pay in the car industry. It is an urgent, immediate demand. The British Leyland National Joint Shop Stewards Committee have stated that any redundancies in the industry would result in the immediate occupation of the factory, and this is now combined with the demand — by the TGWU Automotive

group shop stewards and the Birmingham Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions for example — for the 'socialist' nationalisation of the car industry. Full advantage has to be taken of all the weakness of capitalism, of the fact that they are forced to give concessions. The Fiat workers have imposed a years guaranteed wage and the intervention of the trade unions and workers in all decisions on production and investment. This results from the force and decision of the working class itself and from the fact that such concessions are — for a sector of the bourgeoisie — the lesser of two evils (since if they do not give concessions the result is factory occupation and this goes towards the final overthrow of the system). The situation is no different in this country; In the United States and France, a full years wage — two years in some sectors of the car industry in the United States — have been conceded to workers who are sacked. These demands have to be imposed by the mobilisation of the population, by factory occupations, by occupation and not as an end in themselves but as part of a struggle for the nationalisation under workers control of the whole industry.

The Engine Tuners strike at Cowley for 'skilled status' is an action by a group of 'skilled' workers in pursuit of sectional interests and whilst it gives no comfort to the bourgeoisie, it does not prevent production and in addition they can't take any advantage from it to attack the mass of the workers, neither does it take the struggle forward. The fact that the leadership of the AEUW supports this strike when there were thousands of strikes on a much higher level which they did not support in the past, and when they do nothing about the short-time working and redundancies in the industry now, shows their need to try to retain a support in small privileged sectors of the workers which still exist and which formed a base of the union bureaucracy in the past. This, however, is not what determines. But it does show the gap which exists between the programme of nationalisations which most unions have adopted and which they have imposed on the Labour Party, and the unwillingness of the leadership to lead actions to impose this programme. It is an unwillingness to lead actions and on the part of a lack of confidence, from a conviction that any measures which they propose will be taken much further than they intend by the working class. The trade union leadership is now faced with a struggle for which it is not prepared

because it is no longer a question of trade union demands, but one of a struggle for power and they fear a confrontation with the State.

transport and the price of electricity have to form the basis of a process of discussion in the factory and in the workers areas. A discussion in the workers areas is necessary for the construction of the organisms of dual power.

The crisis in the car industry expresses not simply the economic collapse of capitalism but all its social uselessness. The movement of people is submitted to the capitalist system, it is an expression of private interest of aggression and exploitation. Thus the solution to the problem of the car industry raises the whole question of society itself. The strength and consciousness of the workers, of the vanguard is not called into question but the political leadership is. The advance workers must not be based on the basis of the factory alone, and the development of a leadership in the Labour Party which goes through a process of the organisation of the left in it, is a necessity. Uncertainty as to the future development of human society is not necessary even when there is a large marxism — as there is in the Labour Party — to give a clear vision of the process, to give a scientific understanding. The Workers States exist and advance, and the example of that advance even on the level of the creation of a cheap and efficient public transport system based on a planned, nationalised economy has to be taken by the Labour left, and it has to be taken inside the factory. The necessity for the Labour Party to be based on the factory is again being raised in the Party and means in the first instance meetings and discussion in the factories on the basis of a programme of nationalisation, workers control, and beyond this of all the problems of society. In other words the development of a political life in the factory, the development of political ideas which, combined with the elevation of the factory organisation of the class, of the Shop Stewards, will provide the essential impulse to the struggle for power which the class is already engaged in.

The proposed referendum on the Common Market — limited as it is — has the advantage of creating an atmosphere of political discussion in the country. Equally in depth it is a discussion on whether Europe should be controlled in the interest of imperialism, of the 'multinationals' or in the interest of the masses. The car industry and its crisis is — like every thing else — not confined to this country. The industry is in crisis on a world scale and in the whole of Europe — in France, Italy, Germany. The argument imposing the level of fares on public

## Solidarity with the Chilean proletariat!

The assassin Junta in Chile has communicated that the comrade leader of the MIR, Miguel Henriquez is dead. We condemn this new crime of the fascist Junta of Chile and render revolutionary homage to comrade Henriquez and all the revolutionary militants and the militants of the proletarian vanguard who have been assassinated in Chile. The answer is the organisation of the world campaign of support to the revolutionary masses of Chile as on last Sept 11, to prepare the overthrow of the assassin Junta.

and it has failed already in its plans, as was shown in the fact that they have had to liberate hundreds of prisoners — a product of the world campaign and of their internal decomposition. The Junta of assassins announced that only 748 political prisoners still remain in Chile. It is false, there are thousands of prisoners and tortured comrades.

We salute and render homage to all the Communists, Socialists, Trotskyists/Posadists, comrades, the MAPU, the MIR, to Miguel Hendriquez, and to all the revolutionary militants, men and women, young and old comrades, who have continued to work and resisted with complete dignity the tortures and crimes of the fascist Junta. Miguel Hen-

riquez is part of the vanguard which with Chile showed that the struggle for Communism is invincible. The Chilean Junta cannot affirm itself nor will it be able to survive much longer.

We appeal for the sending of telegrams, resolutions, condemnations of the Chilean Junta for this new assassination, and the organisation more than ever of solidarity with the Chilean masses and proletariat, and for the United Front of all the Parties of the Left in Chile, being prepared in clandestinity. We appeal for the liberation of all the prisoners and among them of Nelsa Gadea Galan (Uruguayan) detained in Santiago de Chile. All messages to the Chilean Embassy with a note to us please

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# editorial

## THE WORKERS STATES CENTRALISE THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

In all of this process the role and activity of the workers states in centralising the forces of the world masses is decisive. In every respect the superiority of the workers states becomes more and more obvious. The steady growth of their productive forces, the constant development of trade links all over the world-Finland a capitalist country owes its relative freedom from the massive economic crisis of world capitalism to trade with the Soviet Union and the communist vigour and technical superiority of the armed forces of the workers states acts as a terrible weight on capitalism, winning over the petit bourgeoisie masses, destroying any possibility of fascism and encouraging the activity of the world proletariat everywhere. The way the masses of the world look to the Soviet Union has been seen in the anti NATO demonstrations in Cyprus where the cry of the masses hardly reported in the bourgeois press in this country - was quite simply "Makarios to Moscow".

The process of partial regeneration is unceasing throughout the workers states, whether it takes the form of a constant reconsideration of the policy of detente or the discussions in Yugoslavia or Poland on the need to eliminate the disparities of income which exist and which they now admit exist and condemn. All this is part of the struggle against the most recalcitrant and obstinate sectors of the bureaucracy, who want to continue to conciliate with capitalism and spawn such retrograde Czar worshippers as Solzhenitsyn.

The process in China indicates the deepening of the crisis of this mandarin camarilla headed by Chou-en Lai. There is a continuation of the policy of transitory agreements between the conflicting sectors but no stability is possible. It is absurd to pose the inevitability of a third world war between the USA and the Soviet Union and at the same time a perspective of developing socialism in one country outside this perspective. It is the mark of total political bankruptcy of the clique. The conciliation with the Yanks has broken down, the pressure for the unification of the workers states is growing, which is another reason for Yankee Imperialism to hasten its preparations for the war. The efforts of the leading camarilla to contain the process in China is shown by the declaration of the right to strike and the need for the masses to participate much more in the running of the whole economy-nationalisation of itself is not enough. This is all to contain a process, but partial regeneration is a global structure based on the world relation of forces that favour the world socialist revolution and China is inescapably part of this. The unification of China and the Soviet Union remains

indispensable for the next stage - such a unification would remove one of the most absurd obstacles in the way of the centralisation of the forces to crush capitalism throughout the planet.

## THE KEY INDUSTRIES AND THE BANKS MUST BE NATIONALISED UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The gigantic nature of this world process, the tendency of the world communist movement in particular to function as a communist International and the incapacity of capitalism to propose or develop a new perspective which can convince the mass of the population that it is viable, removes the possibility for capitalism to recover in this country. Capitalism sees quite clearly that the direction of the process means marxism in the Labour party. Desperately it tries to sustain the Healeys and the Jenkins, that is the apparatus of the right in the LP. It tries to make the "social contract" an active instrument for depressing the standard of life and inevitably enters into conflict with the Trade union apparatus who are obliged to interpret the contract as at least "maintaining" living standards.

Economically in the absence of resolute leadership and mass organs, capitalism is imposing unemployment and a reduction in the standard of life, but they cannot continue like this hoping to dispirit the masses. Momentarily the workers do not respond with immediate actions of workers control but an accumulation of thought and observation takes place which will emerge at a later stage with massive interventions. This is why even the Economist is obliged to sing the praises of Benn and the "participation" chatter because they feel that this is just about the last card they have to play. Even the appeals for ceasefire in Northern Ireland represent a weakening in the posture of British Imperialism. Naturally at any moment with the aid of provocations war can be resumed there at a moments notice but capitalism is faced with a complicated situation, worse than before. They have kept Northern Ireland on the boil in order to promote the conditions for generalised civil war throughout Great Britain, to create a means for constant mobilisation, constant talk of terrorism to prepare for the wholesale attempted intimidation of the British working class. But with the victory of the Labour government there is a constant elevation of the process in both countries and the maintenance of Northern Ireland as a focus of attention begins to have its drawbacks particularly as the world situation makes it more and more difficult for British capitalism to choose the moment for definitive collisions with the working class.

The attempted campaign to develop popular resentment against the IRA failed and a sector in the Labour party has come out with demands for the withdrawal of British troops. Hence the need to hold a period of negotiations in N. Ireland. But the perspective of civil war remains, the CIA and its links

with the state apparatus continue via their shootings to stimulate generalised repressive action. On all this process the left of the Labour party remains very timid in its manner of intervention. It has to prepare for a constantly aggravated situation in which the programme of the Labour party has to be extended and developed. The total crisis of the capitalist social system poses more and more ineluctably the need for the control of the "commanding heights" of the economy and the control of foreign trade for the interests of the population not for the interests of the few. The growing crisis of the car industry bears out the utterly moronic nature of capitalism. Cars cannot be sold so prices proceed to rise! Magnificent! Yet there is none of the investment available under the present system for a massive development of public transport for the benefit of the whole of the population. The banks run for private interest do not invest or do not loan when the capitalist economy is collapsing - they must be taken over as part of a whole plan to vitalise the economy. Capitalism cannot do it, the workers will.

Slowly a process of thought is developing in the labour left. Even Tribune notes the "interpenetration" of the capitalist economy with the workers states - this is a limited "economic" understanding but at least it takes cognisance of the new qualitative relationship between the workers states and capitalism. McGaheys statement that the Labour movement will be based on marxism raises the problem of the need for much more discussion and theoretical study in the Labour and Communist parties. But marxism is not only the understanding of the process, the recognition of the need for and the power of ideas, it is the recognition of the independent role of the masses. Nationalisations have to be accompanied by the imposition of workers control, the type of nationalisation that exists now is not enough. Nothing is posed about the need for workers control in the industries already nationalised. The coal board in no way represents the workers. What has the left to say on this topic? Benns "participation" will not impress the workers.

We appeal to the left in the Labour party and the trade unions to fight against the ECM in the factories with the discussion of the programme to extend nationalisations in this country and for a conference of workers parties and trade unions from capitalist and workers states to fight for a comprehensive programme for socialism throughout Europe. The struggle to extend nationalisations must be allied with the formation of the shop stewards committees and the workers districts committees elected with right of immediate recall and functioning permanently, discussing all issues. The left will find strength in the factories on the basis of the elevation of the socialist objectives of the Labour party. Power comes from the factory but the transformation of the Labour party is the creation of the new class leadership to construct socialism, and requires the marxist programmes and policy of today, in the Labour Party.

For

# a nationalised press under workers control!

There is today a continual overthrowing of bourgeois ideas. The British proletariat is now challenging the bourgeoisie's concept of the 'free press'. Each exploiting class cloaks its domination behind certain concepts of unchallengeable 'principles.' Capitalism pompously proclaims it upholds the ideas of democracy, individual freedom and freedom of the press. For the Labour left to be able to act as a leadership at this stage, it must have a full understanding of these myths. The issue of the freedom of the press has been raised by the Trade Union and Labour Relations (Amendment) Bill. This bill would open up a greater chance for the trade unions to control the editors of newspapers. The bourgeoisie in this country have seen the danger to their domination of the press and attacked the bill as contrary to the 'free press'. In reality, the newspapers are in no way freely available for the use of the population, they are owned by and express the ideas of the capitalist class. The press attacks the proletariat and the left in the Labour Party because the newspapers are used to defend private property.

and to construct a Workers State, it is only the lack of a conscious leadership in the Labour Party that hinders it from achieving this.

The press is a direct instrument which the bourgeois uses to confront the workers movement. The press lies, and distorts reality in defence of private property. It will do this in the referendum campaign by the pretence that the EEC can develop the economy. The Labour movement needs to take over the press and to use it for the benefit of the population as a weapon against the capitalists. The right wing of the Labour Party attacks the nationalisation of the press this is because these right wing MP's have links with capitalism and are concerned to defend the system of private property. They claim that the private ownership of the press allows freedom of expression for journalists. Journalists are though only in a position to sell themselves to the capitalist press to write what private property allows.

The print workers, like the rest of the class, are intervening to defend their conditions. The NUJ and print workers union need to develop a joint programme for the nationalisation of the press under workers control. The left in the Labour Party is scared to support the nationalisation of the press, in the same way as they avoid attacking the monarchy. If the Labour Left proposes the nationalisation of firms to take industry out of the hands of private ownership to be run for the benefit of the population, why not also take the press from monopoly capitalism to be run for the benefit of the population? If the government in Peru can nationalise the newspapers, why can't the Labour Party? When the newspapers are nationalised, the articles will not be to defend private interests but to show the progress of humanity. Articles about the reality of humanity's advance in Vietnam, and Ethiopia where socialism is being constructed by the people and not the fantasy of a backward population that capitalism uses the press to portray.

The fact that the Labour government continues with the Labour Relations (Amendment) Bill basically unchanged as far as the closed shop for journalists is concerned, shows the pressure from the trade unions. There is a strong desire from the union members to stop the bourgeoisie from writing what they want. The demands for the control of editors is not fully articulated among the journalists in the NUJ but it is there. The role of the workers party is to formulate the aspirations of the class into a political programme. The Labour left therefore needs to take the programme of nationalisation of the press under workers control. To extend the policy of the ACTT (Association of Cinematograph, Television and Allied Technicians) for the nationalisation of the film industry under workers control, and to have films that directly represent the life of the population instead of the corruption of capitalism. The left in the Labour Party criticises the bias of the media, it is now the time for them to put an end to the use of the press by capitalism and put it instead under the direct control of the working class, who will not use the press just for their own interests, but for the benefit of the population.

None of the capitalist newspapers reflect reality. The picture of life they give is of corruption, violence and a world where everyone is out for themselves. This is not the life of the population but the life of the bourgeoisie. Capitalism could never develop the whole of any economy. At its height it expanded certain parts of the economy but left others to decay. This is why in Britain, capitalism could never solve the regional disparities; while the South East of England expanded, other regions declined. In a similar way, in culture it produced some talented writers and artists but overall, culture did not elevate. Now that the capitalist economy is collapsing, its culture degenerates rapidly. This is why the plays, books and films produced today are nearly all of no value. They are not expressing new ideas with a confident vision, but are full of pessimism and sordidness. The bourgeoisie serve no role in developing anything and so their whole social life is dominated by the fear of the fact that they are finished. There is another reason why so much of television and the cinema is used to show a brutal view of life. Capitalism wants to corrupt as much of the population as it can, to stop it intervening in the Socialist Movement. Capitalism hopes it can pervert people to be concerned with distorted social and sexual relations rather than with the Labour Movement. This is why there is a bombardment of corrupt films. The reality is that the working class and most of the petty bourgeoisie are not interested in this rubbish. The cinemas close, the television is treated as only a minor interest and the population intensifies its determination to change society. The bourgeoisie produces propaganda of humanity being only interested in itself, whereas the population ignores this and produces the revolution in Portugal, the advances in the Workers States and soon the overthrow of fascism in Spain. In the newspapers the bourgeoisie distorts reality to weaken the confidence of the left in the Labour Party, in the proletariat. They proclaim day after day that the working class is stupid and not interested in Socialism. This is a lie, the British proletariat is constantly seeking ways to overthrow capitalism

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to keep Britain out of the EEC, is at best totally irrelevant. We appeal to the Shop Stewards, to the trade union branches, to the Labour and trade union left, to the workers in the car industry who are an important part of the workers vanguard to raise this discussion onto another level. We appeal to them to use the links which have

already been made in common action by the workers of Europe to weigh in the struggle against the Common Market, to weigh in the struggle in the Labour Party on the basis of a programme for the nationalisation of the industry under workers control and for the creation of a Single Workers Centre in Europe as part of the fight for a Socialist Europe.

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BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

NO. 236 YEAR XII

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1975

PRICE 5p

## FULL SUPPORT TO THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL!

The uncertainty expressed by the delegation of left Labour MP's which visited Portugal after the events in Oporto where the masses smashed the meeting of the Centre Democratic Party (CDP) is unnecessary. The Portuguese masses demonstrated no uncertainty when they intervened to smash a meeting which represented an attempt of the bourgeoisie — from within Portugal and from outside — to organise the counter-revolution. It is the same with the naval 'exercise' of NATO off the coast which is intended to intimidate the Portuguese masses and to try to give some backbone to the internal reaction. The masses, despite some timidity on the part of their leadership, have demonstrated massively against NATO as against the preparations of the bourgeoisie for the civil war. The meeting of the CDP in Oporto represents the preparation for civil war in Portugal and it confirms the analysis that yankee imperialism, which prepares to launch the war against the world revolution and the Workers States, does so in the worst possible conditions for itself and that it has to act clandestinely. NATO which is the alliance between the European bourgeoisies and yankee imperialism is used as a threat and it has the same sense as the CDP meeting.

Clearly, Yankee imperialism would like another Chile but the conditions simply to not exist for it. Thus the attempted coup in Peru and the attempt to use nationalist sectors in Eritrea to block the advance of the process towards the Workers State in Ethiopia are a failure. It has not prevented the military leadership in Ethiopia from advancing with its programme of nationalisation, and in the last days the major industries — most of them owned by imperialism — have been expropriated. In Peru, the hope of the yanks was to use — as they did in Chile — disgruntled sectors of the bourgeoisie and of the middle class in order to provoke the most reactionary sectors of the military into launching a coup. It didn't work and the confidence with which the army in Peru, Ethiopia and Portugal intervened against the reaction — even if they did not call for mobilisations of the masses — confirms the analysis of Comrade Posadas that not only are the armies being disintegrated as instruments of bourgeois repression, but are now acting for the advance of humanity, for Socialism. In an earlier period yankee imperialism

might have hoped to have used Spain as a base for an intervention in Portugal, but the disintegration of the Franco regime, with even civil servants demanding the democratisation of the regime and full trade union rights, coupled with the mobilisations of the working class in strikes, occupations and demonstrations, makes this a very uncertain perspective. Particularly when the Spanish army is becoming as unreliable — to the bourgeoisie — as the armies of Peru, Portugal, Somalia and the rest.

On another level the constant clashes between Congress and the President in the United States — which is in reality a clash between the Pentagon and sectors of the bourgeoisie, not on the necessity to launch the war but on its actual timing — show all the uncertainty and vacillation of imperialism. Thus, Ford who represents the most determined sectors of yankee imperialism, the Pentagon, is rebuffed on military aid to Cambodia, Vietnam and Turkey. What feeds this process is the confidence and strength with which the Soviet Union intervenes, the obvious preparations for the war on the part of the Soviets which is

shown in the trip of Gromyko to the Middle East and in the arms supplied to Syria and now to the Palestinians. The Portuguese masses demonstrate against the NATO 'exercise' and the Soviet Union asks for port facilities in Portugal. This may be denied but it is very much in line with the world actions of the Soviet Union and shows the united front which exists between the Workers States and the struggle of the world masses. At the same time the disintegration of yankee imperialism is also fed by the mobilisations of the North American masses. The rally of thousands of unemployed car workers in Washington, even if

it lacked a leadership and programme — or at least a programme beyond a demand for the nationalisation of oil and for a national health service — shows that neither the attempts of sectors of the Democratic Party to put itself at the head of this movement nor the bureaucracy of the trade unions are capable of preventing the North American proletariat from feeling and taking confidence from the world advance of the revolution.

It is important that sectors of the Labour left went to Portugal and sought to understand the process which develops there but it is not a

question of the defense of 'Parliamentary Democracy' and there is no need for uncertainty about the necessity to give full support to the Portuguese masses who put themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party, the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) and the Socialist Party. The process of the anti-capitalist struggle, of the struggle for power doesn't develop through Parliament and Socialism is not constructed by Parliamentary decree. The demonstration of workers in Ebbw-Vale in which they absolutely opposed the sackings threatened in the nationalised Steel Works, and demanded the

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## Marxism, the soldiers and the advance of the revolution in Latin America. J. POSADAS

17th October 1974

Peru is one of the essential centres for the development of the revolutionary struggle for socialism in Latin America. It has a military leadership — in part civil but essentially military — which is being elevated in the understanding of the need for consistent progress. They don't call themselves marxists and they have a resistance to marxism — and now they are not afraid as before but there is a resistance — because their experience is not founded upon marxism and their education is anti-marxist. They come from a form of conceiving life, human relations, economic and social relations, and of relations with nature which are mystical and anti-dialectical. This amongst other things is the significance of their feelings, that to develop history, life and the economy, a protector is necessary, protectors which stimulate. They do not understand the need for planning and they do not see that the conditions for planning exist which before were not possible — the great development of industry, of economy, the unified structure of raw materials, transformation, distribution and use. They don't see all this and thus they continue with the education of the previous economy, the capitalist economy.

But there is a very great progress taking place among them in which they accept the need to overcome the form of private property and they are passing from a form of private property to common property which they call "industrial property". They have to advance and see that if the economy doesn't develop, it is because of the form of property and the lack of planning. To plan it is necessary to have centralised property, centralised use of the instruments which is property. Our party must write much more on this and produce texts aimed especially at the soldiers, to explain the nature of the historical process, the mystical roots of the capitalist economy which develops mysticism, to be able to justify capitalist power; and to write on the need for conscious planning, the conscious relations between society, the economy, and distribution which must be carried out with the intervention of the masses, which

means the need for democracy. If an elite does this, it creates caste and group interests, selected centres in which disputes arise. Then the economy develops under the criterion of people who have private interests; more extended than strictly private interest, because it is a question of nuclei, not of one capitalist or another but in any case of private interest which contains, limits and reduces the capacity of development of the economy.

When they resist what they call "the Communism of the Soviet Union" it is not that they want a pure Communism but they fear or resist Communism, even in the Soviet Union forms and they see the bureaucratic apparatus, its imposition. But not because they want to take the best road to Communism but because they resist all the discipline which means going to Communism. They are not sustained by theoretical and programmatic convictions

but by the historic need from which afterward theoretical preoccupation develops.

In the Workers State they see a result of marxism in every way. And they do not have the marxist method, whilst the Workers State even with the bureaucracy has to advance in every way on a marxist line, in the organisation of the economy, in its objectives and conclusions. They don't attempt to amend, to overcome or correct the bureaucratic functioning. They see that we are better, that we give objective ideas, that we are not tied to the Workers State as it is, but they also resist, because they see that it is the question of the marxist programme. What particularly concerns the soldiers is the discipline which marxism imposes. In spite of the fact that there are many marxist officers even in the capitalist armies, in general they fear or resist it, because it clashes with their previous structure. They have a structure of command, of hierarchy, of category. Marxism is the objectivity of observation, of analysis, of conclusion, of application. Hence the courses which we proposed for the soldiers in Peru and in other countries were important because they were aimed at the mentality which resists marxist discipline.

In Peru to win the army is an essential task. To win it, the mobilisation, the intervention of the masses is necessary which shows that these are capable of leading society. The experience of Chile is decisive. It is necessary that the Peruvian masses show, and can show that they

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# The declaration of Kissinger, the programme of the Workers States and the World Anti-imperialist United Front. J. POSADAS

5th. January, 1975

The declaration of Kissinger, on the possibility of intervening to invade the oil producing countries, is not in contradiction with the declarations of Ford. They are declarations aimed at exercising a pressure on the Soviets, to maintain their resolution to intervene with the war. The fact that they present that statement as the statement of Kissinger has no value, because he cannot take an individual resolution which comprises the whole of imperialism and its relations with the Soviets. But it forms part of the thought of the leadership of the imperialist government.

It is a manoeuvre which they are making, to try to disguise their policy but exerting a pressure on the Soviets without making a declaration of war, without committing themselves and without obliging the Soviets to give an immediate reply. The diplomatic manoeuvre is reaching heights and levels which are quite risky for them, because it's on various occasions now that they have had to speak about invading the Arab countries; and also of invading the Middle East. They have made experiments in disembarking in North America in the desert, in which up to 15,000 marines participated. It is necessary to see in the attitude of the Yanks, a persistency, a resolution, in declarations, threats and then incomplete rectifications — and although they make rectifications, this does not invalidate what they said before — that show aggressive military attitudes and resolutions. There is no declaration that seeks a compromise or to utilise the United Nations. All their declarations threaten military attack. This means that there is a tendency within imperialism which is constantly maintaining the decision of the possibility for war. It is a question of how to maintain the pot, at boiling point. In this case, it is a question of utilising the decision of response by war, as a means to pressure the Soviet Union, the Arab countries, and the semi colonial countries and at the same time, because they do not have any other answer and as they cannot make the war now, they have to play a game of deceptions.

The declaration of Kissinger coincides with the sickness of Brezhnev; this can be a coincidence. It is within the bounds of the possible, but what is not a coincidence is that the Soviets support the Middle East, Egypt, Latin America and Africa. Dahomey declares itself to be Marxist — Leninist. They do not have water, bread or milk, but they say that they are Marxists — Leninist. In Ethiopia, the people who, until yesterday, were assassins take the same arms which they used when they were assassins, and turn them against those who send them to assassinate and they decide upon the Socialist programme!

Imperialism sees that it is not a question of one, two three or five countries, which are turning their back on its dominion, but the whole world. Meanwhile the Soviets advance and the Communist Parties also. It is logical that within them, there exists a current which wants to maintain constantly a military decision and military replies. They see that control is leaving the hands of the capitalist countries; Kissinger just declared that a war is necessary to maintain the unity of the capitalist regime. It is a lie that the war is

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CAPITALIST INVESTMENTS IN THE USSR, AND THE NEED FOR THE PLANNING OF THE WORKERS STATES

The divisions between Germany, United States, France, Britain, Belgium, Holland, the capitalist countries and Africa and Latin America, is pronounced. There is a meeting of the 9, with 11 positions and with very decided resolutions which only say that they will meet again on the 5th floor in 8 days time. And when they are asked: "Your excellencies, what position did the meeting take?" they reply: "Yes, we are all agreed, we decided that we are going to meet again next week".

Yankee imperialism sees that there is no agreement, they seek to put themselves in agreement but internal disagreement increases, because they can make an agreement, but they then encounter the resistance of middle and top sectors of the bourgeoisie. That is to say that big sectors of the multinational monopolies dominate economically, but they do not dominate politically or socially. The reason is not that these other sectors are against the war, but that these sectors express the need to survive and they do not have the same needs as the multinationals to launch the war now. These sectors hope to develop to be able to expand, to invest, to make agreements with the Soviets.

The policy of the Soviets in accordance with the Yanks and the Japanese, is aimed at these layers also. It is aimed at big layers of the bourgeoisie to contain the war. But also to interest these layers so that they weigh in the capitalist system. The Soviets have organised a whole political system, not a programme of revolutionary policy but a system, which is aimed at layers of the bourgeoisie to break their internal front.

going to maintain unity. It is going to maintain the dominion of Yankee imperialism.

It means that the absence of a military decision in front of the progress of the Workers States and of the revolution is leading to a disintegration of the policy of each capitalist country. This is making the total dominion of the Yanks difficult. Hence, the crisis of the CIA has come to light, because the centralised dominion of imperialism is disintegrating. And in the capitalist sectors in the world, it is the same thing.

Even with the investment of capital in the Soviet Union, of much more historic interest, and benefit and which is unfavourable to capitalism, is the agreement between the Workers States, which can free them at any moment from capitalist investments. The agreements between the Workers States can be very slow, but in their plans over oil and gas, they show to the masses of the world, to those of the United States, those of Japan, that this policy is the determining policy. On the other hand, agreements with capitalism give life to capitalism, because it makes it appear that capitalism is of some use because it prolongs the crisis of capitalism. On the other hand unifying all the Worker States and China, although China may oppose, to make an agitation, can have a very great echo in China, and also, in Japan, because it shows that it is not capitalism that develops the economy, but the Workers States, and in a form which is infinitely superior to capitalism.

When Kissinger declares that a war is necessary to maintain the cohesion over the capitalist system, it is because they — imperialism — see that as they cannot decide this crisis through war or fascism, each one looks after himself. Hence, the intensification of the struggle with the CIA, expresses the urgency of capitalism to launch the war, and at the same time, their fear and the resistance which they find in their own camp. But what is going to decide, are the sectors which have the means: big business, high finance, which are those who can decide because they have the control of the apparatus. But in spite of the fact that they are going to decide,

there is a whole series of events which show how they encounter difficulties, including within the High Command, to decide the rhythms, the forms, of the process and the timing of the war. They would have already launched the war, but they find resistance in the top layers themselves. Thus, there was the declaration of the Minister of Foreign affairs of Holland: "If Luns comes here, I'll give him a kick in the arse." When they reach such a level of collision, it is because they feel that they cannot triumph with the war. In previous wars they developed campaigns of tremendous patriotism. They say: "As likely as not, there will be war". And they prepare for it in silence, clandestinely.

Part of their apparatus is disintegrating. Portugal, Greece, and also Holland. But besides in Holland they have to allow the soldiers to have the right to push forward a political life, the reading of all the texts, and to discuss politically. This indicates the very great weakness of capitalism.

It is necessary to take with complete seriousness, the declaration of Kissinger on the war. It is four times now that Kissinger has made this type of declaration. Then there have been the declarations of Moscow, and the illness of Breznev, which even if it is a real illness, occurs at the right moment and it is necessary for diplomatic manoeuvre. And between the real illness and the diplomatic policy which makes necessary the illness. At the same time, it shows that he is not ill and does not have the flu.

Kissinger is a messenger of death, he exercises the function of a clown. As such, he can say either one thing

or another. In earlier stages, no Minister or Secretary of State would have accepted the function of Kissinger, which is the function of a buffoon. The Minister had a position and defended it, but before also there was the possibility of diplomatic manoeuvres, a field for democratic concessions and agreements. But now, there is less and less possibility of making agreement, because now it is no longer a question of the capitalist countries making diplomatic agreements because they are pressurised and pushed around by the world class struggle, which tends to suppress capitalism. It has reached the situation in the case of Italy, where the workers enter directly into the function of leadership of the factory as in Fiat, and finish in the leadership of the country and this is shown by the fact that they have obliged the State to freeze the price of electricity and bus fares. It is the same in France, where the workers even in small factories make the experience of substituting for management. This is not an episodic, transitory action, but it is a structure and together with this, there is the decisive fact that the USSR has recognised Arafat. Two years ago, we posed that the USSR was learning a tactic in the Middle East, and there it is. It never broke with Arafat. Even in the tightest moments in their relations with Arafat and his movement, they never broke off relations with him.

It was a measure foreseeing the pressure of imperialism and also of alliance with the Arab countries. The declaration of Arafat was aimed at pressurising the Yanks. The Soviets have to contain the Yanks, not to intervene directly. Through Arafat,

and at the same time, its impotence. The capitalist system is exhausted, but it has very great economic and military power. If the Workers States in alliance with the masses of the world do not overthrow what remains of the capitalist system, it is also going to pass through this crisis, an even greater centralisation will occur within capitalism. There is going to be a very great reduction in the intermediate and lower sectors of capitalism. Capitalism is going to become more centralised, and its contradictions will become more intensified, but it will pass through this stage.

Capitalism is always going to find a solution if it is not overthrown. Now, they announce in Germany, as in France, an immense reduction in family firms particularly in agriculture and even Estates of 10,000 hectares are being concentrated with others. There is an enormous process of the concentration of industry, small factories in a very great number are closing, the artisan sector is in its agony.

It is necessary that now a congress is called, a meeting of all the trade unions and workers centres, with a programme of production aimed at satisfying human need. We propose that this meeting is called with the discussion of a programme which proposes nuclear disarmament and conventional disarmament of the capitalist countries, not of the Workers States. They should discuss the programme of sliding scale of hours and wages, on a world scale, that all the progress of science and technology is put at the service of the population and that consequently the population inter-

venues in planning, production, in leadership and distribution. Thus, as the progress of socialism is advancing in a number of countries without their being Workers States, it is also necessary to advance with these measures. For a World United Front of all the trade unions, of the Workers Centres, of the peasants Centres, of the intellectual and student movements, with this programme and organising a discussion to apply this program.

The attitude of the Soviets in the Middle East shows that there is a wing among them which is resolved to go quite far in the struggle against imperialism, without annulling the policy of investing capital or making agreements. The resolution to allow Yankee and Japanese capital to invest in the USSR, is a measure of conciliation and of concession to capitalism, but it does not tend to sustain the capitalist system, in that it takes a part of the industrial production in North America and Japan for the USSR, whilst at any moment the oil supplies might be cut off.

These are the doubts which exist among the Japanese or the Yanks, whether to invest or not, because they feel that at any moment the Soviets can cut off the oil supplies, but capitalism has to do this because it does not know where to invest. This shows the inertia of capitalism. The Japanese now have been obliged to invest; they have to survive. This declaration of Kissinger is also based on this fact, that capitalism has to accept measures which go against its nature and which favour the Workers States. In any case capitalism is going to die, it has little time left. Therefore it is necessary to pay attention to all these declarations of Kissinger, to show the great crisis of capitalism

and at the same time, its impotence.

The crisis which exists in North America, with Ford, is because they cannot respond now, with war. Hence, in the United States, the crisis is reflected in the fact that they cannot export their crisis with war. It has been expressed in Kissinger and reached the point that now it shows in the CIA. They do this, because the CIA tends to decentralise the functioning of the apparatus of the government, and they are conscious that centralisation is weakened.

The CIA has its own interests as an organism and it lives with its own interests, which clash with the apparatus of the bourgeoisie or with one or other sector. Hence, they are trying to adjust the CIA, to a centralisation in its functioning, not to eliminate it, but to suppress the power stemming from its own decisions, in the interest of the whole of the bourgeoisie determined through the Presidency. Hence the Senate and the House of Representatives in the United States now have a much more important role. These are the centres which have allowed the

sectors of the big bourgeoisie linked with interests in economic development to make agreements with the Soviet Union. The Yankee government has had to yield going through the motions of an 'investigation', because other sectors of the bourgeoisie use the public scandal to try to eliminate it, because it goes against them also. This is the struggle of internal competition, not against the capitalist system, but the struggle of intercapitalist competition. Hence, they try to dominate the CIA, so that it can continue consciously to centralise around the objectives of the whole of capitalism, and then these sectors want to weigh more.

There are distinct layers of capitalism which clash on the policy to make. It is not a question of the desire to investigate the CIA, nor its function, everybody knows what the CIA is, and they are all agents of the CIA. It is a parody which they are carrying out. They have to go through this to tranquilise sectors of the bourgeoisie who feel prejudiced

by the policy such as the one over Chile. We have only to see the situation between them, in the fact that it was the New York Times which denounced the CIA, and this newspaper is an agent of the CIA. When this happens, it is because there are sectors which harm, or lead to decentralisation, and go against the more important sectors or of those who can pay more, of high finance. The CIA tries also to make its own operations, and then, capitalism fears that this can precipitate an event which can lead to war or a confrontation with the Soviet Union, or even an incident which is not a total confrontation, and they want to control this.

They have been obliged to make an investigation and all this shows that the CIA is an instrument in the service of the big monopolies. But also the North American people are protesting. There are no independent mobilisations of the masses, nor a class Party, but neither are there mobilisations in favour of capitalism. In this case, what is important, is that the process is not in the favour, of capitalism because the trade union bureaucracy impedes the mobilisations of the masses and not the absence of a class and mass Party. On the other hand, capitalism has an apparatus to mobilise but it cannot mobilise anything.

This is to say that there is a protest of the North American people which is the continuation of the votes in the last elections, with an abstention of 60 to 65%. It is an expression of the crisis and it is necessary to interpret it in this way. Without anybody calling meetings, people in the North, South, East and West, separated by thousands of kilometres, all voted the same way or rather, they did not vote at all, i.e. they voted against. Abstention is a vote against, because there was no one who to vote for. As they could not be directly against, they abstained.

The "investigation" is aimed to tranquilise North American public opinion, composed of a large petit bourgeois base, to win their confidence in front of the activities of the CIA, and to re-structure it in a more centralised way. At the same time, one sees the opposition of the petit-bourgeoisie and of the proletariat, who show their distrust of the CIA and who are against the intervention of the CIA in other countries. It is not because they launched themselves to know or investigate the Democratic Party, but through their intervention in other countries. This means that the North American people support the anti-imperialist struggles in the world. Capitalism needs to modify and control organs such as the CIA, the CIA has to be restructured. This shows the impotence of capitalism.

As capitalism is impotent, this organism cannot fulfill a function strictly because it cannot do what it wants, and in not being able to do what it wants, it degenerates in its counter-revolutionary function. And it degenerates in the service of one or the other sector, because it cannot do what it wants. If they had arranged to do what they want, they would have launched the counter revolution and the atomic war. As they are still unable to do this, the organism degenerates. It becomes open to all types of pressures and loses control, sectors develop as in the Soviet bureaucracy, a sector

which is against the centralisation of the State whilst the Stalin sector which was the most powerful had an interest in the centralisation of the State. In the United States, the same thing is occurring they are all divided into camarillas and little dictators, the Parliamentary form of government is a lie, it is a dictatorship. The proof is that the governors were elected with 35% of the votes, and the President was not even elected.

## THE "INVESTIGATIONS" OF THE CIA AND THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE ORGANS OF CAPITALISM

Where is the democracy? If they had been democracy, the 65% who abstained should have expressed themselves! But capitalism regulates the form of expression so that everything is channelled in their interests. But 65% were against them, and they want something else, and part of this process is the parody of the 'investigation' of the CIA. It is also the manifestation of the repudiation by the North American people, which does not have a Party or a trade union which expresses itself in this way. Capitalism speaks of its silent majority, and it has to be silent and invisible because where is it? On the other hand, this 65% that is silent and invisible and it does not vote for any one, makes strikes, mobilisations and demonstrations. But Yankee imperialism cannot make a single demonstration in favour of its policy, against Vietnam, or against the Soviet Union. This is the crisis of Yankee imperialism. If they have been able to launch the war, they would not have such a crisis because it would have been assimilated by the war. As they cannot launch the war, their internal decomposition increases. Imperialism has arms to smash all the people of Latin America, but to use them it has to find the justification and the means to utilise them, and it cannot find them because they feel that utilising the arms, they can win, an encounter within and without but afterwards, who will win?

Large scale industry cannot develop under a fascist dictatorship, nor under any type of dictatorship. To develop, it requires the most complete harmony, and under capitalist industry, under the capitalist system, there cannot be such a harmony. Hence, its productive forces are limited, and it cannot develop powerfully. Hence, in their minds, they return to the past. The effort which they have made with the assassin Junta in Chile is an example. The past, cannot return, because the soldiers who use the arms, no longer obey the possessors of wealth and of arms, but they obey reason which is now the substitute for the owners of arms and money. Capitalism cannot confront this, it can delay, spend time, kill and assassinate, but nothing more. The Workers States must appeal for the World United Front to overthrow what is left of the capitalist system.

Capitalism is preparing the war, but the more they take the initiative, the more the Workers States are going to reduce the damage which the war is going to introduce, because by taking the initiative they prevent capitalism from choosing the time and the place to launch the war, and they are obliged to have to put up with the war as in Vietnam. It is excluded that imperialism can be impeded from making the war, because it is the system that makes war and not one or other person. It is the system which reacts against the progress of revolution.

J. Posadas 5th January 1975

## The Labour Party cannot advance independently from the World Communist Movement.

The decision of the Socialist Party of Portugal —through Soares— to stay in the Government, the formation of the Single Trade Union Centre as ratified by the Movement of the Armed Forces, and the failure of the right wing to foment immediately counter revolution, are recent victories which have shaken the world. Indeed the bourgeoisie sees the unification of the trade unions as a basis for the continued process of unification of the Communists and Socialists and its sees that its hope to return to power in Portugal is fading... Naturally its cry of "democracy is in danger" was to be expected. Yes, "democracy" to allow the bourgeoisie to return is in danger. The left in the Labour Party and the Communist Party in this country must make a campaign to explain that it is the "democracy" for the landowners, for the monopolies, for the capitalist system to maintain a huge proportion of the active population unemployed or exiled, the country's economy ransacked by big profits. To the bourgeoisie we deny this "democracy". The Communist Party also has the duty to deny it. And the Labour Party and the trade unions who both have the programme of nationalisation of 25 monopolies in this country, have to deny it. No democracy for those who seek to make Portugal go back! On the contrary democracy, yes, for the working class to run and plan production, for the Labour government to take over the main centres of the economy, the profitable ones, not simply those that capitalism is only glad to dump... Democracy, yes in Britain, for a complete and national discussion on the role of the monopolies, on unemployment, on the enormous resources spent for armaments, war preparations, counter revolution. Yes, the Communist and the Labour comrades have to launch a campaign for democracy in Britain; like in Portugal democracy to nationalise to plan the economy for the benefit of all, to nationalise in this country what counts: the banks and the insurance companies.

The recent polemic that has arisen in France and Portugal between the Communists and the Socialists has its foundations in the fact that more and more the Socialist Parties are drawn alongside the Communist Parties on the road of the radical change of society. This time, it is on a programme of nationalisations, of expropriations of the monopolies and of the oligarchy, of big capital, that the Communists and the Socialists are unifying. Such a process is concretely taking place in France, it is in formation in Italy, and both the Socialists and Communists are in the government of Portugal. When the MFA ratifies the Single Trade Union Centre, enters on the road of nationalising big landowners and the Socialist Party leadership does not find the means to break the Provisional government, it is because there is no basis for it. Like Mitt-

tion of the nationalised planned economy.

## SOCIALIST PARTIES HAVE TO ABANDON REFORMISM

The base of the Socialist Party has observed the collapse of fascism in Portugal. This collapse has confirmed again that to develop the country, to make a radical break from the abject conditions of the past, it was necessary to make a violent confrontation with the system, eliminate a whole series of Caetanos, Spinolas, etc., and this has not been achieved democratically in the bourgeoisie sense. The most outspoken advocates of democracy today are precisely those who never had any grievance about the Caetano regime! They accepted and supported it! This is observed by the Socialist masses and they see that the force to do this comes from the world, from the Soviet Union which immediately has offered aid, support and cultural relations with Portugal. They also see that the Soviet Union intervenes on a world scale —in Mexico, Peru, Argentina, in Cuba, in the Middle East, towards the PLO, Vietnam —in a more direct way and increasingly in direct confrontation with yankee imperialism. The recent declaration of 20 Communist Parties of Europe against the imperialist ambitions to dominate the world, and their call to the people of Europe to unify against Kissinger's speech, and with a function which also draws nearer to the functioning of a Communist International, it is what comrade Posadas calls the Partial Regeneration, which consists fundamentally in a rectification of the Communists who recognise the necessity for mobilisations against the system, no longer so much to penetrate and reform it from within. This leaves the Socialist Parties in a situation of having also to elevate, having to accompany this elevation, and it leads to a crisis within them for they have to abandon reformism.

A crisis is taking place in the Socialist Parties and the formerly Social Democratic Parties because their base is fusing itself with the world Communist movement; whilst their leadership resists this fusion because they have a conservative and careerist interest in the Socialist Party's apparatus. Soares had to accept the Single Trade Union Centre and Mitterand has been unable to enter the Giscard government, leaving the Communists behind. The Socialist Parties see that they can increase their electoral support via the alliance with the Communists but that the masses are forcing them to use this support as a means of centralising the forces of the working class, not as means of making a career for themselves. It is not so much an electoral process as a process of the centralisation and concentration of the forces of working class for the taking of power in the coming stage.

There is no independent road for the Labour Party

In this country, the Labour Party has a very large electoral support. The Communist Party does not have the size and weight which the French or the Italian Communist Parties have, and it is the world Communist movement, in the main, which weighs with great power on the Labour Party. However, this electoral support of the Labour Party is not the instrument for social change, it only creates the conditions of centralisation for social change. What is going to decide in this country is the inexorable necessity to nationalise the economy so as to develop Britain, a process which is distinct from the electoral support of the Labour Party without being independent from it. The Labour Party had to adopt a programme which does not belong to its Social Democratic traditions. It belongs to the Communist movement, and its adoption does not stem from a bourgeois democratic election. It is the result of the direct intervent-

ion of the working class which has decided this programme in the Labour Party by its international weight —including the weight of the Workers States and the weight of the Soviet Union—and by its role in the economy. This shows that the Labour Party is not free to develop in any direction it wishes. It is bound by the process of history and the nature of the working class to advance on a road which ultimately leads to Communism.

The Labour Party cannot elevate its role independently of the world Communist movement. There is no independent road for the Labour Party. The crisis of the world Socialist movement is part of the process of the change of its function from Social Democratic reformism, to the one of accepting a road of confrontation with capitalism via its alliance with the Communists on the basis of nationalisations, which demand a confrontation with capitalism, and which is unavoidable. This process in the Socialist Parties is part of the process of the Partial Regeneration and the emergence of pro-Communist tendencies in the Socialist Parties announce already the formation of new leaderships in the Socialist Parties that seek to abandon the conservative interest in the Party's apparatus, to fuse themselves with the necessary function of fulfilling the Communist programme of nationalisation and planning of the economy; in this, there is less and less room for an independent functioning of the Socialist Parties, or for the Labour Party as isolated from the world Communist movement.

Already the relations between the Labour Party and the USSR have increased enormously and this is made unavoidable by the total crisis of the capitalist system, and the absolute necessity to resolve the otherwise unsolvable problems of the capitalist chaos. We call on the Labour Party left, on

We call on the Communist Parties of Europe to make a permanent functioning, and extend the one which they have already started on the European scale, to make a European-wide discussion on the 'polemic' with the Socialist Parties, and explain to them that they have no independent role to play, that the construction of the Workers State demands the programme and the policy of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. They have to show that this process is not determined by the Labour Party's electoral support (which however is a basis for the concentration of forces so as to advance towards the taking of power); electoral support is not the instrument by which to overthrow the bourgeois power but by mobilisations in support of the Labour Party programme. The British Communist Party must help this in one of the most essential tasks for it in this stage.

A MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATION

The liberation of women, the class struggle and the socialist revolution

J. POSADAS

May, 1974

10p

**FULL SUPPORT TO THE SOCIALIST  
REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL**

removal of the Labour Minister, Foot, shows the intervention and the nature of the working class. Ebbw-Vale is a Constituency which has one of the biggest Parliamentary majorities for Labour (22,000) but the working class (whilst it votes for the Labour Party) is also prepared to mobilise — as they did for the release of the Shrewsbury 2 — and to criticise and reject the policies of the Labour government which are against the interests of the class.

As the repeated demands for the nationalisation of BLMC by the shop stewards and the demand of the Aircraft workers for the full nationalisation of their industry under workers control shows the working class is not prepared to tolerate a policy which favours in any respect the interests of capitalism. Nationalisations to support the capitalist system are no longer possible and the continued insistence by the Labour Government for the constitution of the National Enterprise Boards — and the powers that go with it — are a heavy blow at capitalism. It is true that Wilson and the Labour right wing will continue to procrastinate over actually applying the measures but the NEB does open the possibility for an intervention by the Labour Government and the trade unions to interfere in all aspects of the bourgeois economy. Wilson procrastinates on this as he is attempting to do on the Common Market referendum but the working class is going to use the referendum and the NEB against capitalism.

**ORGANISMS TO LINK THE  
FACTORY WITH THE  
WORKERS AREAS.**

The bourgeoisie reacts against all this process and the crisis of the leadership in the Tory party is part of the disintegration of capitalism. However, as in Portugal and on a world scale, the weaker the system becomes, the more it seeks solutions outside Parliament. Despite the existence of a tendency which is frightened by the process in Northern Ireland and seeks some kind of conciliation, the army increases its brutal repression of the Irish masses and the assassination of workers continues. The statement by Walker that Moscow is organising the revolution on a world scale, is not just the mumblings of an old army idiot but the statement of a General who was the head of the Northern Command of NATO

and must still retain links with NATO circles. It is, in fact, an expression of a sector of the bourgeoisie which prepares for the civil war in this country and for the final settlement of accounts on a world scale. In this country, as elsewhere, it is not a question of trying to avoid the civil war which, in the process of the implementation of the programme of the Labour Party and of the struggle for power, is inevitable, but of preparing for it. The fundamental necessity both to apply the programme of nationalisations of the Labour Party and to resist the attacks of the bourgeoisie, is the construction of organisms of the working class, the organisms of dual power. The fact that BLMC shop stewards propose a form of workers control which involves not only the workers and trade unions but representatives of the population in the workers areas, and that Gerry Cohen of the Communist Party calls for London Transport to be controlled by a Committee which includes workers and representatives of the 'travelling public', shows that the necessity for organisms which link the factory with the workers areas is already part of the discussion in the workers movement.

The intervention, mobilisation and demands of the working class, the advance towards forms of workers control as a means of imposing nationalisations, is the fundamental driving force of a process which is beginning to break the Labour Party and the trade union apparatus away from its attitude of acceptance and respect for the structure of the capitalist system. However limited the book of Hamilton attacking the monarchy may be and whatever his motives, it indicates a discussion in the Labour Party against the monarchy. The proposal by a Labour MP in Parliament to finish with the peerage — which gained 150 votes — has the same significance. Equally when the workers of Ebbw-Vale tell Foot to 'shut up' and to 'join Stonehouse in Australia', they express the desire and determination of the working class to transform the Labour Party into an instrument of social and revolutionary struggle, and to finish with a structure and a leadership which still respects the capitalist system and tries to maintain it. The discussion in the Labour movement has to go, however, beyond simply a criticism of the monarchy because this is just a repre-

sentation of the whole repressive apparatus of British imperialism. There is a tendency in the Labour Party which is demanding that the Labour Party policy on defence is applied and the question of NATO is being raised in this context. In its 'exercise' off the coast of Portugal, NATO is attempting to fulfill its role as an instrument of imperialism against the Workers States and against the advance of the masses. The conclusion has to be drawn that this same instrument will be used against the working class — and the Labour Party — in this country at a certain stage. The NATO 'exercise' and the presence of Rippon and other representatives of the European bourgeoisie in Oporto, show the nature of the bourgeoisie which knows no national frontiers in defence of its right to exploit and repress. What the trade union and Labour left have to raise now is not the question of 'democracy' in abstract in Portugal, but the full support of the masses of Portugal and of the advance of the Socialist Revolution; for Britain out of NATO as a first step towards the smashing of NATO altogether. Portugal at this moment is a focus of the class struggle in Europe, but like this country it does not exist in isolation. It is part of a world process and part of a struggle in Europe. Therefore the support given to the Portuguese masses has to be on the basis of a programme of nationalisation under workers control and the construction of European organisations of the working class; and this means the construction of a Single European Trade Union Centre including the trade unions of the Workers States. The Labour and trade union left has to organise delegations of workers from this country to Portugal and invite Portuguese workers and representatives of the Communist and Socialist Parties and the MFA to visit this country; organising meetings and discussion in the factories and workers areas on all the problems of the masses and on the anti-capitalist programme. All the conditions exist in the advance of the left in Denmark, in the Popular Union in France, in the growing unity between the Communist and Socialist Parties in Italy, in the developing relationship between the Socialist Parties and the World Communist Movement for the unity of the European workers movement on an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist programme.

10.2.75.

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**Marxism...**

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are capable of leading society and developing it. They are not going to intervene to appropriate and then plunder the economy, as capitalism does. They are going to seek to intervene by developing the economy. Every where the masses have shown that they are capable of making more sacrifices than before to develop the economy, because they have a historic conception and the concrete conclusion, the active daily, vivid participation in the development of the economy for the social benefit of humanity. It is necessary to feel what the peasants are doing who demand Socialism and the women who demand to lead.

There are two poles in society at the present moment. There is a very accentuated inclination towards degeneration, sexual and criminal sickness, drunkenness, drugs and at the same time a very elevated, a very clear accentuation more and more evident of human security and of the development of the revolutionary struggle to the world proletariat. This can be seen throughout Europe in the influence over the armies, in which there are cases like that of the leader of the Dutch army who spoke against NATO and resolved to allow the officers and the soldiers to link up with political parties and to discuss politics in the Dutch army. The same has happened in Sweden.

The armies have shown that they are in a process of decomposition, all of them, the Swedish, the Dutch, the Belgium. All the base of NATO is decomposing, and not because they are badly paid but because the progress of the revolution in-

fluences them. The uninterrupted tenacity of the masses influences all the apparatuses of NATO and the progress of the Workers States. Also the military progress and capacity of the Workers States exerts an influence but this is not the principle aspect. The principle aspect is the social authority which the Workers States are developing, which advances throughout the world and the struggle of the masses of the capitalist countries, of Latin America, of Africa, of Asia which contributes to make a homogeneous unity of anti-capitalist power. Then this reduces the authority of capitalism over the army.

There is a very great decomposition in the armies of the capitalist countries. Hence we reiterate our judgement that now capitalism will not be able to maintain with security, or with firmness, nor with a perspective of authority, the sentiment of patriotism. The masses judge, the officers themselves are judging that confronting the Soviet Union is not a question of one fatherland against another but a struggle against a superior social regime. They see it as a socially superior regime confronting a backward regime which condemns people to hunger, unemployment and to death, which makes the soldiers manufacturers of death for the others or for themselves. They see a socially superior regime which must win and impose itself. These are the last stages of the capitalist system because it is confronting a socially superior system, the Workers State, and the proletariat shows its capacity to lead and organise society.

J. POSADAS

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## USE THE N.E.B. AS AN INSTRUMENT TO PLAN THE ECONOMY BY NATIONALISATIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The trade agreement between the Soviet Union and Britain is a blow at capitalism. It is a blow because although it is an intervention of the Soviet Union in an interpenetrative way, taking advantage of the crisis of capitalism and its internal competition, it also shows that in order to try to survive, capitalism has to rely on the Workers States. Even the actual financial arrangements tend to favour the Soviet Union because of the massive credits being given to it but the main blow at capitalism is social, in the sense that this agreement demonstrates the social and economic superiority of the Soviet Union. At the same time Breznev says that he is in favour of better links with the British working people which means that the Soviets, without actually putting forward a full, revolutionary policy, seek through the agreement with Wilson to influence the vanguard of the trade unions and Labour Party. It is clear that sectors of the bourgeoisie in this country gain a certain economic advantage from this trade agreement but the balance is in favour of the Soviet Union and it is seen that a sector of the capitalist economy is dependent on the Workers State. This means a weakening of the links between British and Yankee imperialism and an increase in the crisis of disintegration of British capitalism. Thatcher becomes the leader of the Tory party because they cannot agree among themselves and nobody wants the leadership; and the policy of the Soviet Union has had a direct influence in the crisis of the Tory Party itself.

### THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM DISINTEGRATES

The interaction between the development of the Workers States, the total world crisis of capitalism and the struggle of the masses which Cunhal (Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party) refers to in his text on 'Communist Morals' is what determine the course of the world process of the revolution. The fact that Cunhal intervenes in this way shows that the world communist movement is seeking to reason, to understand the world process. This also weighs in the process of the revolution which in Portugal is advancing through the occupation of the land by the peasants, the taking over of 'O Seculo' by the workers and the expulsion of the most reactionary elements from the universities by popular committees. It is clear that the economic

programme adopted by the Portuguese government does not favour the bourgeoisie because it contains proposals of nationalisations, including the state taking a 51% share in the petro-chemical, armament and engineering industries, and the banks. In a recent statement, Concalves said that it is necessary to make the fundamental changes in 'the structure of production and distribution'. This reflects the continued struggle inside the government but the decisions of the 'army council' that the class struggle is not decided by elections and when they say that if the right was to be returned at the elections they would simply have to throw it out again, they express the full force of the masses and the advance of the Socialist Revolution in Portugal. The economic programme shows also a certain timidity, a desire not to 'provoke' the bourgeoisie. This is not to take into account the fact that the bourgeoisie prepares for war anyway and that they do it from a position of weakness. The army in Portugal is won to the revolution and there is a profound discussion developing in the Spanish army on its role. The struggle of the Spanish masses is taking away another point of support both for the Portuguese bourgeoisie directly and for yankee imperialism to intervene in Portugal. The cutting of the sentences on the 'Carabanchel' leaders of the Workers Commissions - under the pressure of the mobilisations of workers, students and other sectors of the population and with the threat of a general strike shortly - is an expression of the weakness of the Spanish bourgeoisie.

Inevitably there is a 'Portuguese' process in the army and two army officers have recently been arrested for refusing to carry out repressive action against workers.

On a world scale all the organisms of capitalism and imperialism disintegrate, internal competition and struggles deepen which is why the farce of the CIA investigations in the United States continues. This has a very real basis in the gap which exists between the fact that imperialism wants to launch the war against the Workers States, against the revolution and the fact that it can no longer decide how and where. Imperialism is faced with the strength, preparation and confidence of the Soviet Union which has been expressed in the last days in the statements of Ponomarev - to the army - and

Gromyko - to a meeting of workers representatives - that imperialism prepares for the war against the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership still talks of 'peaceful co-existence' and 'detente' but this is little more than window-dressing and the reality

lies in the statements and actions which show that they are not only prepared for the final encounter but are confident that it means the end of capitalism. Thus the public re-appearance of Breznev doesn't mean that a policy of conciliation with

capitalism, with imperialism has prevailed.

The process of disintegration which is expressed in the 'investigations' of the CIA is also expressed in this

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## MUSIC, SONGS, AND THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL J. Posadas

10\_10\_1974

The songs which have appeared up to now in Portugal are of the first stage of this process of the permanent revolution. They are efforts, outlines, inspirations, feeling that a necessary work is being done but still there doesn't exist the song of the proletariat. They still show a process of liberation, desires for liberation, expressions of awakening from a dream, the end of a nightmare, the rejection of fear. There is still not the secure and firm song of the proletariat, which sees that it is the force which leads, which resolves and guarantees the future. Still it is not like this. There are the songs of the soldiers which form part of the security of the process of the revolution. But it is necessary to have songs with a vibrant quality, of organisation, not of complaint, nor of lament, of hoping, but songs that are as secure as the process which is now advancing. All these songs are of that type, as before with a line for example like 'the united people will never be conquered'. Because if 'the united people will never be conquered' it is necessary to define who leads it. The people were also united in Chile. All this shows that in the songs there is still the superficial, petit bourgeois interpretation. Still there are not the interpreters of the proletariat which are still to come.

It is necessary to see the significance of Portugal, the form which the permanent revolution has taken. There was fifty years of dictatorship and stagnation. The process began anew, they wanted to divert it. But the process was insistent and the right road has been taken.

There is a contradiction between the will of the population, of alliance with the soldiers to overthrow the existing power and whose root is the anti-capitalist alliance and the present leadership which doesn't move. They have had three triumphs already, they threw out Caetano, liberated the colonies and won Mozambique; they threw out Spinoza. But the process still does not have a leadership and thus there is a delay. But meanwhile the permanent revolution is expressed in the will of the people, not in the measures taken in Portugal. On the other

hand, externally yes. The liberation of the colonies shows that it is a permanent revolution 'pure and simple'. If not, this would not have happened, now it's a question of making it within.

All the conditions in Portugal will be insufficient to express the perfume of the will of the Portuguese masses to triumph. Hence our decision to form a section to give the Portuguese revolution a theoretical and political orientation. It is advancing there, it is not far off. The orientation is going to emerge in the Communist Party and also in the Socialist Party, and we are going to participate in one of the most important events because in these countries expressions of the transformation of the Communist and Socialist Parties to left positions are going to arise.

The achievement of the Portuguese Masses is being accompanied by a great sense of harmony. They were concentrated instantaneously in a few days, concentrated around a common will. To meet in one place is easy, to concentrate for a meeting, to call for a meeting also, but to concentrate and to centralise around a common will is not so easy. There has to be a previous preparation and will. This means that in all their lives there was a sentiment, a desire, a will to concentrate to triumph. There was a communication between the masses, a communication established through the illegal and clandestine life, in the form in which they were able, but a communication of the will to triumph, not to feel smashed down, not to feel annihilated or enslaved. They felt that they were being oppressed but they felt that they had the strength to overcome it. There is a great feeling of musical sweetness in what they have achieved because they didn't aspire simply to smash the oppressive forces but to finish with the whole condition. Hence when they could have taken measures for vengeance, they took only the most necessary measures - not concrete or final but very strict - to liquidate the assassins of the PIDE. They left the others and tried to win them.

The old woman with the militant salute, the carnations in the rifle barrel, the soldiers playing with the children, the sailors with the red carnations, with the manifesto of the Communist Party and with the newspaper of the Communist Party are an index of a structure common to all of them, to finish with oppression. Only in this way could they make such demonstrations and draw such conclusions. This is a musical sentiment because they don't aspire to kill just to replace the others in power but to live fraternally. And all fraternal life is a musical life. They are the waves of sentiment which is expressed through Communism. We express this, we are going to do this and Portugal at the same time.

When the Portuguese masses are animated to take such action it is because they are impelled by a great sentiment of responsibility and of historic gentleness, of historic harmony. They could not go further because they don't have political preparation, or parties, or trade unions. There is no political life and there is a very great peasant population.

These peasant masses didn't support the assassins, they support those who come to liberate them now. They did not do it in search of better land, better conditions of life, but to finish with human dignity. These are symphonies which are awaiting a composer.

There are symphonies which now should have emerged or forms of musical structure superior to the symphony to express the revolutionary development of humanity today. It is revolutionary because the process tends to change everything, everything which exists and which is bad. It doesn't tend to substitute for it with another power but to change it because it is bad. The people who overthrow the existing power don't take hold of this power for itself but they seek to develop power in a critical form. Immediately they think in this way, that it is necessary that everyone participates. In peoples minds Communism is coming. The music is there, the words are missing.

J. POSADAS

10/10/74

RED FLAG

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# THE PROGRAMME OF THE LEFT AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GERMANY.

## 6th. November 1974

# J. POSADAS

In the recent elections the Socialists lost votes. It was the right who voted for the CDU who abstained, and also a centre sector abstained. On the other hand sectors of the Christian Democratic Youth, the Liberals, and sectors of the Christian Democratic left who did not vote for the Socialists, did not vote for the Christian Democrats either.

This means that with a stimulus and a mobilisation by the Socialists, these votes socially support the Socialists. This means that the Social Democrats have lost in number electorally, but have increased in social authority, and as it is social decision which decides, it is a triumph. It is important to see in this evolution the number obtained by the groups and by the Communists. It is very necessary to see how these parties evolved because in them are reflected in quite an indirect form the changes in the groups who seek to exert a pressure and impel movements that stimulate the Socialist Party.

Germany is not the same as France. The situation in France does not allow the left groups to compete with the Communist Party because it has left positions. These groups feel themselves disarmed. On the other hand in Germany, as the Communist Party is a small Party, it does not have confidence and it has made many errors and the Socialists do not have authority over the left. The behaviour of the left groups can be much more accentuated than in other parts, to seek to impel the Communist and the Socialist Party.

There were abstentions in the elections, but these abstentions are not caused because of the left, but arose from the desire of protest. At the same time, a sector of the Socialists did not want to vote to prevent the Party from going further to the Left, so they abstained on both sides and therefore there were abstentions because of the characteristic of the process in Germany, which is not the same as the process in France.

In France and Italy, there are two powerful Communist Parties, and two powerful Socialist Parties, who declare themselves quite openly to the Left. The Italian Socialist Party is proposing that it goes to the government to make an agreement with the trade unions and to concede to the trade unions a series of positions to open the gates to the intervention of the trade unions.

In France the Socialists are in the United Front with the Communists and in practice in Italy also. There the next government is going to be formed very possibly without the intervention of the socialists but with the consent if not constantly, of the Communists.

The Left in Germany is fairly unprecise and indecisive. It is not consistent because it does not have a programme or policy, but on the other hand the French Socialist Party has a programme. The French Socialist Youth is very small but has a programme and they discuss on the basis of self management and with the programme which is quite close to the programme of the Communists. They are not consistent but they have a programme which attracts the Youth and the Socialist militants.

The elections are a proof which shows the state of spirit and decision and concentration of the petit bourgeoisie, of the peasantry, of the functionaries, of the technicians and of the workers. It is necessary to consider that this stage for the left is not the product of chance circumstance. Capitalism has exhausted its dominion over Society.

### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY WILL BE DECIDED BY THE STRUGGLE TO ORGANISE THE LEFT

The struggle against the trade union bureaucracy is going to occur with an advance of the political struggle in the country. The bureaucracy is not the same everywhere. There is a trade union bureaucratic structure which is extremely powerful, but Germany also has the most concentrated and the most combative proletariat, and also however the standard of living is much better than in the rest of Europe, so that the aristocratic and middle layers weigh on the rest of the population.

The conditions of life are much better than those in the rest of Europe, but in the stage which is coming, great struggles are going to be stimulated including two and half million foreign workers who are in Germany, and who have a very, very great weight. The struggle against the bureaucracy of the trade unions cannot be resolved in the trade union field only, but also in the political field. It can be resolved also in the trade union field, but without an accentuated political struggle on the part of the Communist and Socialist Parties - above all of the Socialist Party which is the one that decides - it cannot be done. In the trade union field, the conditions are prepared and matured, to exert a pressure and to help the maturing of the revolutionary layers which there are in the Socialist Party as in Italy. Without expecting that the Party can resolve anything, the trade unions can be utilised to exert a pressure on the Party.

The organisation of the left is absolutely necessary. There have been efforts towards the organisation of the left by the JUSOS (the Socialist Youth) but also in the adult Party. But they have a lot of difficulties above all because of the structure of the Social Democratic Party. It is a Party which abandoned marxism which was ready to become the left wing of the capitalist system to occupy the place which the Radicals had. History showed them that they have to return to marxism. Four years ago, Willy Brandt rendered homage to Engels, and the Socialist Party, headed to make a policy which is not to the taste of the capitalist system. It had to conciliate but they cannot continue the policy of the abandonment of marxism.

The leadership abandoned marxism, they have a whole 'clientele' structure, a structure of managers. They are the people who invented the workers aristocracy. The workers aristocracy arose in Britain through the industrial process, but where it developed and organised itself in codified forms, is in Germany, where there is a powerful workers aristocracy and where capitalism can yield a little. In Britain and the U.S. they could not do this. In the United States they had to yield two years guaranteed wage to dismiss workers, but they had to do this in order to be able to make the external policy which they make.

The left wing of the Socialist Party is not going to be formed in the factories. The factory is going to help, to give support to this wing, but it is in the Party that the left is going to develop. This is clear and decisive; the fact itself that the German Socialist Party was a base of capitalism and that now it has to make a policy which clashes with capitalism shows this. It is not that the Socialist Party has changed, but that the structure of the world obliges them to do this, and humanity sees that the Workers State obliges them to change, independently of the existence of the bureaucracy, the Workers States show themselves to be superior to the capitalist system.

This is liquidating the bureaucratic structure of the Socialist Party. If the German Communist Party had been a revolutionary Party, it would have already occupied the positions of the Socialist Party. As it was not, it lost its historic possibility. On the other hand, a left is developing in the Social Democratic Party, and even though it is also developing in the Communist Party, the essential part of the leadership linked with the masses is going to be in the Social Democratic Party, and it is from there that the basis is going to come to modify the bureaucratic structure of the trade union field, which will come also as a result of the world process and its concretisation in Germany.

World capitalism elected Germany as a centre - even preventing the German bourgeoisie competing with the rest of capitalism - so as to serve as a bridge against the Workers States. The two things failed. Germany is one of the most powerful capitalist centres, and one with great financial capacity, but it has to resort to the Workers States, to Poland, and to the USSR. It is not capitalism which decides because it is a beggar. German capitalism is going to try to exert a pressure on the foreign workers, but this cannot be very far. They cannot throw out two million foreign workers. It is the debacle of the capitalist system, besides, they are going to lose the war before they begin it. All the efforts which they are making is precisely to prevent this; they are seeing how to find the money; to re-animate the capitalist system, against the structure of the capitalist system.

Capitalism is in a corner. It contains eight million people, worker families who do not belong to the country; three million workers is a very great percentage. In some areas 20 to 25% of the manual labour consists of immigrant workers which is a very great weight. Many of them have so many children that they are not German nationality. This has produced in internal relations, an elevation of the internationalist consciousness and of the conscious organisation of all of them as part of the same organism; German, Spaniards, Japanese, Turks, Italians, French. There is a very great process of identification of interests. Capitalism has failed in its attempts to put the native workers against the immigrant workers.

Still there are the workers who fear to lose their jobs, but they are not the ones who determine. On the other hand, there is an increase in the feeling of human dignity which comes from the existence of the Workers States and from seeing that there, the problems which exist in the capitalist countries, simply do not arise. People do not see the future as terrible, because they have the Workers States as an example. Each one is a little Workers State, or an orientation towards the Workers State. Capitalism feels this, hence it does not launch the war capriciously.

It is necessary to feel that it is a process that capitalism cannot dominate and that the Communist Parties are becoming closer and closer to the policy of the Workers States and this is going to have a great influence on the struggle of the masses.

The solution is not going to come from one or other factory, but from the struggle inside the Socialist Party. Although the struggle against the bureaucracy in the trade unions is important, the struggle for trade union democracy, it is not going to succeed with the trade union struggle alone, but with a political struggle because the bureaucratic structure and the lack of democracy in the trade unions is part of the function of the capitalist system.

### THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM FAVOURS THE CHANGES OF STRUCTURE IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY

This process has no possibility of retreating. It can remain in a process without advancing much but it cannot retreat. It loses nothing of its internal strength. The lack of a leadership prevents it from advancing proportionately to the strength it has. But this force cannot retreat because factors are intervening which prevent capitalism from imposing a retreat.

It is necessary to consider the difficulties which are through conditions of a high standard of living and the appearance of an uninterrupted economic development. But in reality it is not like this, there have been great struggles and workers conquests. It is necessary to see the significance of these conquests and in global form, because there are increases in wages but as a conquest, what is superior, what is better is that the German government does not serve unconditionally Yankee imperialism. Yankee imperialism had the plan to use German capitalism against the Workers State, the GDR (German Workers State). But it could not do this, and this means a conquest of the masses, a cultural progress which is going to show itself shortly, because it indicates the will of the vanguard which transmits such decision to the population. Capitalism threw out Willy Brandt to make the Socialist Party retreat. They did not have the strength to intervene and weigh in the Socialist Party.

The policy of the Socialist Party is within the limits of the bourgeois camp, but it is not a direct or exclusive agent of it. It has a workers guard and when capitalism cannot make the Socialist Party a dependency of the Yanks, it is because in the Socialist Party the social struggle favourable to the development of the proletariat is reflected and expressed. The German Workers State is gaining an immense authority, and it is awaiting the historic moment to win over the other Germany. Hence the policy of interpenetration of the Workers State, which is not incorrect, but which does not utilise its possibilities with all its power.

It is very important to demonstrate the superiority of 14 Workers States and one of the Workers States which has the most authority in the world, is the German Workers State. The German Workers State has a more dignified behaviour than all the others.

In Germany the process is to the left, whatever the immediate outcome, even if the CDU wins, in an election. The social conflicts which are going to come, are a base to sweep away all or a part of the bureaucracy including that of the Socialist Party also. There is a perspective for a division in the Socialist Party, and there is a sector which is going to try to divide to prevent the organisation of the left which could make agreements with the centre to dominate the Party.

It is the old Social Democratic apparatus which is still dominating in Italy. The same thing is happening in Italy, it cannot sustain itself any longer.

The historic conditions have changed and the course is now that of the advance of the revolution not of the bureaucratic apparatus, which does not have favourable local or world wide conditions. Capitalism sees that the crisis is very profound and they seek to contain it, but they cannot solve the problem of the excess manpower, by throwing out all the immigrant workers. It is impossible. The reply can be seen in the referendum in Switzerland, and although they cannot compensate extensively, pay out millions for them to go, they cannot free themselves from the immigrant workers. And in the elections, it was shown that their base voted against this policy.

German capitalism does not have any interest in, nor can it allow, an extension of the unemployment which would mean big struggles and a breaking of the barrier of the aristocracy of labour. But it has to take measures of defence and prepare the war which is its only solution. It seeks to advance and takes as a justification of the oil problem, to launch the war against the Arabs, a war which begins with the Arabs and would end up with the Workers States. In the mind of capitalism, there is a whole circuit of preparation leading constantly to the conclusion of the need for the war. Although they do not speak directly against the Workers States, they are actions and measures of war. Even so they cannot make the war when they want, how they want, nor determine the course of history. Unemployment is going to be accompanied by great struggles and structural changes even without still overthrowing the capitalist regime. These structural changes are going to modify the relation of forces favourable to the proletariat. Capitalism is preparing the war but we cannot say or decide if it is going to take place in the next stage. It depends on a series of circumstances including the internal struggle of Yankee imperialism, but it is not capitalism which is deciding the course of history.

The crisis of the capitalist system is going to result in changes of structure and modifications in the Socialist Party, and development to the left, as in France and Sweden. There can be efforts at changes, even to pose a form of capitalism combined with a form of socialism. With this they try to contain, prevent the development of the impulse towards anti-capitalist measures and this is not going to favour the stability of capitalism. It is going to shake capitalism constantly and favour the revolutionary solution. Germany being the richest capitalist country after the United States, is at the same time the poorest, because it has such a proletariat which has an important social weight and which in spite of the crisis maintains itself around the Socialist Party. There are internal changes and modifications in the Socialist Party in Germany favourable for the development of the socialist movement; the right is going, part of the centre remains passive and a sector of the left wins. The tendency to the left is accentuated which allows the transformation on the basis of a very important left, in the Socialist Party. The development of the left in the Socialist Party is going to be very rapid although not immediately. It is not necessary to have a course of ten to fifteen years for the development of the left, but the world process is going to allow a very rapid development of the left in the Socialist Party.

The policy of the Socialist Party is within the limits of the bourgeois camp, but it is not a direct or exclusive agent of it. It has a workers guard and when capitalism cannot make the Socialist Party a dependency of the Yanks, it is because in the Socialist Party the social struggle favourable to the development of the proletariat is reflected and expressed. The German Workers State is gaining an immense authority, and it is awaiting the historic moment to win over the other Germany. Hence the policy of interpenetration of the Workers State, which is not incorrect, but which does not utilise its possibilities with all its power.

It is very important to demonstrate the superiority of 14 Workers States and one of the Workers States which has the most authority in the world, is the German Workers State. The German Workers State has a more dignified behaviour than all the others.

### THE NEXT STAGE IN THE PROCESS IN GERMANY WILL BE THE ACCENTUATION OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Capitalism took as many measures as it could take economically, militarily, politically and socially; blackmail, threats to German capitalism and consequently to the previous Social Democracy, to make it a docile instrument of Yankee imperialism and to associate it in a common interest. The development of the world revolution increased inter-capitalist competition, because they cannot do what they want. With the increase of inter-capitalist competition, conflict and weakness among them increases and as a consequence the strength of the world revolution increases. In Germany this has not been expressed immediately but it is expressed in the progress of the Socialist Democracy. And the progress does not retreat although German capitalism is not like France, in Germany there is a powerful petit-bourgeoisie full of perspectives for imperialist developments. But in

France and Italy it has been a long time that capitalism has not advanced. The capitalist regime in Germany has a base of existence and a support more powerful than the whole of Europe together. But even if the Social Democracy does not decrease in votes proportionally, its strength is increasing. There is an internal selection, the right is going and more sectors come to the left, linked to layers and sectors of the population which with the crisis in development of capitalism are going to be won by the Social Democracy. This is also the case on a world scale, it is not a perspective of retreat or limitation, but of progress.

The objective is to change society. This can only be done by the party which includes the changes in the Trade Unions and changes in social economic and scientific life. Hence it is in the party, that the necessary changes will take place. Factories can contribute to the changes and as a consequence stimulate the cadres and the militants towards the left to give them confidence, security and experience. Thus they can and must intervene and they can do a very important trade union left to stimulate the formation of the left but the solution is political and not trade union. Hence the force of the impulse for power comes from the factories, but the leadership comes from the party, although temporarily the trade unions can replace the party. There is a process of deepening in the relationship between trade unions and the party but even so they are not identical functions.

When the trade union exercises the function of the party, the capacity for action is diminished, because the trade union which includes a sector of the party has to put itself in agreement with the rest. But a vanguard trade union can impel - for example in conditions like those in Italy - an action towards decision over power, although the leadership of the struggle is taken by the party. But they can decide because they show the will of the population which is seeking a centre. A workers centre can call for movements, mobilisations and demonstrations which the party afterwards concentrates.

This is the progress which is taking place, but it is not identical in all countries. The factory councils in Italy are playing the role of a political leadership which the Communist Party takes by the tail. Meanwhile the centre of this process, the trade unions have taken measures which go very far along way. The trade union represents a sector of the class and has to communicate with it, but it delays quite a long time, and doesn't win the confidence of the proletariat. It can make a united front and an agreement, on the other hand, the party makes an appeal and wins people because they see that it combines all the needs, trade union, political, social and economic.

It is necessary to develop the understanding that the situation in Germany cannot retreat. The CDU can again come the government, but they cannot inaugurate another period of the strengthening of the capitalist system. Whatever the government that will be formed, it will be a government which will develop in crisis, in internal struggles, in breaks and in constant progress of the struggles of the masses of the whole world and this is going to influence the masses of Germany.

The German proletariat, above all that of the German Workers States which Stalin tried to intimidate had the courage, the decision and the historic capacity to influence capitalist Germany. The Berlin wall did not intimidate it and it did not divide the German masses and proletariat. The bureaucracy and German capitalism put up the wall but the proletariat is uniting the country.

The investment of capitalism in Siberia as we have already posed, is not going to develop because a sector is opposed to them. There is a tendency which is weakening and tries to make a link between the top layers of the bureaucracy and capitalism. Besides the army is going to be against this. This shows preparations for war, not immediately but preparations for war, because it was a concession which the bureaucracy made to link with sectors of imperialism, to break the imperialist front and to interest imperialism not to make the war. It was

the way to try to win historic stages, but imperialism is going to make the war. Imperialism is making a series of experiments. Chile was an experiment to see how to live after launching the atomic war. They have also experimented with the killing and sterilisation of women in Guatemala, Honduras and Brasil. They pay women to be sterilised, making efforts to contain the growth of humanity, to be able to dominate it and also to contain the workers because the development of technology allows them to dispense with manual labour. A regime does this when it is already in its agony, not in decadence but in agony.

Germany is the German Workers States, it is the magnificent German proletariat that was capable of putting up with Stalin and Ulbricht and of achieving what they are achieving. Germany is represented by its most communicative side with history, not its most backward side, otherwise history would not advance.

It is the old Social Democratic apparatus which is collapsing as is happening everywhere. They cannot do anything because they depend on historical conditions which no longer exist. History is now impelling the revolution and not them. All the

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY HAS TO MAKE THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WEIGH IN EVERY WAY IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

One of the essential tasks for the Communist Party is to adopt a consistent line over its understanding of the situation, and its role in Britain. Its line over the Common Market is inconsistent. It talks on the one hand of Parliamentary Sovereignty, and on the other, of the class nature of the EEC and NATO. It talks about renewed 'cold war', but continues to advocate 'peace'. Elements of civil war, and world nuclear war arise from everywhere, and the Communist comrades still talk about Peace. The Labour Party is undergoing a profound change, the process of the formation of a revolutionary leadership in it elevates, and the Communist leadership still calls for the construction of a mass Communist Party. Finally, analyses such as the one of the British Communist Party over Czechoslovakia, are an objective block to increased ties between the Party and the CPSU, and help to maintain the isolation of the Labour vanguard in the Labour Party and the trade unions from the world communist movement and the Soviet Union.

The distance and distrust for the role and progress of the USSR, means that the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) fails to give a lead to the Labour vanguard and to the construction of the new leadership in the Labour Party. The British Communist Party has to make the USSR, and the world Communist movement, weigh in Britain, in the Labour Party, by showing that it was not a step backward to intervene in Czechoslovakia, but it was part of the construction of the Communist camp. The British Communist Party has to show the process of the Partial Regeneration, in the Communist Parties and the Soviet Union, which is uniting the world Communist movement in the struggle to finish with what is left of the capitalist system; not for 'peace', but for war against what is left of the capitalist system. This is what the comrades must discuss.

At present the Communist Party is involved in an anti-EEC campaign which includes Powell, who the Communist Party was yesterday denouncing as a fascist. This is inconsistent, and the Party cannot be a leadership on this basis. It is certain that there is no longer any threat of fascism because there are 14 Workers States (including the USSR), and 16 Revolutionary States and the world process goes counter to the continuation of what is left of fascist structures. But far from taking

perspective of the process is favourable to the left. Imperialism is preparing in a more and more consistent and constant way for the war. The Yanks are being thrown out everywhere and Kissinger who was the star who used to appear on television every three minutes now makes one appearance every three years. The attitude of the Arabs in recognising Palestine shows a very great change. Although they seek also to exert a pressure on the Yanks. This means a change in their policy stimulated by the Soviets, which has forced changes in Egypt. They are all preparations for the war. The recognition which the Soviets have made of Arafat and Palestine is a very great progress.

The conclusion in relation to Palestine we don't accept: we are in agreement with self-determination but not with forming a country where there is nothing, where everything is stone. This is absurd, what they have to do is to develop a common struggle against the exploiters to defend the self-determination of the Jews and the Palestinians and to form a unified state.

The Soviets stimulate this also against Hussein. But the fact that the Soviets support the struggle shows that they have a more dynamic policy and that they are putting

this as a justification to join forces with Powell, the Communist Party has to make an anti-EEC campaign on a class basis, offering a radical and communist alternative to the EEC, to organise the left of the Labour Party and unify it with the Communist movement in Europe. As part of the world Communist movement, and as a participant at the International Communist Parties Conferences of Brussels, Lyon, Rome (Conference on Women), none of which were prepared by and very little reported upon in the Morning Star, the Communist Party has to call for a European Conference of Communist/Socialist/Workers Parties with the Trade Unions, to plan out the beginning of an alternative to the EEC. The alliance with Powell, and the lack of alternative by the Party show that it is not using marxism, and it is not using ties with its own movement.

The EEC is in no way an end in itself, as withdrawal from it does not overthrow capitalism; withdrawal is a means to deliver a blow at the capitalist system on a European scale, no doubt, but the role of the Communist Party is to bring to light the war preparation of imperialism, of NATO and the necessity for a class response to this class struggle.

The latest speech of Kissinger over the Middle East countries and the direct threat of nuclear war by Enders (U.S. Assistant Secretary of State), are clear demonstrations that the final conflict between the two systems, imperialism on the one hand and the System of the Workers States on the other, is drawing near. The Communist Party has to make articles and animate the Morning Star on the theoretical plane. It is not possible that Ponomarev of the CPSU makes a speech telling that imperialism is war, and the British Communist Party makes no analyses of this. It is not Ponomarev or the USSR who want war, but imperialism is preparing to it, and Communists do not capitulate. The British Communist Party has to say: They are preparing war, then, so are we; we do not want it, but we are forced into it by the very nature of the enemy who wants, and who is, war, and we have to win.

In this country, the increased level of economic sabotage from the part of capitalism, the withdrawal of investment, the massive sackings, and the recent bombings which it animates directly or indirectly, so as to (the Communist Parties of France and Italy now acknowledge this)

themselves into the depth of the problem. We reaffirm what we have already analysed that the Soviets are learning tactics. They have to make concessions even to bourgeois governments to break Yankee imperialism. It is the end of a stage of history. Then the tactic has to become more flexible and supple, and at the same time it is combined with a better intervention of the Workers States.

Capitalism cannot allow an increase in unemployment which means that big struggles are going to develop and the breaking of the barrier of the workers aristocracy and to do this means to take measures to prevent the crisis. They are going to seek a solution to the crisis and in this they are going to blame the Arabs as a justification to prepare the war against the Arabs, or to prepare a war which begins with the Arabs and ends with the Workers States.

German capitalism has money to be able to make a series of concessions in relation to the immigrant workers. It is the richest capitalist country, in some aspects they are richer than the Yanks, but even they cannot de-

termine the course of history including the question of unemployment. It is necessary to see that the unemployment which is going to occur is going to be accompanied by big struggles, and by an increase in dual power, and with structural changes which are going to modify the relation of forces favourable to the proletariat.

The changes which are now coming in Sweden, that is, wanting to make a capitalism combined with a form of socialism, as they say, is going to accentuate the crisis of capitalism. It is not going to favour the stability of the capitalist system. Germany is the richest capitalist country after the United States, it is also the most exposed, because it has such a proletarian weight, so that in spite of the crisis the pre-eminence of the Socialist Party continues and there are changes and modifications in the Socialist Party favourable to the development again for a genuine Socialist Party because the right is going, part of the centre is passive, and the left is winning. This is accentuating the force of the left which increases its base in the Socialist Party.

J. POSADAS 6 November 1974

that the minimum aggressivity should be shown to the actual system. And as long as Democracy is not defined the Party conducts itself on the basis that democracy can be reached through the organs of the bourgeois state, in the main through Parliament. As Lenin said, real peace and democracy of the working class, pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is a struggle, and the Party has to say so; it has to have a programme, a policy and objectives turned towards socialism which has to pass through the dictatorship of the proletariat. This demands a new leadership in the Labour Party, and the Communist Party has to say so.

There must be an analysis in the Communist Party, and individual comrades in it have to take the initiative to analyse and organise on the basis that Social Democracy is no longer what can decide in the Socialist Parties and in the Labour Party. The Morning Star and other organs of the Communist Party must make interventions on the 'dispute' between the Communists and the Socialists in France, Italy, Portugal, etc. When J. Gollan, for example, says that the NEB is only 'the latest variant of Social Democratic management of capitalism', he gives no explanation of the process in the world and in the Labour Party. This vision expresses an insular conception, and an impressionist one. The Communist Party has not explained the going to the left in the Social Democracy of Sweden, Denmark, Germany. The clearest expression of the 'Partial Regeneration' in the world Socialist movement is the coming of the Socialist Parties into Popular Unions, with the Communists, on the programme of major nationalisations; which is the programme of the Communist movement and of the Bolsheviks. All this has to be analysed by the Communist Party. The 'conflict' between the Socialists and the Communists at present comes from the fact that the Socialists have to abandon the reformist road of 'moral criticism' to capitalism, as Comrade Posadas poses, the reformist road of 'changing life'; whereas the Communists are advancing on the road of the unification of themselves and of the world workers movement 'to change the system', as they say. This has to be discussed. The world Communist and Socialist movements are fusing on the basis of the struggle against capitalism for the imposition of the nationalised planned economy, and the Communist comrades cannot ignore this. The conclusion for this

turn to page 4

country. It is clear, for example, that whilst there is an attempt by sections of the bourgeoisie to try to limit the struggle in Ireland by conciliating with the 'Provos', the army and the 'special branch' continue a policy of terrorism and provocation. The 'cease-fire' and the agreements made between 'Provos' and the Irish government are precisely because they fear that the process of civil war is going too far and that the 'Provos' are - from the bourgeoisie point of view - the least dangerous sector. However, the assassination of workers and the bombing at the 'Starry Plough' - an exact replica of the Birmingham bombings - show that the organisms of repression of British imperialism are not determined by the vacillations of one, or another sector of the bourgeoisie and certainly not by the lack of policy on the part of the Labour Government. At this time Ireland represents for British imperialism an enormous contradiction between the need to train the army for use against the British working class and the fear that the continued struggle in Ireland prepares and stimulates the working class to face the civil war which is an inevitable stage in the struggle for power.

#### FOR NATIONALISATIONS WITHOUT COMPENSATION

The extension of the recruiting campaign for the 'territorial army' is also part of the preparation of the bourgeoisie for civil war, a reaction to the victory of the miners, to the fact that the working class is not prepared to pay for the crisis of capitalism and that workers leaders like Arthur Scargill are saying as much and the workers of Hull Imperial Typewriters are occupying the factory to prevent its closure. At the same time the legislation for setting up the National Enterprise Board (NEB) gains a majority in Parliament. This is another blow at capitalism which is important not so much in itself but in its potential for an intervention by the Labour Government in the whole capitalism economy. It is a measure which expressed the fact that in the Labour movement there is the development of the concept that it is necessary to plan the whole economy. Also trade unions leaders - like Bassett of the GMWU - intervene saying that workers control is necessary. This is all well and good but it has to be imposed by mobilisations of the working class with a programme

of factory occupations and the demand that any factory threatened with closure should be nationalised immediately under workers control. It is necessary for the trade unions to intervene now demanding that the NEB is used to answer the crisis of capitalism, the factory closures, the short-time working being imposed in the car and textile industries and the general rise in unemployment with extensive nationalisations as a basis to plan the economy.

There is no solution to the problems posed by capitalism in 'workers co-operatives' or partial nationalisations and the idea of giving compensation to the bourgeoisie for the expropriation of industries they are incapable of running is unacceptable. Of course some sectors of the bourgeoisie have an interest in 'state ownership', if it means extensive compensation and this is what prompted a shareholder of British Leyland to lead a struggle at the recent meeting of the company for nationalisation. He represented a large sector of the bourgeoisie which is pessimistic and simply wants to take what profit it can from the government and retire. It is a tendency in the bourgeoisie which is expressed in the inclusion of Maudling in the Tory Party leadership.

We call on the trade unions to advance the demand for the immediate nationalisation of all major industrial enterprises, the lands, banks and insurance companies under workers control and without compensation, to use the NEB as an instrument for this; not because they can substitute for the Labour Party but because as organisations they are best placed to base themselves on the actions of dual power, on the occupations being made by the working class. At the same time since they are the base of the Labour Party their actions are going to weigh in the essential process of the organisation of the Left in the Labour Party around a coherent, comprehensive programme of anti-capitalist demands. At the same time the Labour and Trade Union Left has to base itself on the existence and advance of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States; not just on the level of trade but on the experience of the construction of the Workers State and on the proven superiority of a nationalised, planned economy.

FEBRUARY 24 1975

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## THE ATTACKS ON THE MONARCHY AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

The row which has arisen within the Parliamentary Labour Party over the proposal to grant the monarchy an extra 'civil list payment' of £240,000 indicates the depth of the crisis of the Labour Party. The fact that sectors of the parliamentary left now attack the monarchy means that there is, in the Labour Party itself, a discussion on the necessity to finish with the monarchy. The actual amount of money which Wilson proposes to give does not justify the venom with which people like Hamilton have attacked him and the monarchy. Indeed Hamilton went as far as to say that Wilson was part of the establishment and it wasn't necessary for him to go on his knees to prove it. No, it is not a question of extra money but that the parliamentary Labour Party feels the pressure which is developing in the Labour Party and wants to contain a discussion which is dangerous. It is dangerous because an attack on the monarchy is an attack on the whole structure of the bourgeois state. Equally, when Atkinson feels the necessity to say that he wants a monarch on the 'Swedish style' and not a Republic it means that in the Labour Party there are sectors which do propose a Republic; and in this country to propose a Republic is to propose the revolution, the struggle for power.

#### THERE IS NO PERSPECTIVE FOR THE WORKERS ARISTOCRACY

At the same time an attack is being launched against the concept of the House of Lords, of the peerage. It is significant that the motion put by a Labour MP in Parliament for the abolition of the peerage gained 150 votes which is not far short of a majority. It is not a motion which is put forward to convince the working class since it is already opposed to the peerage and the monarchy itself. The working class knows by instinct and experience that these are no more than symbols, figureheads of the whole repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. The working class has already encompassed the struggle against the monarchy in its anti-capitalist struggle, in the struggle against the repression in Ireland, in the factory occupations and in the imposition of a programme of nationalisations on the Labour Party. The major significance of the attacks on the monarchy are, therefore, to be seen in the struggle in the Labour Party itself and as an expression of the advance of a process which is breaking the Labour Party away from its structuring in - and respect for - British imperialism. It is a fundamental part of the process of the transformation of the Labour Party from a Social Democratic Party into a Socialist Party which means from reformism to anti-capitalist positions and policies. In the past the Labour Party and trade union leaderships have taken their rewards for service to capitalism in the form of titles and the House of Lords is full of ex-MPs, and secretaries and presidents of trade unions. Now, under the pressure of the advance of the class and revolutionary struggle and the total crisis of capitalism, all this respect for the institutions of the bourgeois state, of British imperialism is being broken.

When the 'moderates' in the Parliamentary Labour Party oppose - as they are at the moment - the granting of money to the monarchy it is not because they have lost their respect for the institutions of the bourgeoisie but because they haven't the strength to openly defend these institutions. In the same way they call themselves 'moderates' instead of right wing and defend the manifesto of the Labour Party instead of defending capitalism which is what most of them

would like to do. The prime intention of the bourgeois wing of the Labour Party is to try to prevent the discussion touching the whole structure of social corruption of which the Labour Party apparatus is part. It is not just a question of respect for the monarchy but of a monstrous hierarchy of privilege, of JP's of Peers, of the nonsense of the 'honors list' with its 'OBE's' and 'MBE's'. It is the way in which the workers aristocracy which was formed primarily in the trade unions has been incorporated into the very structure of the bourgeois state; and the MP's, parliament is part of this. It is also directly related to the corruption, in another form, which has bubbled to the surface in the Poulson trials and in the whole Stonehouse business. Hence the attacks on the monarchy is part of a process which begins to shake the foundation of the apparatus of the Labour Party which, in the total crisis of capitalism, is the main support the bourgeois wing has left.

#### THE END OF THE MONARCHY IS PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS.

If the trade union and Labour Party left still show a timidity in actually proposing a Republic it is not because they are not in favour of it or feel that there is no support for it but because they fear the implications of such a move. To call for the abolition of the monarchy means to call for the overthrow of the bourgeois State. This is clear and even the elements in the Labour Party which are most distant from the process, from the class and revolutionary struggle can see that it is not the stage of history for building bourgeois Republics. It is the same with the struggle in Ireland; the idea of self-determination, of a United Ireland is not entirely unacceptable even to sectors of the bourgeoisie and the agreement with the 'Provos' in an expression of this. However, these sectors also recognise that the struggle does not remain on the level of civil rights or Republicanism but goes towards Socialism. This is the experience of all nationalist movements on a world scale in this stage of history. It is necessary, therefore, to take this discussion on the monarchy to its logical conclusion in the Labour Party. Yes, it is necessary to abolish the monarchy and to overthrow

the whole structure of the bourgeois State which includes the police, the army, the judiciary.

The problem posed for the Left of the Labour Party is the same as is posed for all the Socialist Parties and that is: it is not possible to reform capitalism at this stage. It is not possible to abolish the Monarchy without coming into collision with the bourgeois state in the same way as it is not possible to nationalise the economy, to expropriate capitalism without the bourgeoisie reacting both in not investing - and militarily, by force. The perspective of a gradual, parliamentary peaceful road to Socialism has long since disappeared but the structure of the Labour Party is still based on this perspective.

It is not possible either to attack the monarchy and the State without posing the alternative to it which is the Workers State! There is no middle road and the working class is already in process of constructing the organisms of dual power which are the basis for substituting the power, the organisms of the working class for those of capitalism. Aspects of attacks on British imperialism appear in the Labour Party in the form of partial policies and campaigns against the repression in Ireland, for the withdrawal of British troops, for the release of the Shrewsbury 2, for the NEB and the programme of nationalisations, against NATO and the Common Market. On another level the proposal for a 'closed shop' by the NUJ and the failure of the bourgeoisie to prevent this being included in the new 'Labour Relations Act' of the Labour government is another blow at the fundamental organs of the bourgeoisie. Now it is necessary for the Labour Left to organise itself around a coherent programme of anti-capitalist demands; recognising that this is the first step towards the transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle, an instrument to lead the struggle for power. The Left cannot organise itself within the confines of the apparatus of the Labour Party, nor in parliament. It has to be done on the basis of the mobilisations, struggles and organisation of the workers. This means the necessity to organise discussions and meetings in the factories and workers areas; to discuss a programme of nationalisations under workers control and the elevation of the shop stewards committees to impose this. Also it means the construction of workers area committees which control all aspects of life and not just control by tenants of council houses as is being proposed by the Labour Party all the moment. The linking of the factory organisation of the working class and the workers areas will create the basis for a functioning of workers democracy which, in its turn, allow the left of the Labour Party to organise itself and to carry forward the process of transforming the Labour Party into an instrument for the struggle for power.

## The Communist Party has to make the Communist Movement and the U.S.S.R. weigh...

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is that the Labour Party and its Social Democratic structure, cannot be maintained with variations only. Social Democracy in the world is replaced by an elevation towards the Communist programme, perspective, and unity.

The declaration of the 20 Communist Parties in Europe against the plans of Kissinger to dominate the world, for the unification of Europe, has meant that the Labour vanguard has seen the leadership and decision given by the European Communist lead. This weighs enormously, as much as the International Conferences

of the Communist Parties of Lyon, Brussels, and Rome; as much also as the International Metal Workers Conference in London with the participation of the Soviet delegates. This is the function the Communist Party must facilitate. It must assist the intervention of the USSR in Britain, not simply on the level of trade, on the level of 'relations', but on the level of class conceptions, campaigns, and marxist organisation of the Labour left. When 20 European Communist Parties call for unification of the workers movement against imperialism, the British Communist Party has the duty to lead a campaign for this, to write leaflets, make texts, theoretical and political interventions through its publications and in the factories, to assist this work. This

means a political elevation of the Party, through an elevation of the internal life, through the cells, which in the factories, are the link that feels the class with the Party that orientate it. The Party has to guide the Labour left so that it organises itself on the basis of Marxism in the Labour Party, and braces itself to act as the leadership that will apply the programme of nationalisation of the Labour Party.

We salute the resolution of the 20 Communist Parties of Europe with all our Communist passion, and we call on the British Communist Party to assist them in actually implementing it, as we the Trotskyist Posadists are doing with all our force in every intervention, trying to impel these

parties to act and organise as the IV International does, on the basis of the Communist International. The British Communist Party and its paper, the Morning Star, must act on

the basis of an international anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist functioning. It is necessary to campaign for international actions, mobilisations, meetings, for European Conferences, of Communist/Socialist/Labour and Workers Parties and Trade Unions, to include the Soviet Union and other Eastern Workers States.

These Conferences must be to organise politically and industrially the struggle against the multinational companies, for international strikes, and campaigns for the Spanish work-

ing class and masses, strikes and mobilisations for the full defence of the socialist revolution in Portugal, Ethiopia, against the international workings of the CIA. This is the task of the Communists in this stage, and this is the task the Trotskyist Posadists are determined to sustain and support. The Communist Party has to see that this is the role that they have to play in history so as to help the formation of the new leadership in the Labour Party, which has also to link itself to the world Communist movement, as the class struggle cannot be resolved in Britain alone. We call on the comrades of the Communist Party to join in this beautiful task. There is no other way by which the Communist Party can play a historic function.

## J. POSADAS



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## THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS THE BASIS TO ELEVATE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE LABOUR LEFT

The massive weight of the world revolutionary process and the continuous growth in the quality of the influence of the Workers States deepens at every minute the crisis of corrosion and decomposition of British imperialism. This is being mediated through the Labour Party because the crisis has already in effect destroyed the direct representative of big business, that is the Tory Party. Desperately, capitalism tries to exert pressures on the right of the Labour Party to contain the process and launches campaigns via the right to contain the left. All to no avail. They do not have the resources to do this. Their system is totally bankrupt in every respect. Capitalism is a laughing stock, its senile dithering gives rise to unlimited mirth and contempt on the part of the masses. The Tory hysteria in Parliament, screaming and waving their arms about, symbolises their total and abject prostration. The masses are smashing them and also are preparing to crush the rats in the Labour Party apparatus, that is the right wing. The process is inexorably to the left. The right can only contain momentarily but they cannot revive.

The capitalist hysteria came out over the proposed visit of Shelepin. They went into an orgy of indignation over this proposed visit by a former

### THE AUDACITY OF ETHIOPIA

The proclamation of land nationalisation and collectivisation by the Ethiopian army has historic significance and shows the transcendent perspectives of the world revolutionary process. It is a programme for the world peasantry and proclaimed in one of the most backward nations in the world in the midst of civil war when the forces of reaction and conservatism are using all means to weigh upon and defeat the revolution.

The left has to see this process publicise it and base themselves on it. Ethiopia would not act in this way a formerly assassin army would not come over to Socialism, if the world conditions did not allow this, did not give rise to thought and rejection of the idiocies of private property. This means the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions can act with similar audacity and face the perspective of civil war as the inevitable response of capitalism. Ethiopia is an experience for Britain, as is Portugal.

It gives confidence to confront the need to expropriate the banks, and key industries, in Britain.

head of the KGB. These people who wanted to back Hitler against the Soviet Union, who never objected to the massacres of Franco and Salazaar these scum of the earth, who don't care how many people are destroyed, so long as the moronic system of private property can survive, who countenanced the coup against Allende, these people try to obstruct the influence of the Workers States. As is discussed elsewhere in the paper, the organisations of the class should come out with all their force against this anti-Soviet crap, and use the discussion to publicise the superiority of the Workers States, and put the bourgeoisie in the pillory of history, showing their reactionary role and the need to supercede them with the programme of nationalisations under workers control and without compensation.

All the world conditions are rapidly accumulating for the final polarisation of forces, the final encounter with the forces of capitalism and the visit of Shelepin is part of this process, a gaining of influence by the Workers States within the capitalist states, a united front with the British proletariat against the exploiters, even if limited by the lack of a sufficient programme and policy.

At the same time, the advance of communist forces in Cambodia and the guerrilla intervention of the PLO in Tel Aviv, show in their various ways that the forces of Communism and social progress are not prepared to continue on lines of conciliation with Yankee imperialism. In both cases the Workers States sustain these interventions. The Soviet Union has recognised the PLO knowing that this is a force imperialism cannot swallow and this puts a permanent question mark over all the trips of Kissinger and the manoeuvres of Sadat. The attack on Tel Aviv is a policy of confrontation with imperialism, a policy of abandoning the status quo. Allied to this the attitude of OPEC widens the discussion from oil, to the whole policy of imperialism's exploitation of the economically underdeveloped nations. This is also on the line of confrontation, it shows a refusal by the underdeveloped countries, economically, to pay for the consequences of capitalist inflation, and rejection of the intimidation by Yankee imperialism threatening to launch a war in the Middle East.

### CONTINUOUS ADVANCE OF WORLD DUAL POWER.

Elsewhere conditions of international civil war and dual power tend to arise. The instability of the Spanish government is a transitory episode preceding the downfall of the Franco regime and the beginning of the overthrow of Spanish capitalism. The French foreign Minister in Poland,

trying to utilise the authority of the Workers States, claims that the two regimes are not very far apart. Nothing but disintegration faces the repressive regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa. Nowhere is it possible for capitalism to centralise its forces. In Peru the attempted coup organised by the CIA was decisively crushed and more and more it is clear that the Junta regime in Chile has been a

disastrous failure from the point of view of capitalism. All the repression has failed in Chile, it has completely failed to give confidence to the world bourgeoisie, on the contrary the total lack of perspective of the regime in Chile, its fatuous incapacity tends to mirror the cul-de-sac of capitalism as a whole. Everything imperialism puts its hands to, results in disaster.

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## HUMAN RELATIONS, POETRY, MARXISM, AND COMMUNIST SOCIETY

J. POSADAS

1ST JANUARY 1975

Trotsky says that the future of language will be musical. Now, today, our texts are musical but they do not lose in any of their combative vigour. They don't diminish in any way their capacity for analysis, synthesis, conclusion; "It is necessary to combat".

It is not necessary to be afraid of the preventative war, and if we can we launch the war and not them. There is no need to fear to die rather to fear being stupid; not to die full stop, but to die in combat. And to die in combat is Federico (1); he continues living in the ideas, which is the most elevated form of struggle.

Hence our texts include a series of analyses which combine the rigour of the drive to overthrow the capitalist regime, whatever the means, from the strike to the atomic war, accompanied by the sentiments that we are seeking a poetic relationship of humanity, a musical relationship with humanity.

Hence now today, we write as we do, hence we have a series of definitions which give a very beautiful image of the world. They give security for tomorrow. Not the egoism of someone fighting to finish with living in bad conditions, but someone who struggles to enoble humanity. Hence our texts are poetic, not all, by definition. There are definitions which are determining which give a harmonious and homogeneous vision, for example, "they paint the void of their imagination" (in relation to the abstract paintings); "the solitude of the uniform", "the tenth symphony", "the utter simplicity of Communism"; "behind every carnation, there is a little programme" (referring to the carnations of Portugal); they are all expressions that already humanity is conscious and seeks not to eliminate a class just to live better but to establish better human relations, the beautiful relations of humanity which the text expresses. This is not the epoch in which it is necessary to concentrate and demonstrate the concern and the attention in what Lenin did. Today, we do the same thing as Lenin, but there are already 14 Workers States, historic security is now established. Lenin had to demonstrate it.

Hence such a type of document is important and they do not diminish the text in any way. Together with this, it shows that this is the necessary language for this stage of history with the immense number of intellectuals who are won to the revolution. Every artist who has an artistic sentiment is a revolutionary, all, even artists who write things which are not correct are revolutionaries. They do not have the ability to express it in paintings or in literary work, but they are revolutionaries and they substitute this for revolutionary activity. Hence our texts do not clash but attract. For example, what we wrote on the

whistlings in Bolonia expressed how the working class was moving. It is a revolutionary dialectical poem which serves the process of history. The poem intervenes with all the force, all the resolution that it has, conscious that it is necessary to progress by violent means. But as it does not aspire to violence, included in the movement itself, we affirm that we do not want violence, but that it is necessary to use it. This is the most complete form of reasoning because it has to move in a contradiction, it has to develop the most complete violence to aspire not to have violence any more. This is the most beautiful form.

The poetic form is a necessity which you express; which shows our capacity to understand the course of history. The course of history is poetic, the child of 9 and the mother of 90, who have the same attitudes, is that not poetic?

It is necessary to use arms because it is necessary to finish with the classes. The class struggle originated violence, war, aggression, misery, hunger and human indignity, because it determines the course of life by means of accumulation and competition.

Poetry is not a pre-conceived means to influence. It is a spontaneous conclusion which arises previously in the brain, elaborated with the affectionate sentiments towards humanity, but which does not have poetic forms but which is expressed externally poetically. As it is expressed through the class struggle and as an instrument of the class struggle it does not annul or diminish absolutely the will to combat to triumph, to smash the capitalist system, and to finish with every form of authority, oppression, power and the existence of classes.

It is necessary to feel that this is not a pre-conceived form that we seek. It arises naturally because it is part of a conclusion already reached in our thought, that

this is the stage of history. It is not determined by calculation. The poet expresses in his work the harmony which he thinks, seeks, and which he wants to see existing. Then it is expressed in human relations. His poetry is an instrument of human relations other wise it would not be harmony. Hence the poet who sings to his girl friend has no value, because his girl friend who interest him, interests him through a sensual or a sexual exitation, but the poet who expresses human relations, is based and arises on a most profound sentiment of humanity, to communicate with humanity. This is to what he aspires, and seeks to make humanity aware. This is part of human sentiments, for this he is a poet.

There are very few poets. The most beautiful poet today is revolution. The shot made by old women in Vietnam or in Dofhar are shots which approximate to a symphony. They do not have the objective of suppression life, but suppressing those who suppress life. Hence, the whistling of the bullets, is not like terror, but the notes of Beethoven.

This is not an intellectual understanding but it has been arrived at because we live it and feel it. In living and feeling it, a single monolithic structure is the result. This needs a means of expression to represent at the same time the sentiments of human fraternity which we feel is going to be accentuated and the need for the immediate political struggle to smash capitalism and struggle against the bureaucracy. It is necessary to combine both things. The carnation of Portugal have nothing to do with the past of the revolution. It is a continuation. It is not only a question of seeking the form, it is a continuation, but expressed with carnations. When the people has the capacity to place carnations without diminishing their will to triumph, to die and to kill for the triumph which it is necessary to make for progress, this indicates that humanity feels that it is eliminating every form of oppression. It was to finish with the class struggle. This requires its interpreters. Hence the poet withdraws, because he was accustomed to the individual objects the sun, the moon, the lover or the loved one. They did not see humanity. Now, Schiller returns with the permanent revolution which advances. We interprets this.

(1) A leader of the International who died recently.

We recognise with all our love and Communist passion your concern to send salutes and the dedication of time to communicate with us.

We recognise the enormous effort which you are making, but more important than this effort, we salute the will of this small section which feels itself ready and capable of organising to fulfill the task of the permanent revolution in Bolivia. It is a small team which, without a deep basis among the proletariat or among the peasants, but with a certain basis in the student movement, is prepared to push forward a programme which requires a solid workers and peasant base. This is not an audacious and resolved but unconscious endeavour. It is the audacity and resolution of the conscious activity because the lack, the absence still of material and numerical basis among the workers and peasants, is replaced momentarily and can be replaced by theoretical and political capacity, by theoretical and political understanding, and by the disciplined organisation of the Party.

We can never be a mass Party. Our objective is not to be a mass Party, because it is not possible to be this through the function which we exercise. But yes, a small Party, much more numerous than at present, to be able to weigh on the centres to be able to decide, and with the miners, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants as point of support. The petit bourgeoisie, at times and in part, can be essential. It can be a force which impels the political leadership although through its number and its function in society, it cannot be the force which is going to lead society in the struggle for power. It can yes, launch revolutionary actions, it can undertake revolutionary actions, which show the fury, the indignation and the stage of insurrection of the petit bourgeoisie through the conditions in which it lives. This in part is expressed now in the university, student movement, and in the ranks even of the army.

It is necessary to have a very profound resolution and understanding to do the task which you are doing, dear comrades. It is not a problem of audacity and unconscious resolution. It is a problem of audacity and resolution that a conscious small group can push forward such a function based on the leadership of the International, and also, based on your own resolution. To push forward the task of the permanent revolution in Bolivia, requires a very great centralisation and discipline. It is due to your discipline and centralisation that you can pass constantly through the various circumstances, the repressions, all the imprisonments, with success and a constant resolution which increases.

The task of the interrupted revolution is not only because in Bolivia the revolution has been interrupted, but because capitalism has been impotent to reconquer the forces which it lost with the Bolivian revolution; the nationalisation of the mines, a certain basis of agrarian reform, above all the nationalisation of the mines, which weaken the functioning of Bolivian capitalism. The interrupted revolution means that capitalism cannot recover its strength in Bolivia because on a world wide scale it does not have any strength, nor national. Nationally it could have it, but on a world scale it does not. The world capacity of imperialism to intervene in Bolivia is reduced and this is the historic cause of the interrupted revolution. It is interrupted because the revolution occurs concretely in Bolivia with the local means and causes. But these are the result of world phenomena and it is in a world form that the problems are resolved. Hence capitalism cannot recover lost ground, neither the strength, nor the social leadership, nor the social historic base which it has lost in Bolivia which are: the nationalised mines.

Similarly, the proletariat under Stalin, put up with Stalin, and capitalism could not recover the Soviet Union for capitalism. This shows the historic superiority of the Workers

State which is the source of all discipline and of all confidence. Fundamentally with Stalingrad, the proletariat showed that when it makes a conquest it does not retreat under any circumstances. It can be defeated momentarily, it can be smashed momentarily, but it shows its historic conviction in defending historic conquests. This is the case with the nationalised mines in Bolivia, as also with the Soviet Union where the Workers State was defended in front of capitalism in spite of Stalin.

The interrupted revolution is based on the world relations of forces, because they are based on the situation resulting from the birth of the Soviet Union. Before the Soviet Union, the world relations of forces were quite another. The relation of forces did not have an immediate effect as after the Russian revolution. On the basis of the Russian revolution, it is necessary to measure on a world scale, all the relations of forces and the important and decisive class struggles. It is possible to win a strike or have a local coup d'Etat, but every historic decision is made on a world scale, because capitalism has an interest in maintaining the regime of private property, maintaining and extending it. When it cannot continue or maintain it, it is because the world relation of forces is favourable to the objective development of the Socialist Revolution.

You, in Bolivia are the only group, the only tendency, the only organisation which defends such an understanding. The soldiers, the workers, the miners, the petit bourgeoisie, without this theoretical understanding of the permanent revolution, work as a function of the necessity of the permanent revolution. This is so because the theory of the permanent revolution, like the theory of the world historic necessity of Socialism does not depend, nor is based on the desire of the working class, but on the objective necessity of history, a need for harmony between the economy and the understanding of people and the development of science.

It is necessary that in Bolivia you can communicate and discuss with all the other tendencies the conception that the forces of capitalism in Bolivia are exhausted. It has strength because there is no other organisation which can overthrow it, undoubtedly it is necessary to organise this and it is necessary to draw the conclusions from the fact of the previous stages for the military, particularly the experiences of Torres. It is not necessary to wait for new coups, but you can influence them. It is necessary to organise in a very very disciplined form, in a methodical form the theoretical and political preparation. It is necessary to acquire the understanding in depth that it is necessary to prepare theoretical and political cadres, with a more accentuated political life, more centralised, more profound and more uninterrupted, to be able to understand and to live the local and

# J. POSADAS

world process. Thus, it is possible to be able to utilise forces which are coming to continue a revolutionary process which on the way, are influenced and won by socialist solutions, as they are doing now in Peru, and also soon in Mexico and Argentina. It is necessary that our team small in number, increases its capacity for action and influence, increasing its theoretical and political capacity, much more important than the increase in number; organising the disciplined life, the formation of cells, the transmission of experiences, the discussion of all the problems. It is necessary to organise plans, to discuss and apply them, to find the means to apply them, to live an intense internal life of Communist relations whose objective is to elevate the team, the whole Party. It is necessary to educate and develop worker cadres in theoretical and political understanding facilitating this task by the most simple means, to explain, to meet, to discuss. Small cadre schools are necessary, and it is necessary to win peasant cadres. It is necessary to develop among the peasant cadres, comrades who can be capable of understanding, of assimilating, accepting this world process, and the total overthrow of the system — not waiting for this to happen, but so that we intervene and that with our action, we contribute to the formation of peasant cadres. It is necessary to win cadres from

the petit bourgeoisie. It is necessary to make a selection in the university, in the faculties, the secondary schools, and also among the nationalist administrative sectors, hence it is necessary to bring out regular publications. It is necessary to regularise the publications, to write articles which respond to the understanding of this world process, to aim concrete articles at immediate struggles. It is necessary to wait for and to be based on the irreversible course of the world revolution which is an irreversible process and which is going to affect Bolivia soon.

You must not run behind coup d'Etats or wait for them, as though this were the basis for our advance and development. It is necessary to intervene, foresee, and participate in all the struggles whatever they may be, to impel the revolutionary wings and tendencies, but not to wait for coup d'Etats to give us, or to give Bolivia, stimulus. Nevertheless there can be military coup d'Etats which can be the beginning of the development of revolutionary tendencies in which you must intervene.

This process of the interrupted revolution, means that on a world wide scale, the relation of forces are favourable to the proletariat, favourable to the revolution. Hence, imperialism cannot intervene in Latin America, neither can it intervene in

Vietnam, in the Middle East, nor against the Workers States. When there was the crisis over Czechoslovakia in which capitalism had the opportunity to intervene, it was in capable of doing it, in spite of the crisis. The Soviets intervened and were prepared for war. The intervention of the Soviets with tanks in Czechoslovakia shows to imperialism that in whatever place it puts itself, whether it was a Workers State, or almost a Workers State, the Soviets are going to intervene. They are not going to allow a retreat.

This is the essential basis for the relation of world forces favourable to the revolution and it is the base which maintains the interrupted revolution, otherwise, imperialism would have overthrown it, and would have imposed a retreat.

It is necessary to measure this process on a world scale. The Communists do not have any notion of this process, hence, they still discuss Czechoslovakia, whether it was just or not just to have sent fourteen or twenty eight soldiers, seven or fifteen tanks, or not to have respected democracy. They do not understand the relation of world forces. They have also forgotten that in 1939 and in 1940, the Soviets invaded Poland and Finland and it never occurred to any of them to think that this was bad. They invaded because otherwise capitalism would have had basis and frontiers next to the Soviet

# LETTER TO THE BOLIVIAN SECTION

10th. Jan. 1975

Union. In Czechoslovakia, it is the same. This is also the reason why the Communists did not understand the revolution is interrupted because Peru, Peron, Czechoslovakia existed. Otherwise, it would not be interrupted, capitalism would have the strength to smash the revolution in Bolivia.

It is necessary that you have this understanding. This world course of the revolution is constantly feeding the forces which propel the Bolivian revolution. It is still not given in a form of progress, of new economic measures against imperialism, of expropriations or in an agrarian reform. But yes, it shows in the form of the increase of the preoccupation of the worker peasant petit bourgeois vanguard and on the part of the army. And soon this is going to be leap forward in the interrupted revolution.

It is necessary to create new leaderships, but you must intervene with a more disciplined and more constant theoretical preparation. Undoubtedly, you are going to receive blows as you received with the imprisonment of some comrades, but no imprisonment has been able to maintain the Party inactive, and less now. You have to foresee that new blows are coming. But the perspective is not that imperialism is increasing its power in Latin America, nor

that the bourgeoisie is increasing its power in Bolivia. It is all the opposite, therefore, it is necessary to work with the objective of a more disciplined movement that prevents comrades from being arrested or the work being delayed because some comrades are arrested. It is necessary to organise the will; every comrade to undertake the task which has to be continued. The essential condition is a very good theoretical and political preparation, regular publications, bringing out the paper and the bulletins and a functioning which allows the formation of cadres, cadres and more cadres, secure firm, ready to advance, and disciplined, with an uninterrupted will to militate. It is necessary to make a constant selection of militants, better than before in which the essential condition of the militant is the uninterrupted, systematic adhesion, the will to militate, to advance, the discipline to study to learn, to militate, to contribute, to win cadres, and to intervene in the revolutionary workers movement, in the students sectors, the peasants and the workshops.

It is on this basis that it is necessary to make a plan and resolutions. Your letters are beautiful, they show a young resolved team which has an unquenchable will to want to progress, which has a will demonstrated in the recent triumph in the university elections. It is a symptom that

all the old Trotskyist movement is collapsing, disbanding, crumbling away because it does not have either policy or programme. It survived through the lack of leadership, the policy and a programme from the confusion of the movements, and the fact that the leaderships of the struggle against imperialism, came from the soldiers. But to the extent that the process advances and that the soldiers acquire consciousness of the programme, which brings them to a more consistent anti-imperialist struggle and they tend to link up with the working class, all the leftist groups, the ultra-left sectors collapse and disintegrate. This is because they base their policy on the absence of leadership which would respond to the will of struggle of the masses. Nevertheless, some leftist groups are expressions of the will of the petit bourgeoisie to combat, and on the part of the Bolivian masses to

## Correction RED FLAG 231

on the front page article the slogan should have been: 'For a European General Strike to Overthrow Franco'. The penultimate paragraph of the text of J. Posadas: 'Music, songs and the revolution in Portugal', should have read: 'but to finish with human indignity'.

combat. Without following them, it is necessary to feel that they are an anticipation, a bell which signals the will to combat. It is not always like this, because sometimes, they just express their own will to fight. But when there is a perseverance in this attitude, it shows the will to combat of layers, of very important layers of the proletariat and of the petit bourgeoisie.

In these circumstances, the process in Latin America, is advancing against imperialism and you have to expect in consequence, conditions favourable for the reanimation of the Party. The condition is to organise the life of the Party in a disciplined form with the will to study. It is necessary to study all the texts of the International and to produce texts yourselves. To publish in an uninterrupted form, seeking the way to edit bulletins and to write yourselves and to edit them. It is necessary to develop secure cadres in a short stage, in which the will and the quality of the militant cadres is very important, and to have the security that the cadres who show passion, militant vehemence and dedication are the cadres who must be dedicated to the development of theory and practical political positions. The study of theory does not mean a distancing from activity a partialisation of activity, but that, without interrupting the activity, it is necessary to study to elevate the militant capacity.

Those who are going to win in Bolivia are not the cadres who make the coups. A coup can be made, but afterwards it is necessary to organise the consequences of the coup. The fall of Torres was not through the lack of decision, or of will, nor of courage. He had them, what he did not have was programme or policy, he did not have understanding and he did not respect the working class. He did not believe in the working class as the leading class. None of them saw the working class which defended the nationalised mines, because it has a notion of the progress of history, that it was the class which is going to give ideas, policy and programme, which corresponded to the needs of Bolivia. In defending the nationalised mines the proletariat does not defend its own interest. It defends objective interest to develop Bolivia. All the movements must be linked with the miners, the workshops and the peasant vanguard.

This small team is noble and magnificent. Experiencing a mass of difficulties under a regime of repression, with constant military coups and provocations and assassinations, our small team is ready and prepared for a disciplined and centralised life, to develop as it is now doing to carry out this function. We, in the name of the International Secretariat salute them with all our affection, with all our passion and we feel the pride of seeing our small Bolivian section fulfilling its historic duty with dignity. And at the same time, it is the standard bearer, the banner and the consciousness of the Bolivian masses. But for this it is necessary dear comrades, to study, to have the disciplined life and it is necessary to

propose objectives and to prepare consciously for these objectives. Your presence has an enormous strength which in its turn is communicated to the proletarian vanguard.

The essential condition of your strength is your centralised functioning with the International. The centralised life in the International allows you to have the understanding, the notion, the force, the resolution, which independently, you could not have. It is necessary to maintain this activity, to improve the functioning so that no one is arrested. This does not mean fear of imprisonment but the loss of time which it leads to the loss of cadres which limits the capacity of work, for influence and action, and also it means dispersion, not taking experiences into account. This is important also for the political line and for the perspective. We reiterate in the name of the International secretariat our salutes to the comrades of the Bolivian section and our profound admiration and affection for all the tasks which is sending the letter, all the declarations of support from the comrades which we take as a declaration of resolution for power, to develop the discipline and the capacity for the struggle for power in Bolivia. It is necessary to consider that within this task there is a military team upon which it is necessary to count, an important military team that has the will of the struggle for power in Bolivia, which existed before, exists now, and will exist tomorrow also. The more backward the country, the more the army expresses this will to change. You have to consider that in Bolivia there is a powerful military team which is ready to advance towards the taking of power. But without the advanced actions of the miners the workshops and the peasant vanguard, the soldiers will not feel the confidence to push forward the struggle in depth. They will remain limited to nationalist measures, and will not pass from the nationalist measures to measures of the permanent revolution to overthrow capitalism. The action of the mining and peasant masses are those which give confidence to the soldiers to advance. The political leadership does not come from the soldiers but from the workers and the peasants, although they have the military strength to do it.

On all these problems, the comrades must think. In the name of all of us, of the International Secretariat we reiterate our salutes. VIVA THE BOLIVIAN SECTION, VIVA ALL OUR COMRADES. YOU ARE INVOLVED IN THE TASK OF PUSHING FORWARD THE INTERRUPTED REVOLUTION, VIVA THE LIBERATION OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS, VIVA THE ACTIVITY OF ALL THE POLITICAL PRISONERS OF OUR PARTY AND OF THE REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD IN BOLIVIA TO IMPEL THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION AND THE INTERRUPTED REVOLUTION IN BOLIVIA. J POSADAS

**THE FUNCTION OF THE ARMY IN THE PROCESS OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN ETHIOPIA.** 20p

J. POSADAS 20th December 1974 FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS

## THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS HAS TO ADVANCE ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKERS STATES

The motor of the world revolutionary process is the Workers States, and this, together with the accumulated social capital of the whole world socialist revolution, determines fundamentally the depth of the crisis of British imperialism. The forces of the left that are developing in the unions and the Labour Party have to take this into account in all the calculations relating to the struggle to impose nationalisations and planning in Britain.

The structure of the Workers State increasingly prevails over the particular interests of the bureaucratic leadership. The Workers States determine the process of history, partly through their very existence, the example of nationalised property relations, and now, in particular, by their conscious intervention in the world process. Even if the capacity and programme of the Workers States remains limited because of the timidity and blindness of the bureaucracy, in practice, the revolution is being exported by the Workers States; the spirit of Communism is being exported and the confidence and optimistic world outlook of the Workers States determine the world course of history. The forces of the left in this country, can find the bases for a much more audacious attitude in relation to the struggle for nationalisations and planning on the basis of this understanding.

A recent policy statement by Ponomaryov, the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, in preparation for the coming Conference of Communist Parties, is of particular importance in understanding the scope of change in the policy of the Soviet Union compared with previous

periods, confirming the analysis of Comrade Posadas on the process of 'partial regeneration' and the 'historic re-encounter' with marxism. A recent text by Cunhal, leader of the Portuguese Communist Party on 'The moral superiority of the Communists', also has importance in affirming that Communism is not just more consumer goods, but a superior way of life, and that revolutionary rejection of capitalism means the adopting of a Communist way of life, not intellectual rejection of capitalism while still maintaining all the attributes of the petit bourgeois behaviour, competition, individualism, and a life separate from the collective. This is not the epoch of those calling themselves Communists, but of those whose objective is to live like Communists. In the text, Ponomaryov provides an analysis of the world situation and the role of the Workers States not so far from the analysis of comrade Posadas. Such a text could only be elaborated on the basis of the Workers State. The Labour Party with its present life and the lack of marxism in it, would be quite incapable to produce this. The Workers State imposes a world outlook. The origins of the Labour Party could not lead to such a comprehensive approach to the world situation. British imperialism has left in the Labour Party, a powerful tradition of empiricist myopia, which can only be overcome by marxism, the Posadist conceptions of the IV International.

masses which have made it possible for the Soviet Union to 'deprive imperialism of military superiority'. Boris Ponomaryov demonstrates the fundamental importance of the victory of the 'Soviet people' over world imperialism represented by Nazi imperialism; and refers to Lenin on this victory. He says: 'This (victory) confirmed the grim and inexorable truth' brought out by Lenin 'that in the event of a war, imperialism would suffer another crushing defeat, leading inevitably to the expansion of Socialism'. The point is made that the gains made by the forces of Socialism are now 'irreversible' and it was the sacrifices of the Soviet

The states within what is referred to as the 'Socialist system', says Ponomaryov, 'solved problems insoluble under capitalism'; and the general experience of Socialist construction is valid for all Socialist countries, i.e. this tends to repudiate all the ideas of special roads for each country, a conception which tends to reflect particularist interests. At the same time, the success of the Workers States (referred to by Ponomaryov, as 'Socialist world system') 'influences the relation of forces in the class struggle in the capitalist countries'. As is characteristic of the leadership of the Soviet bureaucracy, the text shies away from the inevitability of the war, but admits that 'peaceful co-existence' does not 'erase the main contradictions of our

era between imperialism and Socialism'.

The affirmation of the superiority of the Workers States, economically, culturally, and socially, and the collapse of world capitalism has to be assimilated in depth by the forces of the left in this country. It is in the Workers States that the planning of the economy based on nationalisations proves its overwhelming superiority to anything produced by capitalism. The Socialist Parties and formerly Social Democratic Parties, cannot distance themselves from this achievement of the humanity, on the contrary, they have to abandon all attitudes of competition or distancing themselves from the Soviet Union and utilise all the forces of the Workers States to overthrow capitalism. The Workers States whatever the bureaucratic limitations they have, are the proof of the superiority of nationalised property and the social relations that stem from it. The road for the Labour Party is the road to the collectivised Communist economy, there is no other way, and efforts to say that this is not the case, are based on fear and an interested desire to ignore history.

The report of Ponomaryov is important in showing that the spirit and structure of the Workers State is weighing decisively on the policy of the Soviet Union. The passages in the statement of Ponomaryov which

ORDER FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS

— THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN, THE CLASS STRUGGLE — THE WORLD PROCESS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION, THE ARMY, THE MASSES, AND THE OVERTHROW OF FASCISM IN PORTUGAL.

J. POSADAS 4.5.1974 10p

J. POSADAS 28.4.1974 15p

# FULL SUPPORT TO THE VISIT OF THE SOVIET TRADE UNIONS' DELEGATION! FORWARD TO THE SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE!

The forthcoming visit to Britain of the Soviet trade union delegation shows that the USSR is not prepared to let capitalism use it for trade but that it intends to intervene in the capitalist world to extend the political influence of the Workers State. This amounts to a limited form of 'invasion', and it is precisely like this that the bourgeoisie in this country sees it. This is very dangerous for capitalism which feels besieged by its own working class on the one hand, and the Workers State on the other, and it has no immediate remedy except war preparations and war, which, in the end, will resolve nothing. More than this even, it is the invasion through the British proletariat by a regime superior to the capitalist system. Most importantly, this is taking place at a time when capitalism has lost the right and the centre of the Labour Party as a last means to block the advance of the trade unions in the Labour Party.

The intervention of the Soviet trade unions comes as a powerful cultural stimulus to the British trade unions, impelling these to accelerate the process of the transformation of the Labour Party, and constructing in it

a leadership to lead Britain on the road of the Workers State. Finally, this visit has the sense of consolidating the international links of the proletariat, of creating a political unification in Europe, which is one of the essential conditions for the construction of the new leadership in the Labour Party.

We call on the British trade unions to extend this discussion in all the factories, workers districts, trade unions themselves. The delegation must not confine itself to meeting the TUC, it has to go to the country's factories and mass meetings must be called to greet it. We call on the Labour Party left to give full support to this visit against the attacks of the bourgeoisie, and the right wing Labour. It must organise support to the delegation in the factories, the areas, the Constituencies, and campaign for the Single Trade Union Centre of Europe, not as an institution that workers cannot reach, but as a permanent forum of political discussions and trade union European struggles, for the political unification of the European Workers movement (with itself) and with the Workers State.

## A form of invasion

It is important that at the same time as the Soviet Union intervenes in trade agreements with Britain, it also intervenes through its trade unions to make the magnificent Soviet proletariat weigh in turn on the British proletariat to extend the authority of the Workers State. The bourgeoisie in this country are screaming in near panic at the implications of this action. They denounce Shelepin as a murderer, a former 'leader of the KGB'. The real murderer is capitalism which is responsible for all the murders in Vietnam, Chile, and the preparation of the nuclear war. Capitalism and British capitalism as part of it, is also responsible for the existence of the bureaucracy in the Workers States. British imperialism intervened directly against the Soviet Union alongside with another 24 countries in the world to try to crush the Bolshevik revolution, and since, uninterruptedly as part of the world counter-revolution against the continued elevation of the Workers States. The British proletariat, like the Soviet proletariat understands that if there is still a bureaucracy in the Workers States, it is because there still remains the capitalist system in the world and that the elimination of what is left of the capitalist system is the condition for the total elimination of all bureaucracies. The bourgeoisie in this country is alarmed,

because it sees that it is from within — through the British proletariat — that the Workers States penetrate Britain, and that it has completely failed in isolating this proletariat, in corrupting its leadership with privileges, or in repressing it directly. When Wilson says that the visit of Shelepin 'has nothing to do with him', the bourgeoisie sees that the workers aristocracy has no more means to prevent the advance of the left in the Labour Party, and that nothing can now prevent the proletariat from taking power.

The British TUC when it proceeds with this invitation, in spite of the war the bourgeoisie is making in the newspapers, radio, and TV, shows that the pressure that comes from the British working class is very great, and that it feels it has a great support in the Labour Party, as expressed by the recent visit of Ron Haywood to E. Germany, in the very middle of the controversy. The British trade unions do not stop at the personality of Shelepin, which they see as something of a totally secondary importance, compared with the Soviet trade unions, an essential organiser of the Workers State. When the bourgeoisie says that the Soviet trade unions are not 'real trade unions', that they 'are different from the trade unions in the West', indeed

this is correct. The function of the Soviet trade unions is now, not a function of destroying the state which they have built, but on the contrary a function of intervening with initiatives which tend to elevate the international authority, the international system, the international links of the Workers States, and to form a world system of Workers States to finish with all bureaucracies.

The British trade unions see the superiority of the Workers State, the economic superiority, through no inflation and no unemployment, the social authority through the elimination of ownership, of exploitation of one by the other, and of accumulation by a few to deprive all others; they see the cultural authority of the Workers State through the building of dignified human relations in the world, and the unification of all the working people of the world, politically, against what is left of the backward and barbaric capitalist system. Another and very important cultural intervention which

the Soviet trade unions are making in this way, is that by their visit, they show that they do not agree with the bourgeois conception that there is any such thing as 'interference' in other people's affairs. What there is, is the international world proletariat, which seeks to make its capacity uniform, (the most advanced — the Soviet proletariat — weighing on the least advanced,) to construct the world system of Workers States, and Communism. When the British proletariat opens itself to all this, it is preparing itself for a qualitative leap in its intervention in the Labour Party. It has already shown that it is it which rules this country, through having defeated the monopoly of the right (and right allied to the centre) in the Labour Party. Now, it is not so much a matter of showing industrial strength, as constructing a leadership in the Labour Party which, basing itself on their struggles, adopts the traditional conceptions of the world Communist movement for the construction of the Workers State.

organisms of the working class in which organisms of the Workers States, such as the trade unions of the USSR have, naturally, a leading and irreplaceable role to play. It is not possible to overthrow capitalism in Britain, without this being part of the overthrow of the capitalist system on a European and world scale, and this means the construction of organisms — Single Trade Union Centre for Europe and the political unification of the European workers movement — in which the Workers State and the Soviet Union and world Communist movement play a leading role.

The call by Shelepin for 'united action of the working people and the trade unions' to denounce the arms race by the capitalist countries, their threat of invasion of the oil fields, against the attacks by the ailing capitalist system on the working people of the world, for a 'mighty international rebuff to be administered to the encroachment on the vital interests and rights of the working people in the capitalist world', cannot remain just a call. It has to be discussed in the Labour Party, the trade unions and the Communist Party publicly, and the conclusion must arise: 'For a Single Workers Centre, as a forum of political discussion and unification of the whole of Europe, under the leadership of the Workers States and the USSR. As Portugal shows, there is no possibility of conceiving unification of the trade unions in this stage without the political unification of the Socialist and Communist movement. This is no longer the stage of the purely trade unionist unification of Europe. It is the stage of the expansion, multiplication and unification of Workers States, and the new leadership in the Labour Party cannot be constructed on the basis of Britain alone. This is why we pose immediately the necessity of the European Conference of Workers Parties, Communist/Socialist/Labour/Workers Parties and trade unions, as a step for the construction of the Socialist Europe.'

## The new Labour leadership has to have a world vision

This is the role of the Labour Party left, which has to abandon such conceptions as those of the 'British Nation', 'British Sovereignty', and link itself, through this visit, to the world Communist movement and the Workers State, recognising that it is not possible to nationalise the centres of the economy without being ready for the civil war which the bourgeoisie is preparing. This means organising the struggle against capitalism on the European and world scale, starting from the obvious fact that it is organised internationally through the monopolies. It is necessary for the Labour left to make a campaign in support of the visit of Shelepin, not in view of the personality of Shelepin but in view of the defence of the Soviet trade unions and the Soviet Workers State. At present, the Labour

Party, based on the trade unions, is not a Revolutionary Party based on them. But to resolve the problems of this stage, it will have to nationalise and plan the economy, and the relation that the British trade unions seek with the Soviet ones, is precisely due to the necessity felt by the British proletariat of increasing their political weight in the Labour Party to decide within it. This actually demands the transformation of the actual Labour Party into a party for class and revolutionary changes, and the direct intervention of the proletariat within it. This leads to the development of a left in the Labour Party which absorbs the lessons and experiences of the construction of the Workers States, i.e. marxism, and applies them in this country on the basis of constructing international

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## Editorial

### THE ADVANCE OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IS THE BASIS TO ELEVATE THE OBJECTIVES OF THE LABOUR LEFT

continued from page 1

This is why the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the unions must gather all the conclusions of this

world wide experience and struggle for the programme to expropriate capitalism with greater and greater audacity.

the visit of Shelepin do not decide. The trade unions impose talks with the Soviet trade unions. When Haywood reaffirms, after visiting E. Germany, the need to confront big business, this confirms once again that the Labour Party responds to the weight of the Workers States, not to the weight of capitalism.

All the recent experience on a world and national scale, affirm the need for a much more vigorous intervention by the forces of the left in the unions and the Labour Party, but this has to be founded on the mobilisations of the masses in organs of dual power.

The campaign over the European Common Market has to be linked with the discussions with the Soviet trade unions and the need to

answer the crisis of the capitalist economy with the complete Socialist alternative. The logic of Benn's emphasis on the failure of capitalism and the need to invest is not Parliamentaryism, but preparation for civil war. No Workers State has been established without revolution. When Heffer says capitalism is of no further use, the conclusion has to be nationalisations and preparation for civil war.

We appeal for mass meetings and demonstrations to demand the extension of nationalisation under workers control, for the opening of the books of all the large and medium enterprises, no compensation for any of the companies taken over, for Shop Stewards Committees which meet to discuss regularly in the factories all the issues facing the working class

with right of immediate recall of delegates for mass committees in the workers areas, for the discussion of state planning of the economy with control of trade by the state.

Discussion and more discussion on a mass basis is essential for the advance of the country towards a Workers State. Discussion confined to the Labour Party and trade union apparatus or pseudo public meetings where the masses are talked at and do not have the opportunity to discuss are ruses to contain the masses and reflect only the arrogance of the apparatus who are under the delusion that they determine history, whilst history is anxious to prove otherwise. It is the masses who decide.

MARCH 9 1975

# THE CRISIS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY, THE OFFENSIVE OF THE TRADE UNIONS, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN ITALY.

2ND FEBRUARY 1975

J. POSADAS

VIVA THE VISIT OF THE SOVIET TRADE UNION DELEGATION!

VIVA THE UNITED FRONT OF THE BRITISH AND SOVIET MASSES TO ANNIHILATE IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM!



Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

IN THE NEXT ISSUE OF RED FLAG:

THE CLOSING SPEECH OF THE FIFTH WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL.

J. POSADAS

TUESDAY MARCH 25th 1975

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

SUBSCRIBE TO RED FLAG 1 year..... £ 3.10p. 6 months..... £ 1.60p. All correspondence to: IV International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street London, W.C.2. NO. 239

Printed by The Russell Press Ltd., Nottingham (TU)

## THE WORKING CLASS STIMULATES THE CIVIL WAR IN THE LABOUR PARTY, TO SMASH THE RIGHT AND EXPROPRIATE CAPITALISM.

The crisis in the Labour Party is not the crisis of the working class. It is the crisis of the old team who cannot contain or solve the problems created by the total crisis of the capitalist system. The crisis is unprecedented. Mikardo launches direct attacks on Wilson, and Ryman on Callaghan (calling him the 'most incompetent member of the present Government'), Wilson launches a pro-EEC campaign against part of the Cabinet, half the M.P.s, the Scottish Labour Party, most of the Party, the TUC and the whole trade union movement. All forms of struggles take place in the Labour Party from top to bottom publicly. Now the NEC is likely to campaign against the government. This is a complete shambles and another blow at the authority of the capitalist system; it is the rebellion of the masses in the country which provokes disorder up to the highest spheres of the Labour leadership. All this represents the breakdown of the traditional links of the centre and the right of the Labour Party with capitalism. However, this process also demonstrates that mighty changes are going to take place in the Party, which, without succeeding in changing totally the structure (for it encompasses the present left as well) is going to impose the discussion of ideas and marxism. Selection and re-selection of cadres will take place in all the organs of the class, including the Shop Stewards and Shop Stewards Committees to facilitate the intervention, discussion, and decision of the masses in the running of the economy.

The present crisis finds its roots in the world situation and the force of the world revolution. The troops in Glasgow, to accomplish the role of strike-breakers show the depth of the crisis of the Labour government and Party. It is a premonition of the civil war which is coming, which will smash all the reactionary apparatuses and signify the triumph of the will of the masses to discuss, debate, decide and apply directly their decisions.

The Labour vanguard sees the immense crisis of imperialism in Vietnam, in Cambodia, where Communism is on the road to total triumph with the full support of the Soviet Union and the Workers States. It observes the impotence of imperialism which be-

comes more and more crippled by internal conflicts, as their need to intervene against the world revolution increases. It sees the massive support the USSR gives to India, which is part of the strategy to counter the Yankee arms build up in Pakistan to the effect of trying to intimidate — and how unsuccessfully! — the Arab revolution and the USSR. Meanwhile the talks of Kissinger are in an impasse. Imperialism is only seeking to gain time. It is frightened of launching the war against the USSR for it sees that the masses of the world are unified against it, and that it is going to be smashed. The knowledge of this paralyses and cripples all bourgeois leaderships. With no policy, the Tory Party in this country regresses into infantilism. In Portugal, the masses proceed with the agrarian reform which means that the last capitalist hindrance is being tackled, whilst the right wing is banned from elections (the sectors of the left which are banned will soon be re-absorbed in the struggle as they have been so far). In Ethiopia, in Peru, in Portugal, the norm is becoming: Ban the right wing, war against the right wing, no freedom or democracy for it. All this world process demoralises imperialism and increases the strength of the proletariat. The Labour Party left has to base itself on this. It has to discuss Portugal, to conclude that the conditions exist for a very massive state intervention in the economy, which, as in Ethiopia or Portugal is the only condition for planning, and requires a close relationship of the Party with the masses, to smash the right wing! This is the experience of France, where the Communist Party is entering a big crisis of growth, for the working class is acting, through the strikes at Renault and elevated forms of factory occupations, to throw out the right of the Party. The French Communist Party comes out on the radio with two lines, the one of Andrieu and the one of Marchais. But the bourgeoisie cannot use De Ferre (Socialist from Marseilles) to break the Popular Union, or use the Socialist Party against the Communist Party. The working class is acting with the greatest maturity at this stage: it provokes a crisis of its Party, it throws out the right wing, but in the meantime, the Party advances and the bourgeoisie does not find any way to break the centralisation of the

working class. This is what is on the agenda on a world scale, and the Labour left has to discuss this. There must be publications, meetings, explanations of the Labour left in the Party and the trade unions.

The recent experience of the

strike by Dustcart workers in Glasgow, where there is a strong Labour support, has shown that the Labour vanguard in the same way does not damage in its struggle, its centralisation in the Labour Party. In an area in which the Communist Party has an

authority, where the Labour Council has 'always been against us' as the Shop Stewards say, there is no sign of decentralisation of the class, but on the contrary, a greater centralisation around the Labour Party, to mobilise, support and extend the struggle within  
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## Agriculture, industry, and the leadership for the construction of Socialism in Algeria.

8th. NOVEMBER 1974

There is a process of permanent revolution which has developed in Algeria, whose point of departure is the liberation from French imperialism. In the course of the struggle against French imperialism, the internal reorganisation was posed. Under the pressure of the world revolution, the working class, the intellectuals, the socialist revolution was displacing the bourgeois leadership.

It has reached the stage in economic development which demands a change in the leadership of the country. But this is making very timid changes which are carried out on the programmatic basis of the economy, not on the functioning and the structure of the revolution. The structure means: what internal relations, what organisms? There is a very great deficiency from the point of view of the organisms. Progress in agriculture can never be made unless it is accompanied by the development of the Party and the intervention of the masses. Because the development of agriculture means the maturation of the peasants, and the peasants are going to demand and are going to impel the nationalisation of everything to accompany the development of the agrarian economy. Although they hand over the land to the peasants for individual exploitation, individually, they are not going to be able to exploit the land. They have to do it in the form of socialist cooperatives, in the form of a nucleus so that every unity represents a number of existing explotaciones (small-holdings).

In the process in which the world is living and also Algeria, there is a very great maturing of the peasants. In Algeria, they have a tradition of struggle, and they are not avid of the land: they are avid to live, they want

to live; and they are going to find a very solid basis in the workers — also the workers who are in France — who are going to support this. It is not excluded that at a later stage, there may be an effort to return to Algeria, although not all of them do it immediately. But the return of important sectors of the workers to Algeria, is not excluded.

The revolution cannot advance without an organised socialist structure. Any revolution in the world which advances and progresses, in order to advance, has to have a socialist structure. This means to eliminate the bourgeois structure, jurisprudence, Parliament, finance, justice, administration, because these are obstacles that impede the development of the economy. To be able to develop the economy, organisms of the working class are required, the intervention of the working class is required. To try to regulate and run it bureaucratically is not possible. Already Stalin did this with the power which was superior to all the revolution in Algeria, and it failed. It did not fail through the incapacity of Stalin, who was a bureaucrat of quite a lot of ability from what he had learned from Bolshevism, but ability is no use for this. Ability was not able to resolve or respond to the economic or social structure of history and Algeria is facing this.

What they need are organisms. For this reason, it is necessary to discuss what type of economy they require. It is not possible to invent a new road for the economy, as Boumediene wants to do. He speaks of socialism, very well; but what socialism? They do not have examples. The Soviet Union is an example limited by Stalinism, by the absence of revolutionary organs, but

it is an example of a structure and how it must be. To want to avoid it is to burn a house, because it has a bad door. They are going to have to confront and discuss this, inevitably.

For this task they have an immense strength which they do not utilise. The women and the children. In Algeria the majority of the population is less than 25 years old. It is absurd and outside all reason that these immense forces are not used. They do not use them, because then they would clash with the right, and also because they do not have this conception. They have to acquire it and they cannot take the USSR or China, or Cuba as an example, through the bureaucratic aspects which these have and because in Algeria there is a very great weight of a parasite sector which comes from the earlier stage. Then it is necessary to propose to throw out all these people. It is necessary to demand from the bourgeoisie, and an appeal must be made that they are used as administrators, that they leave the land which they have, and that they advance to become administrators controlled in their turn by the Party, and that every one intervenes discussing a plan and a programme of nationalisation of agriculture, unless there is industry. To develop itself agriculture needs nationalisations, planning and the development of industry. If not, this cannot function and above all it is necessary to discuss this. Now, only Boumediene discusses this.

Boumediene made a text on these problems, on the line which we have already posed. Good; where is it discussed, what conclusions, how are people educated, what economic conception is developing? On the  
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# THE CRISIS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY, THE OFFENSIVE OF THE TRADE UNIONS, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN ITALY.

## J. POSADAS

2.2. 1975

Italy is in a stage of advance from which it is not possible to retreat. The conditions do not exist for retreat. It is the stage in which there is the struggle and the drive of the Communist Party to go to the government and from the government to power. The way is open and throughout the world it is the same.

The crisis of the Soviet bureaucracy is expressed in the crisis of Breznev, in the change of the position of greater confrontation, resistance and initiative, of struggle against world imperialism. It's the same with the world crisis of the Communist Parties who are going to the left and also the Socialist Parties. The agenda of the meeting of the Communist Parties of Europe to discuss the crisis of the car industry shows this. The Soviets are trying to keep Breznev where he is so that he corrects himself, to maintain a link with the Yanks. But the Soviets are also launching the alarm 'Imperialism is preparing the war! We do not want to make the policy of concessions, we have the proof of what happened with Stalin'. This refers to the attitude of Stalin in the second world war in front of the Nazis. Now the Yankee troops are not actually invading, but there are the preparations. Hence the Soviets are deciding upon a policy of greater confrontation and moreover they see the weakness of imperialism. This

crisis of Breznev, a crisis of silence, shows the decision to have more resolved positions. On the other hand there is the weakening of the position of the Yanks allied with the reports that soon Nixon is returning to political activity, when before they gave him up as liquidated.

There is a very consistent, constant, permanent inclination for the extension of the level of revolutionary development in Italy and the world. It is a world process which now has a programmatic character. It is not an accidental course, but a process already defined. The organisation of this decision is missing but the left wins everywhere. It wins in all the Communist Parties. In China the Congress which took place showed that it is the left which is going to gain, not the right or the centre. They have reached a compromise but towards the left. In Europe there is a process of struggle for power. The elections in Denmark show this. The left won infinitely more than the liberal centre.

The speech of Fanfani in the last meeting of the Christian Democratic Party shows the crisis of Italy. He gave a speech which is a speech of rupture and agony. It is not a speech of authority which imposes, but of someone who is crying for, begging for a solution. He tries to remain a centre, supported by the right,

Fanfani expresses the crisis of Italian capitalism, while the trade unions advance in power in condition to by-pass the parties. This is not going to happen, but they are in the conditions to do it. In other texts we have posed: 'Either the Communist Party yields to the trade unions or the trade unions are going to exercise the function which the Communist Party does not fulfil'. The whistlings in Bologna were a beginning and this is going to continue. Hence the fury of Fanfani who sees that there is a rupture in the CD which favours the left. He wants to contain the march to the left.

This policy has no point of support. It is not based on the left, it is based on a part of the centre and the right. The right is afraid and has no leadership. It has no leadership of authority in front of the masses or before the Christian Democracy. Hence they use Fanfani who is used for these occasions. The fury of Fanfani shows the crisis of capitalism. They do not have leaders, not because there is a lack of people, but because there is no one who has ideas. Hence Fanfani is used and he also has no ideas, saying the most superficial things. This is the situation of capitalism.

This declaration of Fanfani shows the condition of the Christian Democracy. They want to cut short a very

deep process which exists to impose control of the left. They are seeking to divide the left, to break it, to make it afraid. But the crisis is there, although momentarily they may succeed in containing it. The attitude of the left is firm, although it is not homogenous and this shows that the base is escaping control.

In daily life the Christian democracy have to take positions which are not at one with the positions of Fanfani. They know that to go on with these positions leads to liquidation. The majority of the votes for Fanfani are unstable and insecure. It is not a majority resolved on a political line. It is an unstable majority. Moro himself says in his declarations that 'the support of the Socialists is irreplaceable and a situation exists in the world, that it is necessary to understand that the young represent this situation and that if the Party distances itself from the young and the trade unions, it will go under'. This is an indication of the instability of this unanimity and majority which they have. The right supports the centre to contain a solution more to the left. But the centre cannot commit itself much because it is linked to the youth and feels its pressure. Moro expresses such a situation. They think 'the youth is expressing desires which we cannot overlook'. They do not have a solution. Rumor and

Piccoli now have pretensions to the left. This resolution which they brought out in the last meeting of the Christian Democracy is based on a majority based on interests of the group, of currents without a programme, without perspectives and without a solid agreement between the various parts. It's purely circumstantial. It is an indication of the distinct pressures which they receive and to which they must yield. Before they received pressures on a minor scale and they could reject them, now they have to yield.

The signing of the last agreement of FIAT with the trade unions — although FIAT may not carry it out, it has to sign it — is equivalent to the meeting of 1919 when the factory councils emerged. They want to contain the struggle and the advance to power of the masses by making concessions. But the proletariat is not intimidated. Capitalism has to utilise forces which have no authority like Fanfani. And in the middle of all this, Dimittia proposes an agreement with the Communist Party, hoping to reach an agreement with the Communist right and through them to contain the Communist Party on the road to power. This is going to stimulate the line of interpenetration of the Communist Party but not the line to sustain the capitalist system. It makes difficult the advance towards the government of the left

but it does not support nor affirm nor sustain the capitalist government. The policy of left meetings which they are holding — for example in Venetia — shows that there is a qualitative inclination against the Christian Democratic right.

In the Italian Communist Party they are discussing the government of the left. Berlinguer has said that they are not against 'but that this is not the moment'. They are discussing the government of the left which up to a few months ago was outside the agenda of the Communist Party. Now it is on the agenda. The depth of the policy of the Communist Party is what we have referred to as revolutionary reformism. It is an attitude which corresponds to the reformism of the previous epoch, the epoch of the socialists. But now it is not to sustain capitalism or to include itself within capitalism but to annul it, not to overthrow but eliminate it; to eliminate it through overpowering capitalism with numbers, with more people. They believe that in the last instance it is a cultural problem. This is a correct aspect, culturally also there is an advance. But if the classes abandon their class interest through the means of culture, it would be a problem of a cultural turn. History shows that it is not like this.

History shows that in politics progress is geometrical rather than

arithmetical. The Communists do not see this because they have no confidence in revolutionary politics, but they do not oppose everything. Hence they are now discussing the advance to power which for the Communist Party is a revolution. It is necessary to be based either on this understanding, or to push forward a policy to divide the Communist Party which would be mad. For this it is necessary to discuss as they discuss, but not at their level, to discuss on the line of the Communist Party pushing towards a dialectical understanding, seeking to persuade they will feel the confidence to progress. The Communist Party hopes that the left of the CD can break and advance more, that other sectors will win, that an 'accommodating bourgeoisie' will develop. They are also waiting for a crisis in the Socialist Party.

This is not incorrect but with this policy they favour the right and the Socialist centre, while the left has advanced enormously. They are discussing these problems in the Communist Party. The error of the Communist comrades is to expect that the left Christian Democracy will break and go towards them. They await a bigger crisis and failure in the CD. They support a left but while they do this they give opportunity for a small nucleus of the right to make a coup. Imperialism cannot wait for a

majority, neither can the bourgeoisie. The parliamentary majority that they have, does not represent the social majority. They know it, hence they prepare for the coup. They condemn a series of military people, but they organise bombings every day. They intimidate, break places up, impede the formulation of the laws, and use fascist laws like the Press law, or make reforms in the police to give them rights of detention without judicial control, without warrant. They are forms of intimidation of the workers movement. The fascists feel that they are losing, hence they make a policy of intimidation. As they do

not have an electoral and social base, they prepare army coups.

In this situation it is necessary to intervene towards the masses so that they discuss throughout the country; in the trade unions, in the factories, to propose debates in the factories and the workers areas, discussions all the time. This can be done, preparing speakers from the factories, making a united front from the factory in which all the tendencies are represented with the objective of developing a programme, a programme of investments, of costing, of economic

orientation of wage demands, of democratic rights; discussing where Italy is going, discussing publicly.

The left Christian Democracy wants to confine discussion within the summits where the masses cannot find access. It is necessary to go towards the masses, as Ingrao posed. The Communist vanguard wishes to discuss in this way, it feels that the conditions are right for the advance towards power.

2.2.75.

J. POSADAS. 2.2.75

### EDITORIAL. Cont'd

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the Party and against the right of the Party. When the Shop Steward of the Dustcart workers spoke on the TV, he saw as conquest the fact that ten Councillors in the local Labour Council voted for them. This is the effect of the struggles of this stage. They are qualitative struggles and lead to qualitative changes in the Labour Party. They have the same sense as the strike in Renault in France, although the process, given different conditions, is slower in the Socialist than the Communist Party.

In the same way, the struggle over the EEC means the class struggle in the Labour Party.

It is not by chance that this crisis in the LP is linked with the coming of Shelepin. The working class applies pressures on the Labour Party, to impel new conceptions in it. The British proletariat transmits throughout Britain all its will to progress to install in this country a superior regime, the Workers State, the nationalised and planned economy which shows itself vastly superior in the vivid example of the USSR. The breakdown in the Labour Party leadership is profound and is going to increase, because the opposition to the EEC has a class content: it is against the oppression of multi-nationals and the military alliance, NATO. It is

to the war which imperialism is preparing against the USSR and the Workers States. The link between the trade unions and the left of the Labour Party against the capitalist system, is going to find extension in the factories as a result of this NO.

The opposition to the EEC is a class opposition which does not come in depth from any organ of the apparatus of the Labour movement, but directly from the working class, which rejects the antiquated remnants of the capitalist system. The visit of Shelepin (in spite of a vicious and nasty campaign against him) represents, in however modest a form, the direct intervention of the Workers States in Britain. Jenkins could not stop this visit:

This means

that the force coming from the trade unions is irrepressible, and that the support they receive from the Soviet Union is assisting them in the task of weighing on the Labour Party. This, with the crisis over the EEC is going to be a means by which the working class makes the world revolution and the Soviet Union weigh in the Labour Party to impose their conception, and their thought, on it. Already this is what has happened with Callaghan who came back smashed by Portugal, and who finds in the Labour Party the same process as in Portugal but in a different form.

They are, and will, actively prepare for civil war — as in Portugal — and therefore the most important weapon to confront capitalism is the mass mobilisation of the working class in its own organs of dual power imposing workers control. The quite irrational conception that civil war can be avoided is the basis for all the absurdities about workers participation which somehow will satisfy the working class and maintain capitalism.

We appeal for the organisation of the organs of dual power in the factories and in the workers areas, where a constant discussion can be maintained, with all delegates open to immediate recall. As is shown in Portugal mass popular committees play a fundamental role in sustaining the programme of nationalisations.

FOR WORKERS CONTROL.

WORKERS CONTROL IN ALL THE FIRMS RECEIVING SUBSIDIES!

WORKERS CONTROL IN THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES!

FOR THE IMMEDIATE NATIONALISATION OF THE CAR INDUSTRY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

FOR THE PLANNED ECONOMY,

FOR A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN IN THE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY FOR THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS TO PLAN THE ECONOMY!

The very elevated struggle by the Hospital workers, for the defence of a human Communist principle of justice, the strikes in Glasgow and the London docks — in Glasgow provoking repudiation of the Shop Stewards Committees — mean a process of rebellion in the whole of the labour movement. This is why the government has to resort to using the troops, to seek to intimidate the rest of the class, for it sees that these struggles are the expression of the overall mood of the British working class. This is why the bourgeoisie is frightened and angered in front of the attack on private property which the limited land-reform still represents, or by the limited form of taking over BLMC. It is necessary that the Labour Party does lead the campaign against the EEC by means of demonstrations, meetings and mobilisations in the workers areas, in the trade unions and in the factories. There must be a call made by the Labour Party left for the end of the imperialist function of the Labour government, for the pulling out of NATO, and such interventions as in Dhofar, and for the European Conference of Workers Parties and Trade Unions, as a means to plan the alternative to the EEC on the basis of the unification of the workers movement in Europe.

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## Fragments of a letter of Comrade Posadas on the Soviet bureaucracy.

4.1.1975.

The bureaucracy is seeking to structure a form of agreement between the Workers State to be able to use it as a class. But there is no possibility or any historic reason for the bureaucracy to constitute itself as a class or to form itself as a class. It tries to exercise this partially, but it clashes with the economy, which demands of it another thing. It demands that it represents the collective interest of the economy, of society.

The bureaucracy is a conception of the apparatus which feels that it is the owner of society. It is not the administrative functioning. This conception prevents in the working class a reasoning, intervening and participating. It is deprived of the Soviet right to intervene. This is the bureaucracy. It has an interest as a caste. Trotsky said that it is not a caste, but seeking an approximate form to define or characterise it, he identifies it, or approximate it to the caste functioning. It is not a new event in history. The caste has an origin in private property and the bureaucracy originates in the Workers State. It has distinctive attributes and as a consequence it cannot have the same relation as the caste has with private property. It approximates to it through the identity of interest which they all have, although they might not all be of the same family. It approximates to the function which the caste plays for example, in India.

In the bureaucracy the fundamental aspect is its function as an apparatus, which impedes political life, political reasoning, the organising capacity of the masses. The bureaucracy smashes down the masses.

It is important to see now the function which Gretchko (Minister of Defense of the USSR), is fulfilling, without giving very important ideas, he says: "Capitalism is going to launch the war". He has said this on various occasions and that: "The war is the end of capitalism, not of us". This is not specifically aimed at the Communist movement, it is aimed at the Yanks, but also at the world Communist movement.

It is important to clarify that the soldiers see better than the Party the preparation for the war. It is not that they have more political capacity, but because they are the product of a sector, of a professional sphere which sees all the preparations of imperialism and the attitudes that lead to war. In doing this, they

do not work like the soldiers of the capitalist system. They have a theoretical and political preoccupation, they come from the Workers State. Then they unite to the military qualities, the representation of the Workers State. From the relation between them, there is a structure, their knowledge, understanding, dedication and respect for the Workers State. It gives them a notion of the importance of the Workers State. They learn politics, and they learn to live politically. Each important member of the Soviet army is a political leader. If he is not, it is because they do not let him. But through the structure, the functioning, the historic function of the armies of the Workers States, he has to have a political dominion which

the soldiers of the capitalist regime do not have.

All this gives a very great strength to the Soviet army, it is not an instrument which society has to defend itself from. The Soviet army forms part of the nucleus of the Soviet bureaucracy, which, through its present function, through the weight of the revolution, has lost part of a bureaucratic functioning. Without losing its origins, it has to be more realist than before. For example, Stalin did not see the war while the present Soviet soldiers prepare for the war. The bureaucracy is not the same as that of Stalin, because it is not Stalin only who did not see the war, but there were sectors of the bureaucracy who saw that the war was the end of them. But on the other hand, now, no it is not the same reaction. It poses: "the war is coming". Then, the structure of the Workers State allows to see in time: "The war is coming", not through caste, or group interests. Caste and group interests among the bureaucrats exists; but it is not the cause of the determination which they have, but they feel that the Workers State requires such a defense. Then, the structure of the mind, of thought already arises from the structure of the State. Already they do not think as private property, but as a Workers State, bureaucratically, but as a Workers

State.

In the bureaucracy, there are series of layers, of tendencies, of sectors, groups, who are united but not in such an iron way as before. The process of the world revolution, the advance of science, of technology, disintegrates them.

These sectors of the bureaucracy in the Workers State have various origins and antecedents. But it no longer has the monolithic character of before, because the development of science, of the economy, of technology, of the mass struggles, the existence of 14 Workers States, has developed in the lower and middle sectors of the bureaucracy and even in the top layers, confidence in the socialist future, in socialist measures. Otherwise, one believes that the bureaucrat is a bureaucrat and that is it. Layers like Garaudy (former leader expelled from the French Communist Party) are bureaucrats. They have the aristocratic distinction, he is the one who thinks and the others apply. This is the conception of Garaudy.

The bureaucracy does not understand, it is going to have internal clashes, and there is already an inter-bureaucratic struggle. It does not have a notion of history, it is necessary to understand this very well, to be able to know how to use the distinct currents and tendencies.

J. POSADAS 4th January 1975.

The sterility and the collapse of capitalism is now a commonplace. Its structure, politically, socially and economically, as has been analysed innumerable times by Cde Posadas, is totally moribund. All over the world, sectors even originating with the bourgeoisie, are obliged to pose increasing state intervention, policies of nationalisations, because in the most literal sense capitalism does not have the capacity to develop and extend itself and hence it cannot solve any of the most outstanding problems facing the world economy, whether in housing, agricultural production, reducing prices, supplying sufficient material goods to meet the needs of consumption.

The British economy has for long been notorious for its stagnation from the point of view of initiative and investment. Capitalism pretends it's all due to heavy taxes, but it's a deep seated malaise going back for over half a century. Profits could be gained too easily in banking and overseas investment. The nationalisation of coal after the Second World War was a symbol of social and economic weakness, private industry could no longer develop a major fuel, the state had to intervene. Inevitably, with the passing of time, the accumulation of failures can no longer be concealed and British Imperialism shows all its decrepitude. In every sphere of economic life, transport, medicine, education, the planning of cities, there is an incredible backwardness, compounded now by enormous inflation. All manner of luxury products abound, there is an endless spate of moronic advertisements, but the most basic social needs cannot be satisfied. The Labour Government, with its limited programme, is in the centre of all these problems. With the end of the possibilities for acting as an instrument of capitalism to contain the advance to socialism, under more

and more pressures, open more and more to the pressure of the base, particularly through the trade unions, the Labour Party was obliged to produce an instrument, the National Enterprise Board to intervene in the capitalist economy via planning agreements and the opening of business information to the trade unions.

It has been argued that the conceptions of the NEB are purely 'social democratic' and the argument is used that in any case the NEB has only £700 million borrowing power, whereas the total investment by government and business is £14,000 million. But the problem for capitalism is that it is so weak that anything that poses an intervention from a Labour government with the support of the trade unions is socially dangerous and with the development of the process of disintegration of capitalism, there is no guarantee that the pressures will remain at the level of the NEB. Capitalism fears the pressures to the left, the reaction of the unions and that the NEB will stimulate steps towards further nationalisations.

In the struggle between left and right in the Labour Party, without question there will be every effort on the part of the right to contain the use of the Board or to try to contain the process there, as the lesser evil. But the deepening of the crisis allows no resting place.

What has to be clear is that although the NEB can be used to intervene in the capitalist economy, allowing a penetration by the unions, maintaining employment (as with the victory over Fiat in Italy), the NEB of itself does not solve the basic problems. It is absurd to think that it can. Benn justifies the Board with the conception that it will carry out investment that capitalism has failed

## THE NEB IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR NATIONALISATIONS.

to do. But the limitations are all too obvious. Even accepting these NEB possibilities for intervention against capitalism, the crisis of the system cannot be contained by piecemeal interventions — and neither will the working class put up with gradualist steps against capitalism. The world revolution moves with hurricane force. Portugal has given a new example of social progress. The NEB can have its transitory uses — if it is used forcefully enough — but the need to extend the programme of the Labour Party continues — nationalisation of the banks, under workers control and without compensation.

Capitalism is incompetent. The NEB can make interventions but with such limited scope, it is not possible to plan the economy and reorganise it in the interests of the population (similarly, co-operative ventures are no solution, indeed they are a mockery of the working class). Without doubt, capitalism hopes that with the participation of the trade unions, there will open opportunities to incorporate the unions into the structure of capitalist management and thus contain the process. And even with the existing shop stewards committees, there is the hope that with proliferating committees of consultation, conservative sectors of the shop stewards will be a containing factor.

Such devices, however, cannot contain the process of capitalist collapse or only momentarily. The depth of the capitalist crisis is such that modifications to the capitalist system, even interventions like the NEB, are not sufficient. They cannot sustain British imperialism to compete with the Workers States or other capitalist powers. The crisis of competing on the capitalist world market cannot be solved with measures like the NEB.

# THE SOCIALIST ADVANCES OF THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL ARE THE BASIS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF EUROPEAN CAPITALISM

All the last events in Portugal, the nationalisation of the banks and the insurance companies, the crushing of the attempted counter-revolutionary coup by the fascist Spínola, the suppression of the right, express and are determined by the advance of the world process of the revolution. It is, in the most direct sense, part of the collapse of all the organisms of the bourgeoisie, their disintegration, with the army being transformed to the point where not only does it not serve the interests of capitalism, but it plays a leading role in its overthrow. The actions of the army leadership, of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was prepared previously by the actions of the army in Peru and in Ethiopia. The Army Council, the soldiers and the masses reacted to this attempted coup, but the masses had already intervened previously to prevent it. This was the significance of the mobilisations against the bourgeois parties, against the Centre Democratic Party in Oporto for example, and against the threat of the NATO Fleet. The action of the magnificent Portuguese masses who celebrated the latest advance of the revolution with a 50,000 strong rally of the Communist Party at which the International was sung publicly for the first time in Portugal, confirms the fact that on a world scale the masses are in advance of their leaderships. It is a logical development of this process that the Soviets have now been granted port facilities in Portugal, which means an advance in the alliance with the Workers States and is — whatever the statements of the government — a blow against NATO.

It is, however, a major limitation that the Communist Party and Army leadership have not only banned some parties of the bourgeoisie from electoral activities — which is a correct position — but have also banned left wing parties, the Alliance of Workers and Farm Labourers (AOC) and the Movement for the Reorganisation of the Proletarian Party (MRPP). It is true that these parties are not always correct in their action, in their methods, and that their criticisms of the Communist Party tend to be destructive, but their actions in the last period were to impel measures — now adopted in part by the Army leadership — for the defence of the revolution. It is one thing to repress bourgeois parties which are, obviously, intent on defending capitalism, of putting their own class interests before those of the mass of the population and another to repress parties which, however badly, express the struggle and aspirations of the masses. It is no argument to

say that such parties are open to 'imperialist agent-provocateurs'; the fact is they are a reaction to the timidity and limitations of the leadership in the Workers Movement. What is necessary is an elevation of the policy, programme, objectives and internal political life of the Communist Party, primarily, and a complete transformation of the structure of the Socialist Party. If elections are to be held, then all the parties — but only the parties which defend the programme of the revolution — must be allowed to participate. At the same time, rather than banning parties of the left, it is necessary to construct in Portugal a United Front of the Communist Party, the AFM, the Trade Unions, on the basis of a programme for the construction of the Workers State which will incorporate all the anti-capitalist tendencies.

This debacle of the right, of the reaction in Portugal, gives an image of the world process. On a world scale, imperialism, like the reaction in Portugal, does not have the strength to turn back the course of history, but inevitably it has to try. Thus Yankee imperialism is going, in the end, to launch the war, but it can no longer decide how, when or where. It prepares for the war but time and again it draws back, finding a lack of cohesion in its own apparatus and a total lack of social support. The weakness, disorganisation and panic displayed by these reactionary sectors of the army in Portugal impelled by the big bourgeoisie in the attempted coup, stems in the main from a complete lack of confidence that they would receive any support from world capitalism. How could they have any confidence when they see, for example, that at the heart of world capitalism, the President of the United States and the Pentagon are unable to impose a policy of continued support for the reaction in Cambodia, and a large sector of the bourgeoisie represented by the Democrats are prepared to ditch Lon Nol altogether.

Undoubtedly those who attempted this putsch had the vain hope that they would find support in the army but, as the Yanks did in the 'Bay of Pigs' attack on the Cuban Workers State, all they found was the masses and the soldiers who broke them. However what weighed most with them in the decision to launch a putsch was the feeling that the elections would not serve them as well as they had hoped and, above all, that the Army Council had made it clear that they would not accept the result of an election which put the bourgeoisie back in government.

## THE BASIS FOR ANY ADVANCE IS THE MOBILISATION OF THE MASSES.

As part of the world process, the advance in Portugal, the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies — which means the control of a large sector of industry and of agriculture as well — under workers control is a heavy blow at world capitalism. It is workers control, since whatever forms may develop and whatever limitations there may be in the leaderships, the workers occupied and controlled the banks before the decree was made by the Army leadership. At the same time, committees of armed workers appeared immediately to face the attempted putsch, controlling traffic and arresting those implicated in the putsch. The Army did not act alone but on the basis of the mobilisations, occupations, pressures and demands of the masses and the proletariat and according to the objective necessity of the development of history which is the advance towards the Workers State. There is in this a very clear lesson

for the Labour and Trade Union left in this country, and that is that a PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS CAN ONLY BE IMPOSED BY WORKERS CONTROL AND THAT THE POINT OF SUPPORT FOR ANY ADVANCE IS ON THE BASIS OF THE MOBILISATION OF THE MASSES.

Clearly the measures already taken in Portugal, including the arrest of leading members of the bourgeoisie like the bank owners, has weakened the bourgeoisie considerably, taken away a large sector of their economic power and shaken the structure of the bourgeois state. It is a measure of the pessimism of the sectors of the Portuguese bourgeoisie — a pessimism well sustained by the world balance of social forces — that the Centre Social Democrat (CDS) leadership discusses the possibility of actually disbanding the party. But even in a weakened state, the bourgeoisie is going to launch other attempts against the masses. They are going

to try so long as the organisms of the bourgeois state continue to exist, and this includes the army as an organism, in its present form. The world balance of forces does not allow another Chile, but the MFA, the Communist Party and Trade Union leadership has to draw conclusions from the last days in Portugal and from the experience of Chile. It is necessary to destroy the organisms of the bourgeois state, the police, the judiciary, the bourgeois parliamentary forms and the army, and to replace them with the organisms of power of the masses. It is necessary to do from the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies to the expropriation of all industries, including the banks and industries owned by imperialism and, fundamentally, the land, with a programme of agrarian reform and collectivisation. In a country where 60% or so of the population is on the land, it is necessary to do this in order to construct the Workers State. This must be done on the basis of the workers control, factory committees, committees of the workers areas which take very swiftly a Soviet form. In other words, they must become organisms in which the masses discuss, decide and apply the decisions.

At the same time as the soldiers are incorporated into these organisms, workers militias have to be organised to replace the army. Appeals have to be made to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, for full technical, military and political support. Already the denunciation of Yankee imperialism for its complicity in the attempted coup on the one hand, and the granting of port facilities to the Soviets on the other, puts Portugal more firmly into the camp of the Workers States. It is a blow at NATO, the imperialist war alliance and the preparations for war of Yankee imperialism.

## THE PROCESS IN PORTUGAL HAS TO WEIGH IN THE LABOUR PARTY

Together with the support of the Workers State there is a necessity for the full support of the European workers movement. This means a campaign in this country by the Labour and Trade Union left, with factory meetings, meetings in the workers areas and the invitation to delegations of Portuguese workers to speak at these meetings. The example of the intervention in this country of workers from the Plessey factory of Portugal which discussed a common strategy against the bosses with British workers from the same company, has to be extended. Delegations of workers from this country should also go to Portugal rather than trade union leaders who go to give support to the apparatus of the Socialist Party and to people like Soarez. These actions have to be more than simply ones of solidarity, they have to link full support to the Portuguese masses with discussions on the alternative to the Common Market, which is a Socialist Europe. It has to be seen that if the Franco regime in Spain does not allow Spínola to stay, it is because they fear the reaction of the masses and this is an expression of the weakness of the regime. This in its turn means that the whole of European capitalism has received from Portugal a blow which can only accelerate the process of its disintegration.

The Labour and Trade Union left, the comrades of the Communist Party and the left groups have also to draw the conclusions which Portugal confirms, and that is that the process

## Agriculture, industry, (cont'd from page 1..)

other hand what is taking place is an economic struggle in the summits and they seek to exert a pressure in the top layers with the masses. It is a very indirect and distant means of pressure. They have to make a direct means not just of pressure but of executive action. This still indicates a very contradictory and empirical character, because they make declarations which are far superior to the proposals which they make. The declarations are often better than the proposals. The proposals are much more contained. This gives the same impression as the Extraordinary Congress of the French Communist Party when Marchais made a report which was published and afterwards another resolution came out. Although the latter did not transform the proposition of Marchais into its opposite, various parts were cut, which reduces the level, and damages it, and then it is only possible to go slowly; the resolution of Marchais was better. It was a programme which went directly against the capitalist system in which he poses the crisis of the capitalist system. They reduced this quite a lot.

All this process in Algeria will weigh on all these sectors. What it is necessary to expect is the reaction

of revolutionary tendencies in all these movements. We have to write for this. It is not the task of a small group which writes for one or another, or the task of a non-transcendent agitation which does not have a superior objective. In a case like this, in which there is a struggle in the leadership, it is necessary to write for this intervention. It is very important what is happening in Algeria, because it shows that they want to advance towards socialist measures as still there is the consciousness, leadership, or organs. But the so-called 'third world' weighs a great deal. There is a very great influence from all the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It is important because they accept the positions of Algeria, as a position independent from the Workers States, and Algeria has not taken a single measure against the Workers States, not one. This shows that Boumedienne has internal clashes which he does not see how to resolve, and which, compared with the same limited measures which he takes, shows that his desire to go to socialism is much more profound. Hence, it is necessary that our section writes and brings our publications, to influence in this sense the internal life of Algeria.

J. POSADAS 8th November 1974.

## EDITORIAL.. Cont'd

continued from page 3

**The Labour Party and trade union left must call for the masses to intervene directly to resolve the crisis of the capitalist system. There must be demonstrations and appeals for support of the Hospital workers, the Dustcart strike, against the use of troops, to elevate the discussion throughout the country, and stimulate vast changes in the Labour Party. The rebellion against Prentice amounts to an expulsion and he and his like must be thrown out! So long as the present left is confined to Parliamentarianism, it cannot fulfil**

**adequately its function of making the Workers State and the USSR, as a regime, weigh in Britain to mobilise against the property owners, to nationalise without compensation. The Labour left and the factories and trade unions must call for full support to the visit of Shelepin, for increased ties with the Soviet Union, and the extension of the programme of nationalisations to smash the bourgeoisie, and those who support them in the Labour Party. This can only be done, as in Portugal, on the basis of the mobilisation of the working class and masses, in their own independent mass committees. March 24, 1975**

towards power goes through the civil war and the result of that is the defeat of capitalism. The intervention of British imperialism in support of the reaction in Portugal has to be denounced, and it has to be shown that what has been suppressed in Portugal is not 'moderates' or 'democrats' but fascists, who were prepared to use force to stop the advance of the Portuguese masses. The lies of the bourgeoisie and sectors of the right of the Labour Party have to be countered. To call Spínola a 'moderate' is a lie; he was and is a fascist and those who support him, who are linked to this sector in this country, are prepared, at a certain stage, to attempt coups and armed repression against the British masses. Indeed, they are already doing so in Ireland. There has also to be an immediate denunciation of the trip to Portugal made by Callaghan who went there, not to support the masses, but to support those forces who sought — and are still seeking — to hold back the advance towards the Workers State. It has to be said that rubbish like this has nothing to do with Socialism and no place in the Labour Party.

The last days in Portugal have demonstrated once again the historic lesson that the progress of humanity, the advance towards Socialism is not determined by elections, or parliamentary decrees, but by the mobilisation and organisms of the proletariat and their allies. Portugal, Ethiopia, Peru and, in another sense, Chile,

are not unique and neither is this country. The process in this country is determined equally by the world process of the revolution, by the world balance of forces, and the programme of the Labour Party for nationalisations is only going to be imposed by the working class, by workers control. At the same time it has to be seen that it advances on this level can be made in countries as economically backward as Portugal and Ethiopia, how much faster can the process go in this country on the basis of a well-developed industry?

The process of the Portuguese revolution has put into question the role, policy and programme of the Socialist Party because it has to be demonstrated that there is no middle ground, no half-way house between capitalism and the Workers State. In the most direct way the links which the Labour Party have with the Portuguese Socialist Party are going to deepen the discussion, and the crisis in the Labour Party on the fundamental question of the advance to the Workers State and the construction of Socialism. The Labour and Trade Union left have to give support to those forces that are leading the struggle in Portugal, which means the Armed Forces Movement, the Trade Unions, the Communist Party and the left of the Socialist Party, and to allow them, their experiences and the intervention of the Portuguese masses to weigh in the discussion, in the struggle in the Labour Party for the organisation of the Left and the creation of a revolutionary leadership.

# The Closing Speech of the Fifth World Cadre School of the Posadist IV International

J. Posadas.

31. 12. 1974



Workers of the World, Unite!

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TUESDAY APRIL 15th, 1975.

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Printed by The Russell Press Ltd., Nottingham (TU)

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## CARRY THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET INTO THE FACTORIES ON THE BASIS OF THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The crisis over the Common Market is not simply a crisis of the Labour Party but an expression of the concentration of the total, world crisis of capitalism, in the Labour Party. The complete isolation of Wilson and the bourgeois right in defence of capitalism, the fact that Wilson can no longer rely on a majority even in the parliamentary Labour Party, confirms the fact that the apparatus of the Labour Party, which has been the last line of defence for British capitalism, is being lost to it. The Common Market issue focuses the crisis of capitalism because it is, in depth, a question of the very survival of the system and it has destroyed any possibility for Wilson and the right to manoeuvre, to try to support a programme for the reform of capitalism. They have had to stand openly with their allies in the Tory and Liberal Parties and vote on a position of defending the capitalist system. In this debate all the power of the world revolution, the world balance of social forces, the Workers States and the irreversible crisis of capitalism have weighed. The debacle of Wilson, his defeat and isolation in the Labour Party, the fact that he spoke in favour of the Common Market at the Scottish Labour Party conference, and then literally ran before the conference voted against the Common Market, mirrors the debacle the humiliation and defeat of Yankee imperialism at the hands of the masses of Indo-China. At the same time the fact that the crisis of world capitalism, of imperialism, is social - that it has no social support - is emphasised by the failure of the attempt of Yankee imperialism to appear before public opinion as humanitarian by 'rescuing' so-called orphans from Vietnam. The result of this cynical, hypocritical manoeuvre has been a chorus of criticism on a world scale. Assassins like Ford cannot, at this stage of history, hide behind babies and sectors of the European bourgeoisies - like Sweden and Britain - have been forced by the pressure of the masses, by the necessity to try to retain what little social support they have left, to repudiate the policy of Yankee imperialism and to send aid to the areas of Vietnam liberated by the army of the North Vietnamese Workers State and the armed masses of South Vietnam.

The smashing of Yankee imperialism and its allies in Vietnam would not have been possible without the struggle and the Communist dedication of the Vietnamese masses, but neither would it have been possible without the support of the Workers States, in particular, that of the Soviet Union. It is the advance of the Workers States, the change in the policy of the bureaucracy, the process of 'Partial Regeneration' which determines the course of the world revolution and it is this force which has intervened very directly in the crisis over the Common Market in the Labour Party. The visit of Shelepin - which we analyse in more depth elsewhere in this issue of Red Flag - and his discussions with trade union leaders brought with it the weight of the social and economic superiority of the Workers State. When he says that the problems of unemployment and inflation are solved in the Soviet Union, he is saying - in an indirect way - that the Workers State, the nationalised, planned economy is the road for the advance of the Labour Party in this country, and when he toasts the British proletariat he is pointing out to the trade union and Labour Party left what the forces for change are. At the same time even without expressing it in a programmatic form, his very presence emphasises the fact that Europe is already half in the system of the Workers States.

reaction of panic, the reaction of someone who feels that the alliance of capitalism is falling apart under the pressure of the struggle of the masses and the intervention of the Soviet Union. The majority in the Labour Party, which is against the Common Market, the debacle of imperialism in Indo-China and the Middle East, and the success of the admittedly limited policy of interpenetration followed by the Soviets, are the very real basis of the fears of Callaghan. After all, the attack on the Common Market by the majority of the Labour Party is also, in the final analysis, an attack on NATO, since one cannot be separated from the other. It is an expression of the crisis of capitalism that whilst Callaghan defends the Common Market he feels that he cannot trust the other European bourgeoisie not to give more concessions to the Soviet Union, in the Workers States in the coming European Security Conference.

The advances in the policy, the world policy of the Soviet Union, of the Workers States, is an expression at its centre, of the crisis of all the apparatuses of the workers movement. The most fundamental aspect of the present crisis in the Labour Party is that the domination of the Party by the Parliamentary leadership is being broken, and the Labour Party, as a Party, is being forced to mobilise its base outside the electoral, parliamentary arena. This means that the whole structuring of the Labour Party with the capitalist system is weaken-

ed. Already the actual organisation of the referendum is a blow at the authority of the bourgeois parliament. Even if the NEC of the Labour Party did not find the strength to make a formal decision to use the apparatus of the Labour Party in a campaign against the Common Market - and since the majority of them have a parliamentary, careerist interest -

this is not surprising - in practice the Labour Party is going to be used in this way. The statement of Benn that the campaign against the Common Market has to be carried to the factories, is a logical development from the situation in which Labour finds itself, now the campaign has been taken out of the Parliamentary arena. This proposal of Benn has to be

taken up by the Labour Party and trade union left, with meetings in the factories and workers areas, but on the basis of a programme. The working class by its nature and in its actions, demonstrates that it is not interested in 'national sovereignty', or 'parliamentary sovereignty', and the links of the proletariat with the proletariat of the world are already

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## Trade union freedom and the class struggle in Portugal

J. POSADAS.

23. 1. 1975

### INTRODUCTION

We publish this text of Cde Posadas on the Portuguese situation because although it was prompted by the question of the single trade union centre in Portugal, it poses the orientation for the process there which remains valid now.

The army is thinking of turning itself into a party - we are not against this, but it is necessary to have a full discussion of the programme in the army, with the latter subject to the democratic functioning

The army has also confirmed its political control in the country. This has arisen quite naturally because allowing the bourgeois parties to operate for elections - which are not at all necessary - has led to attempted coups from the right. Empirically the Movement of the Armed Forces has realised that such 'constitutionalism' is only of use to the right - why allow rights to the bourgeoisie who for fifty years imprisoned the Portuguese masses?

The united front of the trade unions and the Armed Forces is fundamental in Portugal. It is necessary to appeal at the same time to develop the organs of the working class in which the petit bourgeoisie can intervene, to develop the organs which exercise the function of control to cleanse the country, not accidental organs but those which have economic trade union and political base. There must be organs of leadership of the country. It is necessary to recognise the existence of such organs and to nationalise. It is the same for the Single Trade Union Centre, the leadership must not be allowed to dominate, but responsibility must lie with such popular organs. It is necessary to centralise the workers movement in a Single Trade Union Centre, but to decentralise its functioning. It is in this way that the Workers State also functions. This does not allow decisions to remain just within the hands of a few individuals, hindering in this way the working class from thinking and deciding. The apparatus lacks the principle qualities, which are will, decision and resolution. It does not have them, quite different from the masses; for this reason the members of the apparatuses are almost always in a state of depression.

It is necessary to discuss where Portugal is going. The elections which they are preparing are means, an excuse, for the right, which it is

necessary to condemn, and to do this by resorting to the organs in the countryside, in the towns, and in the factories. The Commissions of the Serjeants which have been formed, show a very great maturity. It is necessary to be based on them to intervene and to generalise these organs throughout the Armed Forces. The fundamental aspect remains the choice of programme.

Those who speak of 'trade union liberty' speak of liberty to do what they want and not of trade union liberty. The centralisation of the workers movement is one of the most powerful instruments against capitalism. A reformist centralisation of collaboration, of submission to the management's leaderships, serve nothing. Only centralisation on an anti-capitalist programme which impels the class struggle, is of use. It is necessary to see that the unification is founded on the basis of a programme of class struggle, of struggle against capitalism: for trade union democracy, for the right of all the workers to discuss and intervene.

This programme must impel the class struggle against big business, in order to improve the conditions of life, of work, to impel the economy on the basis of nationalisation, and to do this in conditions favourable to the development of the economy. It is necessary also that the peasants intervene.

It is necessary to show to the small peasants in the countryside the need for state credits. The trade unions must intervene on all these problems. It is necessary to discuss throughout the workers movement that the only form of development of Portugal is through the nationalisation of the key centres of production and exchange. It is necessary to aid the small and medium peasants to expropriate the big landed proprietors and to make them work in a collective fashion for the State. If afterwards there is no means for a great industrialisation and mechanisation, it is necessary to demand aid from the Workers States and to form Communes. It is necessary to carry forward this discussion in the factories, in the workers areas, the workers quarters, the houses, and also the parties: a united front of the parties and the trade unions to support this programme! This is trade union liberty! It is the liberty to struggle, to satisfy the need of the population on the basis of such a programme! The other liberty, which is what the reformists and the reaction want, is freedom for the division and fragmentation of the trade union movement. This is not liberty. To be cut into little pieces does not mean liberty. Liberty means struggle, and it is not to struggle for any idea dreamed up by anyone. Private ownership wants liberty to kill, but real liberty means organisation so as to be able to struggle for the interests of the population and for the development of the country. Liberty is subjected to that.

To speak of freedom is an abstraction. The Socialists speak of liberty, and unite themselves to the Episcopate which is a band of assassins. This is the freedom that they are demanding! They pose as a condition 'trade union liberty', but this liberty is for whom, and faced with what? It is not fascism which governs.

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in course of being organically constructed. This is shown in the meeting in the country between Portuguese and British workers in the Plessey company, by the Dunlop/Perelli strike, and by the decision of the TUC and the Soviet Trade Unions to organise exchanges of workers at all levels in the unions. Yes, there has to be a campaign in the factories and workers areas on a programme of nationalisation imposed by workers control - as the Portuguese bank workers did recently - of the planning of the economy, of direct links with the proletarian centres with the T.U.S and Workers parties including those of the Workers States in the Europe. All the conditions exist for the Trade Union and Labour Party left in this country, basing itself on the authority which the British proletariat has, to take the initiative to call a conference of the Trade Unions and Workers Parties in Europe to discuss a common anti-capitalist programme and strategy which has the perspective of the extension of the system of the Workers States, the creation of a United Socialist, Soviet States of Europe.

There has, in the last period, been a differentiation in the anti-market camp which has tended towards the isolation of those sectors who attack the EEC on simply a bourgeois economic basis as a means of containing the struggle. The idea that somehow Britain can be isolated from the total world crisis of capitalism - as Douglas Jay and Peter Shore argue - is so much nonsense. The problem is not with the 'nine', but with the whole capitalist system and it is not only - or primarily - an economic crisis. The left has to differentiate itself completely from the pro-capitalist elements in the anti-market camp - including the Tories and the National Front - on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme. This programme has to include not only out of the Market, but out of NATO as well. The EEC is the economic base for NATO, and NATO is part of the war alliance of the European bourgeoisie led by Yankee imperialism. It is already immensely weakened and the loss of the Azores base as a result

of the Portuguese revolution is another blow which weakens it still further. However, imperialism prepares for the war against the Workers States and civil war against the masses. The statement of General King, the head of the army of British imperialism in Northern Ireland, warning the Labour government against the release of prisoners from Long Kesh, is part of this preparation. The British army demonstrates that it defends class interests and it is willing to oppose Parliament when Parliament does not directly serve the interests of the bourgeois state - and under a Labour Government it doesn't. King is reacting to the fact that the policy of the Labour Government in Northern Ireland is weak and uncertain from the point of view of British imperialism. Capitalism is going to lose any war against the masses at this stage - Vietnam shows this - and the Workers States are prepared but its means of repression - the army - can and must be weakened beforehand. The demand for the end to NATO is part of this process.

Bourgeois commentators are now expressing the very real fear that the struggle in the Labour Party is beginning to overshadow the discussion of Britain's membership of the EEC. They have good reason to fear this because the proletariat has already decided on the question of the Common Market, it is against; and the resolution of the TGWU adopted by the Scottish Labour Party, expresses this well. This resolution takes a basic class position that the Common Market is anti-working class and simply a device to try to ensure the survival of the capitalist system. The working class - as a class - is going to vote 'No' in the referendum in order to aim a blow at capitalism and in order to finish with the right in the Labour Party. The referendum campaign has to be seen by the Labour Party left not as an end in itself, but as part of the process of the transformation of the Labour Party. This can't be done overnight, but a decisive step has already been taken, and that is the beginning of a functioning of the Labour Party as a party which mobi-

*With all our joy and enthusiasm we salute the anniversary of the Red Army's crushing victory over nazism, irrefutable proof of the superiority of the Workers State. It led immediately to the expansion of the number of Workers States in Eastern Europe and China. The victory over nazism a continuation of October 1917, laid the basis for the collapse of Stalinism and the partial and total regeneration of the Workers States.*

*The heroic action, the indestructable will, the total dedication of the Soviet masses, was the basis for the victory of Vietnam over Yankee imperialism, the basis for the present crushing of Thieu, the onward force of communism throughout the world.*

*Since 1945 the Workers States have gone from strength to strength. The expansion of the industrial base has permitted the formidable development of the armed forces of the Warsaw Pact in all sectors, land, naval and air; nationalised property has generated ever greater confidence and security in the Communist future of humanity. And what is the state of the imperialist armies, NATO, the Pentagon? It is one of decay, internal collapse, demoralisation.*

*An army of NATO, of fascist vintage, the Portuguese army, has in the majority gone over to the programme to eliminate capitalism. The Italian conscripts cannot be relied upon to function in a war when the base of the army consists of Communists and Socialists. The French army is continuously in crisis and upheaval from rebellions in the conscript base. The Dutch, German and Swedish armies acquire trade union rights, thus disintegrating the internal structure of authority essential for bourgeois armies. As for the Yankee army, it showed the degree of its demoralisation in the war in Vietnam - drugs and desertion. British imperialism is obliged to limit its military expenditures much to the horror of NATO and its army, to advertise itself openly as an army for internal repression. The overwhelming power of the superiority of the Workers States, weighs as a terrible burden on the spirit of capitalism. The latter has become a series of fears and tremblings. It trembles to launch the nuclear war but its organic necessity to resist as a form of property, leads inevitably to nuclear war.*

*Imperialism can launch the war at any moment but the Soviet Workers State is preparing in a way far superior to the time of*

*Stalin. His incompetence reflecting the primacy of the bureaucracy of that period allowed the surprise attack by the nazis. He had previously decapitated the leadership of the Red Army in trying to eliminate all those directly linked with the Red Army of the October Revolution.*

*In the second World War, Yankee and British imperialism wanted the nazis and the Soviets to bleed to death, so that they could re-establish their hegemony. The nazis concentrated all the force of the world counter revolution to throw humanity back into a military barbarism (the Chilean junta had similar objectives and is going towards a similar collapse). The nazis were the expression of the utter degeneration of capitalism, its total incapacity to solve humanity's problems. The 'democracies' collaborated with the nazis and with Stalin to destroy the Spanish revolution and then to prepare for a world war to settle accounts with Socialism. British and French imperialism showed all the inertia of a tired and satiated imperialism. Soon after the nazi attack, the French army and bourgeoisie collapsed. The British army collapsed in Greece and nearly lost North Africa. In front of the Japanese, they collapsed in Malaya.*

*The wars in the Middle East and France were puny compared with the massive battles on the Eastern front, Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk etc. Imperialism waited for the very last moment before attacking the nazis in Europe. The Soviet Workers State lost twentythree million dead, whilst the Churchill-Roosevelt clique hoped for the exhaustion of both sides. But the victory in 1945 announced not the exhaustion of the Soviet Union, but a new phase in the expansion of the world Socialist revolution.*

*In spite of initial reverses the Soviet masses realised their historic responsibility to save the gains of October 1917 and to save humanity from the savage carnage of the nazi counter revolution. The Soviet workers and peasants fought back with the most incredible courage, with a fury and a will to defend the Workers State, which completely surprised the nazis. All the population threw themselves into the struggle encouraging the peoples in all the occupied territories to resist and create chaos in the rear of the nazi army. It was a fight to the death, and world capitalism lost. This began the process whereby Workers State is preparing in a way far superior to the time of the balance of world forces began*

*to move against imperialism and capitalism. Yankee imperialism for a period could intervene in part to contain the process of revolutionary advance, but what has happened now in South Vietnam is the conclusion of Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk. The graves of the nazis were the graves of Yankee and world imperialism also. The scribblers of capitalism try to pretend otherwise, but the victory of the Red Army proved the total superiority of the system of nationalised property over capitalist social relations.*

*World imperialism is preparing for war. Its ineffectiveness in the Middle East or Vietnam does not alter the logic of the system of capitalist relations; it will not give up without war. This situation has to be met with historic decision. This is why on the basis of prior preparation, the launching of Socialist programmatic appeals, with social, technical and military aid to the world revolution, we appeal for the military intervention of the Workers States, the launching of the first strike, the preventive war in every respect. The nazis were allowed to strike first, there is no reason to allow Yankee imperialism the same privilege. The Workers States have all the advantages. Yankee imperialism is demoralised, its leadership in disarray, whereas the nazis had a certain centralisation, and confidence. The way is open for the total paralysis and pulverisation of world imperialism. The issues are political and social, but the form of the decision is military.*

*We salute with all our Communist love and revolutionary pride the magnificent struggles of the Soviet masses and the Red Army which liquidated nazism.*

*We express our joy in every Soviet tank, plane, missile, submarine, every military unit, every air squadron, every flotilla, preparing to confront imperialism and throttle the life out of private property. We salute the decision of the Red Army, armed with the latest and the best, superior to the armies of imperialism because its origins lie in the October Revolution, to confront and destroy imperialism in the fight that is coming.*

*We salute the Red Army in this period of the Partial Regeneration of the Workers States, with the re-animation of the traditions of Lenin and Trotsky, the first seven years of the Workers State.*

**VIVA THE RED ARMY, WEAPON FOR THE WORLD VICTORY OF COMMUNISM.**

(FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS): 10P  
"THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN, THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION."  
J. POSADAS 4/5/74

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# THE CLOSING SPEECH OF THE FIFTH WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

J. POSADAS. 31.12.74.

(SYNTHESIS ON THE PROCESS OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM, THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATES, PARTIAL REGENERATION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMUNIST RELATIONS OF HUMANITY).

Dear Comrades,

It is an indispensable historic necessity to prepare scientifically. Socialism is a scientific necessity of humanity, not a desire of humanity. The desire exists but it is secondary. Socialism is an objective necessity of history. If the economy continues in the hands of the capitalist system, the possibility of progress in science and human relations is destroyed. It perverts to the maximum level of criminal desperation all human relations.

The economy cannot continue in a brutal, blind and anarchist form. It has to be consciously controlled. The forces of science, the development of technology, the development of human capacity, to think, to reason, to put itself in agreement with itself, the structure reached by these essential factors — above all due to the existence of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia — creates the conditions for the world transformation, without great retreats in human life, without many dead, without many consequences. Imperialism will make the war, but as in the others, it will be vanguished. It is this objective necessity which determines the necessity of Socialism. The forces which represent this necessity are the working class, the Workers States, marxism, the Communist parties and in part the Socialist parties. The working class is a representative of this necessity of history; and this is through its function in society, in the economy. It represents the objective interests of the progress of history. Capitalism no. Capitalism has individual interests, it mobilises through the accumulation of capital a particular class interest; as a consequence it subjects progress to its own interests. The working class through its function in society and the economy determines its interests in accordance with the interests of society, because it is not a proprietor, nor can it become one.

This is the essential reason for the necessity of Socialism. It is a necessary conclusion to overcome the difficulties, the crisis, hunger, unemployment, war. It is an objective historic necessity which the working class represents. And our Cadre School is one of the essential aspects also of the necessity of history. Partial Regeneration is indispensable for the progress of history. It is not a question of hoping for it. It is an objective necessity of history, it has developed in the process of the development of the economy, of the policy, of the working class, of the petit bourgeoisie, of sectors of capitalism which are won intellectually. They do not abandon their bourgeois function, but they do not collaborate, they are not active intellectual participants in the defence of the capitalist system.

The capitalist system is disintegrating. Whether it's the Church, or the Army, or the forces of nationalism, or the bourgeois intellectuals, great sectors are won by the revolution. They find that to have a worthwhile function in life, they have to struggle for progress in general in society and the concrete progress of the economy, of society, for Socialism. But Socialism is not only the economy but superior human relations. This progress disintegrates all the organisms which capitalism has erected, part of them are won to the revolution, part of them are neutralised, part of them just abandon the system. Only when the means for historic transformations are developed could such a process take place, otherwise the existing regime has the means to stimulate, to develop and attract interests to support it.

When the regime doesn't have any more means to sustain, to attract or stimulate its defence, it is because it is senile. It is because already in the sources of nature, in the existence of thought, it is condemned, and it is useless. This School following the teachings of our masters, of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, of the Bolsheviks, prepares scientifically for the task of understanding and intervening.

We have prepared scientifically. The fundamental conclusion of the scientific preparation is that it allows the organisation of the capacity to foresee the possible course of history, to develop as a consequence the intelligence to organise the means. The preparation of the School, the development of the School, has as an objective and the next Schools will have as an objective: the scientific preparation of our cadres with the objective of understanding the nature, the basis, the development of this process. To be able to understand it, it is necessary to live it, to feel it and to participate in it.

To participate, it is necessary to feel fused to the objective progress of history, otherwise science is no use. Science is useful for the objective progress of humanity, when it is utilised by whoever participates actively in this progress; otherwise it is senile and doesn't allow the possibility of seeing, testing, deducing, comparing. Daily the process is extended, changes, modifies, concentrates, centralises, and it is necessary to foresee the course which it is going to follow, and be able to determine what policy, what tactic and what objective are needed.

The scientific preparation for the struggle for Socialism, the struggle for the Party, does not diminish in any way the world development of the class struggle. On the contrary it deepens its necessity. The struggle for Socialism is not the product of chance, of desire and will, or of incidents of history. It is the product of the necessity which is developed in economic relations. These affect the human mind and determine the conduct of humanity, and it allows learning, teaching and deducing. By foreseeing, we can determine what policy, what programme, what will be the course of the mobilisation of the class struggle of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Workers States, capitalism; what will be the possible course and in front of this, what policy to adopt, what programme, how to prepare to intervene, how to determine slogans and what

slogans should be the axis of the process.

The correct slogan is the axis of the process, otherwise it is of no use. The slogan doesn't arise from a deduction, or a desire of the Party, it must respond to a possibility and a capacity of foreseeing the process which is developing. The slogan as a consequence, determines the attitude to take. It is necessary to give in consequence, fundamental importance to the character of this Cadre School, as it is the preparation, the scientific foresight of the course of the process of Partial Regeneration. This is determined in its turn, if not absolutely, by the crisis of capitalism, the crisis in the bureaucracies of the Workers States and in the Communist parties; both: crisis of capitalism, crisis in the workers camp, feed this process of Partial Regeneration. At the same time as this dual crisis sustains it, it is the plane in which the process develops.

The crisis of the Communist parties is a crisis of growth and not a disintegration. It is a crisis in which policy is being rectified. It obeys an internal struggle, the pressure which is received from the masses, the crisis of capitalism, and the progress of the revolution. The crisis of capitalism is different, it is a crisis of destruction. There are all types of crises, when these occur at the same time, the crisis of capitalism and the crisis of the Workers State, it is through the absence of an essential factor, the factor of leadership.

If there had been a leadership, the crisis of capitalism would have meant the taking of power, not the crisis in the Communist Parties. When the crisis is produced in the Communist parties, it is a crisis of growth. One can see easily that the changes of policy in the Communist parties occur because their leaderships do not answer objectively, harmoniously, consistently, to the changes in history. Hence there is a crisis.

This meeting is to study this process and how to intervene to help the Communist parties. It is to help the comrades of the Communist Party, the leadership to understand, to elevate the scientific understanding, to animate them in the resolution to intervene in this process, to adopt the policy which is necessary, and in that the fundamental aspect is the unity of the world Communist movement.

Unity is not a device, it is a conception for an objective. Unity is to take power, to finish with capitalism. Unity in itself increases the forces of the world Communist movement. But if this does not lead to the anti-capitalist policy, the forces are reduced. It increases the internal power for economic relations, but also increases the forces of capitalism if it does not answer with a revolutionary policy.

We see and feel this progress, and we have dedicated this School of Cadres for the preparation of this process. It is necessary to see that this needs scientific study, scientific conclusions, scientific comparisons. Marxism is based on material, dialectical, rational thought, that the whole of history of human society is the history of human struggle. The history of nature is not the class struggle, it is a struggle without consciousness, it is a struggle of nature. There are elements which are not organised, that is to say organised in the way of nature. The class struggle can foresee and nature also.

Beauty is not a form. Beauty is a human relation. Everything is beautiful which impels relations worthy of humanity. Lenin and Marx are the most beautiful people in the world because the memory of them is of purity identified with the progress of humanity; historic objectivity dedicated to the progress of humanity. Is there anything more beautiful than this? The beautiful must be that which suggests ideas to human relations, it must suggest thought, deduction which determine the course, the way to think and to work. The thought of

Marx and Lenin suggested the most complete and beautiful thoughts, without any contradiction with human dignity and human fraternity. This is the most beautiful which can exist.

There are things which impress the sight and the feelings are excited because they are determined by capitalist relations. On the other hand the thought of Marx and Lenin do not excite, they organise the capacity of thought. The beauty which capitalist life organises excites sensations, and does not give ideas. At the maximum it gives ideas which appeal to individualist joy and satisfaction. On the other hand the ideas of Marx and Lenin and the Bolsheviks and those which we developed ourselves are ideas which are united to the progress of humanity.

Still we do not have the means to intervene in nature, leading it adequately in the need to develop the harmony of human society with it. But in society, yes.

At the same moment as the crisis of capitalism is produced, there is the crisis of growth of the Communist parties and there are changes. Small rectifications, light rectifications, but changes which are going to damage the bureaucratic structure of the bureaucratic power of the Workers States, and impel them as they are already, to rectify partially their policy by supporting the world anti-imperialist movement. When the world course elevates the Communist base to discuss all the problems to advance to power — and even parliamentarily and electorally, the Communists are going towards power — it means that they are answering a superior pressure of history.

The masses do not seek work, employment to live, but they seek to finish with human indignity, which means taking power. This is the plane, the place, the structure of history in which we live and during which we make this School of cadres. As a consequence, every comrade has to dedicate himself or herself to study. Undoubtedly, there is little time, I understand this. Time is not elastic, we make it elastic. But it is necessary to seek time to study, to read and to understand.

Although there is no time for study and to understand more profoundly, it is necessary to reach this understanding: one cannot intervene in the process of Partial Regeneration with a normal policy, of trade union demands, trade union conquests, or electoral demands. No, no. It is the most beautiful policy and also the most complicated, complicated if we do not dedicate ourselves; but if we do, it is simple.

This Cadre School being limited through time and the level which it must have, has posed the essential problems. It has elevated the concern of our cadres to feel that we do not come to organise ourselves so as to win a strike or a Communist militant. No, we want all the Communist militants to remain in their Party and help the Communist Party to take power. If the Communist parties take power we take it also.

We feel the joy more than the Communist leaders when the Communist Party takes power. The Communist leader still has the pride of the Party, the sense of possessing the Party. He translates into Party relations, the same organic relations which exist in the capitalist system. It is everything for 'me'. But the Party of Lenin, the International of Marx, and Marxism, were an objective property of history, and Communism is a public property of history, Communist Society as much as Communist Party.

The Communist Party has to preserve itself and struggle against the capitalist system, against the reorganised currents of reformism, of Communist compenetration. It needs then differentiation within the Party. It needs to organise specifically the Party for this objective. It has to do this, and we have to help the Communist Party with this. We identify ourselves with the Communist Party and the Communist objectives, but at the same time we feel the limitations of the Communist parties in carrying on this policy. They have a bureaucratic, parliamentary, careerist conception which now is elevated to the plane of anti-capitalist action, even electorally and on the Parliamentary plane, they are against the capitalist system. But this is not homogeneous, because the apparatus comes from the past, from a development or reactions and actions of reformism and alliances with the capitalist system, which is a consequence of the policy of Stalin.

There are slight changes, but not of structure, and it is necessary to make changes of structure. Our intervention with the Communist Party must not be done without developing and fortifying our organisational, theoretical cohesion; otherwise it

deals with the pressure of this task it yields consequently to careerism and the dawn of a new reformism, which can be the consequence of the delay in the revolutionary process. We are not 'helpers' of the Communist Party, we are Communists! We proclaim ourselves and we have proclaimed ourselves as representatives of Communist thought. We do not come from outside but from within the Communist movement. We arise from the Russian revolution, we are a wing of the world Communist movement, which in its epoch, separated itself through the consequence of the need for theoretical, political, programmatic and organisational discussion. The previous stage of history, right up to the second world war, and after the second world war, created the conditions for the weakening of the Soviet Union and of the Communist parties. This stimulated the development, evolution and growth of opportunist tendencies which led to the Garaudy's, the Ota Sik's, Dubcek's and Soljenitsyn's.

This stage which defines an epoch of humanity, is drawing to a close. The end of an epoch of human civilisation, the end of private property draws near. The Communist parties are not prepared for this. We see the French, Italian, Belgian Communist parties; they discuss internally on policy, tactics, and objectives. There are wings which seek to retain links with parts of the capitalist system, and others, the majority, the preponderant majority, who prepare the triumph of the Popular Unions with anti-capitalist programmes. We support this.

At the same time, the changes in the Workers States are not consistent, they are not based on a programme on consistent revolutionary objectives. As a consequence, one cannot expect a constant progress in elevation; an elevation so structured that it would generalise the progresses against the capitalist system. There is a progress, but there are internal struggles. The basis to be able to use the level of the progress of the internal struggles within the Workers States, and the Communist Parties to overthrow capitalism, is: what programme, what policy, what internal relations do they have.

It is not a question of simply proclaiming Soviet democracy; the masses of the USSR, as those of China also, part of the leadership of the Communist parties within and outside the Workers States, aspire to return to Soviet democracy. This return to Soviet democracy is determined not by a political aspiration on the part of the leadership and the militants, it is an inviolable necessity of economic, social, scientific development of the Workers State.

Capitalism moves on the basis of stimulus and interest from private competition. Capitalist competition in trade, in science, and in technology, determines the course of their progress. In the Workers States, in the Communist parties, the base of the development of the cadres and the sentiment of security is Soviet democracy, the capacity to discuss, everything, everything. We have nothing, we resolve everything and we conquer everything. This was the slogan of the Bolsheviks.

And this is the slogan of Communism. We discuss everything, and discussing, we resolve everything. The essential base of the triumph of the anti-capitalist struggle is the active intervention of the masses through the instrument. It gives a security to those who decide and impedes the organisation, the formation, the development or the reiteration of bureaucratic organs: whether in the Communist parties or in the Workers States, because the 'professional dangers of power', exist and will exist.

The professional dangers of power do not begin in the Workers States, they begin in the Party, where the leading structures feel themselves to be the proprietors, and translate into the functioning of the Party the same capitalist conceptions of power. The revolutionary Party cannot, must not, develop in the conception of power, but in the conception of the Soviet democracy, to unify the sentiments, the capacity, so that each one is responsible and participates in the decisions of the Party. Thus the organisation, the crystallisation and the development of bureaucratic tendencies is impeded. It is necessary to intervene on this and the School must discuss this.

Hence, it is necessary to prepare better than now, the preparation is not bad but it is insufficient. Constantly it is necessary to approach more aspects of the activity, it is not a linear process in which it is necessary to continue straight on. It is possible to do this, but it is insufficient.

Daily, new problems are incorporated, problems of the economy, science, technology, human relations, the child, women, sex, love. Problems of the incorporation into the world Communist movement of tendencies and movements and religious tendencies. Not one, two, five or ten, but complete tendencies, religious tendencies which are won by human dignity and find in Communism the struggle which they sought in religion. As they find it, they find it in Communism, and find also, as a consequence that there is no tradition, there is a leap, a void, between the objectives which they proposed before and the actions which they want to put forward now. This is the same with the soldiers, before the uniformed servants killed people, it was horrible and they received the hatred and repudiation of people.

On the other hand now they find that people value the uniform, they are no longer cut-off, because they have now acquired a new function. This is not the case for all the soldiers, undoubtedly. But yes, part of the armies of the world, Peru, Portugal, Ethiopia, Dahomey, Somalia, South Yemen etc., a very great number of armies! This School of cadres cannot deal with all the necessary points, it does not have the time, the means, nor does the situation allow it, but the International has made an enormous effort preparing itself scientifically to resolve the problems of this stage to advance in understanding and to intervene consciously in the process of advance of the revolution. Consciously means that we prepare to be an objective factor as the subject and object of history, not as propaganda and agitation. We propose to continue our intervention, to improve it, and elevate it, preparing scientifically.

We have been able to define and determine that the study of all the texts of then and now are necessary. The study of all our texts and those that have come out in the School, is to understand that in the world Communist movement the process of discussion, of objectives, of revolutionary conclusions is going to accentuate, but these discussions are not the same. They will not be simultaneous and similar, because it is an unequal and combined process. But in this unequal and combined process as in capitalism, it is the combined process that wins, and not the unequal.

It is necessary to make a plan of study for a better activity; the Communist leaders do not have a tradition of scientific discussion, of historic investigation. Historic investigation is one of the most beautiful activities of life; in Communism it will not exist, but here yes. To investigate history means to seek examples which

allow us to understand that what we are doing today has roots in history, including the epoch of the Greeks.

This process is not unknown to us, we have to investigate without being delayed. Investigation does not mean being detained in history, it means to seek roots, points of support, antecedents in human history to show the historic roots of our activity. There are the problems of women, the child, of the class, of the strength of the working class which attracts the petit bourgeoisie, of the influence on the revolution; these are decisive facts, unequalled and incontestable. Ethiopia shows that this has matured a number of armies in the world to be won to the revolution. The impulse which comes from the proletariat is missing. This has to come from the Workers States; Ethiopia shows it. There are a number of armies ready to be won, not all the armies, but a number of them. Also complete sectors of the Church can come over to the side of Marxism.

**As the Communist Parties do not have a consistent revolutionary line or anti-capitalist positions — when they have to they are anti-capitalist although parliamentarians — they allow freedom to the trade union leaders. Now, the process is mature, so that the trade unions elevate their functioning, and influence the Communist parties. They influence as in Italy, where the Factory Councils have imposed on Fiat an agreement which overthrows the secrets of private property, the private exercise of private property. Without having a transcendental importance, it opens the gates for the unions to develop the function of control and co-directors of the capitalist enterprise. In this there is a risk that if they do not take power, that capitalism can associate a part of the trade union bureaucracy with the administration of the factory, and then a new form of trade union reformism will advance. This can exist, but it will have a short perspective. It will be like a bird with the wings cut off and a tremendous wind. It does not have the possibilities for any perspective of advance.**

**These are efforts of the bourgeoisie which must yield to accommodate itself to revolutionary progress. They yield, seeking the weakest side, and in this, the division of the separate functions of trade union/Party. This is true. The function of the trade union is separate from that of the Party; we are in agreement, but it is not against. It has a different function, in the performance of of functions, it is different, but the historic objective is the same. If the trade union just aspires to better wages, it dies, because capitalism, as in Fiat, yields. The other capitalists, the capitalist states, the totality of capitalism, increase the cost of living on every side. This is to say, it is the system which is responsible for the consequences of crisis, unemployment, the rising cost of living.**

**The Party must determine what line does the trade union put forward. To proclaim it and say, the working class is in agreement. The workers made the whistlings in Bologna, 'behind each whistle there was a bullet waiting', as the workers have a very conscious opinion and criterion they kept the bullets and continued with the whistlings. As they still do not have the need to use the bullets, the whistling was sufficient to impose the agreement on Fiat. And the whistling is powerful, otherwise it would not have led to the triumph in Fiat.**

The workers congregated in Bologna, they came from every part of Italy, they were not called any leadership previously, they were distinct tendencies, from distinct regions from Italy; they assembled in a meeting and unanimously, without a visible leadership, but not afraid being concentrated through the unanimous will to overthrow capitalism, they whistled. It was the most complete symphony of whistles. From the depths of the tomb, Beethoven got up and said: 'The Tenth Symphony'. This will of the masses in Italy, it is not an accidental fact, determined by the local conditions of Italy. There exist local conditions in Italy, but in what country does there not exist the local conditions to produce the same as Bologna? The whole world exists in this.

It is necessary to consider that one cannot expect an uninterrupted process of advance in Partial Regeneration. It is necessary to intervene. Our function is indispensable. Our intervention means to learn from this cadre School, to study, to have the scientific preparation, to impel this progress of the Partial Regeneration and the Historic Re-encounter. At the same time, it means the

Sectors of the Church find that there is no contradiction between Marxism and the objectives of the Church. If they come, we say to them 'Come, we are together'. The force which wins is the historic objectivity of the proletariat which shows that it was not a struggle for itself, but struggles representing the necessity for the progress of humanity. The Communists do not base themselves on this. Hence, the proletariat weighs very little on the Communist parties, very little. In some parties, the weight of the proletariat is almost non-existent. For this reason the trade union leaderships exist independently of the parties. This is absurd. The trade union leadership must obey and push forward the line which the objectives of the Party determine. When they coincide, negotiate, make mutual agreements and concessions; it is because the objectives of the Party are not consciously revolutionary. Its programme is not consciously revolutionary, the trade unions have to obey the Party.

preoccupation, the dedication and the will of our comrades throughout the world to intervene in this process.

We have to communicate our sentiment of joy, to all the Members of the Communist parties, to all the militant Communist cadres, that the Posadists have met in a School of cadres — or part of the cadres — for the task of impelling the Communist Party into power. This is the complete absence of egoism of the Party, of conservative interest. It is the most elevated expression of human sentiments of fraternity, of objectivity in history, of being the public property of history. We are not idealists, we are dialectical materialists. Materialist dialectics is that which has the most complete notion of human life and struggles for the progress of humanity. We do not struggle in an abstract form; we understand that the struggle demands the scientific preparation. What before was called abnegation, must now be changed, and substituted with conscious dedication, which is a dynamic force.

We have everything in front of us, all the world is one. All the world wants Communists. Hence the leftists have failed in their attacks

on the Communist Party, hoping that the Communist Party would dissolve.

We are against. There are aspects and activities of the 'Leftists' which are right, which try to stimulate Communist activity, but they have neither programme nor objective and they end in criticisms of the Communist Party which do harm. We appeal to the Communist Party, to the cadres, to the members of the Communist Party, to extend the internal life, the internal dialectical life, to discuss the texts of Lenin, to discuss that it is necessary to have cells, cells with an internal democratic functioning. It is necessary to discuss all the problems, among them why did the soldiers take the power. To overthrow capitalism, it is necessary to destroy the capitalist apparatus, yes or no? We say yes, as Lenin did. This was proved in the revolution. To overthrow capitalism and destroy the apparatus of the state, is it necessary to create new organs, yes or no? Will capitalism assist its own removal and go with some valuables somewhere else? Capitalism is going to defend itself! If it was just a question of valuables, we would take them on one side and close all the ports. It is not a question of this, it is a fact that capitalism is going to defend itself.

**All this has to be discussed, and in this why are China and the USSR divided? Why is there no centralisation and unification of all the Workers States. It is necessary to appeal for a world discussion in the trade union movement, the world workers movement, to unify China and the USSR.**

The division comes from the leadership and in particular the one most responsible is the Chinese Leadership. It is necessary to act in such a way that they live in a Soviet form, and this is going to be a pole of attraction, of education of the Chinese and North American masses. We cannot define the stage, but it is short. Capitalism prepares in every way the war, it cannot decide when, who or where, it seeks points of support but it prepares the war.

The Communist parties do not prepare for this, it is necessary to take the power without expecting parliamentary conclusions, to win the support of the majority of the worker and petit bourgeoisie camp, but it is necessary to realise that capitalism is going to reply with civil war. If they cannot launch it in one particular place, they will launch it in the rest of the world. All this has to be discussed in the Communist Party.

It is necessary to discuss why Ota Sik existed, why the crisis in Yugoslavia which reached the point of paralysing the economy and introducing imperialism within. The force that stopped all this was the working class. It is necessary to discuss that the working class, through its function in history, is objective and anti-capitalist. It is necessary to make the working class participate in the organs of the party, not one worker, the working class, because it is possible to bureaucratise, administer and neutralise the one worker. The working class in the trade unions, and in the Party, must discuss everything. The workers must lead, not one worker. The working class discusses from the point of view of past experiences and this should go directly from the factory into the Party.

It is necessary to discuss all these problems to impel this crisis of growth of the Communist Party. It is necessary to help them to take power to help our integration in the world

The recent visit of Shelepin and the Soviet trade union delegation has been the pretext for an anti-Soviet campaign without precedent, an anti-KGB, anti-Soviet fury, on the part of the bourgeoisie. All sorts of slanders were thrown at the Workers State, from the 'lack of freedom and the 'crimes' of the KGB', to the 'lack of free trade unions in the USSR, etc. All this was intended to provoke demonstrations to repel Shelepin. However, it failed miserably, for only a few Ukrainians and Polish emigres who had been bribed and recruited from Scotland and Wales, turned up to never total more than 300! The bourgeois hysteria has been purely and simply a reaction of fear and panic. None of them mobilised any one, and no Conservative found the strength to demonstrate against the visit. Capitalism tried to intimidate the TUC and Labour Party with this campaign, but neither one or the other finally were influenced by it, but showed every sign of being influenced by the confidence of Shelepin and of the delegation. The bourgeoisie feels that it has no social support to cope with this situation of increase in all the conditions to advance in Britain towards the nationalised and planned economy. It sees the debacle of Yankee imperialism, the advances of Communism in Portugal, the hopelessness of NATO. It feels and reacts like a wounded animal for there is nothing it can do to stop this process.

This visit was an intervention by the Workers State to the British proletariat. Shelepin saluted the British working class, went to factories, to Scotland, and arranged for a continuous exchange of British and Soviet trade union delegations to take place in future. This visit on the part of a member of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party, had a class content. It was political. It means that the USSR is no longer prepared to make agreements with the capitalist system — like the trade agreements — and to get nothing in exchange for it. It is interested in obtaining in return stronger links with the British proletariat. In this stage this has revolutionary implications, even if the intention of the Workers State's leadership is still not a revolutionary one. The Labour left should have intervened and welcomed this delegation, which is from a State where the programme of the Labour Party has been applied. The Labour Party comrades have to involve themselves with passion in this discussion for it is an event which concerns them very intimately: what is at stake is the means by which the British working class is going to make a functioning and a structure in the Labour Party by which to construct the Workers State in Britain. In every way again, it is demonstrated that the working class is using its trade unions to intervene to impel the Labour Party. Once again, it is the trade unions that have responded to the passionate desire of the working class to link with the Workers State and the programme of the nationalised and planned economy. The Labour Party left must discuss and draw the conclusion that it is through the trade unions that the working class weighs in the Labour Party and that therefore the Labour left must support itself on the trade unions, and involve itself in all the discussions of the trade unions. The Labour left has to come back on the slanders made of the Workers States by the bourgeoisie, through the anti-KGB campaign. It has to discuss as J. Jones did, the second world war and the defeated fascism. It has to discuss as C. Jenkins did, the role of the trade unions in the USSR, which are engaged in the construction of Socialism. It is not enough to leave the slanders of the bourgeoisie unanswered. The working class wants a leadership that gives answers. This is an inevitable, unavoidable necessity. All the

struggles in this present stage are for the construction of this leadership and this visit is part of the means the working class has to construct on the basis of the Workers State which is, as comrade Posadas has said, 'The material expression of marxism'.

The Soviet Union has intervened by sending Shelepin, who showed an enormous confidence. Feeling the support it has in the British proletariat, the USSR did not hesitate to send a member of the Central Committee of the Political Bureau. The discussions with trade union leaders were on major issues: on Chile against the junta, on the Middle East against imperialism, on the second world war and the triumph of the Workers States over fascism, on the superiority of the Workers State. It is not a small tribute to the intervention of Shelepin that Murray and Jones described it as 'historic'. They did not have to say that. If they did, it is because in every way they have been impressed by the visit. The declarations of the timid Murray after the visit were stronger, with more force and spite against the bourgeoisie. This is an image of the way the Soviet Union intervenes giving confidence, an impression of superiority and strength which is communicated to the British trade unions, over and above the interests of just the Soviet bureaucracy, impelling the British trade unions forward irresistibly. When Shelepin said: 'In the USSR, we have finished with inflation and unemployment', this is clearly to show the superiority of the Workers State. When he made a toast to 'Her Majesty the working class', it is both a blow at the backward and ridiculous system of the monarchy, and an emphasis on the role of the British proletariat. This does not belong to the realm of previous contacts between the capitalist system and the Workers States: it is no longer the policy of pure conciliation, but the policy of 'interpenetration', as comrade Posadas has characterised it, showing that the Workers State's leadership no longer just submits but is following a policy which tends to be against the capitalist system and imperialism, and to support the proletariat; and this is more and more marked. The discussion on the second world war was very important, for it stresses inevitably that it was not the capitalist system that smashed fascism (the capitalist system generates it), but it was the USSR in Kirsik, Stalingrad, and Moscow. Millions died, but the world changed course. The fact that this discussion was raised is very important for it shows the preoccupation of the Workers State to come back on these experiences; if it was irrelevant today it would not be raised.

The fact that this is raised in such a visit, has the implication that today, again, we are indeed in the situation when war was coming against the USSR and the Workers States and that this time the USSR thinks in terms of not repeating the crime of Stalin who allowed the Workers State to be surprised. Another interesting event was when Shelepin said that if anyone in the Soviet leadership considered war, 'he would be thrown out'. The fact that the question of war was raised in the context of today and of this visit, again raises the question of the significance of the visit. The appearance of a Soviet destroyer and three Soviet submarines in the North Sea near an oil rig by the Scottish shores, when the visit was over, is part of this. Indeed, it represents a warning to the British and European bourgeoisie that war is in the mind of the Soviet leaders. This confirms that that this visit is part of the overall strategy of the Workers State to link itself with the world proletariat in view of the bellicose plans of imperialism, and its preparations to attack the Workers States. This is what comes out of this visit, however limited by the fact that it came from a sector of the Soviet bureaucracy, and

did not direct itself completely directly to the working class. However, the superiority of the Workers State, its policy tending to be on the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist line, all this came to light in spite of the

**FOR A PERMANENT FUNCTIONING OF THE BRITISH AND SOVIET TRADE UNIONS**

This visit is a blow at capitalism in every way. In this stage of Communist advance everywhere in the world, of the total crisis of the capitalist system, of the adoption by the Labour Party of an anti-capitalist programme of nationalisations, the USSR intervenes to support the British trade unions in their anti-capitalist determination and programme. This is going to be a profound stimulus to the intervention of the working class in Britain to confront the civil war which the bourgeoisie is preparing against it. In this stage of the crisis of transformation of the Labour Party, the role of the trade unions is fundamental, and once again it is the trade unions which show themselves most sensitive to the pressure of the class; not the Labour 'left' which reacted weakly to the visit, but the trade unions. This is again a confirmation of the fact that the working class uses its trade unions to change the Labour Party, impels the Labour Party towards closer relationship with the Workers State, and stimulates in it marxist tendencies and rejection of the bourgeois leadership.

We call on the trade union leaders who welcomed Shelepin to extend the discussion and the conclusions on the visit of Shelepin in the factories and all branches, in texts and publications, so as to influence consciously the Labour Party: We call on the left sectors of the trade unions, trade union leaders, trade union middle-cadres, Shop Stewards, Shop Stewards Committees and the workers in the factories, to organise the left in the trade unions and the Labour Party on the basis of the programme for full support to the Workers State, for the unconditional defence of the Workers State in the war which is coming, for a Single Trade Union Centre for

bureaucratic limitations. The Workers State is preparing for the war, and is giving the working class a support to proceed on the road of the nationalised and planned economy in Britain. This is very central in this stage.

Europe and the world, and a permanent continuous functioning with the Soviet trade unions; the permanent functioning with the Soviet trade unions will be a source of stimulus to help transform the Labour Party and construct it on the basis of a marxist leadership.

The Labour Parliamentary left has shown its timidity and indeed fear, in front of this visit. The orientation of the visit was not towards the respectable organisms of the bourgeoisie and its monarchy or parliament. It was towards 'Her Majesty the British working class'. The absence of reaction from the actual parliamentary left shows that the visit had the sense of stimulating sectors which do not invest their faith in the parliamentary system of bourgeois 'democracy'. The sectors of the Labour left which are more linked to the trade unions, have to base themselves firmly on the trade unions. They have to organise themselves into left currents, not in the belief that one can still legislate for the working class, but by basing themselves on the mobilisation and the programme of nationalisations of the working class, so as to completely transform the political life in the Labour Party. They must reject the anti-KGB campaign of the bourgeoisie, denounce instead the continuous murderous activities of the CIA and their like, and make comparisons. They must discuss the question of 'freedom of the trade unions in the USSR', which are not free because the 'state controls them'. The thing is that the most virulent exponents of this line are the Conservatives who themselves have struggled all along history against trade unions and trade unionists, and now do their best (which is little), to make the Labour government control the trade unions by law! What

hypocrisy! It is not permitted to leave such discussions aside, as if there was nothing to say. The Labour left has to discuss the necessity of the independence of the trade unions in the Workers States, the need to link themselves with the Soviet trade unions, so as to allow them to advance further the political revolution in the USSR, which is part of the anti-capitalist struggle, to finish with the conceptions of private property. The Labour left must discuss the second world war, when the USSR defeated fascism. It must reject the bourgeois pretence that it was 'all the allies' which finished with fascism. Everywhere it could, the bourgeoisie collaborated with fascism in order to smash Communism. In China, in France, in Italy, in Germany, and by letting the USSR fight alone. The Labour comrades have to discuss this in the context of the present world situation, make texts on this, for it is only in this way that the Labour Party can successfully lead the struggle for radical transformations, the nationalisations of the economy and the construction of the nationalised planned economy — the Workers State — in Britain. We cannot remain in a situation in which no one in the Labour Party has anything to say about the fact that the bourgeoisie generated and would generate again, fascism if it could, and that now it is preparing war, and civil war. This is too close to the most intimate interests of the Labour and working class vanguard to remain undiscussed. When the working class invites Shelepin over through its trade unions, it is a conscious effort to use the trade unions to provoke changes in the Party.

This visit has been a success, over and above all bureaucratic limitations, because it has provoked a discussion on the most fundamental topics for the construction of the Workers State: the nature of the Workers State, the role of the trade unions in constructing the Workers State, the aggressive nature of world imperialism and the utter feebleness of the bourgeoisie, the authority of the USSR in Britain. This discussion must continue everywhere in the labour movement.

**THE FUNCTION AND THE SENTIMENT OF PROPERTY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS OF HISTORY FOR THE ABOLITION OF EVERY FORM OF PROPERTY**

J. POSADAS

1ST. JAN. 1975

The system of private property developed humanity in the confidence, in the inclination, in the organisation of the mind to take hold of property as a means of securing a stability in life, and for it to possess and accumulate. The development of humanity is based on possession, and accumulation, which is a form of possession.

This has developed the ambition to possess, in all the stages of private property. The confidence of the human being has developed in a system of power, of money, of domination of women. As for the development of the economy, there was the need to make a state, this affirmed these conclusions. Capitalism affirmed the conclusions of power, and in the human mind, there is this conclusion. It is necessary to demonstrate with practice that it can be eliminated: which is with the Workers State. But the Workers State does not eliminate years and years of intervention of a conduct and submission to power as a means of living and of accumulating. To accumulate is to have power to conquer the other, to conquer in front of

a world in which production is insufficient. This develops the basis for power.

In the Party, people come with this habit, and with this way of thinking. The sub-conscious and the unconscious have been formed on the basis of this development of humanity. The desire for power is inherent in human beings in this stage of history.

With philosophical thought, particularly from Marx, the confidence and the objective knowledge of society develops showing how socialism is a necessity of history. Human aspiration does not yield to this, because the structure of the economy, the regime of property leads to the capitalist system, to be able to exist and to develop the economy. In developing the economy it overcomes the capacity itself of a system of leadership and makes capitalism unnecessary. It creates the conditions for a new form of society, and the conditions are created to eliminate every form of accumulation. But meanwhile, there are these conditions, customs and tendencies, and a period is required to be able

to eliminate them. Particularly after Stalin who affirmed 'the professional dangers of power.'

With the development of production and the conduct of people, the sources of the origin of power are eliminated. When the generals who have power now go to the masses to support them, it is because the human mind has developed itself. It is for this reason that humanity is ready for Communism and for this reason humanity seeks to put itself in agreement with itself. Hence 'the professional dangers of power' exist and will exist; but to the extent that the revolution advances the strength, the pressure, the historic conditions which allow them to develop, diminish and the function of thinking of humanity is elevated.

To think is the most beautiful thing which exists in life. The forms of thinking can change, but thought, no. The means of communication can change but not thought. The word is for now, the most direct means of communication, and for many years it will be like this. But it is not always going to be like this,

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## THE CLOSING SPEECH...

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Communist movement as a Posadist wing-to contribute to the development of the world struggle for Socialism. This cadres School was organised for this.

We salute the comrades from all the sections. We salute the comrades whom we have invited to this meeting.

We must render homage to Comrade Federico. He is an example of the construction of Communism. He died conscious of the fact that he was dying, and he ended dying as if he was a cell. He finished by militating, he died by militating, this is the preoccupation of the Communist militant. He is not an exception; Federico was an example and thousands of thousands of Communists do the same thing. The Soviet masses gave the example of dignity, fraternity, Communist human relations on the highest plane. They defended Stalingrad and Moscow; they fulfilled their task of representing the struggle for progress and historic dignity and Federico did the same. It is an example for us, there are the cadres which the International constructs.

We dedicate this memory to Comrade Federico and we feel the joy of seeing that he died as a noble combatant for Communism, as a Posadist who dedicated his energies, preoccupations and thoughts to leave behind his experiences in the service of the Party. In the same way Trotsky, when he was assassinated and dying, his last words were: 'I believe in the triumph of the IV International. Forward'. There was not one word of vengeance, hatred, or contempt; there was no personal preoccupation. And neither was there in Federico. He had the objective preoccupation for the Party. In the Communist movement, there are millions who do this. It is necessary to feel that we record comrade Federico, as an example of the dignity which develops and organises our International.

We salute the efforts of all the sections, the comrades of different languages, who have made a very great effort to attend this meeting. We salute also the comrades of Latin America for the efforts which they have made for this meeting. We embrace them with all our Communist affection and we determine our conclusions and our conduct with the necessity that one has to study, apply and develop everything which this School has developed upon.

We salute the contribution which they have made, which is of very great importance for the activity of the International. It is for the activity of the development of the struggle for Communism. It is the activity to struggle for human dignity, to liberate humanity from every oppression.

I propose that we sing the International (The International is sung). VIVA THE WORLD TRIUMPH OF COMMUNISM! VIVA THE UNBREAKABLE UNITY OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES, OF CHINA, OF THE USSR! VIVA THE INCORPORATION OF POSADISM INTO THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AS THE CONSCIOUS WING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENT!

J. POSADAS 31st December 1974.

VIVA THE IV INTERNATIONAL!  
VIVA THE CADRE SCHOOL OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!  
VIVA COMRADE FEDERICO!  
VIVA THE COMMUNIST MASSES,  
VIVA THE SINO-SOVIET UNITY!  
VIVA THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT,  
VIVA THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

1. This refers to the demonstration in Bologna after the provocation on the Italicus train in August 1974, in which the fascists were involved. In relation to this, there is an article of comrade Posadas contained in the Red Flag, Number 230: 'The crisis of capitalism in Italy and the necessity for the government of the Left'.

J. POSADAS 31st December 1974.

## THE FUNCTION AND THE SENTIMENT OF PROPERTY...

above all when humanity liberates itself from every subjection of power because this will liberate unorganised forces.

There is a quantity of forces that exist which are not organised. Today, the mind is organised on the basis of conscious, sub-conscious and unconscious. When private property is eliminated and humanity passes into a period in which its security will be firm, everything is going to change: the structuring of the mind; and in the mind a new form of structured thought will arise, which will change the form of thinking.

The 'professional dangers of power' are a consequence of the organisation of history, of the relation of the economy with nature.

Consciousness, thought is a consequence of the life of private property.

The order and the form of thinking are determined by this. Marxism is the method to think, to reason and to conclude, it is not an order of thought. The most important aspect in every discussion is to learn the marxist method, to discuss as an instrument, not in a private struggle but as an instrument. History is measured by means of the instrument which has the capacity to foresee. The most beautiful and attractive capacity of thought is the capacity to foresee. To foresee means to draw the conclusions, to deduce and to organise the way to think, and to prepare the understanding so that what is coming is already structured in the mind. We foresee the tendency of the economy, of society, of the thought of people and this leads to the organisation of action. This is marxism.

J. Posadas 4th January 1975

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lises, which acts outside parliamentary and electoral interests. This process has to be continued on the basis of the programme of nationalisations of the Labour Party, on housing, on all the problems created by capitalism, and on the basis of the creation of the organisms of the class to impose this programme - the

factory committees, the committees of the workers areas.

The conference of the NUS which passed resolutions on nationalisations and against the Common Market, for the expropriation of land and property to solve the housing shortage shows - given that the majority of students are from the petit bourgeoisie or even the

## Trade union freedom and the class struggle in Portugal...

continued from page 1

It is necessary to pose the Single Trade Union Centre with the programme. We invite the Socialists to discuss the revolutionary programme, that is the functioning of revolutionary democracy for everyone: the right of tendency of minorities to be able to express thought. But also a revolutionary programme of expropriations without compensation, of planning of production, on the basis of the participation of the masses, in control of the leadership of the economy and equally of planning. This is trade union liberty.

They make believe that the Communists are opposed to trade union liberty, that they wish to monopolise. It is necessary to discuss what value trade union liberty has. In defence of whom? To confront capitalism or to collaborate with it? The MFA has taken a good position in this discussion; they are against capitalism.

On the problem of the obligatory trade union contribution which is posed, it is necessary to launch a plea to develop a revolutionary programme in the trade union. Thus each worker is going to feel that he participates, that he is called upon to intervene, to give opinions and judgements. It is necessary to develop a functioning in assemblies, with the right to speak, the right of tendency, to express thought, to make known the opinion of each tendency, with publications and broadcasts on the radio. It is in this way that one secures the intervention of the working class in the trade unions. We are against the payment of trade union dues in an imposed way. But we are for an appeal that everyone joins the union, that trade union contributions and membership are controlled, that the leaders have no more than the worker, that they do not have extra privileges, that they don't live in hotels, or utilise private cars. They can have a car for the needs of the trade union, but the car must always be at the service of the union. There should be a strict control over trade union funds, and the principal of immediate recall of delegates should be established.

It is necessary to oppose the right participating in the elections. It is necessary to pose that liberty is not for the assassins whom it is necessary to liquidate. It is necessary to propose that a united front should be presented in the elections on a programme of nationalisations, the elimination of the debts of the poor peasants, the collectivisation of the big financial houses, the planning of production to increase the level of consumption of the population and to lower prices. It is necessary to appeal for the establishment of an alliance with the Workers States, with the Spanish proletariat, to make a discussion to show that the economy cannot elevate itself, or develop, if it is not nationalised. Otherwise this is simply to change the name and to maintain the same centres which engendered fascism, that are big business, high finance, the big traders and big import/export concerns, the great landed proprietors. Those who originated fascism still live, that is the big proprietors. It is necessary to liquidate them, and for that, to deprive them of economic power. This is what is meant by trade union freedom.

bourgeoisie - that all these layers of the non-proletarian population are being won to the anti-capitalist, to the revolutionary struggle. It is the same with the demonstrations of the trawlermen and the farmers. They see no perspective for the future of capitalism. The nature, the consciousness, and actions of the workers - like those of the Glasgow dustcart

We believe in adjourning the elections. It is necessary to pose to push forward a discussion on nationalisations, planning of production, workers councils and support for the peasant movement, and if there are elections, it is not necessary for the right to intervene. It is not a question of democratic rights in the abstract. The big bourgeoisie were the origins of fascism and maintained it for 50 years. To let it intervene now is to allow it to return to the previous situation. It is necessary to pose that to allow the big bourgeoisie to intervene in the elections is a parody of democracy. We are against it. The programme of the liberation movements of Mozambique and Guinea Bissau is against the big bourgeoisie. It is necessary to show that to allow the right to intervene is not the road of democracy which doesn't mean that everyone has the right to speak and write. Before, the right hindered this, and to allow it now, would be a parody of democracy.

The Communists accept democratic liberty, the democratic game with the bourgeoisie but not with the workers movement. It is necessary to pose that if they allow the bourgeoisie to appear electorally, we are against. They must give the right to all the workers tendencies to present themselves and to facilitate their intervention, the right for all, including leftists. It is necessary to resolve problems by discussions, by positions, by analysis, by making the intervention of the workers movement mature of the workers vanguard and the petit bourgeoisie mature

The right seeks to make an alliance, seeks a point of support around the Socialists to serve as an example for other countries. Economically Portugal has little importance but this is not the case politically. It is for that reason that capitalism is so preoccupied, the capitalist press analyses and sees that the army has escaped it. The present polemic between the Socialists and the Communists involves aspects which are a lot more profound and decisive than those that appear. A general and precise orientation is being discussed: where is Portugal going? What is the programme? Is it a question of the reforms of capitalism or of the transformation of Portugal? This is what is in discussion and the same discussion is taking place in the workers movement. It is necessary to show that the reformist road has been no use. Capitalism doesn't give a damn for reform. With the existence of capitalism, Portugal cannot progress economically or socially. It is necessary to plan production, the most important sources of production, and also develop democracy in such a way that all the population intervenes.

All the population must intervene in Portugal. It is necessary to organise workers district committees, committees in the factories, in the countryside, to hold worker and peasant meetings, meetings in which agricultural workers can discuss the programme of planning and nationalisation. With all the difficulties and the poverty which exists, it is necessary to establish a plan of production in such a way as to contain the sabotage of the managements who will try to cause losses. Imperialism

finances them to sabotage Portugal. It is necessary to plan production and let the masses intervene. It is necessary to discuss openly: why do not they discuss the fundamental problems of medicine? If the problems of the diffusion of knowledge, why do not they discuss the economy, planning, factory councils? It is necessary to show that it is necessary to know where the Communist/Socialist alliance is going, which is an alliance in the heart of the government, but not organic in any way. It is necessary to pose that it must be done on the basis of the transformation of the economy of the country. There is no other way to progress. Also it is necessary to discuss the problems of democracy and of liberty. In capitalist democracy the workers, or the trade unions are not allowed to speak. Only the bourgeoisie is. Now the bourgeoisie is equally allowed to speak. It is necessary to show that democracy and liberty must serve to construct the country. 90% of the population are against the bourgeoisie; it is necessary to discuss this openly.

It is necessary to launch an appeal to the Communists, to the Socialist base, to form a movement with a programme of expropriations and planning of production on the basis of the Workers States, of Algeria and Peru. It is necessary to show that these countries progress because they have nationalised production. Every opposition to this necessity favours capitalism, favours the conditions which have given rise to capitalism. It is necessary to discuss it. People are in agreement with this. The liberty which the bourgeoisie demands is the liberty for a small group. Liberty must serve to construct the country and not to respect under different or superficial form, private rights. The big multinationals demand liberty. Why? It is necessary to pose now the nationalisation of the Banks, to appeal to the Bank employees that they prevent the flight of capital. It is necessary to eliminate NATO from the country and all the bases of Yankee imperialism.

It is necessary to incorporate the Sergeants into the political leadership of the army, so that military service is used in the workers areas and the factories as the Movement of the Armed Forces proposes. The mobilisations of the soldiers must be determined by social and political interests. It is necessary to propose that the soldier must be mobilised only on the recommendation of the trade unions, with prior discussion. The soldiers must make the trade unions intervene, and the trade unions must maintain their independence from the state apparatus, impel the state to nationalise and to lead anti-capitalist actions.

A great discussion on Portugal exists in the world Communist movement. When forces as important as the Army support trade union unity as an instrument of progress, this means that the situation is ripe to advance towards the Workers State, or from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State.

J. POSADAS 23rd January 1975.

market, and to use this referendum campaign as a means of advancing the process of the transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle, an instrument which allows the vanguard of the working class to play its role as a leadership of society, for the construction of the Workers State, fully.

13th April, 1975.

# On the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam:

J. POSADAS

30.3.1975

Vietnam could not have made this offensive, taking Hue, Da Nang, if it did not have the support of the USSR and China. It does not do this on its own account. It does not have the military force, nor the authority, nor the economic means. When they make such an offensive it is because they have the support of the Chinese and the Soviets. And the Yanks do not intervene because they see that, if they do, the Chinese and the Soviets will also intervene. This already has much weight also in the United States, in which the population does not want imperialism to remain in Vietnam. They want it to leave Vietnam.

A small nucleus, the Vietnamese, have such decision! They did not triumph by means of arms only. The arms are important, but secondary. It is the moral authority of the Vietnamese Workers States which is decisive. People see that North Vietnam in one year, since they threw out the Yanks, the country has been reconstructed. In one year. And the Yanks are in full crisis. How is not this going to have an influence?

It is the epoch of intelligence and reason! People are moved by intelligence. In one year they see that they have rebuilt the country; meanwhile the capitalist countries live twenty years of tragedy. There is aid from China and the USSR. This is certain. But this aid is quite insufficient, it is the Vietnamese people who have done this! This is Socialism! They do not have the economic means for the socialist life, but they have the socialist social relations. It is necessary to feel all the joy of this! This is Communism!

The resolution of the Japanese Trade Unions to oppose any aid that the Japanese government seeks to give to those fleeing from Vietnam, is very important. Those who are fleeing are the bourgeoisie! They are not the people, they are bourgeois! This resolution indicates a maturation and a hardening against imperialism, and against the policy of conciliation, of bending to imperialism.

What does Vietnam show? The fall of capitalism! But does this signify that capitalism is going to retire? No, it is going to prepare a response from elsewhere. It withdraws, but develops the concentration to respond to the defeat which has been inflicted. How is it possible that Vietnam, being so small, could triumph? Who gave it the strength? It is the existence of the Workers States, otherwise this triumph would be impossible. The heroism of the Vietnamese people has triumphed. The unity that Vietnam has is not provoked by the fear of the war; if it was so, they would have escaped. They would have escaped from North Vietnam, from Cambodia, from Laos. But it is the bourgeoisie which has gone. The confidence that the people has, the Vietnamese masses have, is the resolution of the Vietnamese Communist Party and the support of the Workers States and of the masses of the world.

It is necessary to discuss this in all the Communist Parties, demonstrating how all the world development of the revolution is concentrated in Vietnam, through the Workers States which support Vietnam, and the masses of the world which oppose Yankee imperialism. As part of this there is this resolution of the Japanese Trade Unions which is a very great blow and which it is necessary to utilise and to publicise throughout the world, posing: 'Let us do the same.' Throughout the world the Trade Unions must oppose the reception, the giving of support to those who flee from Vietnam. They are not poor people, refugees. They are assassins, which had to escape! They are nazis who had to escape! Ninety per cent of them are bourgeois assassins. If not they would stay. They do not have to escape. As in North Vietnam, no one escaped. They all stayed and none was assassinated, jailed or repressed. They are all free!

The defeat that the fall of Da Nang means to the Yanks and now which is combined with the flight of Lon Nol in Cambodia, is because the world relation of forces does not permit them to invade, as they would have an interest in doing. First of all they had the conception that 'Asia is vital for the world'. Now, 'Asia is not important'. Why is this? What has changed? The change is that the Soviets and also the Chinese are present, but above all the Soviets. The Yanks see this, and it is because of this they do not intervene. It is obvious and it also appears clear why Breznev suffered from the 'flu'. Breznev was ill and the policy of the Soviets hardened against the Yanks. All this is going to have an immense influence on the Christian Democracy everywhere, on the Christian Democrat base which is Communist.

They believe in God, because they were not taught anything else, but not because this is the guide. There is no guide for them.

To receive arms in South Vietnam is complicated and dangerous. They could receive them from North Vietnam, but not a lot because of control by the Yanks. But the Yanks who saw that the arms were arriving had to shut up. They threatened but did not bomb, and the North American people are shown the defeat of imperialism and the triumph of Vietnam. Because it also exerted pressure on the Yankee government; had the North American people been passive, the Yanks would have intervened. On the contrary, they find that the North American people are against, they do not wish them to intervene. 'Leave Vietnam', they say. The Communists should put this on the front page: one of the main allies which support the struggle in North Vietnam, South Vietnam, in Cambodia, Laos, is the people of North America! For if the North American people supported their government, the latter would have attacked Vietnam. On the contrary, the North American people make them look stupid. How can a people be stupid, people who, with the wealth which it has, tells the government: 'Do not intervene in Vietnam; leave it! They are Communist, let them be Communists. I am not Communist. If they want to be Communist, let them be so. What does it matter to me!' This is the response of the American people.

A whole defeatist wing in United States imperialism feels that the North American people is against them, that the Soviets and the Chinese are going to intervene. And that this offensive that the South Vietnamese and the Vietcong have made is accompanied precisely by the cleansing which they are making in China.

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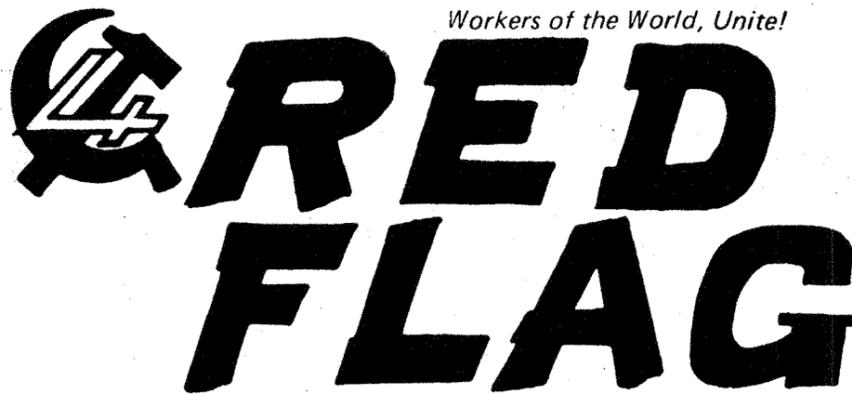
## The crisis in Greece, the profusion of groups and the class struggle. J. Posadas. 20.2.75.

GREECE is entering a much more clear and decisive period. The experience gone through by the Greek people is revealing itself very powerfully. There have been very great peasant mobilisations, the same as those of Italy and France. There have been mobilisations of small peasant proprietors which are important and who unify themselves around the

workers. This shows a profundity of the process which neither Papandreou nor the Communists represent. This shows that there are all the conditions for a very great process and an advance. Hence the policy of the United Front is necessary and the trade unions must intervene. There is not a reply of the working class, of

the petit bourgeoisie, even of the bourgeois sector which wants to develop the country. This sector is represented by Mavros who bases himself on the petit bourgeoisie and on the policy of the Communists and Socialists.

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## BASE THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE COMMON MARKET ON MARXISM, THE WORKERS STATES, AND THE MOBILISATIONS OF THE MASSES

The virtual nationalisation by the Labour Government of British Leyland is a heavy blow at British capitalism. Even if compensation is to be paid at a level which values the shares at a level higher than the bourgeoisie themselves does, and even if the Labour government is not proposing workers control, it is still a heavy blow because it has taken one of the main pillars of the British capitalist economy out of the hands of private property. At the same time it is not simply an economic measure against capitalism, but an enormous blow to the social authority of the bourgeoisie. It demonstrates that they are not capable of running the economy, not capable of maintaining what has been one of the most important enterprises in the capitalist economy in this country. In this measure of nationalisation the bourgeoisie have suffered a defeat which is not determined only by the process by the balance of social forces in this country, but by the world advance of the revolution. It is — in another form — a direct expression of the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, of the mobilisation and general strike of more than 12 million Italian workers against the fascist assassins, a mobilisation which expresses the will for power of the Italian masses, and the advance of the process of the permanent revolution in Portugal, where the masses are already going beyond the expropriation of Portuguese capitalism to the expropriation of foreign capital. This is the significance of the demands for the nationalisation of the Port wine industry which is largely owned — or was — by British imperialism.

The insistence by the army in Portugal that they will not allow the election results to impede the advance of Portugal to Socialism, has found an immediate response in the intervention of workers and soldiers

in a conference which discussed the necessity of Soviets — basing itself on the experience of the first seven years of the Soviet Workers State — and the transformation of the army into a 'Workers Army'. It may be that much of the criticism directed by the group which organised this conference against the Portuguese Communist Party was not correct — inasmuch as it was destructive — but the conference has played a role in the development of the permanent revolution in Portugal precisely because it raised slogans which answer the necessity of this process. The support which they received, in intervention of workers and the soldiers, in this conference expresses the level of the Portuguese revolution far better than the results of the elections. In any case the parties of the left — Communists, Socialist, MPD — gained at least 56% of the poll. At the same time the fact that these same Plessey workers, who intervened in a discussion on the necessity of the Soviets, recently sent a delegation to discuss common problems and strategy against the 'multinationals' with workers in this country, shows the possibilities which exist for the extension by the Labour and Trade Union Left of the campaign against the Common Market. It shows the necessity to campaign for the links which already exist between the proletariat on a European scale to find concrete, organic expression at the highest, anti-capitalist level — nationalisation under workers control, the organs of the working class, soviet functioning. The special conference of the Labour Party has confirmed the line of opposition to the Common Market and, beyond this, for the whole party to launch an extra-parliamentary campaign. Now it is necessary to take all the experience and advance in Portugal as the basis for meetings — as Benn says — in all the factories and, as we insist, in the workers areas also.

the mobilisation and organisms of the working class. However, even in these conditions, the reality of the total world crisis of capitalism, and the balance of class forces which is decisively in favour of the working class imposes itself. Healey's budget is immediately followed by the nationalisation of British Leyland and Fineston — chairman of the British Steel Corporation — who, stimulated by the budget, proposed the contraction of the steel industry and the sacking of 22,000 workers, is attacked by Benn and told that a nationalised industry is not run with the concepts of private property. This is true, but the question is raised in a very acute way now: 'How is it to be run?', and the occupation of the Ford factory in Swansea and the statements of trade union leaders in British Leyland give the answer of the working class: 'Under Workers Control!'

In the measures of nationalisation of British Leyland there is, in part, an intention to contain the struggle of the working class within the confines of capitalism. But such measures do not contain. On the contrary even the most limited anti-capitalist measures serve to stimulate the working class. The car workers in Swansea have given most decisively the answer of the class to the crisis of capitalism. All this will for power of the working class still finds its most powerful expression through the trade unions in the decision of the special conference of the Labour Party against the Common Market and in opposition to Healey's budget. However, protest and complaint is not enough and neither, in itself, is a programme of nationalisation. What is necessary now is a policy for the implementation of this programme and more than this, there is a necessity to formulate a policy for the planning of the economy. British Leyland is being nationalised, the proposals for the contraction of the steel industry — which shows the complete lack of perspective, the complete bankruptcy of capitalism — is being opposed, but it is not possible to continue to give government finance to a socially unnecessary industry like the car industry. Clearly, the question of using the industrial capacity of British Leyland for the benefit of the masses is posed, but it is not possible to plan one enterprise without planning the whole economy. At the

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### THE NATIONALISATION AND PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY

The fact that Healey is able to launch a budget which is profoundly anti-working class, which is a measure of civil war against the working class, is not an indication of any strength or perspective on the part of capitalism, or the bourgeois right of the Labour Party, but of how much the submission to the bourgeois par-

liamentary functioning debilitates the Labour Left. To oppose the budget in anything more than simple protests and complaint necessitates action outside of the parliamentary arena action based on the programme of nationalisations — which the Labour Party and trade unions have already adopted — and on workers control, on

(central pages): The bureaucracy of the Workers States, and the world process of the Permanent Revolution

J. POSADAS. 15.2. 1975

-RED FLAG-

# THE BUREAUCRACY OF THE WORKERS STATES, AND THE WORLD PROCESS OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION

15.2.1975

The bureaucracy does not have a future but it has the apparatus. It reproduces itself, therefore, clandestinely. It does not do so openly, because this clashes with the apparatus, with the necessity of planning and of having a policy. The most eloquent case is Breznev. Breznev is a form of the diminished reproduction of the bureaucracy, he continues leading, but he does not have his previous power, he has to speak in a language and with a policy which are not the same as before. This gives an idea of the bureaucracy. The same Breznev who, two months ago, was a direct representative of conciliation with the Yanks, accompanied with a policy of supporting the anti-imperialist revolution, today has to attack Kissinger who up to yesterday, he was supporting. Yesterday he presented him as someone with whom to negotiate, and to discuss, and presented him as a decent character. Today, he has to demand that the condition to negotiate over the Middle East is that the Israeli withdraw: 'Only when the Israeli come out and hand over what they have stolen, will there be peace'. This means: 'We are going to support this conclusion'. Before they did not do like this, before they said the same thing, but as a hope for the future. Here, it is posed as an immediate objective. He continues being the same bureaucrat, but doesn't any longer represent the same interests, i.e. the bland policy of relations with capitalism, now, he represents the policy of confrontation with capitalism. It is not strictly a policy of confrontation, it is not direct, but it is an impulse to the resistance to capitalism. To the extent that the economy of the Workers States advances, with science and productivity, conscious planning, it demands the transcendent need of planning and production. This means that to the extent to which the scientific capacity of the Workers States advances, it can plan in a more extensive, more elevated, more profound form, to achieve superior levels. To do this requires objectivity, objective interest, the objective consideration of the factors of the world market, of the forces which exist. It is not possible to think then of the immediate or mediated limitations of the bureaucrat, because he cannot see the perspectives. The economy, whilst advancing, pushes against and eliminates the bureaucracy. The working class in its struggles and development is elevating its capacity for understanding, for leadership, and it is showing that freeing itself from the bureaucrats, the leaders, it is capable of judging and deciding. The French May\* itself shows that the bureaucracy is not an omnipotent power, that the masses erupt into history and make it advance against bureaucratic powers.

To the extent to which the economy advances, science, technology, the maturation of the working class, the bureaucracy weakens. The security of the leadership of the working class advances, not only in the Workers States but in the world. To the extent that Italy, France, Japan, Latin America, Africa, Asia, find the clarification to the problems of the revolution, then the weight of forces in competition with the previous weakness increases, and deprives the bureaucracy of strength. The bureaucracy, then, can no longer judge, plan, decide, or lead in an arrogant way. It has to confront the working class, scientific thought which requires a verified planning, critical judgement, critical proof. The planned economy is its scientific development, demands

For example in the Soviet Union, they formed the Kolkhos. The Kolkhos are an indirect form of property. The members of it are not the owners of the land, but they make a usufruct of it as proprietors, and they can rent it out. They cannot sell it, but they can pass it on. They do not have the titles of property but they utilise it as property, it is a form of property. The bureaucracy did this to have points of social support against proletariat and against the revolutionary intellectuals. At the present moment, the bureaucracy, through the process of Partial Regeneration, is depriving the Kolkhos of the form they had previously. This is reducing their social and political power and increasing the weight of the proletariat in the Kolkhos, and in the Sovkhos, also. This is increasing the forms in which the proletariat intervenes with greater weight in society. Among the aspects which show this factor is the resolution of the supreme Soviet rejecting the Kolkhos, and seeking to make a form of organisation which brings together the Sovkhos and the Kolkhos. They resolved to give a proportionately greater increase to the number of workers in elections of Deputies, as Members of the Soviets and also in the Party. Thus, there is an increase in the number of workers in the composition of the leadership of the Party. And also, the number of sons of workers is increasing in the composition of the students. This measure is not bad, it tends to give access to the working class. These are selected, qualified workers; even so, it is an indication of the re-composition of the bureaucracy.

The previous layer which arose from the layer of Stalin and Khrushchev, feels obstacles in the way of its development. It does not find now the points of support of the previous period which were founded on empiricism and the policy of conciliation with capitalism. This no longer exists, they can no longer now conciliate with capitalism. They can make compensation which is a policy superior to conciliation, it deprives capitalism of margins within which to negotiate.

The development of the economy is developing from bureaucratic ways which came from them, but not now with the power, the points of support and perspectives of before. The bureaucracy does not have the points of support and perspectives of before, because now there is a revolutionary process, and consequently it does not have a perspective without obstacles. The composition, the objectives and the functioning of the bureaucracy is changed, and therefore in part its function. This weakens the previous layer and develops new layers without the previous power, but bureaucratic layers of all

the control, the planning, scientific relations in order to be able to advance. This is against the bureaucracy, because the bureaucracy is empirical, disorganised and without methods. If the bureaucracy had a method, order and discipline, it would not be a bureaucracy, it would stop being one. The bureaucracy is like this, through its lack of qualities, because the interests which it defends, do not demand of it such a representation. The advance of science, technology, the class struggle, the progress of the Revolutionary States, the progress of the struggle of the masses, deprives the bureaucracy of its field of action, advancing, the economy demands superior planning, at a level which is much more complete and precise.

For example in the Soviet Union, they formed the Kolkhos. The Kolkhos are an indirect form of property. The members of it are not the owners of the land, but they make a usufruct of it as proprietors, and they can rent it out. They cannot sell it, but they can pass it on. They do not have the titles of property but they utilise it as property, it is a form of property. The bureaucracy did this to have points of social support against proletariat and against the revolutionary intellectuals. At the present moment, the bureaucracy, through the process of Partial Regeneration, is depriving the Kolkhos of the form they had previously. This is reducing their social and political power and increasing the weight of the proletariat in the Kolkhos, and in the Sovkhos, also. This is increasing the forms in which the proletariat intervenes with greater weight in society. Among the aspects which show this factor is the resolution of the supreme Soviet rejecting the Kolkhos, and seeking to make a form of organisation which brings together the Sovkhos and the Kolkhos. They resolved to give a proportionately greater increase to the number of workers in elections of Deputies, as Members of the Soviets and also in the Party. Thus, there is an increase in the number of workers in the composition of the leadership of the Party. And also, the number of sons of workers is increasing in the composition of the students. This measure is not bad, it tends to give access to the working class. These are selected, qualified workers; even so, it is an indication of the re-composition of the bureaucracy.

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policy of conciliation with a certain firmness, the firmness/conciliation relationship, favouring to conciliation, without ceasing to be firm. They make appeals to the Yanks for

This changes the composition of the bureaucracy. Now, it does not have the previous power. But this does not mean that it changes on its own account. The economic, social relations, the world class struggle, the preparation of imperialism for the war, has made it sensitive and the relations of the bureaucracy consequently change. It does not modify its nature or its structure. It is obliged to change politically. In changing politically, the functioning, the structure and the reproduction of the bureaucracy is weakened, and it gives access to a more preponderant form of the proletariat. This does not annul the political revolution, but it facilitates it. It weakens the bureaucratic power. The bureaucracy is a structure with an infinity of layers, sectors which conciliate and coordinate because they have a common interest, a bureaucratic interest and bureaucratic conceptions, with forms of observing bureaucratically. But their rival interests clash. There is the bureaucracy of the army, the Party, of the police, of justice of the economy, of a factory, the administrators, of the workers areas, of the Kolkhos, of the States, of the organs. This is a consequence of bureaucratic power, not because it must be, but because history did not allow the Bolsheviks the time to organise Bolshevik power in the Workers State. It lasted seven years only. This is not a mistake of the Bolshevik comrades. History did not allow it to continue, because the process as a whole did not facilitate, did not provide the elements to accomplish this task. But the Workers State showed such a historic necessity such a historic justice, that it put up with Stalin and the nazis. The Workers State is developing. 13 more Workers States have developed. Stalin is dead. The nazis are dead. And the fascist state, which was an effort of the reorganisation of world capitalism at the cost of the Workers State, is buried.

This is to say, the bureaucracy reproduces itself in a less potent form, less capable with less weight, with less authority because the need of science, of technology, of the economy in society, in policy advance more and the final settlement of accounts comes closer. All this reduces the power of the bureaucracy, it does not annul it, but it reduces its

investments of capital whilst supporting the Middle East and Latin America. This is the relationship. Conciliation on top, and force down below.

investments of capital whilst supporting the Middle East and Latin America. This is the relationship. Conciliation on top, and force down below.

Its reproduction is not allied now with an increase in power, but to a diminution in power and number. But as it is an apparatus which dominates everything, it still conserves and is going to conserve for a period, power in its hands. But in confronting the preparation of capitalism for war, it is obliged to draw

closer to the working class. One of the symptoms of the preparation of the war is the policy of the Communist parties who seek to draw nearer to the proletariat, to the working class and to ourselves. It does not mean the war tomorrow, it means that the bureaucracy foresees that capitalism is preparing the war. Hence, they make a film in the USSR against Stalin. Hence one of the most important discussions in the USSR is not to repeat the errors of Stalin, not to allow the Yanks to take them by surprise: 'We experienced that before'.

Hence the new forms of the bureaucracy do not diminish its malignant function, but yes, reduces its theoretical, political, economic and social capacity. This is the index of the advance of the world revolution which facilitates changes. It facilitates the influence within the world Communist movement and the Workers States of discussing objectively all the problems of world Communism. And in that — it is the problem of world Communism — the world crisis of the capitalist system.

The Communist parties have to re-organise programme, policy and objectives, and also in the Soviet Union. It is not that there can be a voluntary change of the bureaucracy, but yes, it has to yield before the progress of history, the economic, scientific, social, political, revolutionary advance of the masses. This allows progress to advance in the Communist parties. The Communist parties have to discuss objectively in a much more pronounced form the necessity of going to the government and to the power.

Hence the bureaucracy, without changing its nature has to change the

method and the objective and loses strength and weakens. This allows the advance, the progress and the ascent of the revolutionary process. The new bureaucratic layers have to develop in this condition. The bureaucracy is not a class, hence it cannot reproduce itself in the most stable and most fixed form of reproduction. Moreover, to facilitate this, the bureaucratic family would require inheritance of power, inheritance of property.

The bureaucracy has been obliged to yield and in consequence it has been obliged to modify its functioning and objectives and has as a consequence its own cause now the alliance of the proletariat, the conciliation with the capitalist system is not allowed any longer. All the bureaucracy of the Soviet Workers States and the other Workers States developed in conciliation with the capitalist system. Today, it can no longer do this. It has to confront it and then the structure and constitution of the bureaucracy changes. Its internal relations are modified, and then it has to allow access to new layers more linked with the proletariat, with the development of the economy, with the objective and the necessity of progress in the anti-capitalist struggle, although this may not be on the level of civil war. This then modifies the structure of the bureaucracy and at the same time with the advance of the world class struggle, it modifies also the passivity. This does not give more access and more support for a new repetition of bureaucratic layers, but it gives access to the development of more anti-bureaucratic layers, as they have the power, they resist still, they oppose and they try to dissuade and

from that which he exercised before.

In consequence, in spite of the fact that the bureaucracy reproduces itself, its power, perspectives and weight diminish. As it is an apparatus still, and for some time, it will be able to oppose, to disperse and attend the advances of the revolution, the advance of revolutionary tendencies. But it is obliged to discuss the needs of the scientific process of history. It is discussing now and in all this it is going to discuss why Stalin, how to justify Stalin, why the agricultural backwardness of the Soviet Union. The only ones who have written on this are ourselves.

Mandel wrote that the agricultural backwardness of the Soviet Union was because Stalin between 1930 and 1932 killed six million peasants and 12 million cows and destroyed an enormous quantity of agricultural machinery and this weakened the Soviet Union and this lasted until now. But the cause of this agricultural backwardness is not this. It is the form of Kolkhos production and the form of Soviet bureaucratic production. By planning collectivisation, by introducing Soviet democracy, the Soviet Union would produce double the output of the United States in five years.. Today this could be done and the Soviets are trying to do it. There are about 31,000 collective farms with an average cultivated area of over 3,000 hectares and more than 17,000 state farms with an average of 6,000 hectares, the process of co-operation will lead irresistibly to larger and more rationalised units. These are still the timid measures of the bureaucracy, who fear to confront bureaucratic interest, because all this process goes against it and develops the collective preoccupation, the necessity, the intelligence, and organisation. The masses take this and apply it also in the factory, in the life of the Party and in the city. Hence the bureaucracy limits the perspectives and it needs to progress economically and scientifically, but also to defend bureaucratic conception and interest. But between its own interest, its limitation, its impotence and incapacity and necessity, it is necessarily which triumphs. Hence now the necessity for the collective transformation of production is posed.

J. POSADAS

The Soviet proletariat, the militant cadres, the peasants, the intellectuals, the Soviet, Communist cadres have points of world support, they have a superior security and a constant point of support to turn everything upside down in the Soviet Union. These are the ones who are promoting the discussion to transform and modify the backward structure of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the backward structure of agrarian production, the backward forms also of production. They are developing codes of production as under capitalism, but they are against the directors and the bureaucrats, giving greater access to the trade unions and the workers. They are codes of production, they are not revolutionary relations. The code in every way subjects people to orders and allows very little access to the class; but before there was nothing, now there is. They are all changes which facilitate the intervention of the class and will lead to better results in the Communist Party. Up until 1924 there was a real Bolshevik Party, Soviet functioning, afterwards this was no longer so. This means that for 50 years there has been a structure of bureaucratic power, the life, production, political and social relations in accordance with bureaucratic interest. As this bureaucratic interest did not represent the necessity of history, this process of modification, of change and of revolutionary relations requires time. This is the objective of our function.

The bureaucracy cannot reproduce itself with the power of before. This process doesn't arise automatically, as conscious regeneration, but yes, it facilitates the means, the steps in this advance, creating the later conditions so that afterwards some political revolutions, during or after the war, will facilitate conscious regeneration.

It is necessary to see that the masses had a very short experience of Soviet functioning, only seven years from 1917 to 1924. The masses of the world have not been able to experience the Soviet life, the revolutionary Bolshevik party. They were not able to live this experience. The notion of the Communist Party which they have is a caricature which Stalin advancing and the Communist parties of electoral parties, not only the Italian Communist Party, but Communist parties in other parts of the world, publish Trotskyist, in Yugoslavia also

Hence in spite of denying the possibility of war, they say 'it can be avoided, it can be contained, it can be impeded. It is necessary to be dedicated to impede the war'. Now they have to censure Breznev. Breznev was not taking a holiday, he was being censured, and the first time that he spoke was to condemn the masses. That was the result of this censure. Before the influenza, he was flirting with Kissinger, after the influenza he was chucking stones at him. The immense masses of the Communist parties want power and a very great part of the leadership of the Communist parties want power, but it is the first time that they discuss in an objective form. Hence Trotsky is giving, and afterwards, the development of electoral parties, not only the Italian Communist Party, but Communist parties in other parts of the world, publish Trotskyist, in Yugoslavia also

It is necessary to take this experience and this analysis of the bureaucracy with the consciousness, the understanding that the masses of the Communist Parties do not have any other experience. What experience did Stalin give? Desolation, ruin, death, bureaucraticism, conciliation with capitalism, betrayal of revolutions. If the course of history had been decided by the bureaucracy, capitalism would have imposed fascism everywhere. As the bureaucracy does not represent necessity, it is the bureaucracy which is being liquidated and it is the revolution which advances. Marxism is clear and decisive, the proletariat is the representative of the necessity of history. If its objective class interest did not coincide harmoniously with the necessity of history, the proletariat would not have the strength which it has. As it represents the objective necessity of history, to order and to harmonise life, to eliminate every form of property and violence, it represents the objective interests of humanity.

## BASE THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE E.E.C., ON MARXISM..

continued from page 1

same time a planned economy, demands the nationalisation of all major

industry, the land and the banks; and nationalisation as Portugal demonstrates, demands workers control,

### MARXISM AND THE WORKERS STATES WEIGH IN THE L.P.

#### THE STRUGGLE IN THIS COUNTRY IS FOR POWER

The decision by the British Leyland National Shop Stewards leadership to call a conference of delegates from the shop stewards committees of the entire motor industry is of fundamental importance; it is a step towards organising and centralising a central part of the workers vanguard in this country, and it is a response to the nationalisation of British Leyland. This meeting has to discuss and adopt a programme which contains the demand for the extension of nationalisations to the whole motor industry without compensation — and to demand that no compensation is paid to the former owners of British Leyland — and for the organisation of a National Committee of factory delegates from the industry with delegates subject to immediate recall. Together with this has to go a programme of meetings and discussions in the factory, in each shop and department, as a preparation for the imposition of workers control; a meeting which also incorporates the local population, the women and children from the workers areas and representatives of the Left of the Labour Party.

The maturity of the world process — and the process in this country which is integrally part of it — give the conditions for the discussion and the formulation of coherent anti-capitalist programme and policy — and for the mobilisation of the working class to implement it — in the Labour Party Trade Unions, and shop stewards committees. This maturity is expressed in the decision by the NUJ to impose a 'closed shop' against the wishes of its leadership which means to control the editors. This is democracy — the democracy

This is a dialectical process which is going to continue, since the more the total crisis of capitalism, and the response of the working class to it, forces the Labour left to function outside the reformist, parliamentary structure of the Labour Party, the more it is forced to seek ideas and perspective which are other than those of the bourgeoisie. The only alternative that exists is Marxism and the Workers States are — whatever the continued limitations of their leaderships — Marxism is the concrete, material form.

The fact that the special conference of the Labour Party on the Common Market was closed an hour early because they had run out of ideas, shows the necessity for marxism, for the scientific method of reasoning which gives the possibility of a world vision of the process of the advance of humanity. The invitation to the Comrades of the German Workers State by the Labour Party and the very favourable reception given to the intervention of the Posadists in the special conference is a response to this necessity.

This maturity is also expressed in the conjunction of 2 fundamental developments in the workers movement in this country in the last period. One is the decision of the Labour Party to campaign as a party outside of Parliament and against the decision of Parliament to keep Britain in the Common Market, and the other is the advance of the links between the Labour Party and the Workers States and the World Communist Movement. All the hysterical, dishonest and slanderous campaign of the bourgeoisie over the visit of Shelepin was intended to impede the construction of these links, and to intimidate the Labour Party and Trade Union leadership. It failed! And the failure is shown by the fact that not only have the trade union links with the Soviet Union been strengthened, but now the Labour Party has invited delegates from the German Workers State (the GDR) to attend this year's national conference of the Labour Party.

The Healey budget is a measure of civil war against the working class, it has the intention of terrorising the working class by creating unemployment, and it has to be resisted — as it is being resisted — by the working class with factory occupations, with the immediate demand that no worker loses his job. It is an expression both of the weakness of capitalism and their preparation to launch the civil war against the working class, against the masses. It is true that the army is not very reliable from the point of view of

British imperialism, but they will use sectors of it as they do in Northern Ireland. And they will use NATO! It is not, therefore, possible for the Labour and Trade Union left to continue to campaign against the Common Market and, at the same time, to ignore NATO and the fact that this is the military expression of the Common Market. It is necessary to raise the slogan — as comrade Posadas does in the article, in this issue of 'Red Flag', 'On the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam' — for Britain out of NATO and for NATO out of Britain.

It is to be seen that the intervention of Soviet ships around the coast of this country — an intervention which petrifies the bourgeoisie with fear — is a direct expression of the support of the Soviet Union, of the system of the Workers States, for the struggle for power of the working class in this country. It is the same support which has enabled the Vietnamese masses to defeat Yankee imperialism and which has prevented NATO from intervening directly against the Portuguese masses. It has to be seen also that there is an absolute unity between the character of the proletariat and that of the Workers States which transcends the limitations of the apparatuses, structures and leaderships of the workers movement. It is with this understanding that they have to intervene in the factories and the workers areas with a programme of nationalisations under workers control and the construction of the organism which are necessary — the factory committees, the committees of the workers areas, and the committees which link both.

28th April 1975.

## In Red Flag 242, will be published:

The meaning, the different senses and objectives of the class struggle in the capitalist system and in the Workers States. J. POSADAS. 14.2.1975

## TROTSKYIST PRESS

ALGERIA: Revolution Socialiste, Group IV Internationale (Trotskiste)—Boite Postale 13, Alger Gare.

ARGENTINA: Voz Proletaria organ of the Partido Obrero (Trotskista) Alberto Longorzo, casillo Nr. 2938, correo central, Buenos Aires.

BELGIUM: Lutte Ouvriere and Arbeidstrajd (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)

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## On the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam.

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It is necessary to give much importance to the triumph in Vietnam. It is going to have repercussions throughout the world, against all the capitalist world. Already there is the immediate reaction, that of the Japanese Trade Unions which is formidable. In Japan, there is very great unemployment. And there is the reaction of the Japanese Trade Unions which is going to be followed and has to be followed by all the trade unions of the world. It is necessary to pose the formulation of resolutions of all the trade unions and parties, posing that those who flee, from South Vietnam now, are all assassins; they are not sectors of the poor people, they are assassins who flee with money, with support. All those who can go now in planes, in hours, no sacking, no factory to be closed, against the increase in the cost of living, for state control, for workers control, to smash Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to pose: 'NATO out of Italy; Italy out of NATO!' As our German section posed for Germany and as the Italian Communist youth has posed, spread this slogan to the whole of Europe: 'Out with NATO; Europe out of NATO!' And for the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist United Front.

It is necessary to call on all the world, on the workers movement, on the trade unions, on the Communist parties, the Socialist parties, on the nationalist, anti-imperialist movements, the left Christian Democrats, to discuss declarations and resolutions of support to Vietnam and also Cambodia: not to give any support to those who flee. They are assassins who do not merit any support. It is necessary to call for support for South Vietnam and to make strikes, demonstrations, discussion in all the workers movement, combining this with internal struggles, with the necessity for the sitting down, in hours, no sacking, no factory to be closed, against the increase in the cost of living, for state control, for workers control, to smash Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to pose: 'NATO out of Italy; Italy out of NATO!' As our German section posed for Germany and as the Italian Communist youth has posed, spread this slogan to the whole of Europe: 'Out with NATO; Europe out of NATO!' And for the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist United Front.

J. Posadas

30th March 1975

# THE CRISIS IN GREECE, THE PROFUSION OF GROUPS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

## J. POSADAS.

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In front of this lack of response, the left groups have quite a lot of possibilities - at least in the petit bourgeois student field - to publicise positions which are necessary. What characterises the life of these groups is that they push forward political initiatives, positions, conquests, objectives which the Communists and Socialists don't develop and they remain passive. These groups, through their nature, through the links which they have with the young people above all which is dynamic, whilst the Communist and Socialist Parties are not, have a series of positions which are very useful and necessary. In the recent elections in Italy for the delegates and the school councils, we made an appeal to the groups there in which we recognised that they have a certain value, but they have bad methods and objectives.

But in their turn these positions which they diffuse, or the appeals which they make in the struggle, the dynamism which they develop in the struggles, as they do not have the necessary programme, as they do not have logical objectives, lack a total policy. They do not have coherence and they are disordered movements. They lack the rhythm of coherence. They move with very unequal rhythms, for example now all these groups are paralysed when there are all the conditions to move. They do not have clear objectives.

And it is necessary to have clear objectives because where is Greece going? Capitalism has made every effort to retain power through Karamanlis. But Karamanlis has shown that he cannot maintain power and that there is a rupture in the equilibrium which previously maintained the power of the bourgeoisie. There is no replacing this equilibrium. The Socialists are few, the Communists are few, and they are divided. They do not have common objectives, they are not clear what to do. They do not have a class policy, combined with a policy of alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie, to make a programme of democratic rights together with an audacious economic policy, of expropriation of imperialism, of the landowners, of expropriation of the big landed proprietors and the sectors of the Church linked with big business.

It is necessary to pay much attention to all these groups of the left, because if they do not have a future as groups, in their development they express needs which neither the Communists nor the Socialists can respond to. And in a country where there is a complete change - they threw out the king, the party of Papandreou had to go to the left, Karamanlis has had to discuss positions which are against the Yanks - in this situation the Communists lack initiative. Papandreou himself doesn't have sufficient initiative, and there are all the conditions to have initiative, a mass of conditions: there are enormous possibilities for the development of a revolutionary tendency. Mavros, Papandreou and the Communists have about 50% of the votes and Karamanlis has a left within his sectors, hence he is impeded.

The Greek army has much strength, what it does not have is organisation, programme and objective. It has a very empirical life, and a clear proof is that after the military coup of 1967, the Greek bourgeoisie did not find the means of returning to power. The King failed, the elections failed and they showed that there were the conditions to go much further than before, infinitely much further.

The rupture that there is in the Greek Church corresponds to what is the case throughout Europe, in Italy, in the Vatican. In the Vatican, among the old bosses there are those who are on the left, not because they turn to the left, but the weight of history doesn't give opportunity to the bourgeoisie.

All these problems which are lived in Greece are not discussed in the workers movement. The students succeed in mobilising an enormous number of people, almost a million against the Yanks. There is a very extensive anti-imperialist hatred, in the movement of Mavros and in part that of Karamanlis which is sustained, supported and led by the Greek bourgeoisie which wants to develop the country. In part the soldiers of Papadopolous did this. They wanted to develop the country but they didn't know how; they wanted to advance without coming out of the bourgeois camp, and they could not. Any important measure for the development of the Greek economy goes beyond capitalism. Hence our concern to impel and support the progress of Mexico and Algeria. Algeria is now almost a Workers State, Mexico is a capitalist country, but Echevarria has positions which have nothing to do with capitalist interests and Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru progress on this road.

There is no economic or social future for Greece within the limits of capitalism. Greece is not isolated from the world and the world process shows that there is no capitalist solution. On the other hand it is necessary to see that in Greece there is a very profound anti-imperialist tendency.

The students succeeded in mobilising almost a million people against the Yanks, and there was a complete defeat of the monarchy. This shows that there is a need for very profound changes. The failure of the Communist Party of the interior is because it has made no headway with a conciliatory policy. There is a process of reorganisation in which the steps begun by the nationalist soldiers which failed, because they were accompanied by a terrorist attitude and there was neither clarity nor coordination in the nationalist tendency, cannot be changed by a pro-Yankee policy. Otherwise Karamanlis, although he didn't do it, would have declared himself pro-Yank. He is seeking a policy of negotiation, of attracting the Soviets to gain advantages as the Turks did. This is to say that because of the void of capitalism which cannot organise anything, and that of imperialism which doesn't have the strength to decide, it leaves open the possibilities for a series of policies which are not led either by capitalism or imperialism. The latter can still use opportunities because neither Turkey nor Greece have their own strength to decide, but there are already expressions of a very profound crisis as shown in the events of Cyprus. Cyprus as a country has a very relative importance, it has some importance without doubt, but very relative. Nevertheless it appears as if it was the centre of the world and this is because capitalism represented by Yankee imperialism in particular is reduced in all its possibilities for manoeuvre. And in being reduced it takes lesser aspects as pretexts to launch the war. They are all preparations for the war.

This was expressed in the appeal which Kim Il Sung made in the central committee to the Korean people to organise militia and training in the use of arms. He said 'against the

attacks and provocations of imperialism in South Korea'. But this is not the motive, beside after many months the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR is in Pekin, and China stopped attacks on the Soviet Union. And now the Yanks are sending picked mercenaries to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. They are all preparations for the war although they don't launch it immediately. On other occasions they have prepared and postponed, but they are all preparations for the war and in this preparation Greece is not a direct instrument of imperialism. The reasons why it is not, is the resistance of the masses, of the petit bourgeoisie who see that to live they have to be independent of the Yanks. As they are afraid because they fall into the hands of the advance of the proletariat, they try to seek an intermediate road. Hence there is an important division of parties.

The Communist Party of the interior has no weight and the pro-Soviet Communist Party has little dynamism, but on the other hand has quite a lot of strength. The percentage which they got in the elections where they presented themselves as unified, is equivalent to 30% social weight at a minimum. This means that the elections don't represent the real relation of forces. Papandreou also presented a programme to the left, a socialist programme. It is not a merely electoral programme.

There is a political maturing in the petit bourgeoisie and in the workers vanguard. Although the proletarian weight is small, there is a very great maturing. It shows the influence which the world course of the revolution has on Greece. In part, all this manoeuvring in Cyprus is also fomented by imperialism - which supports itself on a conflict between groups - to impede a coordination between Greece, Turkey, and the Workers States. It is to create a focus of internal dispersion, of dispute, of struggle which allows them to maintain these countries disunited, in groups, and so allow imperialism to intervene. They are all real problems which exist, as for example, the possibility of a war between Turkey and Greece or in Cyprus itself.

Imperialism has an interest in fomenting this, it creates a whole preoccupation and diverts attention from the centre of the problem and in this way it can intervene. As they are problems which are not only internal economic and social problems but problems which interest the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie, the army, then imperialism can have control over them, because by themselves, they cannot resolve them, they need the help that imperialism gives, economic and military help. Imperialism creates artificial confrontations, but they are also problems posed by the backwardness in all the relations of these countries, in which the bourgeoisie itself has a whole series of interests to serve imperialism without being a direct or permanent agent of imperialism.

It is necessary to have a discussion, appealing to the Turkish masses and the Turkish Socialist Party to discuss; to discuss a programme of economic development of Cyprus in which the ethnic and national problems are taken into account, but trying to unify through an economic programme. Makarios does not pose the solution to the problem which it is necessary to pose, and in their turn the Soviets utilise them against the Yanks. It is necessary to pose the Federation of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, which must be made on the basis of economic planning, a common

economic programme to resolve the problems of the three countries, with the support of the alliance of the Workers States. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States.

Neither Greece, nor Turkey, nor Cyprus have their own solutions. It is necessary to propose a Federation, a plan for economic development, in which the right of the Turkish and Greek minorities to be represented is discussed, but with a plan of the unification of production. The problem of nationalities has to be submitted to the problem of the development of all of them together.

What future can Cyprus have when isolated? It is a tourist isle, which was a base for imperialism. All these countries, isolated, do not have their own strength in a way.

It is necessary to propose the Socialist unification of Greece, Turkey and Cyprus, to appeal to the workers movement, the Communist and Socialist movements, for a united front for this resolution. It is necessary to discuss these problems of Greece, seeing that there is no possibility that imperialism can return to the stage when there was a King being an agent of imperialism. There is no possibility of this. They can return to install a dictatorship, but it cannot last. Already it is no longer a question as in previous stages where the King could maintain agreement between all the bourgeois tendencies. There is a dislocation of this front, there are bourgeois sectors which feel that now they cannot continue as in the past. It is important to see that in Greece, there is a bourgeois sector, which wants a relation with the Soviet Union, and in this, there are included Royalist soldiers. This does not mean that they are revolutionaries, but it shows that there are sectors of the bourgeoisie and the Monarchy who see that they do not have a future with Yankee imperialism, and they try to save themselves. They are not merely manoeuvres, but a consequence of the fact that they can no longer depend on imperialism. They try to manoeuvre with the Workers States, manoeuvres aimed at maintaining bourgeois power. As they could not do it with the Yanks, they look towards the Workers States. It is possible that they do this as a manoeuvre, but also, because they do not have any perspective. The Yanks have been thrown out of Greece, and although they have not been thrown out all together, they cannot control as before.

It is necessary to pose a discussion on the economic problems of Greece, to discuss the necessity of agrarian reform, the transformation of raw materials, relations with all the Workers States, planning of production. It is absurd for a country to depend on Onassis. Now, they are nationalising his aircraft factory. It means that there are bourgeois forces which want to develop the country, and they do not do it as the revolutionaries do, but in order to survive.

Together with the struggle for democratic liberties, it is necessary to pose that the situation in Greece has no solution with democratic demands only. The example of Portugal is clear. They propose democratic demands to develop Portugal democratically. But what type of economy? Democracy means the right to speak, to discuss, but it is necessary to plan where the country is going.

It is necessary to develop in Greece a plan for the economy, agrarian reform, distribution of the land, collectivisation, expropriation, as they are doing with Onassis, of the principal factories, and also expropriating the Church. It is necessary to plan production and to eliminate the Constitution which is reactionary and struggle for a Constitution which gives full liberty to the masses. It is necessary to analyse and show that

Greece cannot develop economically within the structure of capitalism. It is not going to emerge from the world of the artisans, from economic backwardness, by continuing in the regime of capitalism. It is necessary to show the example of the Workers States, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, Yugoslavia, as these countries develop.

It is necessary to appeal to the Communist Party to make this discussion and to Papandreou also, to make a policy aimed also at the movement of Mavros, where there is a left tendency. This is the task of our Party together with the publication of bulletins. In Greece there is no world literature, it is all local literature.

When a country is backward, the more the effects of localism are developed. Then each region wants to oppose the other. The bourgeois sector is centralised with the economy, it can dominate, and it becomes a centre of communication with all the centres of the petit bourgeoisie and the artisans. They represent this, but they have not developed the Greek economy which has remained as it was 200 years ago.

It is necessary to develop an ordered life of the Party: programme, policy, objectives. It is necessary to appeal to the workers movement, to the workers parties, to Papandreou, to the left of Mavros, for a united front with a programme of nationalisations, distribution of the land and planning of production, to appeal with this programme. Democratic rights have no value if they are not accompanied with economic development, and it is evident that capitalism is collapsing. Therefore, they have to accompany democratic rights with a programme of economic development. And the workers movement, the united front, of Communists, Socialists, the left of Mavros, and other sectors of the left have to put forward this programme. Mavros is going to be interested in some points of this programme, because he is interested in the development of the economy. Hence, he poses the necessity of a relation with China, the USSR, all the countries of the world, and he seeks to develop the economy so as to contain the development of the revolution.

It is necessary to insist on the unification of the world Communist movement, fundamentally the Sino-Soviet unification, with a programme of struggle to smash what is left of capitalism, to support and impel the world revolutionary movement, in the struggle against capitalism. It is necessary to show that in front of the electoral advance of the Workers Parties as in Chile, the bourgeoisie is going to answer with coups. It is necessary to be prepared for this and to win part of the army to be prepared to intervene in this process, to appeal to the peasants to appear in this process with a programme of distribution of the land and collectivisation. The army can participate in this, not as a political leadership, but yes, it can participate in this process, and if it organises itself as a party, then it should have this programme, planning and nationalisations. Then it can intervene, and afterwards, it is going to be won by the Workers Parties.

The process in Greece is very important, the same process as Portugal, and Ethiopia. It does not have the same physiognomy but it is the same process; and there is an important tradition in Greece. Twice, they wanted to take power, not with two revolutions which did not develop but which were smashed, which is different. It has a tradition which neither Portugal or Ethiopia have; all this is going to emerge now.

J. POSADAS 20th February 1975

# MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY 1975, of the International Secretariat of the POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL.

(CENTRE PAGES)

## Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

We are publishing the May Day Manifesto in Red Flag - it was distributed on that day by the sections (including ourselves) of the International with a great echo everywhere - although May Day has past, because it is a text which provides a most complete synthesis of historic experience and perspective for humanity at this stage.

We salute with joy this pellucid and inspiring text, full of optimism which finds its concrete expression in the magnificent victories in Vietnam, Cambodia and Portugal, and the advance of Posadist conceptions throughout the world.

FOR  
**THE EXTENSION OF THE REVOLUTION FROM VIETNAM  
TO THE WHOLE OF SOUTH EAST ASIA!**  
FOR  
**THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF SOUTH EAST ASIA!**

SUBSCRIBE TO RED FLAG 1 year..... £ 3.10p. 6 months..... £ 1.60p. All correspondence to: IV International Publications 24 Cranbourn Street London, WC.2. NO. 242

Printed by The Russell Press Ltd., Nottingham (TU)

FRIDAY 16th MAY 1975 YEAR XII PRICE 5p

## THE VICTORIES IN PORTUGAL AND VIETNAM ARE A FUNDAMENTAL SUPPORT FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The victories over Yankee Imperialism in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, and the vote for socialism in Portugal, are historic blows at what remains of world capitalism. Breznev's statement that the victory in Vietnam strengthens detente testifies to the fact that 'peace', 'peaceful co-existence is best served by delivering blows at imperialism and intervening constantly against it. Soviet policy approaches, although it is not the same as, the Leninist conception that peace is only possible through the overthrow of the capitalist system. The victory in Vietnam would not have been possible without the direct military support of the Soviet Union. This is the way history is going: revolutionary war against the forces of private property. Yankee imperialism was unable to find any support at home, with the result that when the Vietnamese bourgeois sectors took flight, they were met with 'Go Home', from the American people.

The victory for the socialist programme in Portugal which has been built on the solid structure of the revolution, is a confirmation that the whole of the world is ready for the multiplication of Workers States and the construction of Communism. Events such as victory in Vietnam and Portugal provoke within capitalism an avalanche of defeatism. They cannot develop a crusade against Communism. They have to prepare their inevitable military response to the advance of world Communism clandestinely, incapable of developing ideas or policies superior to Communism. Everywhere the two systems confront each other, Soviet submarines ostentatiously appear near the coasts of the US and Portugal and Soviet planes fly up

the Rhône Valley. Wallace in the United States tries to stimulate a fascist reaction by saying the US was on the wrong side in the second world war, leaders of the French fascists say the final conflict is coming but what can they mobilise? Where is the social strength? It is nowhere to be found. Even with the enormous burdens of defence and sustaining the world revolution, the Soviet Union is full of plans to develop Siberia, everywhere; the Workers States plan to expand and develop the economy and society. But the forces of private property are so debilitated, that their only proposals amount to contraction and retreat. Whole areas of the US and the Common Market countries, ie the Mezzogiorno, are handed over to dereliction.

### COALITION - A NON PERSPECTIVE

The effects of the victories in Vietnam and Portugal are most profound in Britain, even if in part they are muffled because of the absence of organs of discussion for the masses. They take away the bases for the right and centre in the Labour Party. The manoeuvres of the apparatuses in the Labour Party and the unions determine nothing. The power resides in the decision of the masses. The centre of attention in Britain is the process in the Labour Party, where the bourgeoisie see quite rightly the road there, is leading to Communism. The right in the LP is quite desperate. They would like a coalition with the Tories, but their position in the LP is quite untenable, and when Shirley Williams speaks of the need for the election after the referendum result, this is the expression of a sector already routed, defending the positions of capitalism in a Party which is vomiting out the remnants of the Social Democrats. When 'The Times' looks to this sector as the only means via coalition, to defend capitalism, in this is evidence enough of the accelerating decomposition and collapse of British Imperialism. The cocoon of Empire has gone, and with it, all the old junk of Fabianism, the power of bourgeois norms of 'individual the aristocracy of Labour, respect for freedom' (ie, to kill, exploit and tell the monarchy, parliamentary cretinism, lies). This is allied to the decision fear of ideas and prostration in front

of the Union Jack. This doubtless, still affects the parliamentary left, but they are not the ones who decide. They may 'respect' all this gross buffoonery, but the masses are free of all this: the proletariat in the factories, the women, the youth. The British proletariat is an integral part of the great hurricane of history, world Communism, clearing away all the rubbish of thousands of years of private property.

The existence of a substantial sector in the Labour Parliamentary Party against the arms bill, for the immediate recognition of the Communist government in Saigon, for the withdrawal of British troops from N. Ireland, against the reception of the Vietnamese refugees, is only a pale reflection of a very deep discussion in the vanguard in and around the Labour Party, the Labour Party in support of the nationalisation of the press, is confirmation of a very elevated discussion, because to nationalise the press is to violate all the norms of bourgeois 'individual the aristocracy of Labour, respect for freedom' (ie, to kill, exploit and tell the monarchy, parliamentary cretinism, lies). This is allied to the decision to eliminate the private beds in the

health service. At the same time the decision of the S. Wales miners to demand £100 a week and the rejection by the railwaymen and teachers, of insufficient wage increases, shows that the social contract is a discussion at the top, it means nothing to the proletariat, and its allies. In the same way the desperate effort of Chrysler to save itself by means of 'workers participation' finds no res-

ponse, because the objectives of the proletariat are nationalisation under workers control and without compensation. In face of the crisis of the system, capitalism finds itself without ideas. A sector goes along with the NEB in part, as the lesser evil. Limited nationalisations, even of Leylands, are better than nationalisations immediately under workers control, as a prelude to massive revolu-

tionary interventions of the proletariat organised in their workers councils.

Capitalism does not know what to do. Without a programme and a policy, with nothing to make a popular appeal, the CBI warns that it will not cooperate with the government. All the rightist forces are launching the campaign to increase unemployment and lower the standard of life. This is a

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## ON THE MILITANT DEATH OF COMRADE FEDERICO

### 1st. January 1975

### J POSADAS

The attitude of Comrade Federico in dying is an example, a demonstration of how the human being, conscious that he cannot live any more, dies without the egoism of life. This is not conservative. It is dynamic and dialectical. He felt that, in dying, he was leaving for those who remained living, a better experience in which he prolonged his life. He overcame the individual egoism, the egoism of the sect, and worked as a part of humanity. Aspiration for the human being as part of humanity, is to serve it, living or not living.

Now, we cannot conquer death individually, but socially yes. Life is superior to death. It is not death which wins; it is life which conquers death. The most important aspect in the attitude of Comrade Federico, is that he worked with this intention. In this case he shows how the human race can work in a global form, through the instrument which is the Party. The Party organises the thoughts, gives the means, the organisation, to work as a part of humanity. This allows thoughts to continue life. It is not that the militant says: 'I continue living', or 'I continue in this way', but the egoism is dislodged. The militant feels that he dies but he does not have the egoism of thinking that with his life, existence finishes. He finishes, the others live, and so he impels life.

In Communism, this will be normal, Communism is going to conquer tragedy, the solitude of death, it will be part of existence, but the negative part, because the person dying leaves behind for those who live, all the wealth which he accumulated. He does not take it with him. The scientists leave their texts and discoveries. The bourgeois make monuments. Revolutionaries leave the thought, the will to live to be useful, not the will to live to be conservative.

The importance of the attitude of Comrade Federico was this. Hence, our concern is knowing his death was to give this thought: that he showed the will to live independently of the result, that the dialectic does not accept death, it makes a dialogue with it, trying to persuade and overcome it. As death is a fact, it is not a being with which one can dialogue or communicate, then the comrade elevated his will to live, communicated to the doctor his will to live, the will to be useful in history. This was why he wanted to live. To learn to die to be useful in life - continuing a useful life has a very great importance, including for the physiological functioning. It transmits the will to live.

Death negates the individual existence, but not the social existence, individual existence is negated but socially the thought is left, the experience of the individual which is communicated to the others. The individual communicates also in this way to the others the will to live, to be useful to the human race, not as

an individual who dies and who has no interest in life; or dying like the rich, who give trivial advice: 'Be careful about this, be careful about the other, do not do this, do not do that', etc.

Hence, it is necessary to take Comrade Federico as an example of history. He died continuing life, because he left the experience, communicating the security in the objective of life. Although he did not continue living, the sense of life continues. Statues, books, memories, music and flowers are prolongations of life, a form of maintaining life. Ideas are the most important means. Hence Lenin continues a life in us, and Marx also. Undoubtedly they are dead. But their thought, their example are present, because when we say: 'As Marx said, as Lenin said', we do not deceive ourselves believing that they are alive. But they work in us. For example, I speak of Marx and I feel very moved: I feel moved when I think of the life of Marx, an example to humanity.

Comrade Federico did what Marx did. He did not have the intelligence or the ability of Marx, but he did what Marx would have done. Hence we are the disciples of Marx. We are not Marx, but in the organisational responsibility we are the same. Comrade Federico was the same as Marx in organisational responsibility. He did not have the capacity nor the qualities of Marx, but yes, he did have the militant conviction of Marx and hence, he died like Marx.

He died leaving for his companion,

as for us, the example of life. It is an example for us. He lived for a sense of progress, of fraternity, with the objective that humanity must overcome its differences, eliminate the economic roots of the differences, eliminate the classes. Then humanity will not be divided. This will be tomorrow; but it is necessary to live it now, to be able to give the base to allow the giving of ideas. In antiquity, there had not been people living in this way, there would not have been people capable of giving ideas or examples able to sustain life, to produce thought.

It is necessary to take this example of Comrade Federico as an example of history. There are thousands who die like this. In dying, they do not feel the conservative egoism of leaving life, and hence losing interest in life. On the contrary, they maintain their concern right up to the last minute to contribute to the progress of humanity, to the struggle for Marxism. This is one of the most beautiful examples. We contribute to the history of humanity, with the attitude, the example of Comrade Federico and with our activity. It is necessary to take into account that when we commemorate the death of Federico, we commemorate the function of a Comrade who has contributed to the progress of the ideas which are necessary for the progress of humanity. This includes our contribution to history. It is necessary to communicate the experience in this way, just as the Palestinians who made the intervention in Munich left a very beautiful record. This showed that they went to make an action which they believed necessary to liberate the Palestinian people. They did not have any sense of egotism, nor of being assassins against the people who were in the airport. They left behind together with their action 60 dollars, with advice on how this should be spent. They were conscious that they were going to be killed, but they were concerned with the others.

This idea can only come from superior human relations. Private property cannot produce this. An individual may come to this conception, but as a class structure, private property cannot. On the other hand the Palestinians, the Trotskyists, the Communists, the Posadists can achieve this.

J. POSADAS 1st January 1975

## MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY 1975.

# Of the International Secretariat of the POSADIST IV. International

- \* TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF THE WORLD, TO THE MASSES OF THE WORKERS STATES (SOCIALIST COUNTRIES),
- \* TO THE CHILDREN, THE YOUNG PEOPLE, THE WOMEN, THE OLD PEOPLE,
- \* TO THE CATHOLIC MASSES OF THE LEFT, TO THE SOCIALIST MASSES.

The will to triumph of humanity characterises this stage of history. The progress of the struggle, of the incorporation of the Young, of the Children, of the Women, of the Old, is constant. They participate with passion and resolution, capacity and energy with what remains of the capitalist system. The masses of the world intervene as the essential protagonists of history. They wish to change, transform social relations, the system of property. They wish to finish with the capitalist system to make human dignity advance, to finish with capitalism, to construct a new society, the basis of this dignity.

The essential character of this stage of history, is determined by the incessant struggle of the masses of the world, from the lowest to the highest levels. Humanity feels, through the struggle of the Vietnamese people, an immense joy. It is with an infinite joy, a Communist joy that we celebrate the triumph of the Vietnamese, the Laotian, and Cambodian masses. This triumph is that of all the masses of the world. It is the invincible will, without any possibility of its being impeded, of all the masses to lead history. Such is the example given by the will of the masses of Vietnam,

Imperialism would have had, without such a will to triumph, the means to conquer. This victory shows also the unification, centralisation, the United objective Front, still not organic or programmatic, of the Workers States (Socialist countries) through the struggle of the masses of the entire world, of the masses of the colonial countries, of Asia, Africa, Latin America, and in this case Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. The struggle of the masses of the world has prevented capitalism from employing and utilising all its forces, to concentrate itself and smash the struggle of the masses.

This is the struggle of the masses of Japan, Germany, France, Spain, Italy, Latin America, Africa, Asia. There are the new Revolutionary States in development in Africa, Asia, Latin America. It is the struggle of the proletariat, of the developed countries of Europe which, as a whole, destroy the capitalist system and prevent it from coordinating and re-organising its forces. This struggle of the masses of the world, increases inter-capitalist competition and renders more bitter the struggle of competitive economic interests and for the domination of the world. It is the struggles of the masses of the world which give the essential basis for the crisis of the capitalist system, to which is added the cyclical economic crisis. It is a question, then, of the total crisis of the capitalist system. This total crisis is expressed both in the economic crisis with immense unemployment, and in the social crisis. All the organs of the capitalist system are hit, shaken, strangled, by the progress of the revolution; all the bases of the capitalist system are affected and disintegrated; the Church, the police, the army, the justice. All the structures on which the capitalist regime is based are disintegrating. If the rhythms of this process are not everywhere the same, the disintegration is nevertheless in a line of advance, affecting all the organs which the capitalist system had developed to sustain itself. They are now in process of playing a role against capitalism, refusing in every case to be a direct and permanent servant of it.

All this is expressed in the armies of Ethiopia, Portugal, Peru and Mexico, and also in a series of other countries where the police organise in trade unions, seeking to coordinate their movements with the Workers movement. A proportionately important part of the Church, passes over to the side of the revolution, and thinks like it. All these institutions organised by capitalism do not find themselves so much negated as considerably enfeebled in their role. They disintegrate and pass at the same time almost directly to the revolution, as can be seen with the armies in Ethiopia, in Somalia, in Portugal, and soon, in other countries.

The advance of the revolution shakes and moves, making evident the historic reason for the need of Socialism. The progress of science, of technology, of the will, of fraternal human relations, is expressed in the

throughout the world. Hence, there is a permanent crisis in the United States.

There has been, for example, in the recent elections for Governors in the United States, a 60% abstention. There has been the refusal to give aid to the imperialist war. All this shows the resistance to, the rejection of, the North American people of the war policy of imperialism. A very important fraction of the latter and of the proletariat, expresses even in an indirect way, its opposition to the assassin world role of the policy of Yankee imperialism.

The Workers States (Socialist Countries), the Communist parties, the Socialist parties, the trade unions must count upon these forces for all their plans, all their struggles, for their strategy on a world scale.

It is necessary to have public meetings in all the Workers States, in the factories, the Workers areas, the houses, the streets, to call meetings in the trade unions, with public discussions on all the problems. This is going to exercise an immense influence on the masses of the United States, and show them what democracy is. This is going to impel in a formidable way the development of democracy in direct liaison with the development of the economy with its forms of leadership and distribution.

The uselessness of private property will, in this way, be demonstrated; the backwardness and the obstacles which it means for the development of life. All this is going to go equally against the usurping tendencies of the bureaucracy. It is necessary to develop the trade union life, the Soviet life, the life of cells in the Soviet Union and in all the Workers States, in China, Cuba, as a powerful means to influence the masses of the United States, to impel them to organise themselves in a class Party. One of the essential problems of history is to aid the masses of the United States to organise themselves in a class, revolutionary Party, to pass through this stage of history.

It is necessary to appeal to the masses of the United States, for a movement which proposes the nationalisation of the key industries in particular those of the arms, nuclear and atomic war. It is necessary to put nuclear science at the service of humanity; to make an appeal to humanity to the Specialists, to the Scientists, to put their discoveries at the service of the development of humanity. It is not a question of being against war in the abstract, but to show that to be against it implies the destruction of the capitalist system.

This characterises this stage of history, and it characterises also the uninterrupted process of advance of the forms of the Socialist Revolution, from the simplest to the most complex aspects. The Workers occupy their factories, from the smallest and even those of an artisan structure, to the biggest, and make them work without the boss. The masses resist and refuse to go back on any of their conquests, showing their will and immense capacity to replace the capitalist system. The progress of the masses is immense. It is thus that they pose already as a condition: a change in the system of property, of control, qualifications, and production. All this is shown by the big trade unions in Europe, Africa, and Latin America. This process takes along with it, the Children, the Women and the Old people. The factories where only the Women work, are occupied and put to work without the owner. They produce better than before, maintaining the standard of production, without fear, without feeling smashed down, or inferior.

The struggle for Communism against capitalism develops the conditions for equality between human beings. Women, Men, Children, Old people, are equal and unified in the struggle for the progress of humanity. We salute with all our Communist affection and all our Communist fraternity the struggle of the Children, the Women, the Young people, and the Old, which means a powerful and irreplaceable incorporation in this stage of history.

The trade unions leaderships, the

Workers Centres, the Communist and Socialist parties, the Nationalist parties, the Catholic parties of the left, must consider and base themselves on this world triumph for their programme to transform society. The Nationalist movements, the Catholic movements, are won to these struggles. What the masses sought above all in these movements, they find it now in the struggle to transform society. All this renders irreversible the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system and Yankee imperialism, leader of world capitalism. All this increases at the same time, the internal contradictions of the system and it exacerbates them. It still remains united by its class interests, and because it depends on the arms and the force of Yankee Imperialism

Yankee imperialism has been conquered in Cambodia, in Vietnam, in Laos. It must withdraw after having constructed a military strategic apparatus, costing hundreds of millions of dollars with the object of containing the revolution in Indo-China. It is not going to accept defeat, it is going to retire, while preparing a new strategy to survive by world war.

Side by side with the struggles of masses of the world against imperialism, a United Front develops with the Workers States (Socialist Countries), with the Soviet Union, China, etc. What determines this stage of history is, the will to triumph and struggle of the masses of the world, of the Young people, of the Children, of the Women, of the Old people, and of the Workers States, that is the gigantic World United Front of the Socialists, Communists and the trade unions.

The powerful impulse of the revolution shows the scientific need for the progress of humanity to eliminate every form of repression provoked by private property, by the capitalist system and its interest, persuades. The armies are won to this struggle, persuaded by this process of history, as was the case with Portugal, Ethiopia, Somalia, in part Peru, and soon, elsewhere.

It is on this basis that it is necessary to establish all the strategy for this stage of history, counting on the need to win over the masses of the United States, whose attitude is far from being passive. If they still show themselves sometimes passive it is because they do not have the organs to express themselves, but they do not support Yankee imperialism, which can make no attempt to base itself on them or mobilise them. These masses observe the world process and are influenced by it. Without organs, they express sometimes in a passive form, individually, by groups, by sectors and in a general fashion through electoral abstentions their relation to the policy of the United States.

Such are the bases of the strategy of this stage of history. It is necessary to finish with one of the greatest and most damaging backward elements in this process of history: the divisions between the Workers States, the Communist parties, and the World Communist and Socialist movements. There exists, certainly in many parts of the world, a progress in the United Front of the Communists, Socialists, and Trade Union Centres, of the trade unions themselves. The United Front on an anti-capitalist programme is a need of history. What is happening in France, and in other parts of the world, is going to be elevated. In the Socialist parties, the process tends also to become more elevated. There can be seen expressions of United Front on an anti-capitalist programme.

The masses of the world show that they wish to change, to replace, to eliminate the capitalist system, responsible for all the evils of humanity, of the pollution of the water, of the air, of food, of the poisoning of peoples, wars, the monstrosity of famines, of droughts, of floodings, and of the deaths which they provoke. All this is a product of a capitalist system which has never known such a decomposition, so profound, leading it to more and more plunder, more and more aggression, in utilising all the forces of the State as a function of the defence of its interests.

The attempts by world capitalism to utilise fascism, shows what point its powerlessness has reached. It utilises and will utilise it, to continue to throw bombs throughout the world, to kill and to assassinate, and to prepare the atomic war. But it does not have the force to triumph, everywhere the masses cause it to fail.

It is necessary to have a programme which responds to this process, a struggle for the unification of the World Communist movement, of the Workers States, of China and the Soviet Union. This unification of the Soviet Union and China is a condition of the invincible forces to make humanity progress. The unification of the World Communist movement, the United World Front of the Communists, Socialists, Workers Centres, with the programme of expropriation of the capitalist system, of planning production, is an irreplaceable need.

The masses must be able to intervene through the Workers Councils, to control the economy. This is the base to finish with the monstrosity of killing to live, of having to die of hunger while there is an 'excess' production of food, of having to die of thirst when there is plenty of water, of having to die because of floodings, when there is the possibility to avoid them.

Humanity is elevating its scientific reasoning. It feels that science, the economy, can be developed outside the capitalist system. All the necessary conditions exist for triumph. This humanity which triumphs is expressed in Vietnam, in Cambodia, Laos, but also in Latin America, in Africa, in Europe, in Asia through all the progress of the struggles of the workers movement, the progress of the Communist and Socialist parties, of the United Front of Communists, Socialists and trade unions.

The masses of the world show an infinite creative capacity. They have formed Workers Councils, organisations of production and of distribution. They show their scientific capacity and immense progress in their discussions, superior to everything of the capitalist system. The masses show the forms of democratic discussions, which they adopt in the life in the factories, the workers areas. All this creates the conditions for scientific development, the experience and the capacity to advance, lead, organise production and property as much as science.

The masses act in such a way as they have no individual interest. They show that it is a collective interest which determines their preoccupation and their thought. All this must be taken into consideration and supported by all the leaderships of the Communist, Socialist parties and trade union centres. It is necessary to facilitate and increase this development of the creative capacity of the masses, essential condition and basis for this process of history. There is the will of the masses to triumph as shown in Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Portugal, Ethiopia; the masses support even in the most backward situations, the most advanced elements of progress, not from an individual interest on the part of one or the other, but to make history objectively progress.

The struggles of the masses of the Workers States, of the Communist, Socialist, and trade union movements in the world, represent the need for the progress of the path of history.

The masses believe and constantly support the most elevated organs. They seek those which develop production, the economy, human democratic and scientific relations. The masses create and support these movements; they wish as a consequence, to construct organs - human relations which it is necessary to favour and stimulate - whose development it is necessary to facilitate: organs of discussion, organisations under all their forms, organs which develop the capacity for experience and enrich it.

All this allows the concentration and centralisation of experiences, the multiple experiences of the tendencies of the workers movement. Such is the most elevated and com-

# THE TERM: "STATE CAPITALISM", AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

**J. POSADAS**

4th JANUARY 1975

plete base to combat and hinder the development of bureaucratic tendencies, of bureaucratic structures, usurping sectors of the economy, of the political leaderships. This facilitates on the contrary the development of the creative capacity of the masses.

It is necessary on this First of May, to have a programme of unification of public discussion, of all the World Communist movement, of China, and the USSR. It is necessary to have a programme of expropriation to be able to plan, to make the Workers Councils intervene which are the basis of democracy. Democracy must serve the development of humanity, and not struggles of the capitalist system which makes use of it to bomb, kill and destroy.

Democracy must serve the development of society and must allow as a consequence all the tendencies to express themselves to the extent that they represent the ideas of the progress of humanity. There cannot be, and must not be, democracy for those who kill and assassinate.

**Imperialism is preparing war, it is necessary to discuss this throughout the world. It is not going to accept being expelled from Cambodia, or Laos. It will not lay down its arms, it seeks new strategies, to prepare the conditions for the atomic war. The blows received in Indo-China, have shaken it, destroyed it and made it doubt, but it will not abandon its objectives. It doubts its future insofar as it feels that it does not have the strength to triumph or decide the war. The revolution imposes on it. However, capitalism as a class prepares for war. Not one or the other sector, but as a class, capitalism will not abandon history without resorting to all the means which it has through the atomic war to maintain itself.**

It is necessary to extend these triumphs of humanity, to organise the World United Front, on an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme. It is necessary to develop the Workers Councils, the incorporation of Women, of Children, of the Old people, of the Young people, in the struggles and in leading positions. It is necessary to develop the struggle of the masses in preparing the answer to the atomic war which the capitalist system is preparing. It has shown that it is with arms in hand, that one persuades and smashes capitalism, as in Indo-China, Portugal and Ethiopia. It is necessary to prepare the struggles, the United electoral, trade union, parliamentary Front, because imperialism is preparing the war.

Humanity is ready for Communism. The leaderships of the Workers States (Socialist Countries), of the Communist and Socialist parties, of the

Revolutionary Nationalist movements, of the Revolutionary Catholics, must be concerned and determined to intervene in United Fronts, to organise to finish with the capitalist system. Only the interests of groups, of tendencies, through which the form of private property expresses itself, hinder such a unification. It is necessary to centralise, and the masses must impel the leaderships to centralise themselves, to finish with the capitalist system and imperialism to foresee and to prepare against the atomic war which is being prepared. The more the revolution progresses, the more the capitalist system is weakened, the more it is destroyed and smashed down, and the better are the conditions to prevent imperialism from launching new blows against humanity.

The triumph of humanity in Vietnam, in Portugal, in Ethiopia, the struggles of the masses in Europe, show the need to transform the capitalist system, responsible for the misery, the lack of dignity, all the evils from which humanity suffers. It is necessary to smash this system, to realise a world United Front with an anti-capitalist programme. It is necessary to appeal for a discussion on the Sino-Soviet unification, the unification of all the World Communist movement, of the Communist/Socialist/Left movement: a United Front, Left Catholics and Workers Centres, on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme, to finish with the capitalist system responsible for all these struggles, which is preparing the atomic war in spite of the defeats it is in the process of undergoing.

We salute with all our joy the triumph of the masses of the world. It is necessary to support and develop them to the maximum. It is necessary to reinforce the trade union, parliamentary and electoral conquests whilst the revolutionary reply is in preparation and the revolutionary struggles develop to finish with the capitalist system.

We salute with all our revolutionary joy and emotion, the triumph of the masses of the world, the masses of the Workers States, the development of the masses of Portugal and Ethiopia. We salute with all our Communist affection the armies, the Catholic movements, who pass into the camp of the revolution, which find in it, in the struggle for Socialism, the response to their aspiration for human dignity; which neither the army, or religion, the Church or the backward Nationalist movements give them. We salute with all our joy this incorporation, to show that the struggle for human dignity, for the Socialist future, and the construction of the new world, makes humanity dignified, unified and centralised.

**We salute the contribution of the Workers States, particularly that of the Soviet Union, in spite of its still limited bureaucratic forms, to the development of history and humanity. We appeal to the comrade leaders of the Soviet Union, of the Chinese Workers State, of the Workers States of the world, of the Communist Parties, for a public discussion for the programme of struggle to support and sustain unconditionally the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system, to organise the centralised and planned economy on a world scale, to discuss and call upon the masses of the world to finish with the capitalist system.**

The triumph of the masses in Indo-China, shows that where the will of the masses of the world to triumph centralises itself, the capitalist system has shown its incapacity to intervene despite all its power, increasing the competition within it. Despite all that, the capitalist system is going to try to unify itself for its very existence is put into question. It is preparing for a new counter-revolutionary strategy. But the masses of the world unified with the Workers States, in United Front with them, even if it is still inorganic, will show that they are more powerful than the atomic weapons of the system.

A plan for a United World Front of discussions with the Workers States (Socialist Countries), of the World Communist movement is necessary. It is necessary to have a World United Front of Communists, Socialists, and Workers Centres on a programme of expropriation of capitalism, on the programme of transformation of the economy, on the basis of Workers Councils and on the planning of production with intervention of the whole population. This is what Portugal and Ethiopia show, the triumph of the Communist and Nationalist masses in the world, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

Such is the road of the future of humanity.

**VIVA THE TRIUMPH OF THE WORLD MASSES IN INDO-CHINA!**

**VIVA THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS!**

**VIVA THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS STATES!**

**VIVA CHINA, VIVA THE SOVIET UNION!**

**VIVA THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL!**

The characterisation which the Communist comrades are making of 'state capitalism' is to avoid the revolutionary road and to try to satisfy new layers who incorporate a form of property and a functioning superior to capitalism, without breaking completely from private property.

This does not have any perspective because it does not allow the development of the economy. Statification is not a measure aimed at suppressing capitalist power, but a measure to be able to plan production, otherwise, it is no use. To expropriate capitalism is a measure, but if it is not continued with the planning of production it is no use. It reiterates and introduces a new form of empiricism in production.

It is not only a question of breaking capitalist power directly in its property, but the system of capitalist production which prevents the development of the economy. In the United States, there is a great development of the economy, but not in everything, because there are shortages and crises. There is a great development of the economy in accordance with the power of the market, but there are 25 million who hardly intervene in the market, and a very great quantity of people who consume nothing more than 50% of what they need, and thus, there is no very great capacity for production.

It is not 'State monopoly capitalism' as a superior form of capitalist organisation which allows planning, it is a superior means compared with the private capitalist power, but it does not eliminate empiricism and anarchy in production. In France Renault exists, nationalised, but the planning of production is in accordance with the interests of the managers of the factories, and this is closer to capitalism than to the workers. The workers do not have the advantages, on the other hand, capitalism has them.

'State Monopoly Capitalism' does not exist as a determining form of the regime. There exists one or two nationalised enterprises of production but they remain in the area of capitalist control. What it is necessary to do, is to nationalise them and utilise them in the form of planning. It is necessary to discuss the means for the planning of production, and the role of the working class, which is not a class which simply means men and machinery together and adds nothing to it, but through the consciousness of its function in society

and the economy, it has objective interests of production because it does not have an interest in accumulation.

It cannot accumulate, it cannot be a proprietary class, it cannot simply reproduce the machines which there are in the factory. This is to say that its productive function is determined by the collective form of

production, which determines the level of its thought, and its place in society. The working class is objective and collective because its function in the economy and in society imposes such a conduct. Together with this, it acquires the consciousness of its function, it organises it consciously as a Party. Its function comes from its situation in the economy and society. This is what it is necessary to discuss.

## SELF MANAGEMENT AND THE FUNCTION OF THE WORKING CLASS

Another problem which it is necessary to discuss, it self-management and advancing. Hence, Yugoslavia, its evolution in history. The Yugoslavs took it as a means of defence against Stalin. They made it through the empiricism of production, and the absence of a revolutionary leadership. Self-management is not a form of organisation which allows the development of the possibilities of production, with all its strength. The only form of developing production, is nationalisation and collective planning. What has to be done, is to throw out the leadership and to put there what corresponds to it: the role of the working class in the economy, in society, and in the construction of Communism.

All those who today discuss the function of self-management, do so because they do not understand the function of the working class in history. They speak of the working class but they avoid the fact that the working class is the motor of the construction of Socialism. As the class has not been able to dedicate itself to the intellectual function, it has been represented by the intellectuals in the name of the working class. And not because the working class says that they should do this, but because the working class releases stimulus, orientations, thoughts, through their objective attitude, and the intellectuals take this, and express it under the form of literature and programme.

It is necessary to discuss with all those who speak about self-management that they want to replace the working class.

Not all have bad intentions because this comes from the strangulation of the Soviets by Stalin, the strangling of the Bolshevik Party, of the trade unions, and of the organs which developed currents that sought to develop experiences like the Yugoslavs.

It is necessary to re-organise the movement, to return through Partial Regeneration to its origin, and in

Today, there are 14 Workers States, which have been established in countries which were stables, and they now proceed to export machinery! The behaviour of the population in Hungary, in Yugoslavia, in all the Workers States, is not based on property. People do not have, nor do they develop as an objective, the sentiment of property. This shows that this is the road, not only to develop production but for the creation of fraternal sentiments and consciousness in the population. If the economy does not serve to elevate the consciousness and the human fraternity, it has no value.

Hence, even in the USSR, with all the backwardness which Stalin meant, the Workers States elevate the consciousness of the population, which was expressed in Stalingrad, in the defence of the Workers State in front of the attacks of the Nazis, and in spite of the fact that a few years before, Stalin killed millions of peasants. In spite of the disaster which was caused and the indignation which it caused in the population, where it was necessary to defend the Workers State from the attacks of the Nazis they defended it and the population behaved in a very elevated form; and the State did not have to dedicate forces to ensure that the population defended the Workers State. The Soviet masses did not doubt and showed the superiority of Socialism over capitalism.

(J. Posadas 4th January 1975).

## The superiority of the historic function of the working class compared with the other classes

**J. POSADAS**

4th.3.1975

In all the social classes throughout history - except the proletariat - 80% of their behaviour leads to competition, to aggressiveness, to expulsion of the other, in favour of self. But the proletariat in all its action awakens love, creating an essential basis for humanity - fraternal, human relations. In capitalism such relations cannot develop, because commerce determines the relations of human beings. Fraternity comes through necessity of coexistence in life and the development of science, which expresses the development of sentiment. In the proletariat this comes as a normal condition, completely determined by its function in the economy and in society. Everything which it does awakens love, hence the Roman Coliseum is a wastage of human love.

In Cuba all now eat eggs. This is an expression of the level of culture. To the capitalists it is intolerable to compare eggs with a painting or a work of art. But the proletariat feels that being able to eat eggs, all the population after-

wards are going to have better paintings than those which the capitalists have, because this resolves the problem of hunger which maintains division between human beings. The egg does not correspond to art and culture, but it prepares the conditions to produce art and culture. We don't confuse culture with eating, but it is not possible to have culture without eating particularly if one eats and another, doesn't. For this reason the culture which exists is very limited and that has been the history of humanity. We reject that we have to accept this. It's a history of ignominy. Was it like this, yes? But we reject this form of history. They want us to accept it because 'there was no other way'. No, there were a thousand other ways. It was 'this' way because this is the history of the class struggle, that is to say, the classes in history have played this role. The proletariat does not have, nor plays, this role.

We reject what they want, which is to equalise the function of all the classes in history. No, the proletariat is not the

same, through its function in the economy and in society.

Human love is one of the essential elements in the progress of history. It is necessary to await the conditions of development of love in humanity, which is one of the essential elements which elevates the function of thought, which is determined by human relations and not by interest. In capitalism little can develop because relationship is in accordance with interest. Capitalism judges and intervenes in the process of life with the interest of accumulation. The proletariat, no. It's position is quite the reverse.

The development of human society based on private property, was in a form independent of the human being. It was submitted to economic and class relations and this stimulated, developed and created the causes of the antagonistic and competitive development of the sentiments.

J. Posadas

4.3.1975

# The relationship between the Socialist and Communist parties is determined by the objective world United Front of the masses and the Workers States.

The fact that the Labour Party has decided – despite the campaign of the bourgeoisie against the visit of Shelepin which was intended to intimidate the Labour and Trade Union Left – to invite observers from the German Workers State (GDR) to this year's annual conference of the Labour Party, shows the depth of the discussion in the Labour Party and in the interior of the working class on the struggle for power and the means to conduct this struggle. It is true that the original proposal to invite fraternal delegates – with the right to address the conference – was finally watered down to a decision to invite the German comrades as observers; but this does not detract from the fact that the right of the Labour Party was unable to prevent the invitation being confirmed. What it does show is how this discussion is contained by the bourgeois apparatus of the Labour Party. The invitation to the comrades of the German Workers State is part of a world process in which the total crisis of capitalism destroys any perspective of reforming the capitalist system and this, together with the pressure of the anti-capitalist struggle of the workers, of the masses at the base of the Socialist parties and the advance of the Workers States, disintegrates all the reformist conceptions of the Social Democracy. The development of the alliances between the Communist and Socialist Parties, and the relationship between the Socialist parties and the Workers States and the World Communist Movement, is, in depth, more than simply a series of electoral fronts. On the contrary it is an expression of the objective world united front of the masses which is co-ordinated and centralised by the existence and development of the system of the Workers States. The Popular Union of the Communist and Socialist parties – and the Left Radicals – in France, on an anti-capitalist programme for the nationalisation of the decisive centres of

the economy – the 13 monopolies – is the most organic expression of this process and the trip of Mitterand (leader of the French Socialist Party) to Moscow; and the discussion between the delegation of the French Socialist Party and the Communist Party (CPSU) show that the pressure of the masses at the base of the FSP is not only to unify the workers movement in France, but to find a direct unification with the Workers States.

The objective reality of this stage of the progress of humanity, of the world revolution – the total crisis of capitalism, the existence and advance of the Workers States and the level of the struggle of the masses – puts the leaderships of all the Workers Movement, including those of the parties that are called Social-Democratic, in front of the fact that there is no middle road, no half-way house between capitalism and the Workers State. All the reformist policies of self-management, of the 'mixed economy', of workers co-operatives and the rest, provide no answer to the total inability of capitalism to fulfil the needs of humanity and the struggle of the working class is – as the Chrysler workers rejection of the offer of 'worker participation' demonstrates – posing the only solution to the problems created by capitalism, that is nationalisation under workers control. It must now be abundantly clear to the Left of the Labour Party that capitalism is not going to be expropriated voluntarily or gradually, bit by bit, and the statement by Watkinson (of the CBI) that the bourgeoisie 'will have to develop industrial muscle' to oppose the NEB emphasises this fact and only the most dim-witted, or those who have interests completely at one with the bourgeoisie, can avoid this conclusion. The path of the advance of humanity, the means to develop the economy in the service of the mass of humanity, is nationalisation under workers control and the planning of the economy on this basis. This means the Workers State, there is no other road to Socialism and 16 Workers States already exist.

they also pointed out very bluntly that it was the Communist parties which had been the leadership of the revolution, that had constructed Workers States and not the Socialist parties. It is a measure of the level of the process of Partial Regeneration that the Soviet leadership can intervene in this way, being persuasive and posing the necessity of finding the 'language and means to continue the discussion' with the Socialists but giving no concession to the right wing of the Socialists which had hopes of using the alliance with the Communist Party for their own electoral interests.

Equally, what maintains the Popular Union, the common programme of nationalisation is the existence in the FSP of a revolutionary, left wing – the CERES – which expresses in an organic form the objective alliance which exists on a world scale, between the masses and the Workers States. The same is true of the agreement made between the masses and the Workers States. The same is true of the agreement made between Soares and the Portuguese Communist Party. It is clear that had the votes for the Portuguese Socialist Party in the recent election been votes for the policies of Soares, reform or partial measures, he would have felt confident enough to keep the Socialist Party in opposition to the Communist Party. In reality, the situation is, however, that the masses of Portugal voted for Socialism and the well developed left wing, the revolutionary wing of the Portuguese Socialist Party transmits the pressure, struggles and aspirations of the masses to the leadership. Soares has a choice – as have

Labour Party and the World Communist Movement. The level of the struggle in this country poses to the Left of the Labour Party now, all the fundamental questions of nationalisation, of the necessity of a planned economy, of workers control and of the necessity of a state monopoly of foreign trade. This last is not posed in a very clear way, but it is implied in the discussion on import controls and measures to control the flow of capital. In order to advance, the Labour and Trade Union Left has to develop the discussion on all these fundamental issues with a world vision – and a world vision means Marxism. There is a necessity for Marxism in the Labour Party. In the material, concrete sense the Workers States are Marxist and the discussion on 'reform or revolution' which had existed in the left of the Labour movement for a whole epoch has to take on a new significance, it has to be based on the fact that the system of the Workers States exists and advances. The means have to be found for the Workers States to weigh more directly in the Labour Movement. The other source of Marxism, the ideas and analysis, are in the texts of the Posadist IV International, in the texts of Comrade Posadas, which have to be integrated in this discussion.

In the most immediate sense the Left have to use the whole political atmosphere of discussion – and still limitedly of mobilisation – created by the referendum on the Common Market. It is a central issue which poses the question of the alliance with the World Communist Movement, of the overthrow of the last remnants of capitalism. At the same time the invitation to the delegates from the German Workers State has a great importance; it is even more important that they are given the right to speak at the Conference, but it has to be recognised that the Labour Party annual conference is a limited form which allows neither full discussion nor the intervention of the proletariat. The Workers States are the collective, Communist nature of the working class raised to the level of a state, and these are the two fundamental points of support for the Labour Left in the struggle for power, for the overthrow of capitalism – the proletariat and the Workers States! So it follows that the invitation to delegations from the Communist Party of the East German Workers State has to be extended and not limited by the reformist, electoral structure and apparatus of the Labour Party. If the comrades from the GDR are not to be allowed to speak at the conference – and even if they are – meetings should be organised for them in the workers areas and in the factories. Meetings at which the working class can intervene fully.

It is also necessary that the British proletariat intervenes in the process of discussion between the Socialist and the World Communist Movement and in the struggle of the masses in the whole of Europe. The Labour and Trade Union Left, basing itself on the weight and authority of the British proletariat, has to take the initiative to call for a European Conference of Workers Parties and Trade Unions of the Workers States and those countries which are still capitalist. A conference to discuss a common programme, policy and strategy for the overthrow of what is left of capitalism and for the extension of the system of the Workers States.

## EDITORIAL

continued from page 1

necessity of capitalism, but it is a policy which deepens the social catastrophe of capitalism because there is no force to make the masses

submit. It accelerates the need for the deepening of the programme to liquidate the capitalist system and the mobilisation of the masses in the factories and the workers areas.

### THE ONLY SOLUTION: THE PLANNED ECONOMY

The campaign on the issue of the Common Market has entered into profound contradiction with the will and decision of the proletariat. The level of the discussion does not correspond to the objective needs of the situation either within this country or the larger issue of unification with the rest of the European working class for a socialist Europe. The discussion at the top is abstract. But the lack of dynamism in the campaign is precisely due to the fact that with the beginning of a serious discussion at the base in the factories, the leadership of the 'NO' would be rapidly bypassed. The discussion on the relations between the world Communist Movement and the Socialist parties is fundamental to the

next stages in the transformation of the Labour Party (see the article on this subject in the present issue of Red Flag). It is not possible to discuss the crisis of collapse of the Common Market and the enormous crisis of capitalism at home and abroad, or find a solution for this country, without taking this into account. Wilson manoeuvred and the parliamentary left, to contain the discussion to the level of accountability within the limits of capitalism, but this has failed and the timidity of the whole campaign shows the intense fears of the official left and, of course of capitalism, that real discussion invites the presence of Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Posadas.

### MASS CONFERENCES, MEETINGS, DISCUSSIONS!

Nothing can stop the accumulation of conditions for the discussion of marxism, the need for intelligence, and reason. The latest debacle in N. Ireland with the abstention in the elections and the total incapacity of imperialism to provide a solution, parallels and throws light on the situation in Britain as a whole. The process demands greater and greater initiatives from the forces of the left in the Labour Party, in the unions, and in the factories. It is necessary to meet proposed factory closures with occupations, but at the same time it is necessary to pose the need for the planning of the economy which cannot be done empirically and piecemeal, but only by an audacious policy of nationalisation of all the key industries and the banks. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY. This is not going to be achieved by the quietistic road of NEB – though clearly this weakens the functioning of capitalism – but by mobilisations to take advantage of the incapacity of capitalism, its lack of initiative. Obviously capitalism, as in Portugal, is going to try to cause the maximum disorder and the way to smash it, is to act with confidence and audacity. It is not possible to reorganise Leylands or the steel industry in a serious way without reference to a central plan. The alternative is chaos in which the discussion is left at the level, that it's not the business of the government to take over bankrupt firms. On the contrary, as the whole system is bankrupt in every possible way, the only way is to propose the expropriation with workers control of all the leading industries, immediate workers control

in the industries already nationalised, and control of export and import trade. The cretinism of capitalism proposes that thousands of workers be dismissed in the steel industry, reduction of railways etc. Only a co-ordinated socialist policy and programme based on popular intervention can be the alternative to this. The banks have to be taken over and as this means to confront the world financial system, the debate on the Common Market, demands the united front with the workers of the rest of Europe, including all the Workers States to confront the world capitalist class.

The age of trivial reforms is out, empirical muddling through, belongs to imperialism. The way to advance demands the maximum in audacity. The Vietnamese gave their all in audacity. Every effort has to be made by the forces of the left in the LP and the Unions, to take initiatives for local conferences, factory meetings, meetings in the workers areas, to promote the permanent functioning of the independent committees of the masses, to accelerate the discussion in all the sectors of the vanguard, to lead to a decisive 'NO' to the Common Market, making it also a 'yes' to the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe, a programme of nationalisations of all the key industries, the banks, the destruction of NATO and full open discussion for the fusion of the world Communist and Socialist movements in one world Communist International

10th May, 1975.

This is the significance of the discussion between Mitterand and the CPSU in Moscow. They agreed on a permanent process of discussion between them and immediately afterwards the French Socialist Party leadership appealed for a discussion with the French Communist Party, not only on the anti-capitalist programme of the Popular Union but on action to impose it. The statement of Jospin (a member of the Secretariat of the FSP) at the Party's national conference shows clearly the depth of this discussion in Moscow. He outlined the major points of the discussion as being the question of whether more than one Party of the masses is necessary, what the form of the Party should be, what are the means of going to Socialism and what is the process 'reform or revolution'? In other words not only has a permanent relationship of discussion between the FSP and the CPSU been confirmed, but it is based on all the fundamental questions of the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of Socialism.

At the same time the intervention of Ponomarev (a member of the central committee of the CPSU) attacking the role – in relation to its support of Israel, for example – of the Socialist International, shows that what leads this process of the transformation of the Social-Democratic parties to Socialist parties, from reformist to anti-capitalist parties, is the intervention of the Workers States. Whilst the leadership of the CPSU have been quite persuasive in their discussions with Mitterand,

## MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATIONS

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**The collapse of Imperialism  
in Vietnam, and the struggle  
of the North American Masses.**

**J. POSADAS** 3<sup>rd</sup> MAY 1975.

The collapse of imperialism in Vietnam and in Cambodia means a process of maturing throughout the entire world. It is not only a defeat, it is a collapse. A whole strategic plan, a whole system of military action used by imperialism to dominate its own camp, the bourgeois camp, and to intimidate the revolution and its relations with the Workers States, has collapsed. All this has collapsed through the revolution, through the United World Front of the revolution, expressed in the Vietnamese. There is an objective United Front expressed through the support of the Workers States - particularly USSR and China - and the masses of the world. There is a united front. Humanity is ready for Communism.

Humanity is seeking to put itself in agreement with itself and Vietnam shows how and where the process is going. One of the most beautiful actions is that of the North American masses. It is necessary to celebrate it! The North American masses did not do anything, did not come out shouting in defence of the 'American Flag'. The conception of what they call 'national pride' has changed. National pride for the North American worker and middle class is to be useful to history. This shows that they want to be useful to history and the sentiment, the conception of the 'fatherland' is already by-passed in an enormous sector of the North American people. Although it still does not have a philosophical or cultural conception, its behaviour by-passes the sentiment of the fatherland. Hence, it is of no interest to them that the Vietnamese have thrown out the Yanks. On the contrary, they said to the refugees who disembarked in the U.S.: 'Go home'. This means that the masses are pushing forward an internal political life. It is not an active organised political life, but it is a political life. All the events of the world influence the North American masses. This is an essential factor for the development of the anti-capitalist struggle. If the North American masses were simply following capitalism, capitalism would have an immense strength and would launch the atomic bomb. But for the Yanks it is a question of defending themselves from the revolution and seeing that nothing happens inside. To make the war is not only to confront the world revolution, the Workers States, but also to be certain as to what is happening in the U.S. They already know what is going to happen because they see that nobody supports them in their intervention in Vietnam. If there is a war, capitalism will collapse and the North American people will support the masses of the world.

This confirms that there is a profound class struggle within the U.S. What is absent are the organs of leadership of the class struggle. The masses are struggling and if imperialism had counted upon the passivity of the North American people, all Asia would have been invaded and imperialism would have felt strong enough to confront the Soviets.

The decisive proof of the revolutionary behaviour of the masses of the world, is that in the U.S. the government did not succeed in organising one person in their favour. These charlatans shouted: 'North America was never defeated and never will be defeated!' Well, the Vietnamese have now thrown them out and there is no attitude of petulance. The Vietnamese did not celebrate the victory of Saigon with the petulance of the conqueror, but neither is there an attitude of modesty. They did not need to make a massive display of their victory. This behaviour has an immense effect on the masses of the world. It shows that Communism is the necessity of history, not the result of the victory of the 'most powerful'. Vietnam is not a triumph, but a necessity of history. All the masses of the world have collaborated, have intervened, have centralised themselves around the triumph of Vietnam. It is a necessity of history, not against the North American masses, but against Yankee capitalism. The salute which Pham Van Dong made to the North American people is very important, and is going to have very great repercussions. Meanwhile Yankee imperialism was not able to organise anyone to give condolences to the American ambassador who was thrown out of Saigon.

The authority of the Workers States and the triumph of Vietnam have had great repercussions on the masses of the world and of the U.S. When the people said to the bourgeois refugees of Vietnam: 'Go Home', this shows the satirical, ironical sense, because this was said before to the Yanks. This shows that they felt that 'Go Home' was correct and just. Otherwise they would not do this, they would use other means. This shows that the North American people is living the world experience, it cannot be ignored! It is necessary to see that the North American people is intervening in this process, passively, but it intervenes. It does not advance directly, but it prevents Yankee imperialism from being free to intervene. The anguish of the bourgeoisie which is expressed in the face of Ford, is because the North American masses want to intervene.

The objective conditions, expressed in the collapse of imperialism in Vietnam, are elevating at a very dynamic rhythm, by-passing all the bourgeois parties. These feel that they are being pulverised by the very dynamic process which comes from the depth of history, from the people. The most ordinary and simple people say: 'It is necessary to intervene!' Before, the world was divided between those who give orders, those who communicated the orders, those who made the resolution for application, and those who accept. Now, No! The most simple people, the child of six says: 'We can construct, we can intervene'. One of the necessary conditions for Socialism is developing in a very profound way. Vietnam shows that in the worst conditions, without material means, without arms - compared with what the Yanks had, the Vietnamese had very little - they have the necessary conditions to triumph: they are a necessity of history. History cannot progress without a logical order which acts through the economy, human relations and nature. This process, which has been developed through centuries, has ended. We have reached the end to a stage of civilisation. The liberation of Saigon is a very important stage, in the end of this stage of the history of humanity. It shows that the arrogance of arms is yielding and being replaced by reason. But reason needs arms to impose itself. People see this: 'It is a war in another sense'. People reason. This is the common judgement - Vietnam triumphed because it is necessary. This has developed in an accelerated form in the minds of people. They do not see the triumph of the good against the bad, of the poor against the rich, but see that it is necessary. No one sees in this war arrogance, injustice, malice, intolerance, but it sees necessity. This is helping humanity to reason. It does not have a conscious leadership for this reasoning, save for the very indirect intermediaries, which are the Communist, Socialist parties and the trade unions. But humanity is reasoning.

In the U.S. people are reasoning: they have spent hundreds of thousands of millions of dollars, an immense amount. With this they could have settled the problems of the world with no more floods or droughts. People are discussing this! The scientists are discussing the same thing: 'We do not want to abandon the intelligence we have acquired by launching a war!' There is a rebellion. Everything which the Yanks have spent is being discussed and is having repercussions in the United States. The contributors themselves are saying: 'Why did we spend all this?' This preoccupies the Yanks, because, while they cannot make the war, they have to confront the elections. This is going to have a tremendous effect: a whole strategy of arrogance is collapsing!

This defeat of imperialism is going to intensify the contradictions in the capitalist system. The competition is not the cause of the 'crisis', it is the effect. The essential cause is Vietnam: this is the world process of the revolution which intensifies the world crisis of the revolution.

turn to page 4



We print the picture of the Chinese children training to defend the Workers State, for there is expressed in the faces of these children an indescribable joy which can only come from the most profound sentiment of defending superior human relations. The joy here expressed is the one of the Vietnamese people, which is the immense joy of defending conquests in human relations which are a fundamental gain for the whole of humanity.

**NATO OUT OF BRITAIN!  
BRITAIN OUT OF NATO!**

**IMMEDIATE CLOSING OF  
YANKEE**

**BASES IN BRITAIN**



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YEAR XII

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**FOR THE 'NO' VOTE IN THE REFERENDUM !  
FOR BRITAIN OUT OF NATO !**

The denunciation of Wilson by the shop stewards leadership at Chryslers even if it is expressed in a confused way and by a leadership which lacks an anti-capitalist programme and policy is, nevertheless, a clear demand by the working class for a new leadership in the Labour Party. When Wilson says that these workers are trying to impose the nationalisation of Chryslers, he's right. This is the fear of the bourgeoisie which Wilson is expressing, the fear of a process which is one of a struggle for power. The Chrysler workers have already demonstrated - by their rejection of 'workers participation' - that they have no interest in solving the problems of the bourgeoisie and that they are not going to pay for the crisis of capitalism. By rejecting 'workers participation' and attacking Wilson, they are demanding the nationalisation of Chryslers under workers control and the replacement of Wilson and his bourgeoisie team in the Labour Party by a leadership which is prepared to lead the struggle for a programme of nationalisations, of workers control, and for the elimination of what is left of capitalism. It may be that Morris is considered 'right wing', but his statement that Wilson is a 'disgrace to Socialism' reflects the spirit and aspirations of the class, and when he and the other shop stewards come to London demanding an apology from Wilson, they are expressing the balance of forces in the Labour movement which is very much with the workers at the base. The same is true of the intervention of the steel workers in London to impose an end to the plans of Finnieston for massive unemployment in the steel industry. This mobilisation resulted in an immediate victory inasmuch as the plans have been dropped. These workers came to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie - and to the Labour leadership - that they would not accept unemployment and, at the same time, to put a pressure on their leadership in the trade unions. This is why they demanded that Benn spoke at the meeting and then - when they saw that he had nothing to offer - they walked out in large numbers. It was an expression of the attitude of the class towards its leadership at this stage; it pushes the existing leaderships as far as they can go, but it does not allow the limitations and timidity of these leaders in the trade unions and Labour Party to in any way impede the independent intervention and organisation of the working class.

**THE ACTIONS OF THE STEEL AND CARWORKER, FOR A NEW  
LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY**

In a previous period there was some hesitation on the part of the workers in impelling the crisis within their own movement, for fear that the bourgeoisie would be able to take advantage of it. Now they react to the weakness of the bourgeoisie, to the total economic, social and political crisis of capitalism by attacking the Labour and trade union leaderships who do not answer the demands and aspirations of the working class. The reception given to Foot by the steel workers of Ebbw Vale a few weeks back is part of this process. The consciousness and confidence displayed by the working class in this country in seeking solutions to the central problem of the inadequacy and timidity of its own leadership does not

come about only from its own internal forces - although these are very powerful - but from the world process of the revolution. In a sense the British working class is emerging from a dictatorship which was as repressive - although in another form - as that of fascism in Portugal. It is breaking the grip of the workers aristocracy on the labour movement, in the trade unions and Labour Party and this struggle, as that of the Portuguese masses, was prepared by the world process of the revolution, by the victory of the masses in Vietnam, by all the defeats of imperialism in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe. It was prepared, above all, by the existence and advance of the Workers States and the objective uni-

ted front which exists between them and the world masses. The intervention of the printing workers of 'Repubblica' (the Portuguese Socialist Party - PSP - newspaper), against the policy of Soarez and the leadership of the PSP which is conciliatory towards capitalism, which seeks a 'middle road' between capitalism and the Workers State has exactly the same meaning as the attack by the Chrysler workers on Wilson and those of the steel workers on Benn and Foot. It is a pressure, a demand for a programme and policy for the elimination of capitalism, for the construction of the Workers State, and for a leadership which answers these demands.

There is no 'middle road' and all the experience of the proletariat teaches it this. The 'workers co-op' at Meriden is shown now for what it is - an attempt to contain the process towards workers control by stimulating a small sector with the attitudes of the workers aristocracy, whilst a large sector of the workers lose their jobs and the rest of the motorcycle industry is faced with collapse. It is the same with partial nationalisations run for the benefit of the capitalist economy. It is disgusting that the first threats of massive unemployment are made in nationalised industries like BSC and the Railways. This is why the Chrysler workers reject 'participation' and the leaderships which propose it. This pressure of the working class, of all the masses on a world scale on its leaderships and organisations, is the reaction to the total, world crisis of capitalism which demonstrates daily that it can't develop all the advances in science and technology for the benefit of the population. It is the rejection of a system which allows starvation whilst it destroys food, and unemployment when houses, hospitals and schools need to be built. This pressure finds

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# PORTUGAL HAS VOTED FOR SOCIALISM.

## J. POSADAS

The elections in Portugal are an eloquent, living, categorical demonstration of the world elevation of the process of the revolution, of the unity which exists between this process and the intervention of the masses which are the essential basis of the revolutionary process.

These elections have taken place in a country which has undergone 50 years of fascism. According to bourgeois conceptions, the masses should have felt smashed, subdued, and frightened. The leaders of the working class, timid and superficial, have the same conception: the working class should have been smashed. And they wanted to have the proof of what it was going to do, what its attitudes, and influence were going to be on the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, the poor sectors of the population. The latter have shown that the working class in Portugal, like the emigrant workers, has exercised a powerful influence, and eloquent and categorical determination that the working class, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, are orientated towards socialism. This is what Portugal is about. Portugal wants Socialism. Portugal has voted for Socialism.

In spite of different nuances, different tendencies, Portugal voted for Socialism. It came directly out of fascism and on the first occasion of a demonstration, of a concentration where it was possible to decide in a political resolution as with the voting, even without previous preparation, the masses voted for Socialism.

And they did it, by giving 80% of the votes to the Communists, Socialists, left Socialists, to the sectors linked to the Communist Party and to the alliance of the Socialists with sectors of the centre — that means votes for the left, an overwhelming majority of votes for the left, for Socialism. The vote for the Socialist Party has been a vote for Socialism. The masses did not vote for a democracy of the Socialist Party which does not exist, which cannot exist. Through the votes which they gave to the Socialist Party, they voted to create an impulse to go to Socialism. They voted to impel Socialist measures.

The working class in greater part voted for the Communist Party. This shows that it has a profound influence, although limited, on the working population. The weight of the working class is small, it has not been able to have a political development. On the other hand, the emigrant Portuguese proletariat was not able to vote in its majority, it has not been able to weigh and have an influence on the rest of the population, on the petit bourgeoisie, on the peasants. The workers in the countryside were not able to receive the influence of those of the town and those who live outside the country. Thus, the elections do not represent the most living and the most profound aspects in the sentiments of the class, in the revolutionary sentiments of the Portuguese population.

One of the most eloquent, biggest and most elevated events, is shown in the fact that a country coming out of torture after 50 years of fascism, immediately arrives at the most elevated conclusions, in voting for the Socialist programme. Portugal voted for the programme of the Movement of the Armed Forces, the MAF. This election was not a blind searching nor a legislative election or a local election seeking for advantages, agreements, personal gains with laws or measures which favour a group or a sector. No. The masses voted massively for a precise and decided orientation, for the programme of the Armed Forces which they approved, whatever the concrete result. It is the programme of the road to Socialism. In spite of limitations, this programme is a road, a way to Socialism. Between the capitalist road and the Socialist road the masses have chosen the Socialist road. This is the enormous and formidable depth of these elections in Portugal.

The masses did not vote for the leaders, the candidates, one or the other; they voted for a programme: the programme of the MAF, of the Armed Forces which, even limitedly, is that of the road to Socialism. Portugal came out of fascism and goes directly to allowing the Portuguese population to emerge from fascism and to take immediately the road, the way, the orientation of Socialism. This shows the maturity of the world.

In the elections in Portugal, all humanity voted. All the masses of the world. Vietnam voted, it was also present in Portugal. It influenced and orientated the elections, the political orientation, the social influence of the masses. The crushing defeat of imperialism, its collapse in Vietnam, has exercised immense influence on the masses of the world,

on the petit bourgeoisie, on the peasant sectors, who impelled by the world process of the revolution, of culture, of social and political struggles, has influenced the masses of Portugal. The latter did not come from nothing to come to take this road, to advance in its social struggles; they emerged from the obscurity of 50 years of fascism, elevated and sustained by the hand offered to them by the world proletariat, through the Workers States, the Revolutionary States, the struggles of the masses of Europe, Latin America, Japan Asia, the 14 Workers States (Socialist countries) towards the Socialist programme. They did not come from the void, but from a point of support, from the enormous support of the struggles of the world proletariat. They did not leave fascism and afterwards have to go round searching where to go. They had been led, supported and impelled by the struggles of the masses of the world, by the progress of the Workers States. They came from the void of fascism to advance towards the Socialist perspective of humanity given by the Workers States (Socialist countries), and the struggles of the masses of the world.

### THE WORLD PROCESS IS DECISIVE

The masses of the world were present, influencing the Portuguese masses, the struggles of the masses of the Revolutionary movements of liberation of Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique. All this process, as a whole, has shown that the masses feel this world influence, that they reason, develop their thought, their preoccupation for the future, for future struggles, on the basis of this world influence, of the progress of history, which the great struggles of the masses of Italy, of France, represent, with the progress, the contribution and the participation of the Workers States, of the USSR, of China Cuba, and of all the struggles of the masses of the world. The Portuguese masses did not live apart but were part of this process without intervening in an organic or organisational form. One has to draw this same conclusion from the masses of the United States. They are not in the process of participating actively, but they live the process of history, they feel it, and they are not guided by what the imperialist government of the United States says to them. They are in the process of reasoning in relation to the actions, the progress of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world, against the capitalist system.

It is necessary to be based on this conception to see the depth of the process signified by Portugal, to draw the conclusions on an audacious, decided, resolved action of anti-capitalist policies to finish with the capitalist system. Portugal is an eloquent, living, decided demonstration of the resolve of the masses of the world, and of the unity of the world. It is the will of the masses to finish with the capitalist system, to seek human dignity, to elevate it, which gives the precise orientation to this unity. This is the meaning of the elections in Portugal.

The little old ladies, the children, the young people, the women of Portugal, have shown that they were the representatives of the best, the most elevated in the history of humanity, because they voted to impel Socialist measures. They did not do it from fear, they did not feel intimidated, or constrained, they felt impelled by the world revolution and sought to impel the programme of the Armed Forces, which is the Socialist programme. This is not a complete Socialist programme, but is orientated towards Socialist measures. This is the conclusion which it is necessary

to draw, and that must be drawn, from the elections in Portugal.

It is the world process of forces favourable to the revolution which is expressed in Portugal. Capitalism has collapsed in the Middle East. It is disintegrating, and fragmenting. Yankee imperialism, despite all its power, has been expelled from Indo-China. The masses of Indo-China, based on the support of the Workers States (Socialist countries), on the mass struggles in Germany, France, Italy, Latin America, on Japan, based on the hatred of the North American masses against Yankee imperialism, on their behaviour which is not organic but is not passive, in opposing their government, have beaten imperialism. This assembly of forces has given to the masses of Indo-China, of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, the capacity, the force, the resolution, the possibility and the historic conditions in order to triumph. This is the world United Front of the Workers States (Socialist countries), of the Revolutionary masses, of the world proletariat, of the peasants, of the petit bourgeoisie, of the children, the

women, who elevate themselves in the anti-capitalist struggle. This is what is expressed in Portugal.

These elections have not been separated from the world, but have taken place in a process of uninterrupted development of the world revolution; of conquests and struggles of the anti-capitalist masses. It is for that reason that the little old women, the children, the women and the young people of Portugal have played such a role, and this is incessant throughout the entire world. The leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties, of the trade unions, of the workers centres, must base themselves on these conditions to make a United Front, with an anti-capitalist programme, the programme of production, for the development of the economy, of anti-capitalist, social development. They must make the masses intervene by means of Workers Councils, Councils in the zones, the workers areas, so as to plan, to lead, to develop the economy, and impel the masses towards direct intervention in the leadership of Portugal, like the other capitalist countries.

### THE MASSES WANT TO IMPEL SOCIALIST MEASURES

These elections are not a demonstration of civil and civic rights, but represent the social will of the masses who wish to impel measures towards Socialism. It is on the basis of these organisational conclusions, of great, enormous, historic and social depth, it is on this base that the Socialists, Communists, trade union leaders, the left groups, the Socialist left, and the Army, must take their responsibility to make a programme tending to lead to a better progress of the Socialist revolution, of Socialist measures. They must make an appeal for the intervention and the discussion of all the masses. The leftist groups must intervene, maintaining their criticisms, if they consider them necessary, but opening at the same time a discussion in such a way as to impel the economy, the intervention of the masses and their discussion, taking account of the limitations that still exist to be able to advance and establish a United Front on the basis of Socialist measures. It was possible to achieve in one leap, in an election, the total transformation of society, we would do it, but this cannot be done.

The elections in Portugal show that the conditions are ripe for progress, towards much more profound Socialist measures. The masses did not vote for one Party or the other, seeking an antagonism with one or the other. The masses voted unified and centralised on the basis of an outlook which is in process of developing in this stage. Emerging from 50 years of fascism in hardly a year, they found the decision to orientate. One year of assemblies, of discussions, of meetings, of trade union activities was not sufficient to achieve such a maturity, if the masses had not been prepared, living previously the life of the world, elaborating and elevating their consciousness of the understanding of the world process of the revolution, and of their anti-capitalist hatred. It is a very eloquent example and conclusion, that all the comrades of the Communist and Socialist parties, the workers centres, the radical parties of the left, the left nationalists, the left Catholics, must take as the base for the perspective, the programme, the policy and the anti-capitalist objectives.

The vote was massive — 90% of the population, and almost no abstentions. This signifies the concentration of the will which comes from before, of participating and weighing to impel the history of Portugal. The elections have been for the masses a point of support for this objective, otherwise they would not have attained such a quality. After 50 years of fascism, people would not vote massively, had there not been a previous decision to impel the history of Portugal, on the basis of the necessity for human dignity, which is Socialism. This is the conclusion which it is necessary to draw from the massive participation of the Portuguese masses in this election.

The Portuguese masses have shown that they live like all the masses of the world, the world influ-

ence of the revolution: the latter animates, elevates and impels them in the capacity to think, to reason, to follow the example of the Socialist countries, while capitalism disintegrates. Imperialism remains incapable of defending the capitalist system in Portugal. It wanted and sought to do it, and it will recommence. It will seek also to make the counter-revolution again. But the revolution and the will of the masses are stronger than them all.

This is a dignified example: the Christian Democracy and the right have no voice. The banning of the right to prevent them from presenting themselves in the elections was shown to be just and correct. This is democracy. It is not the automatic respect that those with property should be entitled to vote. To make humanity equal and human life equal, it is necessary to finish with the capitalist system. In finishing with that, the sentiment of equality develops. The masses understood this and felt that it was necessary to liquidate the Christian Democracy. And they were not intimidated. The Church has been incapable of attracting the population, of putting it against the struggle for Socialism. It is not the constraint, the intimidation of the Army, and of the Communist parties which have intimidated the Church, but the Catholic masses who wish to have nothing to do with its reactionary policy. While being Catholics, they voted for the left, for the Communists and the Socialists.

In voting for the Socialists they have not voted for a weak democracy, but for the left. This is the desire and the will of the masses. The votes given to the Communists and the Socialists were votes to the left. The Church has failed and the plans and world conspiracy of world capitalism with Spínola have failed. This is the conclusions which the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties and the workers centres must draw — and the necessity which flows from it, for an appeal for the struggle for a Left Catholic Party with a programme of social progress which would have an anti-capitalist basis.

This shows the attitudes of the Portuguese masses. It is an example for the rest of the masses of the world, Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe. It is a clear, eloquent and determined example. The Portuguese masses have represented a consciousness, and unbreakable will the decision of combat of the masses of the world. World capitalism is incapable. Its crisis, the crisis of the capitalist system, is not only through economic situations, but comes from the fact that the masses of the world do not accept submission to the consequences of this crisis. Like the masses of Vietnam, the masses of Indo-China, did not accept submitting to the bullets, to the atomic threats of Yankee imperialism. The Yanks caused 6,000,000 dead. This corresponds to several atomic wars. The masses are not intimidated or terrorised. This is the dignified example that the masses are conscious, and alive, that they live the process

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of history and that they are not intimidated. They are conscious that they represent the will for progress, it is on this that the leaderships of the parties of the workers, the trade unions and the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants, must support themselves.

The masses of Portugal have shown that they are ready for the construction of Socialism, that they are not intimidated by the lack of material means, by the disproportion of distribution, by the lack of means, and possibilities of development of an economy which is still backward. In the same way, the masses of Vietnam, of Laos, of Cambodia, have not allowed themselves to be frightened by backwardness, by bombings, they are not intimidated. They have understood that it is necessary to eliminate all the capitalists and construct a better society. It is the same for Portugal. The masses have proved that they are resolved to construct a superior society, that they want to participate in this. They have not allowed themselves to be intimidated either by religion by Catholicism, by the menace of imperialism. This is a fundamental conclusion which it is necessary to draw. The masses live with the preoccupation to want to construct the progress of history. And they are ready to meet the greatest needs and sacrifices. It is necessary to make them participate, that they participate in and live this process. They are not intimidated and they do not wish to reproduce or change one boss for another, and make another form of property. What they want is to eliminate all forms of social life which lead to fascism, to threats and wars: to eliminate the capitalist system.

This is the conclusion that must be drawn and which is valid for all the masses in Europe. But for that it is necessary that the masses intervene, not through democratic rights, but giving them the capacity to intervene organically to decide. It is necessary that they participate in everything. This is what gives to them their political culture. If in 50 years they have been capable of enduring fascism, and afterwards, voting for the Socialist solution, this shows that they have the capacity to develop intelligence in the most complete way. The masses of Portugal, as the masses of Vietnam have shown, and the masses of the world, develop their intelligence socially, the essential base of this development is united to their function in history, to the necessity of the construction of Socialism. This is the essential base for the development of the intelligence of humanity.

The petit bourgeoisie has been attracted by the proletariat, the peasantry equally. The Catholic masses also have been attracted by the proletariat, by the world process which the proletariat represents, the Communist and Socialist parties in Portugal.

It is on these conclusions that it is necessary to be based, to apply them throughout the rest of Europe, for the formation of left Catholic parties, left nationalists, for a United Communist/Socialist Front for struggle for power. The election in Portugal shows that the masses voted for the programme of the MAF. They were not intimidated, they did not protest against the anti-democratic fact of going through an election, the programmatic result of which they had already determined in advance. In one year, it is not possible to arrive at such a maturity, if there had not been a world influence on the cultural and political planes. The masses have accepted it, the Catholic masses equally, showing that while being still Catholics, they accept a programme of social-revolutionary progress. There does not exist any contradiction which is socially paralyzing. There exists a contradiction which one resolves by advancing socially, and not by theology. This is the conclusion which the leaders of the workers parties must draw.

### NATO OUT OF PORTUGAL!

NATO out of Portugal! All the reactionary parties, out of Portugal! Democracy in Portugal has a logical and concrete sense: one cannot construct progress in Portugal on the basis of the capitalist system. It is necessary to increase nationalisa-

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tions, and stratifications\* by preparing the conditions so that the Workers States welcome Portugal, and give it support. This is the determination which it is necessary to employ. There is a series of measures supported by the masses, by the employees of the banks, the insurance companies, the private enterprises. It is necessary to appeal to them to construct the Socialist society, a society superior to that which exists today. And these appeals should at the same time be accompanied by measures of production: the Communes must feed the population according to their needs. It is necessary to appeal also for a better integration of workers.

We appeal to the Workers States (Socialist countries), the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia etc., to intervene by giving more support, more disinterested technical aid, in order to show to the masses of the world, the relations and the link between the objective interests of history which is the progress of human dignity, eliminating capitalism, and this same interest, which the Workers States represent.

We appeal to them also to influence the North American masses who see in the elections in Portugal, one of the most elevated sources of the decision of the masses to make history progress. Coming out of nothing with an enormous sector of illiterates, the masses have voted directly for Socialism: which is the most profound fact in the world and is going to exercise an immense influence on the North American masses.

This is a magnificent progress of history. Yankee imperialism has been smashed. At the same time, it is being smashed everywhere, all its plans collapse throughout the world. Capitalism progresses in this crisis, the fundamental cause of this is the progress of the Workers States, and the support which they give to the struggles of the peoples against imperialism. Whilst the objective and programmatic United Front progresses in different parts of the world, in numerous countries, capitalism is disintegrating and can no longer centralise its actions. This is the essential cause of its crisis, which prevents it from centralising itself in the European Common Market. It is a market constantly torn apart by the struggles of the masses of Europe which develop and intensify the normal economic crisis of capitalism. This is the antagonism which is united to the contradictions of the capitalist system, an antagonism represented by the working class and the Socialist countries. All that was present in the elections in Portugal and continues to be so.

It is according to these conclusions that the Communists, the Socialists, the workers centres, the left groups must plan their activities. The comrades of the Socialist left must also draw these conclusions. We said in a previous article that it was not correct that they break with the Socialist Party. Even if they were right theoretically and programmatically, they should remain in the Socialist Party to push forward an internal struggle and develop a left in it. It is necessary also to launch an appeal to all the comrades of the left groups or ultra-lefts, to the comrades of the pro-Chinese groups. The policy which they are following is not correct because they are making a policy of isolation, and separation. It is necessary to discuss on the basis of the programme, objectives and the policy which it is necessary to obtain.

It is necessary to appeal to hold a public debate on policy and objectives. It is necessary to make a programme of nationalisations, to have the patience to understand that while being limited, the latter develops the experiences and opens the way to the need for the planning of production, of Workers Councils to lead it, with the elevation of the intervention of the working class in the problems of the economy. It is necessary to make at the same time a plan of internal production for the consumption of the masses, in accordance with a plan of exports, but which must respond in the first place to the needs of the population. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, so that they establish a progress of production, a planning with the intervention of the masses. It is necessary to have the patience to elevate the intervention of the masses. To make an appeal for a public discussion. It is necessary to

appeal equally to the Armed Forces to lead this discussion. To discuss the policy does not reduce in any way the level and the technical capacity of the Army! It is absurd to think otherwise! There does not exist any Army which is not involved with politics. The Army is in the service of imperialism and capitalism, a part of the soldiers and the officers are in the service of the progress of humanity, which is the struggle for Socialism.

The electoral result is going to exert equally a great influence on the Armed Forces. It is going to aid them in the necessity for the organic political functioning of the Party, to deliberate with the participation of the masses, of the soldiers and the other parts of the Army.

There is now no longer a struggle between one country and another. Capitalism is preparing for the final settlement of accounts, against humanity and Socialism. It tries to do this by remaining in Indo-China, and the Middle East, and this is why it was crushed and overcome by the combative will of the masses of the world.

It is necessary to make a discussion between all the workers parties, the Communist, Socialist parties, the workers centres, the Socialist and Democratic parties of the left, on the need to launch an appeal for the formation of a revolutionary Catholic Party, with a programme of Socialist development of the economy, linked with the programme of immediate production to satisfy the needs of the population by organising it under the form of Communes, combining in this way the backwardness of Portugal with a very intense and elevated programme of production. The masses will see then that such an effort and such a sacrifice is possible because they are constructing a new basis in society.

It is necessary that the children, the women, the old and the young, intervene in this discussion. They must participate. It is necessary also to make the Army intervene, to intervene in political life does not diminish in any way, or affect in any way, technical capacity and the military-social-technical resolution of the Army. This must be discussed. When the Army has a more elevated consciousness of its function, it passes from being the servant of capitalism, to serve the construction of a superior society. This is why, as in Ethiopia, and soon in other parts of the world, as in Peru and Mexico, the Portuguese soldiers feel that they are impelling history, that they are useful to history. They feel that the life which before they dedicated to serve capitalism is, today, useful to history and they feel elevated in human dignity. It is necessary to make this United Front and to call on the soldiers to intervene in this process.

It is necessary to launch an appeal for the workers centre so that it discusses all this openly and publicly. It is necessary to establish a programme of education by radio, in the factories, in the streets, in the country, a Socialist programme of discussion. It is necessary to undertake the United Front of public discussion, democratic and Soviet. Democratic in the objective of going to Socialism and not for the benefit of capitalism. Capitalism must call its measures 'democratic' to defend its interests, although the perspectives, the form of organising the economy, the distribution are capitalist. On the contrary, the discussion which it is necessary to make, is to discuss democratically the development of the economy and distribution in such a way as to satisfy the needs of the population to go towards Socialist measures. It is necessary to undertake a Communist/Socialist United Front, a front of workers centres with the soldiers.

It is necessary to make a United Front, with a programme taking these into account, this experience of Portugal, which shows that the latter is ready for Socialism. This is why Portugal voted for Socialism. In spite of all the programmatic and political limitations, it voted for Socialism. This is the eloquent conclusion and the triumph of humanity expressed in Portugal.

The elections in Portugal are no mystery, are not limited. In one year only, after 50 years of fascism, the masses showed that they had lived all the life of the world process of the revolution. They lived this process. They aren't intimidated, smashed, subdued, and if a fascist

regime prevented them from intervening, in their thought, in their decision, in their resolution, they waited for this moment. It is for that reason that they did this: in less than a year they passed from the obscurity of fascism to impel the revolutionary struggle for Socialism.

At the same time, Portugal gives the proof of the concept of the Permanent Revolution. It is a process which is based on the most backward conditions of history, and arrives at the most elevated ones. It is a permanent process of the Socialist revolution. It shows that one can pass directly from fascism to the Socialist life, to the struggle for Socialism and for the immediate installation of Socialist progress. It is the objective confirmation of the Trotskyist line, and as Trotskyist/Posadists, we are the representative confirmation of this Trotskyist thought. We salute with all our joy the comrades of the Socialist, Communist parties, of the left Socialist groups, and we call upon them to realise the United Front with the programme in which the experiences which lead to Socialism are discussed. We appeal to them to create organs of distribution, control of the masses, in order to be able to develop their leaders and to have a superior link with the Armed Forces. The Portuguese elections are the most beautiful experience. We draw the attention at the same time to the comrades of the Communist and Socialist parties, the trade unions, on the risk which always exists of a Czechoslovak tendency, of the Ota Sik and Dubcek tendencies. Founded on the conceptions of private property, the usufruct of nationalised property for the benefits of camarillas, of tendencies which are a form of union with capitalism, as that which exists in all the Communist parties: France, Italy, the rest of the world, and equally in the Socialist parties. It is a question of wings which try to profit from this process of progress of the Socialist revolution and of the centralised economy by trying to accommodate with the interests, to constitute groups of camarillas, of clients. When this process is based on the development to eliminate the capitalist system, and elevate the participation of the masses in the economy and in society, these sectors try to utilise the nationalised economy for groups, as camarillas, in the same way as Ota Sik and Dubcek tendencies tried to do in Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to avoid all these dangers. The way to avoid them now is by full democracy, discussion of all the problems, without any limitations, without any fears, without hiding, discussing all the experiences of the world process. Amongst other things, it is necessary to discuss Portugal: we invite all the comrades of the Communist Party, of the Socialist Party, of the trade unions, of the left groups, to intervene to discuss the experiences which are meant by the destruction, the collapse of Yankee imperialism, by the actions of the masses, and the need for the planning of the economy; and for that, the stratification\* of property and workers control. The latter must not be a control of production and distribution: the masses must intervene in the management, in the control of property, in the leadership of the economy, and the internal and world policy of the country. It is necessary to develop the agrarian reform, to give the land to the peasants and realise the workers and peasants alliance. It is necessary to develop education, the political life, the political participation of the masses, not only education for the schools, but the direct participation in all the problems. The masses must intervene, decide, give their opinion, resolve. They are going then to develop their capacity and aptitude to discuss, to resolve, and to determine Socialist interest in all the problems.

Portugal is the proof that it is possible to emerge from 50 years of fascism and to pass directly to the most elevated forms of the construction of Socialism. Even if it is limited at the beginning, it is a question of the construction of Socialism. When such a measure is taken, it shows that all the world is ready to do it. The Portuguese masses would not have been able to go through 50 years of such experiences, if they were not based directly on the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, the masses of Italy, France, Germany, Britain, Latin America, Japan. It is the experience which shows the world influence existing on whatever aspect of the class struggle. There is no hiding place; and everywhere the world process of the revolution influences. The relations of forces are

entirely in favour of the revolution, the progress of Socialism, the need for nationalisations, the elimination of the capitalist system.

This is the conclusion of the elections in Portugal. It is necessary to prepare for new stages, new nationalisations, asking for the aid of the Workers States, for a better intervention of the masses in the leadership of society so that they prepare against the counter revolution which imperialism is trying to make: with or without Spinoza, or any other type. They are preparing. It is necessary then to take into account that imperialism is neither beaten down, nor conquered, and that it is going to seek once more the means to intervene in another way.

The conclusion shows that the masses are invincible. The women, the children, the little old women, the young people of Portugal, have been incorporated in the Socialist revolution, not by the interests of the development of the economy, of property, for the accumulation of wealth, of capital or of property, but by the desire to be useful to the history of humanity; which is the most complete way of being useful.

We salute with all our joy as the Posadist IV International, the masses of Portugal, and the United Front of the Socialists/Communists/trade unions/Armed Forces, which are in the process of developing such a useful and necessary function in history. It is necessary to continue

The masses voted for the appeal of the Armed Forces which is the Socialist future. There was no doubt or mystification or any attempt to conceal it. This was the future, Socialist, limited, but a Socialist future. This is the programme of the Armed Forces which all the participants in the elections have approved. The masses voted for this programme. The right hardly secured a minimum percentage of votes, and the immense majority voted for a Socialist programme. The measures which the majority wants are not of the centre, or moderate, but of the Socialist programme, which is going to advance the process, with a deepening of decision and policy. This is the way for all the Communist and Socialist parties of Europe. This is the will of the masses of the world: they want a Socialist programme. Down with capitalism! This is the cry of the elections in Portugal. Portugal voted for Socialism: Down with capitalism! This is the cry of the Portuguese masses.

J. POSADAS, 27th April, 1975.

## Editorial

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its clearest expression — and it is logical that it should — in the most central, the most elevated organisations of the proletariat, the Workers States and the world Communist movement. It is this which imposes fundamental changes in the policy and functioning of the world Communist movement. The speech of Marchais (secretary of the French Communist Party) is an important expression of this. Marchais made a very direct criticism of the statement of Berlinguer and the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, which was critical of the support given by the Portuguese Communist Party to the banning of the right wing parties, the bourgeois parties in Portugal. Not only did Marchais say that the French Communist Party would not allow these parties to function in France in the same circumstances, but he also said that the policy of the Italian Communist Party was not his nor that of his party. The significance of this is that despite the fact that the Communist parties still talk of the autonomy of independent Communist parties, they now discuss — in an elementary form — like a Communist International.

### THE SOVIET UNION HAS THE INITIATIVE

At the centre of this process is the Soviet Union which develops a world strategy, prepares for the final settlement of accounts, for the nuclear war which Yankee imperialism is going to launch. The statement of Schlessinger that the Yanks are prepared for 'limited nuclear strikes' underlines this fact. Equally the speech of Heath in the United States, in which he made a parallel between Europe and Vietnam and insisted that the European bourgeoisie was prepared to support fully the policy of Yankee imperialism, is part of the preparation for the war. At the same time the attack by Israeli imperialism against Lebanon is stimulated by the Yanks as part of this policy. It is clear that they have stimulated this

attack since the policy of Israel, in the last period, has been one of conciliation. Yankee imperialism does this because, with the collapse of the government in Lebanon and with the development of a united front between the Lebanese army, the Lebanese masses and the Palestinians — the three sectors have organised joint committees — they see that Lebanon is going rapidly outside the orbit of imperialist influence and control. On the other hand the victory in Vietnam is followed by the development of the military intervention of the Soviets in Lybia with — by all accounts — the establishment of a base. Yankee imperialism prepares to launch the war, but the Soviet Workers State is also very well prepared. The Soviets may still use diplomatic means and talk of 'detente', but they are prepared for the war and in conditions which are entirely favourable to the Workers States, to the masses, to the advance of humanity.

In all this NATO is in complete disarray with Vredling (the Dutch Defence Minister saying that Holland will leave NATO if there is any support given to the fascist regime in South Africa, and with the masses of Crete — who are demonstrating for the removal of Yankee bases from the island — showing Karamanlis that he cannot continue to be half in and half out of NATO. The anti-imperialist attitude of Vredling — who is supported by the Scandinavian countries and Britain in opposing Spain as a member of NATO — comes from the fact that he is of the Socialist Democratic Party and it is part of the process of transformation in all the Socialist parties. A process which is expressed in the trip of Mitterand to Moscow, in the Popular Union in France, in the crisis in the Portuguese Socialist Party and in the Labour Party. The opposition by eight left Labour M.P.s — plus Fitt of the SDLP and a Welsh Nationalist — to the repressive 'anti-terrorist' legislation is a very limited response to the civil war which the

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# The collapse of Imperialism.....

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This is against the law of capitalism. When they have to go against their own laws, it is not because they have to defend themselves one against the other, by means of deception, of destruction of competition by one or another means, but they have to take such measures to maintain the capitalist system, because they are afraid socially. They have to maintain a minimum consumer market to attenuate the effects of the crisis. They fear the social effects, not the economic effects. All this is provoking in the capitalist system a contracting of its possibilities.

The collapse in Vietnam, Cambodia, means repercussions in the heart of the capitalist system. They are going to have to re-adjust the functioning of the capitalist system, to re-adjust the conditions between themselves. This re-adjustment cannot be made in a logical form in capitalism. Their logic is inter-capitalist competition, contradiction with the Workers States and the masses of the world. This is going to be enormously intensified.

The bourgeoisie is posing: 'What measures do we have, what forces to

confront this process?' It has no other means but to launch the war. It is going to launch the war, but it feels that it is going to lose. They have a sentiment of disappointment in the capitalist regime, not only in one or the other bourgeois; there is a feeling of being smashed. Within their camp, everything is disintegrating, because they have been hit in the essential centre, the military capacity, war; they see that militarily they have lost. Their press says that it is necessary to see that the army in Vietnam was the third largest army in the world.

In the world Communist movement, this is provoking a very great discussion. It's seeing that imperialism lost, but it is not going to pack up. There is a disillusionment with life in the sentiment of the Yanks, of the military and bourgeois sectors. The rapidity of this process makes them tremble. It is not a disordered rapidity, but an ordered structure. There is an ordered structure in the world - Hanoi, the Workers States, the struggle of the French and the Japanese proletariats. There is a whole ordered structure, to break capitalism and find a substitute for bourgeois

leaderships. The mobilisations in France, Germany, Switzerland, against the use of the atomic centres, show that people want to intervene and people are taking account of this, seeing that it is necessary to overthrow a capitalist regime.

All the process develops forces which are allied to the proletariat and to the Workers States. Everything converges towards this and capitalism cannot respond. It does not have a policy for this, the policy of containing by the budget is not sufficient. Capitalism can no longer respond to this. Either it launches the war or it dies. It wants to make a Vietnam and it dies anyway. All its spheres of action and also the minds of those who represent capitalism are being reduced. There are meetings of technicians, scientists, specialists, who pose: 'We want to achieve something useful for humanity and not to be used to kill people'. Everything is converging towards this, the process is ascending and converging.

Capitalism is preparing the war, but it is not going to do it when, where and how it likes. Vietnam shows this. It was prepared with all the forces, and it failed. They had to clear out because the Soviets were also ready. One of the most important events in this process is that the Soviets were also ready to intervene. Before they did not do this; now, yes.

Vietnam is an expression of the level already reached by humanity. In the class struggle, in the irreducible antagonism of the class struggle in which relations are measured by atomic arms, when in spite of this, there is Vietnam and it wins;

it is because Vietnam represents the will of the youth, the women, the children of the world. Otherwise it would not have won. It is not only Vietnam, but also Portugal and Ethiopia. It is a process in which the apparatuses want to contain, but in spite of having the controls in their hands, they do

not lead. The Soviet bureaucracy is opposed to strikes, movements, for the taking of power; but in Vietnam, it had to give arms openly. Imperialism sent ships into Vietnam, but it was not able to intervene because there was the Soviet Union and China also. The irreplaceable logic of Communism imposes itself and by-passes all arrogance and manoeuvres of imperialism. Before it could not be done, but now, yes. Not because now there is a greater understanding, but there is a devastating relation of forces against capitalism.

In other conditions, capitalism would not have confronted the crisis as it does now. Now, it does so in a tremendous panic. In various countries it is taking a measure which is against the existence of the system: they have to guarantee the pay of the unemployed to maintain the system.

Vietnam shows at the same time that imperialism in not going to accept its defeat, but it is preparing for a change in strategy. They left Vietnam because the world forces of the revolution, including the military relations of the USSR and China, are superior. But imperialism did not withdraw just to leave the territory behind, it withdrew just to see how to attack. The masses of the world intuit, know it, and the North American masses also. Hence they say: 'Go Home', and they are intervening consciously in favour of the revolution.

Imperialism has to change its strategy. It failed in wanting to impose by arms. A whole scheme of capitalism has collapsed. This is going to intensify even more the internal contradictions of the capitalist system, expressed through economic, social and political competition. At the same time, this is going to intensify the tendency throughout the world Communist and Socialist movements, to seek to understand the process and to substitute for capitalism. This is going to develop a very profound discussion in the Communist, Socialist, nationalist movements, the world revolutionary catholic movements, and the North American masses are a very important part of this discussion. J. POSADAS, 3.5.1975

## editorial

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bourgeoisie, which British imperialism is preparing in this country, and the attempts to create massive unemployment is also a measure of civil war. The reaction of the workers vanguard, of the steel workers and the Chrysler workers, is of an altogether different order. They are preparing the organisations which are necessary, extending the functioning of the shop stewards committees beyond negotiation and incorporating the population. This is the significance of the intervention of the women in Chryslers and in the steel workers 'action committees'. At the same time, in mobilising against Finnieston, against the bureaucrats that manage the nationalised industries for capitalism, the steel workers are posing the question: who controls the economy, the Labour Government or the managers of the nationalised industries? It is a high level of consciousness because the workers are demanding the control of the economy, the extension of nationalisations by the Labour government, whilst at the same time constructing the organisms for workers control in the factories. In a sense they already pose a functioning which is that of the Workers State.

The labour and trade union left have to respond to this level of consciousness by taking the initiative in organising discussion in the workers areas and in the factories on all the problems of the economy, on the necessity for nationalisation under workers control and the planning of the economy.

### OUT OF THE COMMON MARKET OUT OF NATO!

They have to respond to the obvious preparation for the civil war by the bourgeoisie as part of the preparation for the war against the Workers States. It is necessary to mobilise now for a massive 'NO' vote in the referendum - not because it determines the process, but because it means a crushing social defeat for capitalism. However the Common Market is the economic base for NATO and NATO is the instrument which the European bourgeoisie - led by Yankee imperialism - is going to use. Britain out of the EEC - certainly! But out of NATO also! And the immediate removal of all Yankee polaris bases and NATO bases from this country. There can be no separation made between the EEC and NATO! The victory of the masses of Vietnam, the experience of the world revolution and the authority of the Workers States must weigh fully in the mobilisations of the working class to smash what is left of capitalism and imperialism and to construct a leadership in the Labour Party prepared to lead the advance towards Socialism. 26/5/75

## WORKERS CONTROL NOW to smash the policy of unemployment!

The crisis of the world capitalist economy is total and is being constantly generalised and reinforced, most of all by the inability to cope with the Workers States. Its principal features are well known, the complete incapacity to extend and deepen the world capitalist market, the massive waste of resources on military expenditures, the growing and vicious inter-capitalist competition, and the more and more obvious deterioration in the infrastructure of capitalism, transport, housing, education etc. Even in the relative capitalist boom after the second world war - only allowed because of the failure of the Communist parties to take power - the expansion of social services was always far away from the needs of the population. Now the wholesale decline of the world capitalist economy leads to the emergence of the unemployment problem on a massive scale. In the United States this has reached the level of 9% of the working population. In Western Europe unemployment is mounting constantly and the lack of perspective of capitalism is shown by the fact that now they would like to re-export the immigrant population so necessary when the economy was booming. The underlying tendency in Britain is towards a million unemployed. Inflation in this epoch is an expression of the capitalist arms economy and the imposition of monopolies and the multinational firms. It is a striking aspect of the crisis of the capitalist system. But it is only one aspect of the impasse induced by the total crisis of capitalism.

Capitalism does not even pretend to have any solution to its problems. British imperialism is preoccupied to remain in the Common Market, but it has not advanced one argument to explain how the current crisis enveloping the whole of capitalist Europe is going to be overcome. The only line that the capitalist class proposes to meet the problem of inflation is reduction in wages, which objectively leads to reduction in the market and further unemployment. The issues are now quite clear, without any obscurities brought about by 'liberal moderation' or 'reformism' - it is class against class, a life and death struggle in which capitalism cannot afford rational discussion - more and more it talks to itself and prepares via NATO for the final encounter. Heath's answer to all the problems of the economy and the issue of the Common Market is to give support to Schlesinger and preparation for nuclear war.

The unemployment crisis that exists now is not conjunctural but structural. The period of short recessions with interventions of the state to moderate the trade cycle, characterising the fifties and sixties, is over, the floating exchange rate and the constant weakness of sterling and the dollar are symptoms of the immense fragility of the capitalist economy. Such a situation, with the massive advance of the Workers States and the social and political debility of capitalism everywhere, cries out for the immediate application of a programme leading to the organisation of a Workers State - nationalisations and planning. But the complete programme requires transitional steps and means for its realisation, to confront unemployment immediately, to prevent its extension by the stealthy progress of capitalist concentration, only one method is possible: WORKERS CONTROL LEADING TO NATIONALISATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION. Workers control means action not discussion about workers representation on various boards with 'management' - it is a revolutionary act, it means taking over the factory about to be closed or preventing dismissals and controlling hiring and firing, speed and

rhythm of production and opening the books. Without such a policy and its organisation, closures simply continue on the grounds of necessity and bankruptcy through the 'natural laws' of the economy. For example, twenty four textile mills have been closed in the past year, and thousands put on short time without any alternative policy being proposed.

### IT IS A CRISIS OF CAPITALISM NOT OF HUMANITY

The most recent example of the total idiocy of capitalism and its lack of a solution to the problems generated by its incapacity, is the crisis in the steel industry. It was put in all its crudity by the head of the steel corporation who was reported as saying: 'the recession in Britain was very serious but the misery would be shared throughout all the regions of the United Kingdom'. The mentality of 'shared misery' is not acceptable. The capitalist class is a mass of misery, but the working class will not share this or any other stupidity foisted upon it by the ineptness and arrogance of the capitalist class. The case of steel is a very important case and although the dynamic intervention of the class has checked, in part, the intentions of the steel board, the underlying problem remains. All parts of the economy interlock and when there is a crisis in the car industry, the keystone of the consumer industry of capitalism both in exports and the home market, this inevitably affects steel production - but such a crisis has to be carried by those who cause it, the capitalist class. A series of struggles are necessary before achieving control of the economy as a whole, and in this struggle a fundamental demand is workers control as a transition to the total control, as was the case with the role of workers control in the Russian revolution. When a steel industry puts as its objective a twenty five per cent fall in production, when the whole of the population requires a multitude of material requirements to improve the standard of life, what has such a system to offer? On the other hand, all branches of production in the Workers States are expanding, the

Soviet Union is now foremost in world steel production. It is clear which is the superior social system, and it is on this basis, using all the social weight of the Workers States, that the new leaderships developing in the Labour Party and the factories must prepare to confront the issue of unemployment.

### THE WORKING CLASS WILL NOT WAIT UPON NATIONALISATIONS

The struggle against unemployment is part of the total confrontation of the classes in every aspect. As comrade Posadas indicated, the process proceeds from the policy of nationalisations towards civil war (Portugal is another more clear example of this) but the proletariat does not wait upon the policy of nationalisations. It is true that British capitalism is falling apart, it has no strategy to meet the problem - it has no new ideas and those that it has are irrelevant - but unless there is a constant mobilisation and intervention of the masses, capitalism will continue to impose itself. It is very, very weak but its threats to have a business strike against the government, its refusal to invest, its persistence in throwing people out of work, its attempted mobilisation of the nationalised industries against the masses (removal of subsidies, rationalisation of labour force) have to be confronted by mobilisations. The state intervention in Ferranti and the functioning of the NEB are all examples of the paralysis of capitalism in some respects, but in the absence of that complete control of production, trade and credit by the state, the bourgeoisie still has a field to manoeuvre. The issues are much more direct now because, whereas in an earlier phase capitalism could put forward Keynesian proposals for state intervention or the Rooseveltian 'new deal', it no longer possesses the resources to propose a new perspective and its methods of state intervention cannot meet the universal character of the capitalist crisis, deepened and aggravated by the vast US expenditure on arms leading to inflation and contraction of the consumer market.

Limited nationalisations are not sufficient for the crisis and the device of workers co-operatives has shown itself to be an inevitable fiasco. Where they have existed has been on the basis of the dismissal of the majority of the labour force, i.e. Meriden, and the Glasgow press - in other words it is no solution, it is the acceptance of the capitalist laws of the market, of each one for himself, i.e. sectors of the aristocracy of labour seek to save themselves. These experiences have been definitive and the working class rejects them. Faced with the immediate problem of growing unemployment and the longer term problem of the transformation of the economy, it is necessary to launch an offensive on all fronts. The working class are not interested in remarks about the situation being 'very worrying', they want a programme and a policy to meet their objectives for a Workers State. It is not sufficient for the TUC to put forward 'reflating' the economy - in an overwhelmingly capitalist struc-

ture, because in these conditions 'reflation' leads to inflation and hence, for capitalism, deflation becomes necessary. To remain here is to remain in the capitalist framework, it is necessary to mobilise the masses around a comprehensive programme, and policy.

### WORKERS CONTROL NOW

We appeal to the left in the Labour Party, the trade unions, the shop stewards committees and the factories, to organise a conference of the Labour Party and the unions to discuss both an emergency policy to stop closures and dismissals by imposing and fixing an automatic increase in wages according to the rise in the cost of living index arrived at in discussions in the workers movement with full participation of women workers and the population, so that the bourgeoisie and their statisticians do not decide. In association with this, it is necessary that a comprehensive Socialist programme is proposed to meet all the aspects of the crisis. International finance has to be confronted and with that all the crass arguments that world capitalism is 'financing' British wages - world capitalism is not so charitable; they lend their money, with the object of profit and sustaining capitalism. Control has to be exercised over trade and capital movement and the principal industries expropriated. The crisis throughout Europe and the world shows convincingly that it is impossible to modify the system.

### MAKE CAPITALISM PAY FOR ITS CRISIS

We appeal to all the workers centres in this country to stimulate a discussion on all these issues, holding local Conferences based on the programme, the strategy and tactics to confront unemployment and the problems of the economy and in the meantime to reject unemployment and the problems of the economy and in the meantime to reject unemployment by imposing WORKERS CONTROL and demanding NATIONALISATION WITHOUT COMPENSATION!

### NATIONALISE THE WHOLE OF THE CAR INDUSTRY NOW!

### NATIONALISE THE TEXTILES INDUSTRY!

### NO DISMISSALS, NO LAY OFFS!

### ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING ON AN INDEX DECIDED UPON BY POPULAR COMMISSIONS IN FACE OF WORK SHORTAGE. HOURS TO BE REDUCED ON FULL PAY.

### FOR A CONFERENCE OF THE UNIONS AND THE LABOUR PARTY TO PREVENT UNEMPLOYMENT AND TO DEVELOP A COMPLETE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS!

# THE PROGRAMME FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN BRITAIN

J. POSADAS

26/4/1975.

The defeat of imperialism in Indo-China has been a collapse. It will force imperialism to change its world strategy. This is an event of the greatest significance in the whole history of capitalism. With the death of Foster Dulles, they changed strategy. Today, Ford is obliged to change strategy. The change does not signify the war now, but yes, of an increase in preparation.

This is the beautiful framework in which the world revolution exists! Look where the Spanish refugees went in 1938, and where today the capitalist and imperialist gangsters are going. What a difference! All these changes which have occurred are going to have a very profound effect on the British proletariat.

The public confrontation between the Labour Party, the trade unions and the head of government indicates the very profound crisis of the capitalist system in Britain. The European Common Market is a last hope. Shelepin went to show where the Soviet Union stands now, bureaucratically certainly; but he went to show that the Soviet Union does not defend capitalism. They say that he has been pushed aside. It is not important. This does not annul the function that he went to fulfil. It was an official mission of the Soviet Workers State. This is going to have effects in the Labour Party that are very great. It is not possible to govern in the world without reckoning with the Workers States. The Workers States have shown that they are not going to negotiate like Stalin over Spain. They try to finish with capitalism without war and without civil war, but against capitalism. Capitalism feels this, and is impotent.

## COMPLETE CRISIS OF THE BOURGEOIS LEADERSHIPS!

It is not wealth that capitalism lacks, but the means to succeed in imposing itself. It cannot any longer act as before. The resistance of the Party, of the Labour left, of the trade unions, to the government, does not come from now. It is necessary to take into account the previous discussions on nationalisations and the resistance to Wilson on the part of the trade union leadership. This is not a sudden, spontaneous, sporadic event happening now, it comes from the world. Britain forms part of the world process, and in this one of the most interesting phenomenon is the attitude of the military of Ethiopia, who change their function. Even though Ethiopia does not appear visibly influencing the activity of the social struggles, the security with which the masses and the military political leaderships act forms part of Ethiopia. Ethiopia is the centralisation of a process. Ethiopia disseminates throughout the world, at a superior level, the objectives and methods of the struggle. It is necessary to expect the results of this in England.

The crisis is not only that of the leadership of Wilson, but also of the Conservatives. There are declarations of leaders of the Conservatives which indicate that they are totally decentralised in policy and objectives. They do not know what to do. They are searching. In Italy, MPs and two former presidents, like Saragat, accuse the heads of the Army of being fascist agents. This shows the weakness of the fascists. They assassinate, they kill, they throw bombs, but they cannot take power. The problem for the fascists is not to kill one or another, but to prepare the conditions for taking power and repressing. And they cannot. This is their complete decomposition. This is the decomposition of the sectors of the assassins of Vietnam. It is a complete decomposition.

From about three years ago, there has been an increase in the political life in Britain and very profound. From the occupation of the workers of the Clyde to the strike of the Post Office workers. From then, there has been a constant ascent and increase in the activity and political content of the strikes. This has expressed itself in an enormous crisis of the Conservatives, and in the lack of equilibrium of the Lib-

erals. There are discussions, they search around because there are no more firm tendencies in capitalism. There are no historical conditions for there to be firm tendencies in capitalism.

The proletariat has made use of its discipline and historic patience in order to strike a blow. This was done by means of the world situation - how beautiful this is: in Vietnam there is no grief, there is joy and they do not stop for the sorrow of death. This is a progress of humanity; this is Communism, without the blow of having lost the son, the father, the mother or the family. They feel sorrow because of the injustice that it signifies, but it does not paralyse them in any way. It will not be as before with scenes of grief in Vietnam. Those who suffer are the bourgeoisie, but not because of death, but because they are losing everything. The world of capitalism is falling! What gave them life: power, the arms, the North Americans, is collapsing. And the people who are making them collapse are people who have nothing but do not have vindictive spirit, sentiment or attitude, but simply want to construct Socialism. This crushes the capitalists. This is the sorrow of the defeated Vietnamese bourgeois. This is the tragedy of Yankee imperialism, which is defeated. Hence humanity has already triumphed over sorrow, without being in Communism. Already it thinks as Communists, it does not think as an abstract human being, as a Communist being, without all being Communists. Portugal confirms this. The support of the Portuguese Communist Party has much importance because this is the vanguard.

The votes are not for the Socialist Party. They are 70% votes for the left, 70% voted for the programme of the Armed Forces which is for nationalisations, state control, agrarian reform, the distribution of lands, for imperialism to go, for out of NATO, and for Socialism. The votes for the Party of the right, 7%, is a demonstration of what democracy is, and the votes of the Socialist Party are not for the tendency of Soarez. The SP obtained 38%, and they are votes for Socialism. This is an impulse, and nothing more. When Spinola took over, he believed he was the Chief and King of the world. Three months later, he was finished. The process of maturation goes very fast. And the triumph of the Socialists and of the centre-left - in relative terms - has not given the leaderships the ability to impose what they wanted. These parties are impelled by a process which, if they do not respect it, will cause their downfall. It is the world which was present in the voting of Portugal. Without any doubt: the world does not make mistakes. It voted to impel measures for Socialism. They are votes to crush fascism, to impel Socialism, not in defence of democracy in the abstract. The row facing the Socialist leadership is infinitely more acute than that facing the Communist leadership, who obtained the votes which they expected. The Socialist leaders will have to confront the opinion of the masses: we want Socialism. It is not a matter of democracy and liberty but of liberty for whom?

## SHELEPIN CAME TO FORM A TENDENCY.

The discussion in Britain is public and Wilson has to confront it, which shows that it is a very profound crisis. It signifies a crisis in many aspects. Because of this, Shelepin went, seeking the meaning of all this process. He came to try to form a tendency. In Britain it is necessary to call for a discussion: there is no solution in the framework of the capitalist government. It is necessary to statify, beginning by overthrowing the monarchy. It is necessary to make this discussion one which the Party does not pose nor the left. It is necessary to discuss that the 25 nationalisations which the Labour programme proposes - or originally proposed - should be put forward. It is necessary to make an agitation throughout the country, combined with the trade union struggles, for nationalisations without compensation, so that the country

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Workers of the World, Unite!

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PRICE 5p

NO. 244

FRIDAY 13th June 1975

All correspondence to: IV International Publications  
Printed by the Russell Press Ltd., Nottingham (TU).

SUBSCRIBE TO RED FLAG: 1 year.....L3.10p, 6 months.....L1.60p

24 Cranbourn Street, London, WC.2

Registered with the Post Office as a newspaper.

## EDITORIAL

# THE VOTE FOR THE 'NO' AND THE ABSTENTIONS IN THE REFERENDUM, ARE DECISIONS FOR THE OVERTHROW OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

## THIS ACCELERATES THE PROCESS TO FORM THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The essential sectors of the proletariat and its allies voted for the 'No' in the referendum or abstained. The most decisive sectors of the proletariat and its allies, the leaders and creative force in society, said 'no' to the Europe of the monopolies, 'no' to NATO, 'no' to Wilson and 'no' to the lack of leadership in the Labour Party, either directly or by not voting. Big business, the rich old parchments, the well-healed grabbers and sycophants, amply provided with funds, faced with no force that argued the case for Socialism on a European scale, could only get 62% of the electorate (less than 50% voted in Scotland and in Ireland). The proletariat is the force which decides the future, but the present and future of the bourgeoisie is nil. The abstentions show that the proletariat and its allies are preparing for battles outside the parliamentary arena. The result is a decisive blow at the present leadership of the left of the Labour Party. The 'yes', the European Common Market, is a world without exit for capitalism. The bourgeoisie cannot claim anything with the 'yes'. How can they claim anything for a Common Market described by Wilson himself as a 'shambles'? Inflation, rising prices, continuous concentration of the masses around the Communist and Socialist parties, the total failure of Ford's visit to reunify NATO, the admission of Wilson that it is not possible to discuss NATO when the whole economic system is collapsing, this is the reality of the Common Market. The 'yes' of the bourgeoisie is 'yes' to their own putrefaction, 'yes, we are going to die together....'

## THE PROCESS ADVANCES TOWARDS CIVIL WAR.

The proletariat with the 'no' and the abstentions, has affirmed its leadership of society. The development of society is decided not by counting votes but by the creative driving forces, by the best ideas, by the policy and programme which is best of humanity. The solid vote for the 'no', and and abstentions, are going to be decisive in the next stages because the crisis that develops and extends itself towards the final encounter means that the mass of the petit bourgeoisie will continue on the line of firm and deep alliance with the proletariat. The 'no' and the abstentions mean no to parliamentary cretinism, to the absence of mobilisations, to the policy of respect for the phoney democracy of the bourgeoisie, and it also means: 'In the next stage, we are going to break the bourgeoisie'.

The campaign against the Common Market was a fiasco. There was talk of systematic meetings in all the big factories; in practice it was never applied. There was no organised discussion by the trade unions or the 'leaders' of the labour left in the factories or the workers areas. Their understanding of meetings is speaking and then graciously allowing a few questions, and then go home, the mighty have spoken to you. The level of dis-

cussion was atrocious, it never got beyond well-known episodes about 'butter mountains' and the sanctity of 'parliamentary sovereignty'. Trotsky, long ago, pointed out that the pathetic addicts of left reformism are far more enamoured of parliamentary democracy than the bourgeoisie, for whom the system was designed. The sanctimonious language about 'accepting the verdict of the people' and 'respecting' votes like the 'yes' is grotesque in the present world situation. Papers in ballot boxes are minor episodes in the history of humanity, of themselves they have decided nothing. Lenin in 1917 made no bones about basing himself on the Soviets, not the constituents Assembly, and it was the October revolution which changed history, not respectful silences at the graveside of the bourgeoisie and the religious counting of votes. More and more the massive development of revolution throughout the world explodes the fatuous conception of 'parliamentary democracy'. The world Communist movement, learning en route and obliged to return to Lenin, however protracted the process, begins to reassert aspects of Marxism.

Thus Cunhal questioned about the relationship between law and revolution retorts: 'the revolution

does not respect the law, it makes it'. Asked upon the subject of democracy, Cunhal's reply is simple: 'democracy for me means liquidating capitalism and monopolies'.

## FIASCO OF THE ANTI MARKET CAMPAIGN.

The struggle against the Common Market was waged with bourgeois concepts, at no stage was the bourgeois conception of democracy challenged, at no stage was the content and application of the Socialist programme explained. At no stage was nationalisations and workers control made central to the discussion. The 'out of Europe into the world' was truly imbecile, particularly when it was being put forward by people who never before have referred to the world, and they never referred to it in the campaign. 'The world' means Soviet tanks in Saigon, it means the victory of the Vietnamese masses crushing Yankee imperialism, it means Socialism in Portugal with the Armed Forces Movement and the proletariat at its head, it means the total crisis of the capitalist system, it means the partial regeneration in the Workers States and the changes to the left in the world Communist movement. None of this was mentioned. The frequently confused petit bourgeois sectors who voted 'yes' can hardly be expected to vote for the less than attractive proposition of isolated British capitalism floundering in the world market; for them, better the devil that you know than the devil that you don't know. Socialism has to be explained and in depth, the official leadership had the opportunity and would not take it because parliamentary sectors want to contain the process. Their policy has failed; it has shown itself to be totally inadequate and more and more the most fundamental aspects of policy and programme are going to be posed. Against the sabotage of investment, unemployment, inflation, the preparation of war by NATO, what is going to be offered? The campaign against the Common Market was a pathetic effort to avoid a class policy and programme. The 'no' of the

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(CENTRE PAGES)

THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE HISTORIC FUNCTION OF THE WORKERS STATES AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE MOST ELEVATED FORM OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF HUMAN PROGRESS J. POSADAS

# THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE HISTORIC FUNCTION OF THE WORKERS STATES

J. POSADAS

15/2/1975.

The Workers State is a structure, a policy and an objective. Structure, policy and objectives base themselves on the three indispensable conditions for a Workers State: nationalised property which annuls private property, the planning of production which is centralised, and the application which is decentralised. In centralising production, planning organises all the resources, all the possibilities which exist in the country; the knowledge of the state of the world, of the conditions for commerce, for exchange, raw materials, relations with the world market and in the working class. In developing the economy, it allows decentralisation to facilitate the local application, taking into account conditions and convenience, because they are dealing with raw materials, railways, ports, developing interchange and transformation of raw materials. Thus, the application is decentralised, and the monopoly of foreign trade ensures that the state is a total form, a single identity, can trade with the capitalist system. Thus, it represents the force which impedes capitalism, through competition, being able to extract advantages from dealing with the Workers States.

This structure determines the progress of the Workers State, independently of any leadership. It can have a good, bad or indifferent leadership, but if it must base itself on this structure, there is progress. This structure eliminates the consequences of capitalist disorder, because private interest leads to the anarchy of production. The capitalist produces in competition with others on the world market. And the market demonstrates what is required and at what price. The products of various countries of Italy, France, South Africa, compete on the world market. The world market, for example, includes exports to North America. The North American market accepts them according to purchasing power, the interest or orientation of the economy, competing price levels, or it accepts only one product and the rest are rejected. As a result of all these factors the price of commodities is determined. In purchasing someone can buy at a higher or lower price, but in total, prices represent the quantity of labour embodied in these products. The markets accept some products, reject others. Higher prices in some commodities are compensated for by lower prices in others. This is the capitalist economy.

In the economy of the Workers State, this is not the case. Commodities are produced according to necessity. The Soviet Workers State makes a plan of the market. It is adulterated and falsified because the bureaucracy produces more for itself, but there is an estimate of the market. Capitalism does not do this. In an indirect form it has associations, centres of investigation of the economy to observe the market. But even so the currents in the economy are not determined by the situation of one, two or ten days. An important factor can reverse all the inclinations and orientations of buying. All the market is sensitive to a series of quantities and conditions which are not local but world-wide. A political disturbance, a production of disturbances, alters the whole market. Then all the studies of the market go to the devil. For example the French May (1968) sent to hell all the statisticians and the statistics of

capitalism. They made a whole series of statistics and the French May did not respect them. In the Workers State, the leadership plans production in accordance with needs. This is not done scientifically very well, because the bureaucracy is incapable of doing it. In judging and analysing the market, the bureaucracy takes its own interest into account, and takes as a need of the market, what is, in fact, its own interest. For example, cars, TV sets, expensive houses without any objective need. All this is not necessary on the market. But as property is nationalised, production is centralised and planned, the bureaucracy has to have a plan of production from which it cannot free itself. It has to produce in accordance with this plan. As profits and competition are eliminated — at least the brutal inter-capitalist competition, there is still competition between bureaucrats, but the essential aspect is eliminated — as all the apparatus of repression is eliminated in production, shortages in production diminish considerably, and there is a considerable growth in production. All this develops through nationalised property and planned and centralised production. Independently of any leadership, this is the structure.

An example is Yugoslavia. When Stalin delivered a blow at the Yugoslav Workers State in 1948, he hoped to overthrow Tito, and to show by this that whoever opposed Stalin would be defeated. Stalin said: 'I move my finger, and Tito is defeated'. Stalin moved his whole hand and collapsed. The revolutionary Tito who was the principal organiser of the Communist Party and of the revolutionary Yugoslav Army, which defeated the nazis with very little help from the Soviets, was based on the tradition, on the small (but structured) Communist structure of the Yugoslav Workers State, which could resist. Through the attitude of the other Workers States which sabotaged and isolated it completely, the Yugoslav Workers State was stimulated to trade with capitalism. This generated consequently throughout this period a bureaucratic layer which tended to return to private interest, to the

interest of the camarilla, a caste, as in Czechoslovakia, which had as a result the theory of the economy combining the Workers State with private usufruct. In Yugoslavia there was an orientation towards forms of the private economy, and there was finally a direct link between organs of production in Yugoslavia and British, French and North American banks. But as property was nationalised and the economy centralised, so that the interest of these layers could establish themselves, it was necessary to change the leadership of the economy, to change the form of property. These sectors seek inevitably and tend to seek this conclusion; instead of State property, private property.

But the small proletarian nucleus in Yugoslavia maintained intransigently, constantly, and without interruption, the defence of state property, the monopoly of foreign trade and centralised planning.

All these sectors which developed at that stage of the development of Yugoslavia, sought and awaited the time to deliver a blow, to return to capitalism or to utilise nationalised property for group ends, creating a new orientation of the economy. This is not possible, because there is no other form of property; either nationalised property, or private property. These sectors must want to utilise nationalised property for a group, without being a proprietor, to utilise it as such, as in part is the case with the Kholkos. They tried to do this and failed, because the proletariat was opposed, because it convinced and won the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, the engineers and the scientists, which developed in the Yugoslav Workers State, won by the Socialist conception, not by the private conception of capitalism.

The Yugoslav bureaucracy, one of the most powerful bureaucracies — more powerful than the Soviets because it was isolated, whereas the Soviet was under the weight of the world and Soviet proletariats — met, in their efforts to return to capitalism or to utilise in a private form nationalised property, the resistance of the proletariat. The proletariat won, the bureaucratic sector was liquidated, and the advance in the planning of production resumed.

The Workers State, with its historic conditions, nationalised property state monopoly of foreign trade, centralised and planned production, creates such a resistance that in spite of all the political power of the bureaucracy to retreat, it would have to make the counter revolution. As it cannot do this, it is obliged to plan. This is the essential condition for the progress of the economy superior to the capitalist system which does not plan, and acts through competition in which 30 to 40% of the

national product goes in wastage. In the Workers State, this is not the case because in spite of the bureaucracy, the economy develops.

The bureaucracy was not the factor in the development of the economy. But it had no other remedy than to develop it, because it is based on nationalised property. In producing it has to plan, badly and horribly. But it has to plan, it is superior to the capitalist system, but in its turn, it develops bureaucratic tendencies and aspirations of private usufruct in all of them. It creates the conception and the bureaucratic imagination which is superficial, individual, of a caste or of a group, and there is an enormous number of layers with their own interest. Each one has the interest to orientate production, to develop the capacity of production with a caste interest. Thus, they develop and put themselves in agreement, but they have to put themselves in agreement on an essential basis: nationalised property. Even with bad planning, this is infinitely superior to the capitalist system, because there is no competition, and there, where there is competition, although it might have some importance, it is not the fundamental basis of the economy — as in Yugoslavia, as in part was the case in China.

Nationalised property, monopoly of foreign trade, centralised planning of production, are factors of progress in spite of the bureaucracy, because they are infinitely superior to the capitalist system. If the Soviet Union put up with the Soviet bureaucracy and the nazis, it was for this, not for the quality of Stalin. The bureaucracy is timid, conservative. The fact of being a bureaucracy means fear and conservatism. As it does not defend legitimate, genuine interests for the development of the Workers States, it defends its own transitory interests, it does not have roots, it does not have flowers, and in its turn, it does not have the seeds to plant other flowers. That is to say, it cannot reproduce itself, it is transitory, and come the wind of the revolution, it is blown away.

For example, Shelest who they threw out, attacked in an energetic form car factories, but he did not defend the interests of the Soviet Union, but of the bureaucracy of the Ukraine against the other bureaucrats. Meanwhile, sectors like Breznev, through the structure, through the progress, through the development reached by the Soviet Union, have to defend the whole of the Soviet Union, as in part was the position of Stalin. They have to defend the whole of the Soviet Union against local interests. Many conflicts of Stalin with bureaucrats which he liquidated, arose because they competed, and to be Stalin, he had to defend the global interests of the Soviet Union; hence, he was the centre of the bureaucracy. The various sectors of the bureaucracy saw in him a representative against local interests, or a means of conciliating all the local interests. Insofar as the economy was very limited, this was the system. When the economy developed and needed a profounder planning, already Stalin was no longer possible. He could not conciliate and unite the various interests. Hence they got rid of him, and all the various detritus, debris which there were, were exonerated. Hence, despite the bureaucracy, the economy of the Workers State developed.

The bureaucracy is a transitory sector in society, it does not have roots, present or future ones. It lives and usurps, its mentality is that of the usurper, a sponger, and a very timid person. It lacks audacity and resolution through its function in society. When Stalin closed his eyes on being told that Hitler was going to invade and shot those who said this, this was the fear and indecision of the bureaucracy. Hence, the bureaucracy is always seeking the least evil, not through stupidity — they are stupid — but from the nature of their position. Their stupidity is not of biological, but of social origin. Hence, the bureaucracy was, is, and what remains of it will be, timid, indecisive, fearing comparison with history.

It projects plans, and imagines in a trivial form because it does not represent the interest of history, hence its imagination is pettyfogging. One cannot ask of the bureaucracy that it imagines the progress of the revolution, when it has an interest in plundering. Classes do not imagine because they are obliged to, but through their function in the economy and in society. The origin of intelligence lies also in the function in the economy and in society which then represents the future of history.

Hence in spite of the bureaucracy, the Soviet economy developed. In developing itself, it creates anti-bureaucratic factors, because it develops the economy and this demands scientific functioning and scientific continuity. The bureaucracy does not reproduce itself as a leading caste, it reproduces itself as an existing number in an administrative role and not now as a leading caste, because the economy demands verification, comparison, scientific assessment, plans, the combination of scientific plans which annul the interests of the bureaucracy and demand centralised planning.

## Editorial

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British proletariat with the abstentions, is going to find the Socialist programme and its European dimension with the re-selection and reorganisation and discussion in the Labour Party and the trade unions, under the massive objective pressure of events. The referendum is a minor episode in the battle of the classes and the struggle of system against system, but it has brought out firmly the decisive quality of the proletariat; and the abstentions say loud and clear 'to hell with parliament, we are going to bury capitalism'.

This decisive quality of the proletariat is reinforced by the quality of the proletariat on a world scale, the Workers States. Yankee imperialism is openly preparing nuclear war. Schlesinger has said 'in future' rather than simply counter your opponents thrusts, it is necessary to go for the heart of your opponents power; destroy his military forces rather than simply being involved in endless ancillary military operations'. Heath supported the

strategy of the Yanks immediately. But on the other hand the Workers States have made it clear no outside intervention would be permitted in Lebanon, and on the other hand Libya is being prepared as a Soviet base. The process of international civil war is remorseless and the disintegration of capitalist regimes continuous, Angola passes into civil war, the regime of Kenyatta decomposes and in Chile, Frei who helped to set up the military coup, enters into public conflict with the military gangsters, because the regime of repression has failed and the Chilean proletariat cannot be repressed. In this world arena nothing is determined by capitalism but it cannot go on receiving one blow after the other without retaliation — it is preparing for war openly and the Soviet Union also.

### CONFERENCES WITH THE EUROPEAN WORKERS CENTRES

The campaign over the Common Market has already deepened the fragmentation of the Tory party, du Cann came out against the Market just before Thatcher was about to make a statement on the subject and excuse her lack of

prominence in the campaign. Heath on the proclamation of the result claimed the 'yes' as all his own handiwork. In other words, the decomposition of the Tory party has been intensified by the referendum, and all Walker can say is that there is a danger Britain will 'price itself out of the market'. Big business lacks a reliable central team in Britain. It has no ideas and can only lurch from crisis to crisis.

The crisis of development in the Labour Party will advance with immense vigour. Already the campaign showed the emergence of a tendency directed not only at the right, but at the centre, and the pressure for the policy of nationalisations will continue with greater and greater force because international capital has no capacity to develop society and there is no perspective, save a continuous running down of the economy. The objective forces are going to drive towards a unification of the workers forces throughout Europe and the need for a Conference of Workers parties and trade unions to plan the strategy to overthrow what remains of European capitalism is going to be posed continuously

The unification of the forces of the European Socialist and Communist movements on a common programme is being constantly raised as a result of the polemics between the Communist and Socialist parties, particularly in France. The organisation of a genuine left in the Labour Party based on Marxism, has to relate to all these issues and to the extra parliamentary forces of the proletariat in the factories. The organisation of strike committees by the NUR is an attempt to control the independent action of the class, but at the same time it shows the weakness of the trade union bureaucracy in front of the process and through these committees is expressed indirectly the tendency towards organs of dual power.

We appeal for a full balance of the campaign against the Common Market. What are the conclusions to be drawn? There has to be an end in the Labour Party to the slovenly way political issues are discussed and experiences ignored. The way to advance demands a world perspective and a respect not for the dustbin of parliament, however antiquated, but for the proletariat and the Workers States. The programme of nationalisations and workers control, the programme of planning, can only be based on the independent intervention of the working class in its own organs, at its highest level in the form of Soviets. Parliament may be used transitorily, but the bourgeoisie will never allow Socialism by legislative enactment

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A MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATION  
**Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary struggle and the construction of Communism. J. Posadas** 10/10/1974

(LATEST BULLETIN PUBLISHED)

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# Editorial

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nor by referendums. The discussion over the Common Market was backwards, deliberately so, to contain discussion and contain Marxism. But no instrument is superior to Marxism and there is no such thing as a superior home grown Socialism or Socialist thought. We appeal to all the Labour parties and the trade unions to call meetings to make the balance of the campaign and to open a discussion to give the orientation for collaboration with the European working class for the big fights which are coming, the real fights in the factories and the workers areas, the civil war which is expressed directly and indirectly throughout Europe. For the programme of nationalisations and workers control without compensation, for the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe. For the organisation of campaigns throughout Europe to smash NATO and intervene against the preparations for the nuclear war, emphasised again by the system of 'safety' panels in British ports for nuclear vessels. This is what is being prepared. The massed forces of the British proletariat and its allies have shown they do not respect parliament, the monarchy and capitalism. With the full support of the world revolution they are going to wipe them out, without the aid of parliamentary rhetoric. The 'no' vote with the abstentions show what the proletariat intends. 8.6.1975

## The trade union left must organise itself as a tendency in the trade unions

The public declaration of Jones against Jenkins and in favour of Benn confirms that the Wilson/Jenkins/etc. pro-capitalist clique in the Labour Party has lost its link with the trade union leaderships. This is the result of the struggles of the workers directly at the base of the trade unions, in the factories, who no longer allow the labour aristocracy to continue conciliating systematically with capitalism. But the task of applying the Labour Party programme is going to require a conscious, organised, revolutionary and marxist leadership in the Labour Party. This demands in turn that the left of the trade unions organises itself as a tendency on the basis of the conscious ideas to grasp the depth of the problems of the economy, the assassin intentions of the bourgeoisie, and the necessary programme to nationalise and plan the economy, impose workers control; this requires marxism because only marxism allows the development of such thought, and gives such a preparation. The trade union left has to organise itself nationally, to make itself the instrument of generalisation of discussion, conclusions, method of thought, and organisation for workers democracy in the trade unions and the Labour Party.

We call on the workers in the factories and in the trade union branches, the Shop Stewards, the Shop Stewards Committees, the extended Shop Steward Committees in formation in the factories, the middle officials in the trade unions, the trade union officials themselves, to organise nationally at the base of the trade unions (without breaking or weakening the trade unions) a clearly defined left tendency, on the basis of the programme of nationalisations, workers control, workers democracy in the trade unions and in the Labour Party. This is the conscious way by which all the conditions will be created to impel a conscious leadership, revolutionary and marxist in the Labour Party, to apply the Labour Party programme and plan the economy.

The force that has imposed, maintained, and given a programme of nationalisations to the Labour government, is the working class, and the working class with its trade unions. The trade unions have been an essential instrument of the working class in achieving this. In spite of the very limited structure of the trade unions, the working class has been able to make use of them, because they are under the pressure of the class in the factories, in all the struggles, and they are a means of centralisation of the working class to impose its will. In doing this, the class is at the same time transforming the trade unions, combating the traditional conceptions of bureaucratic functioning and pulling down the barriers between different trade unions. This finds a massive and centralised echo all the way through the Labour Party which is based on

the trade unions and this advance comes into confrontation, into collision and open struggle with the right in the Labour Party. It is this process which is forcing Wilson, Williams, Callaghan, Prentice, etc. out of the Party. They find the Party is changing, and they are left behind. If they remain at present, it is because there is no current in the unions and the Labour Party organised to build a new structure in the Labour Party.

When today people like Jones attack the present Labour 'leadership', it is because there is no more room left for a link to remain between the trade unions and this Labour 'leadership'.

When the British trade unions can impose on Wilson and Co. that the Labour Party adopts a programme of nationalisations, and Wilson cannot confront the working

class in any way, how much more

### THE TRADE UNION LEFT HAS TO IMPOSE WORKERS DEMOCRACY IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

It is necessary to organise the left of the trade unions, boldly and decidedly, outside the apparatus of the trade unions machinery, with open discussions and open votes, not the type of deadlock as when Scanlon has to cast his vote one side or the other for a decision to be taken. All the workers must have the right to participate in decision making in the trade unions, they must be those who observe, formulate opinions, take decisions, decide and apply! This means electing their own officials at mass meetings and being able to recall them at mass meetings. This means a life of discussion in the branches, and across branches and individual unions. This requires that a decided team, a left tendency with such a programme, takes initiatives, animates such a movement, struggles in the trade unions consciously for this end. It is necessary to take initiatives starting already in various areas, and seeking to give them a national and international character. There must be local Conferences of trade unions, mass meetings, where all the workers can speak, mass meetings to discuss the actual total crisis of the capitalist system and the programme of nationalisations, workers control.

These meetings, discussions, at the same time must intervene in the process of the running of the trade unions, intervene in the sending of delegates and representatives for the trade union to meetings of the trade unions and the Labour Party. These representatives must be mandated, they have to go as delegates from the various shops, departments, factories they represent, and they have to speak about what the workers have decided to talk about at mass meetings beforehand. There must be mass meetings and open discussions for the representatives

could be achieved if the trade union left was organised in a conscious, national, marxist and consistent tendency.

to report back, and all the trade union delegates must be subject to instant recall. For this, too, no official must receive more than the average worker's wage, and if an official refuses this then the workers must be able to replace him. Already when the workers of the AUEW vote for the end of the ballot\*, for votes to be taken at trade union branches, to decide who the trade union's officials are going to be, it is because they seek to mandate these officials, they seek to have control over them, to be able to tell them what programme they should be fighting for. This means that the conditions already exist to impose workers democracy in the unions.

It is clear that the links already made between the British trade unions, the European workers movement, and the Soviet Workers State, would be much greater and would penetrate much deeper into the ranks of the workers if there was a conscious, organised, systematic functioning of the trade union left in the country.

The Soviet Workers State and the other Workers States could impel more the advance of the workers towards the imposition of the nationalised and planned economy in Britain. The initiative cannot be left to the trade union apparatus men for they resist this functioning which they see in competition with them, and as a threat to their position of being able to make decisions themselves, to struggle for their own career. The initiative has to come from the left in the trade unions, and this requires organising this left.

The trade union left can do this much more easily than, say, the Labour Party left, because the trade unions are more under the pressure of the workers, more linked to their mobilisations than the Labour Party. turn to page 4

## The dictatorship of the proletariat, the most elevated form of democracy for the construction of human progress 15/2/1975. J.Posadas

Proletarian dictatorship means the most complete freedom of discussion, the most complete freedom of investigation, verification and historic comparison. Science is based on the verification of the experience. The basis of science is experience. But experience, without the instrument which allows it to function, decays. The experience needs the instrument. One thing is the experience in physical science, in chemistry, archaeology and medicine etc., and another is the science of the revolution. Those which develop in established entities or which, in developing, require investigation, such as medicine or the natural sciences, have a limited scope, they don't include the interest of the human beings in a direct form. Revolutionary science is in the interest of the human beings directly. Consequently, it develops with all the changes, the vacillations, the undulations of the social struggles, of the classes and the sectors of the classes.

The mere fact of the existence of stalinism indicates that there, proletarian dictatorship does not exist. Because there is no freedom of discussion in the Party, not the empirical freedom, but the necessary discussion organised and prepared for the progress of the revolution, to learn, to elevate revolutionary culture, to promote the interest of each member who reads, studies, asks, discusses. If there is an excess of questioning and discussion, if all the time one yields by devoting oneself to discussions and not to working, then the Party corrects it. It does not eliminate the desire, the inclination to investigate, the scientific verification and comparison of the experiences; but it orientates an organised activity which may be useful to instruct the Party.

On the other hand the proletarian dictatorship is not the negation, the imposition of the search, the discussion, the experience, the comparison, but on the contrary it is the organisation which allows this to be done. Proletarian dictatorship and stalinism are opposed. Proletarian dictatorship tries to eliminate all oppression and all injustice, all differentiation and inequality. Thus it promotes the discussion, the experience, so that the whole party intervenes. Stalinism defends a layer and has to impede discussion, drawing conclusions from experience, making historic comparisons, verifications which investigate through marxism, which develop through marxism, which develop marxism. The proletarian dictatorship itself does this, because it does not signify the power of a few, of a camarilla, of a bureaucratic layer, but the power of the working class, in the name of the working class, for the construction of Socialism, to prevent capitalism from retaking power. The condition to do this is the most ample freedom of discussion, not any discussion, but the one which is necessary for the development of the ideas, of the experience, of the class struggle and which stimulates the class struggle on a world scale, the struggle for power on a world scale. There is no comparison between pro-

letarian dictatorship and stalinism. It is the opposite. Trotsky explained all this in 'The Third International after Lenin'.

Proletarian dictatorship is not the imposition of a small number of the Party, which impedes discussion, thought, reasoning, making comparisons, experiment. It is the organisation which regulates the life of the country by orientating, by judging, comparing, analysing, experimenting and working through Socialist measures. But this requires the most ample freedom of thought. The most ample freedom of thought does not mean that everyone does what he wants, because all will do what is necessary for Socialism. The Party educates so that this may be done, by considering that in the next stage it will not be as it is now. Then the Party educates. The first and unique experience was the Russian Revolution. Since then there have been no others, because all the others were not proletarian dictatorships. They were simply governments in the hands of stalinism or of small sectors, which developed economic measures which were against capitalism, but were beneficial to the bureaucracy. This judged, controlled and impeded the development of a self-critical sentiment.

Lenin said 'The essential condition of the proletarian dictatorship is the most ample freedom of criticism'. By functioning well, the Party does not make any random criticism. What is done is what is necessary. If the Party is the proletarian Party, it will not occur to any member to criticise in a senseless manner or make an objection, experience, investigation which is not necessary. There is no code on what to ask. It is the marxist education which determines what is of interest. It is the education of the revolutionary preoccupation.

As the only experience which has taken place is the Russian Revolution and it was short, only seven years, humanity has had the experience of the proletarian dictatorship. On the contrary it has the evil experience and examples of stalinism. Then the workers movement, trade union and political, can assume that these years of Stalin and this function in the Workers States directed by stalinism, that this is proletarian dictatorship. It is the reverse. Trotsky says in 'The Revolution Betrayed', in 'The Third International after Lenin', in 'Stalin' and 'My Life': in the most difficult stages of the Russian Revolution one discussed honestly. There was nothing to eat, there were no bullets for the weapons, they were besieged and there were the anarchists who were making a counter revolution in Kronstadt - their objective was not counter revolutionary, but they made the counter revolution. The Bolsheviks prohibited fractions. And Trotsky says: but as discussion is an element of reasoning and of experience, which cannot be substituted for, it was prohibited, it was not made in an organic form, but it continued anyway, and no Bolshevik impeded it. Discussion was contained in order to orientate towards the essential preoccupation, which was the necessity to defend themselves against Makhno and the allies, who on all sides surrounded

the Soviet Union. Even so, the experiences were discussed integrally.

In the Soviet Union 'proletarian art' was discussed or revolutionary art, the 'proletarian army' or the revolutionary army. The tendency, which was like elements of anarchism and ultra leftism, proposed 'proletarian art'. Lenin and Trotsky were opposed. There is no 'proletarian art'. There is revolutionary art. The proletariat is not a class which has a future, it disappears. All art indicates the future, otherwise it is a decoration. For art to be revolutionary it must serve the revolution, but not in the name of the proletariat, but in the name of human progress, because it is not a class that will exist but a class that will disappear with the advance of the revolution. Then art cannot be made which will perish with it. It must be art which represents the historic process. Kollontai represented this 'proletarian art' current.

The partisans of the 'proletarian army, because they were the most secure, the most consistent, Lenin and Trotsky said: this is right, the proletariat is the most consistent and the most secure. But they won generals, officers of the czar. And the military conception is not proletarian. It is a military conception as a consequence of the development of society. In this developed the military art, the form of the army and the objective of the army. The objective of the Soviet army was not proletarian. It was not to take power so that the proletariat could establish its power, but to eliminate the power. It could not be a proletarian army. It is an army composed of proletarians, which gave the example of abnegation and dignity, which among other things won over a considerable number of czarist generals who a week earlier killed peasants, when the Bolsheviks won them, they defended the Soviet Union; also the Chinese won over generals. These

were transitory discussion, passing, which indicated at this stage the petit bourgeois elements which felt radical and ultra-revolutionary, more revolutionary than the Party. Lenin and Trotsky discussed that this was senseless. It is not right that they are more revolutionary because they ask for a 'proletarian army'. What objective has the army? The army is defined by the objective. Its composition can differ. What is important about the army is the objective, the direction and the programme. Consequently, its composition is determined by the objective, the programme, and to achieve it, the leadership. For this the 'proletarian army' is not made. It is a proposal from petit bourgeois tendencies, which today correspond to the leftist groups. And on an historic level they manifest the insecurity in the historic purpose of power to win over other layers of the population. It was a substitution of one class power by another power in order to maintain the continuity of the class power, when the objective of the proletariat is to eliminate classes.

Concretely, what function did the 'proletarian army' have? To confront czarism and the Entente. The military art is not of the proletariat. The proletariat has not got a military art. The military art came from the bourgeoisie. It was necessary to adapt it to proletarian ends, which is different. This Lenin and Trotsky did. It is like saying 'a proletarian medicine' or a 'proletarian physics'.

We take the literature, the culture and the science which humanity has made - and the bourgeoisie utilised it, deformed it, stifled it, but it is formed by humanity - to be utilised for an end by the proletariat. This gives it the breadth, the scope of the final objective. Then it is utilised better. But this is not a peculiar and particular aspect of the proletariat. The proletariat is not a class which aims to continue, but negates itself in negating capitalism.

SOON TO BE PUBLISHED (IN RED FLAG 245)

The crisis of the Christian Democracy is the crisis of Italian Capitalism J. POSADAS

# THE PROGRAMME FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY

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does not carry the cost. It is necessary to plan production so that every one has work, to unify the programme, with the slogans for: the sliding scale of working hours, the sliding scale of wages, no factory to be closed; all the factories to stay open; not to pose that capitalism can do it. No. Capitalism cannot do it.

A programme which shows the necessity for a policy which does not sustain, nor adapt itself to the capitalists, is necessary. This is the road to resolve the problems of Britain. It is necessary to open this discussion. It is necessary to utilise for this task the triumph of the elections in Portugal. In Portugal, the programme of nationalisation triumphed. The electoral triumph in Portugal is that of the programme

presented by the Armed Forces: the solution to the problems of Portugal is Socialism. It is necessary to statify, to nationalise and make the agrarian reform. This is what the people voted for. This is a blow to the Communist leadership in Italy who fear that a resolved and audacious attitude is going to frighten the electorate. Those who voted for the Socialists did not vote 'for liberty, peace and quiet', they voted also for the programme of the Armed Forces. And a very great number of those who voted for the Socialists, were from the centre which seek to contain the Socialist Party. This is going to have repercussions in Britain.

This election in Portugal is a complete triumph. Between the capitalist and Socialist solution, it is the Socialist solution which they

supported!! It is a defeat for capitalism: throughout the world! And also for the Communist Parties who are against the Socialist solution. The electorate did not vote for Socialists or Communists: they voted for the programme of the Armed Forces, that 'the solution is Socialism'.

## THE YANKS HAVE LOST CONTROL

In Britain a historic solution is drawing near. Shelepin did not go by chance. In the Parliament there were discussions in which they laugh at the Queen. The Soviet Union is everywhere, and also it is a warning to the Yankees in case they prepare a military adventure, or an atomic strike. It is aimed at this. It is necessary not to be guided by what Ford is saying. The logic would be that imperialism

the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, are going to come about. In all this there is the triumph of the elections in Portugal, which voted for Socialist against Christian Democracy, against the reaction of imperialism. Portugal is irreversible.

All this is a total process. It is not a separated process which is unifying; it is total. It comes from the same source in Italy, France or Portugal: the world is ready for Communism. Italy, France or Portugal or Vietnam, are expressions of a same process with different quality and quantity. They are not inequalities which afterwards it is necessary to compensate for, it is a same process. What determines the triumph of Socialism in Portugal is the same that determines the defeat of imperialism in Vietnam, Cambodia. It is the same process.

J. POSADAS 26th April, 1975

## THERE IS NO MIDDLE ROAD: DISCUSS in the LABOUR PARTY the T.U.C.'s PROPOSAL for the NATIONALISATION of the PRESS

The TUC's proposals to have the state taking over the printing presses shows advance. This is the first time it has openly challenged the private ownership of the press. The structure of the TUC is very conservative and in no way corresponds to the force of the working class. Therefore, when the TUC challenges the bourgeois concept of newspapers being run in the 'free market', it is another confirmation that the working class in the factories is pushing to end all the functioning of capitalism. The British proletariat acts in the same way as all the masses of the world, seeking ways to stop the bourgeoisie publishing capitalist ideas, as, for example, when the Post Office workers refused to deliver Aims of Industry literature. In France, the journalists of a newspaper of the bourgeoisie are now refusing to work for an editor they do not agree with. In Portugal, the print workers have taken over the main newspapers and run them themselves. In the most recent example where the workers took over the newspaper 'Republica', they stopped publishing the paper as it opposes the advance towards Socialism. The bourgeoisie try and interpret this dispute as against the Socialist Party; this is not so. In fact, 'Republica' is not the paper of the Socialist Party, it is the paper of the right, which the fascist regime of Caetano allowed to be published when they were in power. Soarez defends 'Republica' because he is on the right of the Party, whereas the base of the Socialists oppose the views of the paper. The masses of the world are intervening against the bourgeois papers to stop their publication. This is why, in its submission to the Royal Commission, the TUC condemns the lies of the press. They recognise that the newspapers are just organs of propaganda used against the working class.

In developing towards Socialism there is no possibility of half way measures. Capitalism is no longer able to function, so what is required is a complete transformation of society. The 'Scottish Daily News' is being run as a workers cooperative. It is attempting to function on a commercial basis, competing with capitalist firms for advertising. This is to accept the capitalist function of the press. Already it is clearly apparent that the cooperative is failing - it is losing circulation and cannot get sufficient advertising revenue. Alistair Mackie himself spoke about the nationalisation of the press being the only answer. Capitalism is collapsing, so there is no basis for workers cooperatives being able to flourish, it is a utopia.

There is a contradiction in the TUC's proposals between the call for nationalisation of the press and their discussion on how to distribute advertising revenue. The nationalised press has to function on a totally different basis from the bourgeois newspapers, which rely on revenue from private industry. In a planned economy, there is no advertising revenue as there is no private industry. The functioning of the economy is different, so is the organisation of the press.

The proposals of the TUC are limited in that they state the problem but do not give a complete answer. They still talk about newspapers being run commercially with workers participation, instead of control. The bourgeoisie runs their news-

papers partly to provide information for themselves, but mainly as propaganda organs for private property. They are not run because the bourgeoisie believes in 'free speech' - the ideas of free speech is made up by them to try and justify their control over the press. The press under capitalism is there to assist them in the class struggle. The proletariat needs to take over the press with the aim of using it solely to further the advance to Socialism. The press is a weapon in the hands of one class or another; it can never be neutral.

The newspapers are full of corruption and sordidness. This is because they are linked to a class that is degenerating, and hence they reflect the collapse of the bourgeoisie's social relations. The only way to get rid of the corruption is nationalisation, and nationalisation has to be imposed by workers control. Then, it will be linked to a class that develops society. The press at present is full of distortions and lies and the reports printed bear no relation to reality. The bourgeoisie cannot paint the truth as it is too frightening for it. Hence, the ruling class even begins to lie to itself. For the proletariat, the real world is a very excellent one, it is full of the progress of the revolution, like Vietnam and Portugal. Yankee imperialism has no reason to tell the truth about Vietnam, only the forces of the revolution represented by the masses will give the truth. Everywhere it is the same, the proletariat because of its function in society

proclaims the truth, whereas the bourgeoisie shrinks away mumbling lies. The only way to run the press is to have full nationalisation with workers control. That is the only way to have an 'objective' press.

The Labour left needs to develop a daily paper for the Party that will be used to prepare the population to intervene further to construct Socialism. The articles in the paper must discuss the world advances towards Socialist and include Marxist texts. The press of the workers movement cannot have the same content as the bourgeois press. The Labour left needs a full discussion on what is the aim of a daily paper and what its contents should be. It should be linked with the discussion on the nationalisation of the newspapers. The Labour Party must have its own newspaper which it can use to intervene in the workers movement.

It is, however, more than this because the trade unions and Labour Party have the material means to publish their own newspapers. The reason why they don't, why the TUC discussion on the subject, for example, is dominated by commercial considerations is that the existing leaderships and apparatuses lack ideas. It is not possible - and 'Labour Weekly' shows this - to develop a workers press without ideas, and this means the elevation of the political life in the trade unions and Labour Party. It means the discussion of the ideas of Socialism, not in abstract but in a concrete form, it means discussion on nationalisation, on workers control, on the planning of the economy. And this, in turn, means the development of workers democracy in the Labour Party and trade unions, the development of a free exchange of ideas and a process of discussion in which all can intervene.

The desire of the population is there to abolish the use of the press by private property. The petty bourgeois sectors show they support the working class in this aim, as is shown by NALGO's policy to nationalise the newspaper plant and distribution. The Labour left needs to link with the workers on the policy of FULL NATIONALISATION OF THE PRESS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

\* For the complete end to all rights of the bourgeoisie to publish their lies!

\* For a daily newspaper of the Labour Party based on Marxism! & "Le Parisien Libéré"

The class feels that now it can smash capitalism and imperialism in Britain. It is Portugal, Ethiopia, Vietnam, the world revolution which intervene in Britain in this way. It is also the process in the Soviet Union and the Workers States, the progress in the world Communist movement, of partial regeneration, of elimination of privileges, the elimination of the worst aspects of the utilisation of the property of all for the benefit of a few in the Workers States. Today, it is the end of all this, and this finds its correspondence in Britain.

It is necessary to organise the left on the basis of a consistent understanding of the problems of the economy, of the preparations for civil war on the part of the bourgeoisie, of the preparation for war on the part of imperialism, of the solutions to the problems of the economy which are nationalisations, workers control, direct links with the Euro-

pean workers movement, for the construction of the Workers State. This requires MARXISM. We call on the left sectors in the trade unions to organise themselves as a tendency based on marxism, and to utilise for this the texts of comrade Posadas, all the texts of the IV International, and the texts of the British section which seeks to intervene in this construction with all its passion.

The organisation of the left in the trade unions will help the transformation of the trade unions themselves, and will be a fundamental impulse for the formation of a new leadership in the Labour Party based on the transformation of the Labour Party, with workers democracy, into a class and revolutionary Party.

\* This decision was taken within the apparatus of the AUEW which shows how strong the feeling of the workers is, at the base.

seeks to adjust itself whilst preparing a global response. In Britain the fact that the Yanks have lost hegemony over the world, is going to have a powerful repercussion. They have lost the dominion, the hegemony and the control of what is happening in the world. This is going to have immense repercussions.

The world defeat of Yankee imperialism restructures the world balance of forces. This is going to stimulate the world workers and revolutionary movements. It is going to signify processes of change in the Socialist Parties; a process of change immediately. On the other hand, it is going to provoke fear, and humiliation in world capitalism. Changes in the strategy of imperialism and in the world relation of forces which are favourable to the Workers States in their relations to

## Campaign

SUPPORT THE WORLD CAMPAIGN

for the release of the political prisoners in Uruguay.

We greet with revolutionary joy the release of Milte Radiccioni from prison. This is the result of the world campaign which, in this country, has received the support of Lawrence Daly (General Secretary of the NUM) and Ernie Roberts (Assistant General Secretary of the AUEW) who signed a joint telegram, and M. Foot (Minister of Labour) who signed a petition. It is also the result of the political security and courage - under torture - of Milte Radiccioni, Otto Radiccioni, Gloria Raquel Correa and Ruben Correa, and concretely it is the result of the advance of the masses everywhere in the world.

We appeal to the militants of the Labour Party, the trade unions, the Communist Party, the left groups and all progressive and democratic organisations to redouble their efforts to secure the immediate release of Otto Radiccioni (ex-candidate for Deputy (M.P.) in the Frente Amplio), Ruban Correa (architect), Gloria Raquel Correa (ex-official of the Department for Family Allowances) and all the other political prisoners in Uruguay, which number 7,000 and include leading members of the Communist Party and workers organisations.

The support for the world campaign for the release of the political prisoners in Uruguay - the most recent examples of this which follow - express all the advance of the world revolution at this stage of the final disintegration and collapse of capitalism and imperialism.

### BELGIUM

The Belgian Communist Party, The International Association of Democratic Jurists, the Belgian League for the Defence of Human Rights, the 'National Bureau' of the Young Socialists, the Charleroi Federation of the Socialist Party, Ernest Glinne (M.P. and ex-Labour Minister).

### ARGENTINA

The Argentinian Association of Actors, the Christian Revolutionary Party, Juan Carlos Dominguez M.P., Pascual Di Nelle (President of the University Federation of La Plata), the Argentinian Association of Psychologists, the Argentinian Association of Film Actors.

### PERU

The Federation of Bank Employees, the Youth Committee of 'Agostino', Lima, the Single Trade Union of the

paper 'El Comercio', the CNT Peruvian TUC) and the CNTP (other trade union centre), Agricultural Cooperative of Huando, The Federation of Draughtsmen.

### MEXICO

The PRI (the Government Party), D.G. Guttierrez (President of CNDP), R. Galvan (Secretary of the Electricians Trade Unions - SUTERM).

### BOLIVIA

The Federation of the University of La Paz, the Workers Committees of the Catavi and Siglo 20 mines.

### FRANCE

The CGT and CFTD (the two biggest trade union centres), Louis Aragon.

### URUGUAY

The Committee of Human Rights of the OAS.

### ITALY

Bruno Trentin (Secretary of the FLM - engineering workers), Lelio Basso Socialist M.P. and President of the Russell Tribunal), the National Federation of Engineering Workers, Committees of anti-Fascist political refugees, Association of Democratic Jurists, the CGIL, the CSIL, UIL, (Trade Union Centres), Old Age Pensioners Union, the Federation of the Italian Building Workers, Amalgamated Federation of the Transport Workers, the FCSI (Genoa), the CGIL, CSIL, UIL Federation of Genoa, and the Factory Councils of Selenia of Rome, the CGIL, CSIL, UIL Federation of Naples, the Social Party of Naples, the FCSI (Naples), the Italian Communist Party regional of Naples, and Cultural and Artistic personalities.

### ECUADOR

The CTE (The Ecuadorian TUC).

We appeal to comrades of the Labour Party, the trade unions, the Communist Party, the left groups, the students organisations and intellectuals, Shop Stewards and Shop Stewards Committees, to send protests, demand the immediate release and guarantees for the end of torture and for the physical safety of Otto Radiccioni, Gloria Raquel and Ruben Correa, and all the political prisoners in Uruguay.

All telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to:

Copies for such telegrams please to

R.W.P.(T), 24 CRANBOURN ST, WC2

we have just been informed that the Yorkshire NUM Secretary A. Scargill, supports the campaign

Red Flag 13th June 1975 - Page 4.

## The trade union left...

continued from page 3

When today people like Jones attack the present Labour 'leadership', when the NUR talks about forming liaison committees between strike committees all over the country, it is because there already exists the conditions for the transformation of the functioning of the trade unions, there already exists a powerful left in them which is breaking free of the limitations imposed by the conservative and unimaginative apparatus of each individual union, breaking free of all the contentions, the functioning through negotiations, conciliation, arbitration etc. This is shattering all the traditional functions of the trade unions, giving to their intervention a political content and, at times, make them intervene as the Labour Party itself should do!

# THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS IS INTERVENING TO BUILD A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

THE LABOUR PARTY LEFT HAS TO ASSIST AND LEAD THE FORMATION OF THE ORGANISMS OF DUAL POWER

The discussion on Socialist Democracy in the Soviet Union, on the construction of Soviets in Portugal, the massive vote for the Communist Party in Italy, the failure of Boyd at the AUEW Conference to stir any feeling against the Soviet Union, and the proposed strike Committees by the NUR itself, all point in one direction: the construction of Communism in the world and the Workers State in Britain. It is necessary to construct a conscious Labour Party left based on this confidence. Comrade Posadas has analysed: 'The world is ready for Communism'. It is impossible to envisage any other direction for the process in the Labour Party. The Labour Party left has to organise itself on the basis of full support to the mobilisations of the working class, for the installation of workers control in the nationalised industries, the nationalisations of the rest of the economy, and assist and lead the construction of the organisms of dual power which the working class is constructing. There is no other way for the left of the Party to go.

The process of change in the Labour Party is due to the struggles outside parliament. There is an uninterrupted process of advance towards Socialist democracy and workers control in the world. In the USSR, there is now a preoccupation for Socialist democracy, instant recall and the necessity to give support to the working class in case of conflicts in the USSR, which shows the direction of the discussion in the Workers States and the world Communist movement. At the same time, the USSR intervenes in Portugal, in Italy, in the Middle East, so as to give support to the advance of the Communist forces there. Stimulated by this fundamental support and the world revolution the Italian masses have given a massive vote to the Communist Party and the Communist masses went in the street, fists clenched, with Vietcong flags and the coffins of the Christian Democrats. This means: 'Communism here now, and down with the Christian Democrat government'. It is a direct appeal to the Party to take power, at the same time as a criticism of the line of the actual leadership. It is against the parliamentary line of Berlinguer. It is a warning to Berlinguer, and a preparation for solutions outside Parliament.

The fact that this is so, is confirmed by the immediate response of the bourgeoisie in front of the elections in Italy, which they see as part of the process of the advance of anti-imperialist currents in Turkey and of an elevation of the MAF in Portugal, through the COPCON. The reaction of the bourgeoisie and imperialism are one of anguish, fear, and immediate increase of the plans for war. The recent warning of Shlessinger to North Korea that it will use atomic weapons against it if North Korea invades the South, confirms this. The meeting of NATO with Yankee imperialism in Monterey (California), means that imperialism is preparing openly for nuclear war against the Workers States. The preparations of imperialism itself are not parliamentary, but extra-parliamentary. Clearly, they see that they are not capable of maintaining the system through parliament because the working class intervene constantly outside of it. This process is not determined by parliament, and an acknowledgement of this fact has been given by the Communist parties of Latin America in Havana last week, where they decided to aid the anti-imperialist struggle even 'by means of armed confrontation'. This is the world process, which imposes itself in Britain, and which imposes itself in the Labour Party; this is not a parliamentary process. The forces which move history today are the working class, the Workers States, and the world Communist movement, increasingly outside parliament.

## THE STRUGGLE IS OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT

The Labour Party is now in government thanks to the determination of the miners, with a programme which has been decided by the trade unions (of nationalisations) and with a policy today which is very much under the pressure of the trade unions. Clearly the railwaymen's struggle is a further confirmation of this. Parliament has decided none of these fundamental events, and on the contrary, has been very limited in its power to try to prevent the working class from taking direct action and launching direct struggles. When recently the railwaymen's union called for strike committees to link them all, it is because the apparatus of the trade union itself became aware of the fact that this was inevitable. This is an indication of the level reached by the process in this country; it is an indication that organisms of dual power, following the flying pickets of the miners, and the continuous process of construction of semi-unofficial committees today in all industries, were going to be formed in the railway struggle. The Labour leadership of today felt this; it was a matter of the power of the working class versus the pro-bourgeois sector of Wilson/Healey/Callaghan/Mason etc. as we analyse in an article in this issue of Red Flag. It was the power of the working class against the power of the capitalist system. This process has been decided outside parliament

and is going to lead to further struggles for the imposition of the power of the working class and its programme of nationalisations.

The conference of the AUEW confirms this. Who has reminded the Labour Party of its programme? The AUEW Conference: nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies, state control of foreign trade, and workers control. This is all included in the Conference, and what is more, they have agreed upon 'mobilisations against unemployment'. Clearly again the British working class is preparing to see to it that the programme is applied, and it is not waiting for parliament. The opposition to Boyd's attack on the Workers State and this programme are clear indication that this Conference was a Conference to declare the will of the working class to build the Workers State in Britain: the Socialist Republic. This is an extra-parliamentary struggle in which the Engineers are going to be a leading part to impose that the working class 'will not pay for the crisis'. As the Healeys, and Crosslands would like to. The immediate reply of A. Scargill of the Yorkshire Miners to reject the proposed 10% ceiling on all wage settlements is an expression of this and a warning to the right in the Labour Party. This is not parliamentary but extra-parliamentary. And in this process,

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

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## THE REFERENDUM ON THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET, THE ABSTENTIONS AND THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN

J. POSADAS

8TH.6.1975

The referendum in Britain is part of a campaign, of a programme of world capitalism, and of its branches in Europe to affirm the capitalist system, with agreements between themselves to try to diminish the competition between the big monopolies, to arrive at agreements to confront the Workers States and the revolutionary process headed by the masses, represented by the Communist and Socialist Parties, although these parties do not express the will and unceasing decision of the masses to overthrow the capitalist regime. The Communist Party expresses in part the need to go to the government, to make transformations by parliamentary roads when the masses are ready to make changes.

The whole of Europe is in a continual process of strikes; it has never been like this before. There is inflation, unemployment throughout Europe and there is not a single strike which is defeated. The occupation of the factories increases, together with the strikes of women and the mobilisations of the old people and the children. All the events show that the masses are not demoralised, that unemployment does not intimidate them, and that, on the contrary, the Workers States are influencing them, showing what can be done, that they have a perspective of advance. In the first World War of 1914, they did not have this; now they have it; and they see a perspective of constructing the Workers State, they see a logical solution. It is the Communist and Socialist parties, the big trade unions, that do not respond to this will of the masses.

Capitalism feels that its system is deteriorating constantly. The political authority is collapsing on all sides, it is disintegrating and deteriorating. This is expressed as part of this, in the rebellion of the prostitutes in France, whose actions are an accusation against the capitalist system, in the organisation of the police trade union, in the demand of the police that they don't have to confront the population, in the disintegration of the army. They are symptoms from the capitalist apparatus, the capitalist super-structure which shows that capitalism does not have authority over its own structure. The revolution has more authority than the capitalist system, and shows to these people - to the police, to the soldiers, the prostitutes - a process to which capitalism cannot respond: a process involving dignity and rights, and they feel capable of claiming or demanding these from the capitalist system. The prostitutes have never before felt like this; they felt apart from society. Now, they feel themselves to be integrated.

Capitalism needs, is seeking, to plan, to unify political leadership in Europe. To plan it, it has to seek it on the economic plane to try to contain the competition within itself, to facilitate the political and military agreements. European big business and world big business are preparing to confront the final settle-

ment of accounts. It is not preparing for economic, political, or social competition against the Workers States.

The proof is in the atomic arms, which French imperialism is now thinking of giving to German imperialism, and in the efforts of Shlessinger and Kissinger to pose that they are going to use atomic arms if there is war in Europe. The only war which they can organise in Europe is against the masses. Thus, they are preparing to repress the revolution in Europe, to distribute atomic arms, and to convince capitalism and the army, to secure a majority so that it can have the confidence to repress with atomic arms the outbreak of the revolution. The fact that they are confronting this task with so much dissimulation, craftily concealing it, is because they do not have security or confidence that the army is going to respond to this. Hence, the effort of capitalism to change the armies, to make professional armies, new armies, to cleanse them of characters that sold themselves, of characters who trade with the Yanks like this General Stehlin, or British Ministers and generals, and also Italians all bought by ITT and Northrop, and other big Yankee companies, or by the CIA.

Now they denounce them, try to force them to accept going towards new organisms. They are trying to represent all this as a cleansing, that they are honest men, and to organise new organisms as was the CIA before, but which has now lost authority and credit before the bourgeoisie of the United States. Hence, they are changing the organism.

The European Common Market is not simply contingent, nor does it have strictly an economic origin. It is economic in the form in which it is presented. It is the way in which the capitalist system seeks to survive in Europe before the competition of the Workers States and of the masses of every country in Europe and particularly of Britain, Germany, France, Italy, which are the countries who determine in Europe. They have to confront this. The exclusion of Britain left open a field of great competition, which intensified the competition and disintegrated the functioning of the capitalist system. Thus they needed the integration of Britain in the European Common Market, even though they had to subsidise Britain for two years, because, if an important country like Britain suffers from the consequences or the offensive of the working class, and the capitalist system is weakened, it affects the whole of Europe. They feel weak. Then they try to unify themselves, to confront the process of the revolution. This is the sense of the referendum in Britain.

The capitalist system is expressed through competition, one of the essential contradictions of the capitalist system is competition, the fact that it has to compete with itself. Thus the system is weakened. The European Common Market is like a

VIVA  
THE MASSIVE VOTE FOR  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
IN ITALY!  
FORWARD  
TO THE IMPOSITION  
OF A GOVERNMENT  
OF THE LEFT!

super-multi-national, and for what? If they had the capacity to confront the future, each capitalist country would continue fighting the others. But the Workers States develop constantly, and capitalism cannot dominate the crisis, not even in Lebanon. Things escape the control and the possibilities of the capitalist system. It cannot determine the orientation or the control of the conflicts which develop through its own crisis in the Middle East. It cannot dominate or control it. Before, it just imposed; now, it has to go on negotiating and reserving Israel as a launching pad, and it launches an attack which rebounds against them.

This referendum in Britain forms part of this process. Imperialism is preparing the war and needs a United Europe. The economic unity of Europe is the base for political unity and political unity the base for military unity. Yankee imperialism is trying to utilise Europe for this objective. At the same time, it fears the competition of Europe for itself, but these are the inevitable consequences of the system. Between competition and the possibility of achieving political and military unification, unification is convenient for them. It would be even more convenient if all the countries united themselves behind Yankee imperialism, and Yankee imperialism decides. Failing to achieve this, a Yankee tendency is going to accept the Common Market as the least evil. Their interest would be a unification with them and not with the EEC, which is going to continue competing but in not being able to achieve this, they see with what measures they can enter into it, with atomic weapons, and dominate it, particularly through Britain and France. With the prohibition of atomic arms for capitalist Germany as the result of the defeat of German imperialism, Germany does not have atomic weapons manufactured by itself. They have those which the others give them.

THE ABSTENTION IS THE FORM OF INTERVENTION BY THE PROLETARIAT IN THIS REFERENDUM.

These elections in Britain are a demonstration of the need for the proletariat and its parties to respond with a programme to all the struggles which confront European capitalism. The referendum is not a proletarian struggle. It is not a struggle against the bourgeoisie, it is an inter-bourgeois struggle. It is not possible to measure the behaviour of the proletariat because it does not have leadership in this struggle. The most defined form of the intervention of the proletariat was the abstention, not the vote for the 'no'; these votes are from more backward sectors of the proletariat, fearful of losing their work, who were exploited by the Labour left (using these arguments). But the proletarian vanguard abstained in the elections; it did not see in the elections a solution to the problems of work, of employment and of changes to apply the 25 anti-

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# The meaning, the different senses and objectives of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and in the Workers States.

## J. POSADAS

### 14.2.1975.

In the Soviet Union and in all the Workers States, the class struggle exists. Until Socialism is constructed, the class struggle will exist in all the Workers States, not in the form of the direct struggle of one class against another, but in an indirect form. The dispute over wages is part of the class struggle. In the Soviet Union is there or is there not a conflict? The bureaucrats want the bigger share and the workers dispute this. This is the class struggle, but it does not have the consequences as in the struggle against the capitalist regime.

The relation of the bureaucracy with world capitalism creates links, connections, relations, which allow capitalism to introduce itself into the Workers States through various means: economic, financial and social. It determines the course of the mind of the bureaucrats, to think in a relationship of conciliation with capitalism. This is the class struggle. It does not have the consequences of the struggle against the capitalist system, against private property, against the bourgeoisie, but it is a form of a class struggle, attenuated, but the class struggle. Until Socialism exists, the class struggle will continue.

This does not mean that the social revolution is necessary, but why the political revolution? If there is a political revolution, it is because there is a power which is opposed to the development of the construction of Socialism. If this power - the bureaucracy - had been maintained, it would have proliferated, and it would have made the counter-revolution. But one does not have to wait for the counter-revolution to see aspects of the class struggle.

The fact that there is a class struggle in the Workers State does not mean that it has stopped being a Workers State. It has all the qualities of the Workers State, but the Workers State is contradictory. Its structure, its base, is for the advance of the revolution, for the development of Socialism. But at the same time, the weakness in the epoch of the Bolshevik Party through the conditions which were created in the postwar period, allowed the bureaucracy to originate. But even if the Bolshevik Party had been stronger than it was, there would still have been the class struggle. This must not frighten, intimidate or contain, but it is necessary to understand the position, to see the tactic. Everything is measured on a world scale. The relations and links on a world scale mean that the State apparatus, in linking itself with world capitalism, acquires the forms the vices, and also the interests, of the capitalist system. This is expressed in the form of caste interests, of sectors. This introduces inside the Party, forms of seeing, discussing, reasoning, in accordance with the interests of cliques which are private. It permits various effects of the capitalist system. At the same time, they are in conflict with capitalism because capitalism would deprive them of everything. But they use the benefits of the leadership for themselves alone. This also is the class struggle.

This does not mean that for this fight it is necessary to overthrow the system to make the social revolution, but the political revolution is necessary. If it was not an aspect of the attenuated class struggle, the political revolution would not be necessary. When it exists, it is because the depth of bureaucratic power is very great. The Communist Party itself, as it was functioning until a short time ago - now less but still in part the same - is an instrument for the public good of history, it has to be opened to the influence, opinions, judgements, analysis of experience, made in areas outside the Communist Party. It is the political organising centre in which the masses are to be found, but it is not the organising centre of thought. Nevertheless, the Communist Party rejects everything which does not come from itself, not because they feel themselves to be omnipotent, powerful, invincible, but because they are representatives of interests which fear comparison with reality, because this diminishes and limits, weakens bureaucratic interests. Hence they are closed up in the conclusion: 'It is my Party'. It is true, it is their Party, but for what?

The Party is determined by its functioning. What is the Party for? It is to construct Socialism, it has to be open to opinions, to judgements, to the experiences of others. It does not mean open to discuss anything. The Party lives with its structure, but its cadres live attentive to the experiences of history. They receive and assimilate, they discuss, but without discussing just anything. But the Communist Parties do not do this, because they are led by bureaucrats. Today, there are fewer bureaucrats than before, they are more sensitive to the experiences of his-

tory, they are assimilating experiences of history, they are assimilating experiences which do not come from them, including ours. And, in part, those of the leftists also.

**IN THE WORKERS STATE IT IS NECESSARY TO OVERTHROW THE POLITICAL POWER, LEAVING THE SYSTEM AS IT IS.**

When we say that there is a class struggle in the Workers States, we do not put the concern or the centre, or the emphasis on this situation, because it does not influence, historically, in a decisive form. But it does influence. Now, it is less, but in the epoch of Stalin it influenced a great deal. It is enough to see that Stalin facilitated the uprising of the Kulaks. Is this the class struggle, yes or no? It is enough to see that in Yugoslavia the Parties of the Federation were composed of bandits and bourgeois. Is this the class struggle, yes or no?

But our attitude to this is not the same as our attitude to the bourgeoisie. In relation to the bureaucracy, it is necessary to overthrow the political power, leaving the system as it is.

The fact that there is a class struggle in the Workers State is not a mistake, an error, a retreat of the Workers State. There is a distribution of each according to his ability by means of wages. It is one of the forms of the class struggle. The distribution of wages in an unequal form is the class struggle. But it does not have the consequences of capitalism. It is the contradictory aspect of the bureaucracy and of the Workers State. But of its contradictory aspects, the essential line is that its base is nationalised property, monopoly of foreign trade, concentrated planning of production.

It is not possible to overlook the fact that there is a class struggle in the Workers State, and that it has fundamental effects. But it is necessary to see that the State is a Workers State. The bureaucracy is not a class, it is a stratum of society. The class is formed in history through its function in the economy. It justifies its role in the economy through the organisation of a superior level of production and productivity. It justifies its advance in history. If it does not justify itself through its function in the economy, it is not a class. The bureaucracy is not a class and nationalised property is not an invention of the bureaucracy. It is part of the programme of the Communist Party, and it does not mean a new form of property, but the abolition of all forms of property. To develop the economy requires planning and the perspective and the generalisation of the Workers States. The bureaucracy does not do this. It develops the sentiments, the interests, the egotistic interests. In this sense it is close to capitalism. But as it cannot generalise this, it is confined to small manoeuvres - although they are on a large scale like the Soviet Union - but it has no historic transcendence, because if it did have an element of transcendence and throughout the world a bureaucratic body was formed which would determine the course of the economy, this would collapse and fall.

The formation of the new class must justify itself through its function in the economy, which means the increase in production and productivity, the extension of quality and the capacity of production in new branches, it demonstrates this because it incorporates ideas, thoughts, art and intelligence. First, it is incapable, and secondly, it cannot do it because it is not a class. As it simply plunders, it cannot create culture and art. On the contrary, it must conceal these. Art is not created of itself, but is created through its function in society, not in the economy but in society. In their turn, societies are an image of the economies. The bureaucracy is not a class, it cannot create art or culture in any respect.

The bureaucracy is a sector of society which appropriates and makes a usufruct of the Workers State. But the development of the economy, the development of the organs of the masses, of the intervention of the masses, the crisis of capitalism, puts the bureaucracy against the wall of history and it has no resistance, it is a passing phenomenon. The class struggle exists in a limited way, but at the same time imperialism is conquered and no disastrous consequence is produced. The proof is the Soviet Union, China, and the other Workers States.

It is necessary to observe history as a result of a necessity whose point of departure is the economy. With a certain level of development, the instrument, the Party, is powerful and is superior to the economy. Then society is determined not by the economy but by the Party. But in its turn the Party is the result of the development of the economy. In the concrete moment, is the Party which decides, not the economy.

The bureaucracy, not being a class, being a stratum which usurps and plunders, impedes the functioning of the Party and makes of the Party a caricature. It puts on the walls many portraits of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. It does quite the contrary of Marx, Engels and Lenin, but, yes, it acts as Stalin. The bureaucracy does not take such a measure because it is trying to deceive or dominate. It puts these portraits because it wants to maintain in the proletarian vanguard the continuity in the confidence in the Workers States and in themselves as representatives.

But the bureaucracy shows that it usurps when, in spite of all the capacity, the will of the masses, it plans in accordance with its conservative, passive, narrow, and national mentality. This is the usurping mentality of the bureaucracy. It restricts, limits the levels of the economic power of the Workers State. It plans in accordance with its individual conceptions of a group, of a sector, not objectively. Hence, the bureaucracy - which is not a class but a stratum of society, and as Trotsky said 'a detritus' - does not fulfil any function of progress in society but usurps. Before one would say that they soiled the Workers State, it usurps and plunders the Workers State, the programme in the form of plunder and waste. For example, in the Soviet Union a few years ago, they sentenced various managers of enterprises because they lost thousands of tons of steel, others lost thousands of badly made machines, others made clothing factories for the wives of the bureaucrats. This is the egotistic form of thinking.

The bureaucracy plans in an empirical form. It lacks audacity, resolution and historic vision, because it is bureaucratic, because it does not have any rights in history. It has no future. Its ideas do not correspond to the progress of the economy, of society, of art and of culture. It lives for itself, it is a parasite which usurps. As it is a parasite in society against whom does it operate? It is against the masses. It is in conflict over the benefits of production. How does it operate? It is not through a process of discussions, of agreements, it is through the class struggle. How is the class struggle expressed? In the

way that this sector plunders the masses, programmes in an empirical and conservative form, with the principle consciousness for its own benefit. This unites it to the capitalist system, to individual appropriation, to individual usufruct. It unites it to the mentality, to the habits, to the acceptance of the capitalist system. It links with it, without submitting to it. Hence the Oto Siks, and the Dubceks, and all the other robbers of the Yugoslav Workers State, emerged. This is the class struggle.

The Communists say that there is no class struggle in the USSR, that it is Socialism and that there is no class struggle in Socialism. Firstly, it is not Socialism. Under Socialism, wages according to capacity do not exist. Secondly, if it was Socialism, capitalism would have stopped existing. Thirdly, it is necessary concretely to discuss this phenomenon, who robs, who plans badly, who plunders the wages of the workers; who, in distribution, gives the best to itself and gives the worst to the others, who is unequal in distribution and justice, who is this? Someone who is mistaken? No, it is the consequence of the class struggle, but it does not have the consequences of the capitalist system, yet neither is it totally opposed to the capitalist system. This is why it is necessary to make the political revolution.

We have to understand and assimilate this, to understand still the distance which exists between the Workers State and Socialism. It is quite a large distance and hence it neither requires nor is it common to speak in our texts of the class struggle in the Workers States. The Chinese speak about it: 'The class struggle will continue for a thousand years'. If the class struggle continues for a thousand years in Socialism, what Socialism is this? It means that private property has such influence, such a capacity, responds to such an inviolable necessity, that it can last a 1,000 years. But it cannot last with the nationalisation of the economy and the evolution of the mind. The economy eliminates it rapidly and easily. It destroys private power, capitalist planning, and undertakes a collective planning and centralises the economy. It breaks the power of private property.

All these problems are being discussed. In Yugoslavia they are beginning to discuss them. They are no longer on the slippery slope, but they have not thrown all the culprits out. They are going to discuss all these issues, and in China also, and in the Soviet Union also in a short time. The most complete economy is that of the USSR, which has also the most powerful bureaucracy. But the USSR has the first seven years of Soviet functioning, China does not have this. These first seven years of Lenin and of Trotsky provided the solid structure, the cement of the Workers State. The walls which they

put up afterwards were fragile, but the cement is solid, and it showed that the cement supported the fragility of the walls; hence the bombardments and the bombs of Hitler were not able to overthrow the Workers State. On the other hand, the development of the revolution finished with the bureaucracy in Yugoslavia, and the bureaucracy was solid. Still there is not a revolutionary leadership, but neither is there a bureaucracy in power. It does not mean that in Yugoslavia, a new era, a new stage is beginning, but there is not a bureaucratic power. There is not a strictly revolutionary, conscious leadership, but neither is there a leadership which responds to the bureaucracy. Still it is an intermediate stage, still the Yugoslavian cycle has not closed, but it will shortly.

Hence the clarification of all these fundamental problems, because it allows us to understand and not to be surprised by the process, by the alternatives of the process. Like Yugoslavia, which appeared to be collapsing completely. It appeared to be going back to capitalism; it was so on the edge.

In Partial Regeneration, this will be one of the essential bases of the discussion in the Communist movement, whether before, during or after the war. Possibly it will be a combination of the three phases. It is necessary to prepare to intervene and to discuss. They are essential problems. Humanity develops with these problems, capitalism created nothing new. Now it does not have the strength to create, but on the other hand the Workers State has. It is necessary to live these problems with passion and to understand, dominate and live them.

The surplus value in the Workers State does not exercise the same function as in capitalism. There is a surplus value, and there is the class struggle, but it does not have the consequences of the capitalist system. Surplus value in the Workers State is to accumulate, to reproduce the Workers State. For a period the bureaucracy reproduced, but it affirmed the Workers State, reproducing and extending the power of the Workers State. This is the class struggle which serves, in its turn, to affirm the development of the Workers State. From this appropriation of surplus value, the bureaucracy extracts more than a proportional share but to exist, it has to develop the Workers State, otherwise it collapses. It creates an enormous quantity of stratas, layers, sectors.

These are all the problems which it is necessary to live. These are the problems of humanity. It is not capitalism or what remains of it which is of any interest. It interests us to understand the development of the Workers State in its most precise form, most linked with the reality of the Workers State.

J. POSADAS 14th February 1975

**NOW JUST PUBLISHED (JUNE 1975), 'ROSA LUXEMBOURG ; REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF COMMUNISM', J. POSADAS, 19.10.1974 This bulletin includes the text of a speech by Trotsky to the Petrograd Soviet in 1919.**

Available from the Party's address: 20p

## Editorial

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**organisms for the imposition of the power of the workers: factory committees, area committees, are going to be created.**

**THE LABOUR PARTY HAS NO SOLUTION TO THE RIGHT: IT MUST HELP AND LEAD THE PROCESS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE ORGANISMS OF DUAL POWER.**

**The victory of the railway workers is a defeat for such sectors as**

**Foot, who said that he would not 'give an inch'. And, like the referendum result, it is a blow to their bourgeois conceptions because their respect for Parliament is giving them in no way a means to tie the working class down. And what has Benn to say about the railwaymen? Nothing. It is clear that this struggle came as a blow to the right wing sectors of the Labour Party, and to those sectors which do not have any policy for the present stage. The resignation of J. Hart is part of a new**

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# The victory of the railway workers must be followed up by workers control in British Rail

The victory of the Railway workers in gaining almost the full demand of the NUR is a blow at the capitalist system and part of the series of decisive defeats which the proletariat on a world scale have inflicted on the capitalist system in the last days. The Labour government have given the leadership of the NUR enough concessions to enable them to call the strike off and the working class has lost, momentarily, a potential centre around which to mobilise. But the working class is not seeking partial solutions, but the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of the Workers State. It is going to find other centres rapidly! This victory is not a sectional or local thing, but an expression of the strength and confidence of the whole proletariat, both in this country and on a world scale. In the gains made by the Railway workers is expressed the workers victories in Japan, the advance towards power in Italy, the process of the construction of Soviets in Portugal, and the victory of the Vietnamese masses.

British capitalism cannot afford such a concession, which is why they made desperate efforts to encourage Wilson and the bourgeois sector of the Labour government 'to stand up to the unions'. They tried to make Wilson carry out a policy which their own Party - the Tories - failed to do in 1972, and it didn't work. The settlement is a blow to capitalism, but, for the bourgeoisie it was the lesser of two evils, because had the strike taken place it would very rapidly have got out of the control of the trade union apparatus and would have acted as an organising centre for the vanguard sectors of the working class. This is the meaning of the pledges of support given to the NUR by the Post Office, Newspaper, Transport and Power workers, and by the Miners. The concessions given, however, solve no problems for capitalism because the economic demands only mask the real demands and aspiration of the railway workers which are those of the whole proletariat. Already Marsh is talking about cutting jobs, cutting the rail services even further and raising fares. This is not going to be tolerated and the whole question of who runs the railways for the benefit of whom, is going to be raised and is going to be answered by the demand for workers control. The gaining of a wage increase doesn't negate the necessity for a programme and policy for workers control in the nationalised industries, for the nationalisation under workers control of all major industry, the banks, insurance companies and the land, and for the planning of the economy for the benefit of the mass of the population. The problems of the railways are not unique, they are part of the total crisis of capitalism and there is no solution in isolation from the struggle of the whole working class. There is a necessity for a planned economy and the NUR has to be impelled to intervene toward the other trade unions, to discuss a programme of nationalisations under workers control and the means to impose it. If the structure of the TUC, of the individual trade unions don't correspond to this necessity, then other forms have to be created. A first step would be a conference of all the trade unions to respond to the crisis of capitalism with a workers plan of production.

## THE WORKING CLASS IS NOT GOING TO PAY FOR THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

Despite all the promptings of the bourgeoisie, of the Tory Party, Wilson has been unable to confront the working class directly. In the same way, he has been unable to confront the Labour left and the sacking of Judith Hart and Bann is merely a blow at the parliamentary left. It was a blow which they themselves courted by not basing themselves on an anti-capitalist programme and the working class during the referendum campaign. However, Wilson avoided a real confrontation with the left of the Labour Party for the same reason that he avoided a confrontation with the railway workers: because the balance of social forces are against him and against capitalism. This blow against the parliamentary left has no great importance, since the class and revolutionary struggle is not decided in Parliament, nor by the fights inside the parliamentary Labour Party. Parliament simply reflects the class struggle and the mobilisations of the class are infinitely more important and decisive than the declarations and complaints of the parliamentary left of the Labour Party or the manoeuvres of Wilson and company. The whole reformist structure and apparatus of the Labour Party and the trade unions is now being crushed in a vice which is the product of the fact that capitalism, in its total and final crisis, has no concessions to give and the determination of the working class not to pay for the crisis of capitalism.

Weighell constantly reiterated that he 'hoped the Railway Board would concede the workers demand', and at the very beginning of the negotiations he said that 'the membership would not allow him to accept a 22% wage increase'. In the same way, the instructions of the National Executive of the NUR for the formation of strike committees was intended to try to contain the strike. It was a way of trying to impose a control, from the top, on organisms which the workers would form anyway. For the apparatus, it is a very dangerous way of trying to contain the independent organisation and functioning of the workers at the base of the union, because the idea of independent committees is not going to disappear because this particular strike has been abandoned by the leadership. The leadership of the NUR saw that the workers were prepared to create these organisms, which is why they proposed them, and the fact that they published leaflets appealing to the public, was because they saw a preparation by the workers to link themselves not only with other sectors of workers, but with the mass of the population. The leaflet itself was totally inadequate. It was incorrect inasmuch as it made an appeal to the masses that use the railways, but it was inadequate because it contained no programme, no policy for the railway service. The NUR has a programme for an integrated, nationalised, transport system and this has to be used as a basis for the struggle which is coming - and which is the same as that of the steel workers - to impose workers control on the railway ser-

vice which is already nationalised. The preparation for the strike has raised the discussion of organisms already, and it is necessary to continue it in the places of work, in trade union branches, not in an abstract way but concretely, the organisms. The proposed strike committees provide a basis for this discussion. They have to be committees elected at each depot with delegates subject to instant recall, and to the decisions of those that elect them. There have to be meetings at which every worker has the right to speak and not just meetings which give information or 'instruct' the workers. At the same time, the programme of the NUR has to be used as a basis for a discussion to formulate a programme which includes - as the most immediate demand - that all wages rise with the cost of living, and that how much the cost of living actually has risen is decided by the workers committees on a weekly basis, for an immediate 35 hour week without loss of pay, for no worker to lose his job, for retirement on full pay at the age of 55, for four weeks holidays on full pay, and for an immediate guaranteed minimum wage of £40 per week. These are immediate demands to protect the living standards of the workers, but the programme has also to include as a central point the extension of nationalisations to include all the companies that supply material to the railway and which make heavy profits out of it, and workers control in the nationalised industries.

## LOCAL CONFERENCES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT AND THE ORGANISMS OF DUAL POWER

It is clear that these organisms are not going to be created overnight, but initiatives have to be taken to call local Conferences of the Labour movement in each area. In these Conferences all the experiences of the world, class and revolutionary struggle have to weigh, to be discussed. In particular, the experience of the Italian workers who, on the basis of factory Councils imposed their own level of bus fares - with the unions printing their own tickets! and decided the price of electricity. The experience of dual power on the level of the occupation of factories is not a new experience in this country anyway, and the one of the construction of the organisms of dual power can be taken from the world process. Portugal is already a powerful impulse for this advance.

Capitalism is incapable of offering the mass of the population anything but a lowering of living standards and repression, which is now taking the form of unemployment but carries with it the threat of direct, military repression. The demands of the parliamentary left of the Labour Party for a Socialist policy are vague, undefined, and a pale reflection of what is happening outside of Parliament, in the real world. The CBI may issue instructions to Wilson and the bourgeois sector of the Labour Party and government, but the instruction which the working class are issuing through the trade unions to the Labour left are infinitely more powerful because they are based on the perspective of a new society, on the construction of the Workers State and Socialism.

# THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST AND THE SOCIALIST PARTIES ARE FUNDAMENTAL FOR THE ELEVATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY LEFT

The solution to the problems of the leadership in the Labour Party, that is the need for a leadership which corresponds to the decision of the working class to throw out capitalism, and construct a Communist society, is enormously facilitated by the new levels of discussion which are developing in the world Communist and Socialist movements and particularly concentrated in the situation in Portugal.

The abysmal incapacity of capitalism to propose viable solutions to its crisis prevents it also isolating Britain from the world arena. More and more, ideas appear as fundamental in the advance of society. Before capitalism was able to determine matters by the appearance of superior material forces, military conquests, inventiveness in science and technology, forms of advance in art. It could keep people in ignorance by an apparent success, a continuity in achievements. Thus, particularly in the British labour movement, through the construction of the Labour aristocracy, it developed sectors based on acceptance of the empirical outlook of the bourgeoisie. They could hardly be called 'ideas', rather a series of reflex actions. In face of discussion, a hotch potch of 'notions' was offered - respect for the law, the glories of parliament. Ideas and their material embodiment cannot be exercised by incantations. Now also the problem of ideas besets the forces of the left in the LP, but the world discussions in the International workers movement sustained by the process of the Partial Regeneration in the Workers States, helps resolve these problems.

## MARXISM IS RETURNING IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

The conception that the class war only finds its solution in Socialism via the violent confrontation of the exploiters and the exploited, is a fundamental one. Stalinism tried to 'modify' the rigorous conclusions of Marxism. It developed conceptions of conciliation and co-existence with capitalism which had nothing to do with Marxism. But now the level of debate in the international Communist movement imposes a return to Marxism and shows in action the validity of Marxist ideas. The confrontation between the Portuguese Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party raises the fundamental question: should the parties of the counter-revolution, i.e. the Christian Democracy, be suppressed? Does not the road to the successful completion of the revolution demand the repression of the bourgeoisie? Is it not true that the bourgeoisie use 'parliament' and respect for 'elections' as smoke screens to conceal counter-revolution? Has parliament ever brought in Socialism? The depth of the difference between the answers of Cunhal and those of Berlinguer is part of the polemic which is changing the world Communist movement. When the Portuguese CP attacks those who 'wave the banner of electoralism to contain the revolutionary dynamic' and speaks of 'permanent organisms of popular intervention in the revolutionary process', a new quality in discussion has been reached.

## LIQUIDATION OF THE RIGHT IN COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES.

After the reduction of the Third International into an instrument of Stalinism the Communist parties were either sectarian to the Socialist parties, or went along with them in pursuit of conciliation with capitalism. In other words there was no consistent correction of the reformist line of the Socialists. With the elevation of the world revolution and the process of Partial Regeneration in the Workers States, the pressures of the united front of Communists and Socialists becomes a formidable weapon against imperialism and capitalism. Japan and France and Italy are examples of this process within particular countries; but within the world as a whole, there

is an objective alliance between the large Communist and Socialist parties. Chile was an experience common to both movements and so is Portugal. This tends to generate a new level of discussion and leads to the preparation for the complete liquidation of rightist and centrist elements in both movements.

In France, Mitterand is unable to break from the programme of the Popular Union, but tries to cause delays and offers the somewhat withered hand of conciliation to capitalism by saying that it is not the final crisis of capitalism or defending discredited rightist trade union leaders like Bergeron. On the other hand, Marchais affirms support for the Portuguese Communist Party. This is not to say that the leaderships of the Communist parties or the Workers States have abandoned the 'Stalinist heritage of apparatus thinking. They still do not articulate a revolutionary programme and policy, but the need to discuss ideas has to be responded to and this means an end to the possibility of the bureaucratic control of discussion. Once started the avalanche will not stop. The confrontation between Soares and the needs of the Portuguese revolution mean that such sectors in the Socialist parties elsewhere are weakened, because they can no longer govern the process. They are no use to capitalism - save as a front - and cannot convince the working class, including their own rank and file. With its own particular course, such is also the position in the Labour Party. On the one hand a process of confrontation with the right and centre, which means the destruction of the right and centre; and on the other hand, a crisis overwhelmingly of elevation of the left. In Japan to defend themselves from the process, the Socialist Party leadership tries to link itself to the Chinese CP. a sign of the mutual attraction of people who do not know what time of day it is.

## PORTUGAL HELPS TO CONCENTRATE THE DISCUSSION.

Portugal has at this moment particularly concentrated fundamental aspects of the re-encounter of the world Communist movement with Marxism, even if the form that this has taken has its own complexities. There, because the process has not been completely expressed in the role of the Communist Party, the Movement of the Armed Forces has been particularly important. Carvalho has raised with his programme, fundamental issues still largely circumscribed by the world Communist movement. His tendency has raised the need for a genuine democracy of the mass organs of the population i.e. Soviet forms, a popular army based upon committees which discuss all the necessary functioning in the army. All this raises the question of the need for the Party to construct Communism and, with the existence of Communist and Socialists, the question is raised why the differentiation of such parties, why not one workers Party based on the programme to overthrow capitalism and construct Communism. The fact that Carvalho's tendency has raised important issues so forcibly, is because of the limitations in the functioning of both Communist and Socialist parties, but such contributions are within the terrain of the international workers movement, tend to elevate it and lean for their solution on the existence of the Workers States and the advance of the world Socialist revolution. Without such advances the process and the questions raised in Portugal could not exist.

In all this the role of the Workers States, particularly of the Soviet Union, is fundamental. The bureaucracy is trying to improve its relations with the population. This means efforts to accommodate to them in part, to allow a worker, albeit selected, from a Moscow factory, to become head of the trade unions. It means reaffirming the fundamental importance of Soviets

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The world campaign for the liberation of the political prisoners in Uruguay, and particularly Gloria Correa (ex-functionary in the Family

Allowances Department, Ruben Correa (Architect), Otto Radicione Sanchez (Functionary in Department 31 of the Family Allowance Department and ex-candidate in the Frente Amplio), arrested respectively on the 22nd, 24th and 25th February, 1975, is continuing.

The latest support: Belgium,

The International Association of Democratic Jurists (AIJD).

## RELEASE THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN URUGUAY

Italy, the Federation of the Italian Socialist Party of Naples, and the FCSI of Naples have joined their protest to that of the FLM. Argentina: "Nuestra Palabra", organ of the Argentinian CP, has supported the campaign in an article of their issue No. 91 of the 16th April. Uruguay, "Cartas", the paper (clandestine) of the Uruguayan CP, has published an article giving the information about the arrest of the prisoners above-mentioned, in the April 1975 issue No. 43.

Germany: The JUSOS and the Spanish Communist Party in Germany.

Britain: The Sheffield University Students Union; A. Scargill, Yorkshire NUM; Dereck Robinson (Convenor Shop Stewards Longbridge) J. Maynard (M.P.); M. Foot (M.P.); Ernie Roberts (Ass. Sec. AUEW); L. Daly (NUM); the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation.

All messages of protest, telegrams etc., should be sent to President Juan Maria Bordaberry, Palacio del Gobierno, Montevideo, Uruguay, and/or to Giudice Azarola Juzgado, militar 2.0, Turno 8 de octubre e cilibis, Montevideo, Uruguay.

## The referendum on the EEC.

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capitalist nationalisations. Hence they abstained. And the policy of Wilson throughout the referendum consists in unifying British capitalism to confront the advances of the world Socialist revolution.

All the precautions and manoeuvres of Wilson are aimed at not confronting the left directly, not the political leadership of Benn and the others, as opposed to the worker base, which shows that it has bypassed them all. This was shown with the occupation of the shipyards and with the miners strike, the strike of the postmen and the engineers. In various strikes, this expresses a very profound capacity of struggle which defeated capitalism. But more important than this was the programme of the 25 nationalisations which the Labour Party had to come out with. It was an anti-capitalist programme which, for the first time had as a result, a left which confronts the Party internally, and the Party has been divided into two parts.

It is now in this referendum, still not through problems of anti-capitalism or of defending capitalism that the left clamouring to vote for the 'no' has found the form of presenting itself. It is not certain what it wants, but it breaks with the traditions of unanimity, of homogeneity in the Labour Party. And it opens the gates, creates the conditions, for the political development of very important discussions in the left.

This is the most important aspect in these elections. The proletariat did not see in this referendum a class dispute, an aspect of the class struggle. It saw a bourgeois struggle in the discussion: 'for or against'. To be against the Common Market means to defend the market and employment according to the arguments of Benn. On the other hand, the very great abstentions did not come from the bourgeoisie of the 'yes', nor from the bourgeoisie of the 'no'. The bourgeoisie voted integrally, then from whence do they come? It does not come from the little old people who did not vote, but from the proletarian and petit bourgeois vanguards who abstained. And this is going to weigh afterwards. This amounts to 30%, and with the vote for the 'no', this amounts to almost 60%. The triumph of the 'yes' is not the triumph of the majority, nor an agreement, nor an electoral unification. It is a contingent, bourgeois event which is not going to have an effect, any authority on the proletariat or the petit-bourgeoisie. It unifies the bourgeoisie to try to organise the European Common Market in an homogeneous way, to resist the advances of the revolution, the struggle of the

proletariat in Europe to go to the Workers State. It has made a partial unification. Sectors like Powell have no important weight.

It is necessary to consider this referendum as part of the preparation of European capitalism for inter-capitalist struggle to give a base of competition to capitalism on a world scale, to try to contain the process of disintegration of the capitalist system, to compete with Yankee imperialism, with the rest of world capitalism, but at the same time to try to affirm and stabilise the capitalist system. They feel that through competition they are constantly weakening the capitalist system. Then, they are seeking to form a leadership which represents the principal capitalist leaders of Europe, which goes against the rest of the capitalists to affirm the capitalist system. And this is the expression of a very profound crisis which is the consequence of the decadence and disintegration of the capitalist system. It is not a partial consequence of this stage, nor of the oil crisis, nor of the competition with the Yanks; it is the normal consequence of a crisis motivated by the functioning of the capitalist system. This is the crisis and it has no solution.

It is not the case, as Mitterand recently posed, that other crises of capitalism will come along. They will come along, if it has not been overthrown. The simple fact of confirming this means that they are not thinking of overthrowing it, because if they talked about overthrowing it, now, they themselves would pose a solution. This declaration of Mitterand is aimed at capitalism, to stimulate the possibility of conciliation with capitalism. But at the same time, he has to affirm that it is a total crisis of the capitalist system, and to seek some solution, some arrangement that might contain this very great deterioration, the profound and total crisis of the capitalist system. Total does not mean that everything just collapses like that, but that everything is involved from the economy to the prostitutes: it is total. It is not one sector or the other, it is complete. It is the crisis of the economy, of investments and of consumption, of production, of the church, of the police, of the army, of the prostitutes. And the deterioration meant by the loss of Vietnam.

The defeat of imperialism in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, circulates throughout the world and diminishes the world balance of forces of capitalism, and increases the force of the Workers States. It circulates and develops in the population, in the working class, in the exploited masses, in the marginal populations, in the corrupted sectors

of society, that, without reaching the level of total degradation, seek life in the form of corruption, like the prostitutes. They are won and stimulated to base themselves on the progress of the struggles of the masses to put forward demands which are expressions of human dignity. They cannot represent human dignity because they are prostitutes, but they are an expression of this quest for dignity.

The defeat of imperialism in Vietnam is a centre which centralises the world process, infinitely more significant than what has happened in Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam individually. And the European proletariat, the workers centres, the Communist and Socialist Centres of Europe and of the world, must base themselves on this process to make a United Front in Europe to overthrow what remains of capitalism as a real means to terminate with the crisis, the unemployment, the low level of life and to finish with prostitution. In the Workers States there is no prostitution, and in Saigon, in Vietnam they have given them dignity and incorporated them into the revolution. To do this in France, so that they develop as dignified human beings, it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. The prostitutes are the direct expression of the capitalist system, for them to stop being prostitutes - dignity cannot be achieved through the function which they have - to finish with prostitution which is a way to elevate life, it is necessary to finish with the capitalist system.

Another event which has importance in this crisis, and which it is necessary to take into account, is the case of the Mayaguez. Before, for a thousand less important reasons, they invaded Tonkin. Now, there is a series of incidents and killings and they have to clear out. When imperialism does this, it is not because it respects treaties, but it respects the fact that the Soviets were looking on with their finger on the button. Otherwise, they would have done what they did in Tonkin. At the same time, this business of the ship shows again the function of the young people of fourteen, working as defenders and constructors of Socialist society (because there were young fourteen year old Cambodians who got hold of the ship).

It is a total crisis of capitalism, of consumption, production, of supplies of every sort including oil, a crisis of the army, of the police, of the prostitutes and of the Mayaguez. The Yanks want to give guarantees to world capitalism. Guarantees of what? With the business of the Mayaguez, they got kicked out. And simply by showing the armed youth, they were all shown up. Besides a part of the soldiers and of the personnel on the ship were not against the Cambodians. Hence they said

afterwards: 'they treated us well, they left us alone, and the North American government killed when there was no need to do so'. Eighty four soldiers died and they said that forty had disappeared. In such a small space where they could only advance thirty yards, where did they disappear to? (It is possible that they deserted). It is necessary to see that all this is part of the activities of the capitalist system preparing the final settlement of accounts, while they have to resolve the problems of the internal crisis, of inter-capitalist competition with Yankee imperialism, Japanese imperialism, and imperialism in Europe.

### FOR AN ALLIANCE OF THE LEFT AND THE TRADE UNIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE PROGRAMME FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

It is necessary to take these elections in Britain as a symptom that the proletarian vanguard is preparing to intervene as a class in another form, in other problems, and with an anti-capitalist programme. That of Benn was an effort towards this, an effort to oppose showing an opposition of the proletariat; but this was not for the 'yes' or for the 'no', but for something much more profound. In this election, the workers in the docks, the shipyards, the postmen, the engineers, the miners, were not represented. In this way millions and millions were not represented. They did not vote for the 'yes' or for the 'no', but for the defence of employment. They saw that the referendum did not represent what they wanted. But with the abstentions they have shown an opposition which is going to show itself tomorrow in the class struggle.

It is necessary to take this conclusion in the elections, even with the opposition of Benn, as a very superficial effort, and an expression that there is already a division of tendencies in the Labour Party. It is the first time in history that a public division with a left has appeared. Before it was with the right. Jenkins voted directly with the Conservatives. Now, it is a left which is imposing on the right, and the centre, of the Labour Party, and obliges them to unite with British capitalism. This is going to have a very great effect on the proletariat, and it is going to favour the development of revolutionary and class tendencies, seeking an anti-capitalist solution in Europe. The solution is not immediate, but it is going to favour the development of this tendency.

Wilson did not receive the support of the proletariat or of the British population. It is a minority which gave him support and it is a lie to say that it was a tradition to have abstained. The other elections were different. Here capitalism made every effort to vote. In other elections the abstentions were not proletarian, or petit bourgeois, but a part were bourgeois. Part of the petit bourgeoisie, with sectors in Scotland and Ireland. Hence all the bourgeoisie voted integrally, were integrally interested. Hence they made a United Front with Wilson, the

right and the Labour centre with capitalism.

It is necessary to appeal to the comrades of the Communist and Socialist parties of Europe, to consider it in this way and to help the Labour left to push the same programme as the Popular Union in France, and to push forward the struggle within the Labour Party. The solution to the crisis in Britain is not the EEC, but the anti-capitalist programme, and a Labour government of the left like the Popular Union. It is not the European Common Market. This serves the bourgeoisie, which is not going to guarantee employment, or better conditions of work. Capitalism is preparing the war and seeks the economic unification submitted to the Yanks, to smooth out or try to contain competition, and to impose at the same time a political and military control, preparing the war against the Workers States. At the same time, there is an intensification of the competition within the capitalist system. They cannot abandon or cease this competition.

It is necessary to appeal to the European proletariat, to the big Communist and Socialist Centres, to make appeals for a left in the Labour Party to Benn and others, and to the left of the trade unions, that they organise a mobilisation showing, appealing, declaring, analysing constantly that the EEC is no solution, neither to the crisis nor to the standard of life, but it serves the repression and the preparation of the war by the capitalist system.

The alliance of the Labour left with the trade unions still is not an organic, programmatic alliance; although it is going towards this. Hence the programme of the 25 nationalisations of the Labour Party has been pushed on one side, has no weight, has not weighed in the decisions. Even the left pushes it to one side, and made the proposal for industrial planning which corresponds to helping capitalism. It is necessary to appeal consequently that every programme must be made on the basis that capitalism is not going to give any more. The alliance of the left with the trade unions, consequently, must be founded on this conclusion. Capitalism is not going to give any more, the monarchy must be overthrown and it is necessary to have a Socialist republic to develop the economy. It is necessary to show the functioning of the Workers States, in front of the EEC which leads to unemployment, crisis, repression, insurrections of the prostitutes; in the Workers States there is no crisis, no unemployment, no reduction in the standard of life.

In Britain a Government of the Left is necessary with an anti-capitalist programme in which they nationalise the principal centres of production, impose workers control and develop workers councils as organs for the development of the economy and of society. And it is necessary to pose 'Down with the monarchy!', 'Long live the Socialist Republic!', and to appeal for the support of the whole world workers movement for this solution.

J. POSADAS 8th June 1975

## Editorial

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selection which is demanding new thinking, and the understanding by the Labour Party left sectors that the working class is going towards taking power. There is no solution either to the right, or the centre, because the intransigence of the working class does not permit the possibility of maintaining a centrist reformist, conciliatory policy.

On the contrary, by its direct struggles, the working class has created inside the Party a whole layer of influence, support and sympathy. This is only expressed in a very distant way in parliament. But when Litterick walked out of the meeting at which Wilson was speaking, followed by a number of engineering workers, this was an indication of the ties which are being created between the working class and a new type of parliamentary representative, who feel that they have to listen to the workers and to respond to their aspirations. This is only an expression of the deep process of change in the party. When in parliament Bob Cryer says that the 'force of the left is outside Parliament', this is very significant. It means that Cryer, not directly linked to the class, as none of the parliamentarians are, feels the support the

the class is gaining in the party and in part even, in the Parliamentary Labour Party. This means that there is, in the party itself, a deeper change than that visible at present, that provokes a left of a different nature, more linked to the class. This corresponds to the crisis in Tribune when only eight of the Tribunites finally opposed the Industrial Bill in parliament, which is signalling the crisis of this antiquated 'left'. All this process means that there are the conditions for the organisation of the left in the Labour Party, in an organic and consistent manner, based on the support of the working class in all its struggles, and the programme of the Engineers Conference.

The Labour Party left, the middle cadres in the Labour Party, the youth of the Labour Party, have to discuss the result of the referendum and the victory of the railwaymen. It has meant a new selection in the party, with people like Hart leaving the government because she did not know how to continue the struggle: there is only one way to continue the struggle: it is by full support of the working class, the organisation of the organisms for the imposition of its power, to break the power of private industry, to impose workers control, no factory to be closed, no unemployment, to smash the links between the party and the Tories,

big business via the banks, insurance companies etc., the church, the monarchy. The conclusions have to be drawn from the experiences in Portugal. The church is one of the owners of the wealth, like the queen and the aristocracy in this country. They must be expropriated. How? The engineers have started to give the reply: mobilisations. The Labour Party left must pronounce itself in support of the Engineers Conference, in support of its call for mobilisations and all the struggles of the class to impose its power. The Labour Party left must call for and start organising organisms of the factories and the areas, where the workers decide, where the policy of the party is discussed and applied, by means of occupations, strikes, etc. This is what the class is preparing to do, and there is no way for the left of the party, except through assisting this process. The more consciously this is done, the quicker the process will be of the construction of the Socialist Republic in Britain. We call on the Labour Party and trade union comrades to discuss in this way, to base themselves on the working class and Marxism, and to coordinate, assist and lead the process of the construction of the organisms of dual power, for the imposition of the programme of nationalisations and planning of the economy.

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## THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES

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and Socialist democracy, even if the bureaucracy interprets such in its own way, because it does not allow full and open discussion of ideas. Nonetheless, acting more as a function of the Workers States than of its own interest, the bureaucracy intervenes on important issues. Andropov pointed out that the system in the Soviet Union works for the collective interest, that democracy in the west is an abstraction. In the Soviet Union basic necessities of the population are met; in the West someone is unemployed, and what meaning has 'democracy' under those conditions? Was his consent asked for? Who has the power? Only the owners, democracy works for them.

The forces that are seeking a comprehensive policy and programme in the Labour Party have to put themselves inside the discussions that are developing everywhere in the world Communist movement. The myth of the impartial state, the fraud of parliamentary democracy compared with the real democracy of the masses in their organs of power in the factories and the workers

areas, the need to prepare to confront the violence of the bourgeoisie with the intervention of the masses - all these ideas formerly suppressed in both the Communist and Socialist movements, are being discussed. Portugal has reasserted the lessons of 1917, if this time without the presence of a Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. The forms are very different, but the essential problems and conclusions are the same. The electoral road is not the road to Socialism, and only the full participation of the masses with a Party linked to them profoundly and objectively can lead to Communism. The present discussions in the world Communist movement and between the Communists and the Socialists, if not always on the highest level, are going to weigh in the Labour Party and in conjunction with the intervention of the Workers States and the power of the objective process, will lead to the transformation of the Labour Party, the ejection of all those elements who do not correspond to the needs of the process, and the emergence of a new revolutionary leadership based on Marxism.

## Editorial

# PREPARE FOR MASS MOBILISATIONS AND WORKERS CONTROL TO SMASH THE WAGE FREEZE

The wage freeze policy announced by Healey is the inevitable consequence of the clash between the decision of the working class not to carry the burden of the incompetence of capitalism and the efforts of the centre and right in the Labour government and Party to maintain the system. At the same time the form of this policy is very weak, basing itself, so far as the proposals are clear at this moment, on preventing employers giving wages above 10%. Such a policy is the confirmation of forms of civil war at all levels in the Labour Party, the trade unions, the factories. It is the continuation of the crevasse opened in the Labour Party over the referendum. The latter issue did not allow a proper discussion of class policy because of the way in which the official left kept the discussion within the capitalist framework, but the abstentions in particular showed the decision of the class to seek much more fundamental conclusions, based on the rejection of submission to parliament and the need for a consistent policy and programme to throw out capitalism.

The force of the abstentions in the referendum, followed immediately by the decision of the engineers to reject the social contract and reassert the need for a comprehensive policy of nationalisations are manifestations of the invincible decision of the British proletariat and its allies not to tolerate a minute more than is necessary the convulsions and death agony of capitalism. The line of Healey deepens the line of confrontation, posing constantly and even more profoundly the need for a policy of strength from the forces of the left, founded upon a consistent alternative Socialist programme which is not submitted to bourgeois concepts of parliamentary democracy.

What is in question is not the problem of 'inflation' but the whole cretinous system of capitalism. Those sectors in the Labour Party and the trade unions who isolate the problem of inflation from all other problems, seek to mask the central issue. But the proletariat is seeking class solutions and is not governed by the wishes of capitalism. Hence the Healey policy will act as a boomerang against the attempt to contain the process. It cannot be accompanied by any coherent policy to offer social improvements, it cannot guarantee future transformations to the benefit of the population. It offers no solution for the crises of the system. Hence it is a policy without a future. To impose on the working class requires fascism. But the world structure of the revolution has disintegrated the forces of fascism. The ultimate solution from the capitalist point of view can only be war to try to flatten the working class, as capitalism tried to do in the bombing of Dresden, Nagasaki, the policy of nazism and Vietnam.

### THE END OF PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS.

All the present crisis, the open and profound rift in the Labour Party between left and right, the abstentions of the working class in the referendum, is imposing a crisis of development for the forces of the left in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. A change of direction is being posed by the situation, a pressure to go beyond the inertias of functioning in the Labour Party, the need to come to grips with new ideas, to transcend the politics of parliamentarianism. This has emerged, even if in a limited form, in the intervention of the Yorkshire miners executive against the MPs who use the sponsorship of the miners and then adopt policies which have nothing to do with the miners, and the efforts to liquidate Prentice in the Labour Party. All this discussion poses the need for members of parliament to be controlled by a class policy and programme, not to do as they like. It goes against bourgeois norms. It goes against 'free' choice of 'free' individuals. It poses the question of strict accountability and the removal of those who reject accountability. All this shows the current of pressures coming from the working class to change the functioning of the Labour Party and the trade unions, and to impose policies not governed by parliamentary limitations. It is linked to discussions on the fact that there is a limit to changes by means of parliament and acceptable to the organs of the capitalist state apparatus.

The left in the Labour Party only refracts in the most limited way the force and decision of the working class. This situation is not confined to the Labour Party. It is true also, for example, of the Italian Communist Party whose policy and programme is quite distant from the forces of Italian Communism. The policies of the left MPs assert the need for the implementation of the Labour Party programme, the need for import controls, control of capital movement etc., but there is still no orientation towards the independent activity of the masses, nor is the programme deepened in any serious direction. Submission to the parliamentary system has allowed Wilson to postpone nationalisations until the next session, whilst the NEB has been emasculated. Clearly sectors of the government and the apparatus are going to manoeuvre, and within the parliamentary system successfully, but to submit to this has no sense. The left has to intervene much more dynamically over a whole series of issues, inside and outside parliament. Why go along with this invitation to Soares who is actively trying to assist the counter-revolution in Portugal? Why not an active defence of the Portuguese revolution, its achievements of nationalisations, including the banks (against the wishes of Soares) its massive developments of popular committees in defence of the revolution? The left has to confront this situation, not just go along with complaints about Healey and abandonments of the programme of the Labour Party, without drawing the conclusions on the need for extra-parliamentary activity. The epoch of social democracy is at

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Workers of the World, Unite!



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

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## THE AVALANCHE OF VOTES FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN 18.6.1975 ITALY J. POSADAS

We salute and congratulate with all our Communist passion the Communist and Socialist parties, the masses of the Communist and Socialist parties, the proletariat of Italy; through the electoral triumph, the proletariat has been the essential base which attracted the population to this electoral decision.

These elections in Italy have to be seen in the context of the world process of the class struggle. This world process has impelled, prepared the state of spirit, the decision, the understanding, the corroborative resolution of the working class throughout the world. This, in its turn, transmits to the other sectors of the population who are stimulated, the need to fight for wages, freedoms and conditions of work. The election in Italy cannot be taken in an isolated form, simply because it is in Italy that it has taken place. Before this, there was France and, together with this, the great fight in Britain in which half the party voted against its own leadership; the trade unions are against the leadership and the Party has a programme of anti-capitalist expropriations. In Germany, a part of the largest trade unions hold elections and the left wins. Yankee imperialism was expelled from Vietnam. It did not go, it was expelled. It did not get any medals, but was expelled by force. Imperialism has failed throughout the world. In Latin America, the left continues advancing and very well programmatically whether in Argentina or Mexico. In Africa, the progress of nationalisations continues, with the elimination of the agents of imperialism, and the very rapid process from feudal and semi-feudal countries to Revolutionary States.

In Portugal, in spite of all the campaign which the Socialists have made, the workers of 'Republica' refuse to work for a newspaper which carries out counter-revolutionary work. And they decide that it is counter-revolutionary, and they are right. If the capitalist state can decide what is good and what is bad why can't the workers decide what is good and bad, and the workers impose it. They are teaching norms of democracy to the leaderships of their own parties. This is democracy, because they are defending the necessary instruments for knowledge, for understanding, and for the organisation of class consciousness because they defend historic truth. To oppose editing a book of Solzhenitsyn is not to be against the freedom of culture, it is to defend culture, because his book is insidious and lying. It is a book written on the most gigantic country in all the history of humanity which, arising from the most backward conditions in history, prepared the most elevated task in fifty years, in spite of Stalin and with Stalin - which shows that it is the proletarian conception of Marx which is valid, not Stalin. Solzhenitsyn writes on assassinations, crimes, thugs. In the Soviet Union there is the most developed science in history, there is the most elevated level of scientific capacity, and the biggest group of scientists in history. The Yanks had one or two for the atomic bomb. The Soviets have a hundred thousand concerned with all that. And this Solzhenitsyn writes 'Gulag Archipelago'.

This is not to attack liberty. This is not against the right of tendencies. It is against the right to commit crimes, assassination. We are also against all this. Karl Marx said this and afterwards Lenin also. But also Marx as much as Lenin was a partisan of the view that all the tendencies in the workers movement, all those who wanted to speak could do so, including the anarchists. And in the Bolshevik Party there was every type of tendency, including the tendency of 'proletarian art'; And, in the worst conditions of history, in the middle of the war. If the workers of 'Republica' refuse to work for a

management which defends the counter-revolution, they are right. The defenders of Solzhenitsyn do not recall that this Solzhenitsyn has just published in 'Le Monde' a demand against the withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam and proposing that the Yanks should have remained there to smash all Vietnam. The workers show the very elevated criterion and very elevated ability which they have to judge and reason.

### THIS IS NOT A VOTE FOR THE 'HISTORIC COMPROMISE'

These elections were made in this process. And in Portugal also and in Ethiopia. How is it possible to isolate the election in Italy, as if it was a problem of votes? Before the vote, the ideas which led to the vote, from where did they come? This shows that there is no historic compromise, that the masses voted to impel the Communist Party to win the Christian Democratic left. There is an arrangement with history: to overthrow the capitalist system. The masses who voted - and defeated the Christian Democracy could have won many more votes. The defeat of the Christian Democracy could have been much bigger, if they had pushed through a consistent class policy. This election shows that everybody was present in the election in Italy and exerted an influence. The working class assembled this influence, above all of Vietnam, Ethiopia, Portugal, of the paper 'Republica', with which they are in agreement. They will do the same in Italy. And the workers are completely right. This is proletarian democracy. Otherwise it is the bourgeois democracy of the boss.

In this election the workers had in their mind the influence of this world process. And as part of that of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States, of the struggles in Algeria, of the constant defeats of imperialism, defeats, defeats, defeats - including that of the Christian Democracy. The Christian Democracy has been defeated everywhere. Thus, one cannot speak of

Viva the conclusion of the Havana Conference of Latin American Communist Parties: That 'It is possible to go to power, but it is necessary to go, arms in hands'!

Forward to the unification of the world Communist Movement!

the election in Italy as something internal; it happens internally, but it has elements which come from outside Italy and which determine the course of history. Without the expulsion of imperialism from Vietnam, without the decision of the Vietnamese masses to conquer the Yanks, without the decision of the Soviets to support the Vietnamese and the masses of the world to continue the strikes against the capitalist system, there would be no such triumph of the Communist Party.

This showed that it was a triumph against the Christian Democracy, breaking the Christian Democracy and based on the world process of the class struggle. This is the triumph of the Communist Party, it is not just a political, electoral, party triumph. It is a triumph which expresses the level of world class relations and that are in Italy, based on the world framework. Hence, this is going to have enormous consequences. If it was just an internal event, it would have no consequence. As it forms part of a world process, this triumph of the Communist Party with an increase of 6.1% is equivalent to a real avalanche of votes. It is an avalanche of votes led by the world process of the revolution which impels the avalanche in Italy. Previously it impelled in Portugal. These are the facts which are happening. Not just one and then another. At an earlier stage between one event and another, years or months went by. Now only hours. Days and hours. Because now the revolution of the working class is mature, of the petit bourgeoisie and of the peasants, mature to intervene, deciding to change and lead history. And the crisis of capitalism matures also, because capitalism does not have the force on which to base itself. It does not have strength, economically, politically or socially, and it is defeated constantly everywhere.

Then it is necessary to see this electoral result as a continuation in its turn, of what happened in Bologna, Sardinia, in the referendum, in the elections in Trentino Alto Adige. It is a continuation of this process. It is the working class which has maintained the fight with strikes, strikes, strikes. In the course of the full electoral campaign, it went on strike and triumphed. With a million unemployed, there is no dejection in the working class, no sign of weakness, of submission, of fear. There is no confrontation in the working class. The bosses have not been able to win a single strike or break a single movement. On the contrary, the proletariat extends its influence to the police, to the soldiers, and the proletariat transmits this through strikes. This, in its turn, is the result of the world process of the class struggle, of the triumph of Vietnam over everything ultimately. But also the attitude of the Soviet Union which makes a more open confrontation with imperialism, of support to the movements which struggle against imperialism.

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# The avalanche of votes for the Communist Party and the Government of the Left in Italy. J. POSADAS. 18.6.1975.

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Bologna, Sardinia, the vote for the Referendum and Brescia are the antecedents of this triumph. And then the world process of the advance of the working class, of a total advance, is the force which has allowed this triumph of the masses. In the full electoral campaign, the proletariat did not abandon a single strike, a single movement. Even at the risk of divisions, and with the manoeuvres of the leaderships, it continues without interruption all the process of strikes, strikes, strikes, forcing the management to modify, to change, to have to yield, over all its plans, including the closing of factories. The working class voted, seeing that the strike was not sufficient to solve the problem of unemployment, wages, and the crisis, and it turned round electorally to accompany the strikes, to seek a programmatic solution to the crisis, to unemployment, to the lowering of wages, to the rise in the cost of living, to the repressions of the bourgeoisie and of the police.

This is the significance of the elections. It is a programmatic election in which the proletariat has intervened massively. It voted more than 90% in an election which is from the social point of view secondary in many aspects. Nevertheless it voted in a much more elevated way than in elections for the legislature and the presidency. The proletariat is ready to weigh to impel the Communist and Socialist Parties to give a class solution to the problems of the crisis of the capitalist system. The proletariat has felt, has seen, understands, and does this through the class struggle, through support to the Communist Party. With this support it expresses the fact that it does not believe that it is just a circumstantial crisis, but that it is the crisis of the capitalist system, that capitalism is responsible, and that it is necessary to change the capitalist system. It is necessary to advance to Socialism. Hence it voted massively, as massively as it went on strike, supported Vietnam massively, supported massively every movement for demands and made the united front of the workers, the peasants and the petit bourgeoisie. These are all the conditions which show that the historic compromise has not won this triumph. This triumph is against the historic compromise. The proletariat has succeeded in defeating the Christian Democracy, stimulating the left of the Christian Democracy to make a new Party, to break the Party of the fascists. The Christian Democracy is the Party of the fascists. It is the party which protects them, covers them, which gives them all the support. This is the Christian Democracy. Without this Party, the fascists would not exist. The latter are barely more than 40.

## THE MASSES HAVE SMASHED THE FASCISTS

This election shows where the fascists are. Where is the fascist danger? The masses smashed the fascists with a breath. The crimes that the fascists did, the assassins are doing also. The assassins are protected, not because they have social strength or perspective. The election showed that they have no perspective of gaining strength. Neither they or the Social Democrats. On the contrary, it is the proletariat with its strikes, with its mobilisations, its social behaviour of support to the revolutionary struggle of the world, and in that Vietnam, the support to the Soviet Union and all the Workers States, which has attracted electoral support.

It is not only the support of the youth. The support of the youth is important, but it is not everything. The increase by the 6.1% of the Communist Party is not only from the votes of the youth. It is a vote which comes from the Christian Democratic base, which comes from the poor and middle petit bourgeoisie peasants and workers.

If the Communist Party pushes forward a resolved policy, a class policy, it would double its support. It has not gained more because it pushed through a policy of conciliation with the 'historic compromise'. All the conditions are open for a resolved policy of programme, of objectives to prepare the united front of the Socialists, Communists and left Christian Democrats, and to form a left Catholic Party. This is the slogan to accompany the united front

of the trade unions and workers parties with the Socialist and Communist parties.

France shows what the road is. It is the road for Italy. The Italian Christian Democracy failed because it does not have any more perspective nor the means to sustain itself. Although it may have support - and relatively it is a small majority with respect to the Communist Party - and in such a short time the percentage has been reduced to one percent - it shows that the Catholic masses receive the world influence of the world process of the revolution. This means: against the capitalist system. There are the soldiers who expropriate the land and distribute it in Ethiopia, who expropriate capitalism and imperialism; who, in Portugal, expropriate the land, and hand it over to the peasants, who nationalise and statify and maintain themselves in NATO without renouncing in any way the programme for Socialism. It is imperialism which is not animated to throw them out, to keep in with the petit bourgeoisie - whom it maintains by fear of the Soviet Union - and who would draw the conclusion 'what they want is not democracy but to defend the interests of imperialism'. The Catholic masses of Italy receive all this influence. They do not seek the 'historic compromise' but an historic party to finish with the capitalist system. This is clear and decisive.

A Socialist and Communist united front is necessary. These elections open the conditions for this united front. The problem is the programme, an anti-capitalist programme. The left assemblies which must be formed, which are going to be formed, must have an anti-capitalist programme to give solutions showing that if they just replace the capitalists, to administer the capitalist system, they will lose votes. Capitalism is seeking a rupture between the Socialists and the Communists, a rupture within the Communist Party and within the Socialist Party. It is exerting a pressure to make a break. Capitalism seeks in this way to prolong its existence. It is the working class which has prevented this break. It has maintained a very elevated class struggle without capitulating. This has had a very great authority in the Communist Party and in the Socialist Party. It is the working class of the Communist and Socialist Party which has maintained the authority of these two parties, and it has maintained it with its struggles, with its intransigent fight and with its support to the world process of the revolutionary struggle in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, the Soviet Union, Portugal and Ethiopia, and in supporting the Communist Party of Portugal against the policy of association with the capitalist system. Soares did not discuss anywhere what programme and policy; how to push forward programme and policy. It is necessary to discuss this. They demand 'liberty' and 'democracy' for whom, and for what? Why don't the Socialists in Portugal pose expropriation, and workers councils? We propose that this is democracy. The workers in Italy, of the Communist and Socialist parties support this. Their leaderships did not declare for it, and although these leaderships make statements in an indirect form against the Communist Party of Portugal, the masses of Italy support it. And it is necessary to support it, just as it is necessary to support the Italian Communist Party in the expropriation which it is going to have to make, otherwise there is no solution to the crisis of capitalism.

## IT IS NECESSARY TO CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF THE COUNTRY

The problem of Italy is not a better administration than the one which exists. This also is necessary, but the base of a good administration essentially is that the economy can function to respond to the needs of the population. In capitalist hands, it is impossible. With the capitalist functioning, it is impossible even with a clean administration, a 'healthy' administration which does not rob. It is impossible because the economic base is capitalist. It is there for profit. Functioning in this way, the only effect of this policy is to prolong the capitalist system and to create new more prolonged crises than now. But, on

the other hand, this triumph has shown that the masses are seeking an anti-capitalist solution.

The red banners with which the masses have celebrated the Communist triumph, the same as in Vietnam, the same as in other parts, is an expression of the fact that they take the victory for a Communist policy with a Communist programme, with a social structure for Communism. Undoubtedly, there is a conflict with the Socialists who are going to resist. It is necessary to make a campaign showing that it is the capitalist system which is responsible for the crisis in Italy, that it is necessary to nationalise, that they must advance a series of nationalisations functioning under workers control and workers councils, making a programme of production, of investment, which responds to the needs of the population. Capitalism has shown itself impotent and incapable of guiding the country.

If electorally the Communists and the Socialists are almost half socially, they are infinitely much more than half. All the Christian Democratic masses who work, support them socially. The election does not show the true physiognomy of the country, but shows it partially. In the strikes all the Christian Democratic masses who voted for the Christian Democratic Party supported the Socialists and the Communists. It is necessary to make a united front with it. If the Communists and Socialists presented a programme of expropriation, of planning, of workers councils, of intervention, of workers control, the Christian Democratic masses would support this. Also the small proprietors and the small peasants. This is the programme which we appeal for.

It is necessary that the Communist Party appeals to the Socialists for a public discussion, that the red assemblies which are forming now as a continuation of the left commune like that in Genoa, discuss this with the population, not posing immediately expropriation, but to proceed developing in the workers movement, that the crisis is of the capitalist system, not of the 'bad administration' of the capitalists. It is the crisis of the capitalist system. If the Socialist and Communist triumph essentially Communist triumph, does not answer to this need, the bourgeoisie is going to seek the way to produce divisions in the Communist Party. It will seek to stimulate a wing of the 'Czechoslovak' type a la Dubcek and Ota Sik, to make use of them for the benefit of the capitalist system. The crisis is not one of the capitalist administration; it is of the capitalist system. The crisis is not to be solved with a better administration of 'clean hands'. This is necessary but, if private property continues, 'clean hands and better administration' cannot operate because it determines profit for capitalist accumulation. It is necessary to deal with the structure of private property. It is necessary to expropriate it, as they have done in Ethiopia, as they have done in Portugal, as they are doing in Peru, as in Mexico, as all the countries are doing which pass from the capitalist system to develop the economy and to defend democratic rights.

## THE ELECTIONS ARE FOR A CLASS SOLUTION

It is not possible to have democracy without impeding the power of capital, because this has the reins of power in its hands. There can be better democracy and it must be led by Communists and Socialists, but it is necessary to change the structure of the country without this being immediately now, but to pose it for a short period together with a united front of trade union centres - CGIL, CILS, UIL - Socialist and Communist Parties, discussing and educating the population to show that the problem is not only a good administration with 'clean hands' but that, as private property prevails, it is not possible to intervene. One cannot intervene in what to produce, how to produce, to stimulate the small producer, because what capitalism reproduces is for its own profit and nothing more. Their profit does not eliminate unemployment, nor the high cost of living.

It is necessary to take as an example that the intervention of the youth - which has been in a crushing form in support of the Communist and Socialist parties - has not been a factor which decided the election.

What decided the election was the proletariat. It is the conduct of the proletariat which, with the strikes, has maintained the high level of combativity, of resolution, or confidence in the population who followed the proletariat in the vote. If the proletariat had not made the strikes, had not occupied the factories, had not confronted the police, the government, the laws, the will of the Christian Democratic masses would have declined, it would have been left submitted to the apparatus. But the struggle of the proletariat stimulated them to confront the capitalist apparatus. Hence the Christian Democratic masses were won electorally. This was the conduct of the proletariat. The proletariat reflected and expressed directly all the world events: Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Greece, Portugal, Ethiopia, Peru, Yugoslavia, and the conduct of the Soviet Union which elevates its support to the anti-capitalist revolutionary movements and the anti-imperialist movements.

The working class receives all this and communicates it to the population. With its decision of combat it gives security. This triumph of the Communist Party - and at an inferior level with the Socialist Party - expresses the will of the vanguard of the proletariat which attracts the population for changes of structure of the country. It is necessary to go towards this.

The best democracy and the best freedom must be to make this policy. There cannot be democracy and liberty without the objective conclusion based on the programme of the economy. Leaving power to capitalism means that there cannot be greater democracy. Democracy is not independent, it is separated from the system of exploitation. Democracy requires an identity with the economy, otherwise it cannot exist; it's only for the capitalists. For example, democracy in Italy: What democracy can there be when the police and the army have the power to support the fascists, to sustain the fascists, to allow them liberty and yet a worker who steals an apple because he has not got enough to eat can be put in gaol for three years. Where is democracy in all this? The masses must discuss that expropriations should be made so that the economy functions for the benefit of the population and not in accordance with the profit for a few. The Communist Party must discuss this. Democracy is not apart, independent or a substitute for the economy. Democracy depends directly on social and economic functioning, otherwise it is limited.

It is necessary that the proletariat speaks, that in the factories and in the trade unions, the electoral result is discussed and the future programme, not only saying the proletariat has triumphed, but it must give its opinion, its wishes must be listened to, so that the proletariat gives its opinions as a base for the economic, social and political programme.

In Portugal it has been shown that imperialism has a great deal of arms, but that it was overthrown all the same, and that the Socialist programme continues. At the same moment in which there was the last meeting of NATO, Portugal was expropriating the factories - in spite of NATO. The factories function under workers control and they are making committees in the workers areas. It is necessary to discuss this. If the proletariat is the base of this process, it is necessary that it discusses, that it gives its opinions. It is not simply an award, it must give its opinion and intervene.

Without doubt, capitalism is preparing coups. It is preparing them, but it does not mean that it is going to triumph, it has prepared others and it has failed. To confront the coups which it is preparing, it is necessary to expropriate the economic power of capitalism. To expropriate political power it is necessary to restructure all bourgeois justice, to change the fascist judges and the fascist clauses in the penal codes, like the police resolution which they have just made called the real law. It is necessary to advance in this.

Democracy means the intervention of the population. The population is the immense working majority. It must intervene. It is necessary to

change in this way. We are in agreement with 'clean hands', but there cannot be any in a capitalist administration. If there are clean hands, they cannot remain so, because they must defend capitalist business which does not require 'clean hands', but dirty ones.

The Communist and Socialist comrades must make a united front with this programme, so that they discuss the electoral results in all the factories. Let them discuss a programme of expropriations, of production, based on the functioning of workers councils and factory committees, an elevation of the intervention of the masses in the Communist and Socialist Parties. Let the workers discuss in the factories and trade unions, for the parties to take the conclusion that 'dirty hands and honest administration' cannot be undertaken in the capitalist system. It is necessary to prepare a government of the left as a step towards Socialist measures. It is necessary to reinforce and extend the left committees, as in Genoa, with a programme which shows that to make a clean city it is necessary to develop an anti-capitalist programme. In an isolated way and maintaining the capitalist system, the committees clash with the central administration which dominates all the apparatus - the repressive economic apparatus. The organic functioning of the country is held in its hands. It is necessary to aim at the advance to the government, to the power: a government of the Left in Italy.

It is necessary to pose a series of anti-capitalist economic measures with a workers administration.

## DEMOCRACY MEANS THE INTERVENTION OF THE POPULATION

This would win over the Christian Democratic base. The world process helps to educate, to stimulate and to give confidence to the Christian Democratic masses. Throughout Europe this is going to have immense repercussions - as also what has happened in Britain, that is, the attitude of the left of the Labour Party which opposed the European Common Market. Also the attitude of the French and the Portuguese Communist Parties, who oppose the maintenance of the capitalist system and, on the contrary, take measures which are anti-capitalist.

The electoral triumph of the Communist Party, and to a lesser degree of the Socialist Party, is the expression of the fact that the Italian masses want changes of structure. The changes of administration in themselves do not resolve the problems of unemployment, of misery, of the lack of democracy, of the cost of living. All the poverty and the backwardness of Italy require changes of structure in the system of property, production and administration.

The triumph indicates that the masses are ready for this. A change of this dimension cannot occur, unless it is motivated by profound desires, will, experience, and decision of the masses. A change, an avalanche like this election, is part of the most profound activity of the masses, linked with the world process of the revolution. It is not local reasons which produced this avalanche, but world reasons which have stimulated the masses who show an elevated decision and resolution to change. These changes do not come about in a day or a week or over two years. They are changes of thought which do not come from Italy alone, in which the necessary struggle and confrontations for this have not existed. There have been big struggles of the masses, mobilisations against the fascists, but there has not been the social struggle of expropriations against capitalism as in the rest of the world, and there has not been armed confrontation as in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. There have not been the expropriations as in Portugal and Ethiopia. But the Italian masses have seen all this. The will was concentrated and the proletariat communicated this resolution. From the whistlings in Bologna to the elections of 1975, there has been a continuity which was stimulated by the world process of the revolution; Portugal, Ethiopia, Laos, Cambodia, Vietnam and the policy of support to the anti-imperialist movements of the Soviets and the other Workers States.

On this basis, it is necessary to have the complete confidence that this electoral triumph in Italy must be developed to prepare new advances; hence the need for the Communist, Socialist United Front and stimulation of the formation of a left Catholic Party, for a government of the left with this programme, a programme of nationalisations, planning and workers control. Then it is possible to make a policy of 'clean hands' and 'honest' administration.

The electoral result in Italy is an avalanche which is the continuation of the whistlings in Bologna, of the demonstrations of Brescia, of the election in the referendum, the elections in Sardinia, and in Trentino Alto Adige. The triumph was the decision to overthrow the government, to impose a government of the left. This is a triumph which emerges from the reasoning of the working class which attracted the rest of the population.

The working class attracted the rest of the country. It remained and is going to remain concentrated in the Communist Party to impel the leadership towards power. This is one of the most beautiful events in history.

Reason and receptivity to the world process of the revolution has decided. It is an immense process of maturing. The working class is like this throughout the whole world. This is the proletariat and its influence over the petit bourgeoisie. It is attracting and winning the petit bourgeoisie and the youth. The youth - who were incorporated into the voting in Italy, and more than half voted for the Italian Communist Party - are also a product of the influence of the world process of the revolution through the proletariat. Its constant strikes, permanent strikes, maintained constantly unity in action, surpassing the leaderships in their efforts to divide and break class unity. It has given an immense confidence to the rest of the working population and attracted them to vote for the Communist and Socialist Parties.

## HUMANITY IS READY FOR COMMUNIST SOLUTIONS.

This is one of the examples of the maturing which exists and that humanity is apt for Communism. Humanity is ready for Communist solutions. It has a political understanding superior to the leaderships. It receives the influence, understands the need for structural changes in history, to overthrow the capitalist regime. This was expressed in the elections in Italy, as previously in the strikes, supporting Vietnam and not declining in its activity at any moment.

Italy is a French 'May'. It corresponds to this, only ten times more in its significance. It shows that conditions are preparing for important leaps. The concentration of the class sought to impel the Communist Party to resolve the problems with anti-capitalist measures, of planning of production, of stratification. At the same time the working class, which is not afraid, is preparing for a superior growth. This shows how the working class is maturing and how it is receiving the influences of history, how it transmits them to the rest of the population. What has happened in Italy is a class decision and for this reason it is necessary to allow the working class to mature, to reason, to intervene in all problems, of the factories, the trade unions, the workers areas, to extend the process of communication with the working class, which allowed it to influence the workers parties and the rest of the population.

If the proletariat has not won electorally far more, it is because the leaderships have contained the working class. But in two years, from one election to the other, an avalanche of this nature has not occurred through economic motives or immediate necessities. It has been the product of political reflection which has been to concentrate, accentuate and centralise, the decision to intervene against capitalism. They are anti-capitalist votes. This is not a vote for the Communist Party so that it may give a better opinion than the bourgeois parties. It is a vote to stimulate the Communist Party and the Socialist Party to take power.

This conclusion of the Socialist and Communist base is the basis to impose on the leaderships a united front with an anti-capitalist programme, for a government of the left as a road towards later Socialist

measures. This is the conclusion which it is necessary to draw.

The youth have incorporated themselves voting for the Communist Party in particular and the Socialists as a product of this influence. When history leads to such a rapid and profound influence on the youth who are attracted directly to intervene in the social and political struggles, in the anti-capitalist struggles, is it because the process is mature. It is the proletariat which communicates such a decision, together with the intervention of the Workers States and, in particular, of the Soviet Union which impels and stimulates with its intervention - even bureaucratically and inconsistently, but on the line of advance - the anti-capitalist struggle. This stimulates the youth to intervene and to tend directly to overthrow the capitalist system. Hence such a great number of youth were attracted in the elections in Italy. This is the result of the world process in which the young, the adults, the old people, the workers, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie live and intervene actively.

All feel that it is necessary to change society, to overthrow the capitalist system. This weighed on Italy. Capitalism does not have perspectives to seek to intimidate, to frighten, to attract the youth. They organise repressive laws and in every way the youth are won by the influence of the revolutionary and local struggles; Vietnam, Laos Cambodia, the intervention of the Workers States.

It is necessary to propose as an inseparable form of the process in Italy, the intervention of the Workers States, which is a very solid base maturing the workers, the peasants, the adults and the youth. This is a very elevated experience from which there can be no retreat. If the parties want to retreat or contain, or paralyse, they will be by-passed by their own base. There is an historic maturing which is going to seek to impose itself anyhow.

The youth incorporate themselves directly in the left, not seeking better laws, but the overthrow of capitalism. This only happens when humanity is ready for Communism. It has not sought an electoral solution. They seek to intervene to transform society. The youth wish to participate in the transformation of society, they feel part of this, and are advancing and educating themselves in the conscious process of intervention in social problems which are the essential bases for all the other problems, the problems of the economy, of society, which historically and relatively are simple, because it is a question of changing the system.

## FOR DISCUSSIONS IN THE FACTORIES.

But the quantity of votes which the Party of Proletarian Unity received in Milan, in Lacio, the workers centres, show that there is a vanguard in the workers movement which wants to weigh, to impose and influence to go towards a policy of the anti-capitalist left. It is necessary to take into account the quality of votes. They are definite votes of the vanguard which is not sectarian nor anti-Communist Party, but which seeks to exert a pressure. There is a number which possibly maybe anti-Communist Party, but essentially this is not the case. Essentially it is the desire to want to weigh to impel the Communist Party towards anti-capitalist solutions.

One of the most difficult tasks and one which requires more attention, is to win the Socialist Party. The leadership is conciliatory, but its base and middle cadres, no. The base and the middle cadres of the Socialist Party want the same as the Communist base. There is a distance in comprehension and security, but the Socialists want the same as the Communist base. It is necessary that in the factories there is a discussion, that a democratic life of discussion, of proposals, of assemblies, of ideas and public debates, on social and economic problems, is developed. The masses want social transformation, the planning of production in accordance with the needs of the population. It is the same with the other sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants. It is necessary to prepare the base for structural changes, for the Socialist and Communist United Front, and to win the left Social Democratic base, showing that there is no solution in terms of the capitalist system. The solution means steps for the planning of production. For this it is necessary to nationalise, and to guarantee and impede bureaucratisation or

bureaucratic dominion, workers control is necessary, the intervention of the masses in the factories, the trade unions and the workers areas.

Portugal gives a line of how the population must act. This is democracy because it responds to the needs of the population, not to the needs of a group. It does not take capitalism into account. It is not necessary to take the assassins into account. Capitalism has no value.

Capitalism will seek to stimulate the conciliatory wing in the workers parties. But the course of history shows that it is necessary to nationalise, to plan, to impose workers control. The intervention of the workers is necessary in the factories, in the workers areas, to control production, the economy, and to impede bureaucratisation or dissolve it. Portugal is a very notable example of this process; with workers, soldiers and peasant councils, as they are forming now. They are advancing towards this. When the revolution is mature, places which are least prepared economically can produce the most elevated conditions. Already the conditions are mature in the consciousness of humanity and in the consciousness of the workers. The workers already have the consciousness and the security that they can intervene and resolve everything. Hence, the working class, the worker base, surpasses its leaders, and is ready to resolve all the problems. It is not afraid. It does not feel it is contained by fear, to confront capitalism, the army, imperialism. It has no fear. Like the Vietnamese - they had no fear of confrontation - the ones who are afraid are the leaders who are indecisive, have no perspective or confidence. They have no confidence in the instrument which is Marxism. The working class, without having studied Marxism, reaches the same conclusion which determines Marxism.

## THE ELECTIONS ARE THE RESULT OF AN ACCUMULATION OF INFLUENCES.

The influence of the Italian elections in Europe is going to be very profound because it is going to stimulate all the left wings. They are going to influence all the revolutionary movements, the workers movement, all the radicalising tendencies of the petit bourgeoisie of Europe. It is going to influence anti-capitalist social transformations. It is going to give confidence and security. There are going to be better forces available. It is going to show that the working class and the youth are dedicated to anti-capitalist measures.

The process in Europe is total. It is not one country or another. It is total. There is an advance in electoral enthusiasm, reiterated decision, the search to resolve problems, in Italy, France, and the other countries in Europe. They do not seek to resolve personal problems, but problems of social dignity, and as part of that, the economy also. But they want to resolve the problems of society. This is going to recur in the strikes, in the occupation of factories, in the solution of economic problems, on the plans of nationalisation, of concentration of property in the state, in planned production and workers control. This is going to be the influence in Europe, not because Italy attracts but because already Europe is mature for this; from Sweden in which it is proposed to eliminate the prison and the army, to France where there is the Socialist and Communist United Front. And now there is the triumph in Italy which is one of the forms of the United Front. The Communists and Socialists were not electorally united, if they had been they would have won a much greater percentage of votes.

In Italy, it has been shown that all the youth who intervened to repress the fascists, do not do this by crazy actions, provocations, or by unconscious acts, but they act to show that they are ready to check the fascists. Now they show it in the elections. If there had been young provocateurs they would not have voted for Communists or Socialists as more than half of them did. It is necessary to measure this as part of the fact that humanity is ready for Communism: A united front of workers and peasants and petit bourgeois, of military sectors, of sectors of the police, to change society. This election in Italy shows this.

These elections in Italy are not a spontaneous decision of the masses. It was prepared earlier. In Communist meetings people speak always on the line of political in-

terest, of fraternity, it has initiatives in speaking. It is not dominated by the speaker. People feel secure. They do not give much attention to whoever is speaking, but they are not against. The public is more mature than the speakers. But in the bourgeois parties, the Christian Democracy, the public is rigid, without movement, either in body or head. The audience waits for what comes from on top, nothing unites it to the Party, but only the individual interest of each one. They are all rigid because they do not have any agitation, animation and political life. In the meetings of the Communist Party, and in part of the Socialist Party, there is collective interest, the social interest of progress. Hence people communicate among themselves. This is the most notable aspect of the Communist meetings. It is evident that it is like this. The meetings of the Communist Parties are fiestas, real fiestas, because people see the collective communication with joy. They do not go in search of individual solutions, although each one might have this need. All this prepared the electoral result in Italy.

## THE YOUTH OBSERVES THE WORLD PROCESS.

The incorporation of the youth in the vote for Communists and Socialists is the product of the working class. The youth were attracted by the working class, by the great struggles, by the permanent uninterrupted struggle, and by the unity of action of the proletariat throughout the country and the world. This attracts the youth, otherwise it would have been dispersed. It is not concentrated in the Communist and Socialist Party because it has a political preference and matured.

Its maturing is the product of the struggle of the masses and, through the attitude of the Soviet Union to the anti-imperialist struggles even bureaucratically and inconsistently. But this has an enormous effect, because the youth sees a unity between the Soviet Union, the Communist parties, the Socialist parties, and the masses who seek progress. Hence the attitude of the left groups in not posing any great obstacle to the Communists is very important. But the concentration of thousands of votes in the industrial zones of the Party of Proletarian Unity shows that there is a vanguard which wants to weigh and which wants to push forward the resolution of the working class to overthrow capitalism. Even in an inconsistent, empirical, disordered form, without a consistent programme, they are reasoning in this way.

The youth is observing the world process and sees the decision, the resolution of the masses, of the Workers States, and in particular of Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam - above all, Vietnam which communicated this and organised the youth in its decision and political reasoning. Hence, all the youth of the world supported Vietnam and translated into each country what it wanted to do in Vietnam; that is to say, it is organising political thought. It does

not have to proceed to learning to organise, now it enters with the organisation of political thought as in the elections in Italy, whose immediate antecedents are Vietnam, and Brescia, Sardinia, the referendum, the elections in the schools, which were an outstanding concentration of votes.

These elections in Italy will have uninterrupted consequences. This is a measure of a process presented in a fragmented form. Now it centralises itself and is going to communicate to the workers movement this decision and security which it gives to the Communist Party. This process in Italy is going to develop throughout Europe like the Popular Unity in France.

## VIETNAM AND PORTUGAL VOTED IN ITALY.

The elections in Italy have shown the sentiment of triumph of the proletariat which has maintained unity with the Communist Party and the trade unions. It weighs and has differences with its leaderships and confrontations, but there has not been a single rupture. It has sought to weigh. What before we said with respect to the British proletariat - it does not break with the Party and the trade unions, but abstains electorally seeking to exert a pressure, and succeeds in this as one has seen - the Italian proletariat has done. It has maintained unity with the trade unions and the Communist Party to secure this triumph. This security is only given by the existence of 14 Workers States, Vietnam, and the 16 Revolutionary States.

This electoral triumph forms part of the 'French May' which ran through the world and which now appears in an organised form. After drawing the conclusions, there is the effort to organise. It is not an empirical May. It is an organised May based on the consciousness of the masses, and this experience in Italy is decisive. It is going to accelerate the struggle of Yankee imperialism which wants to launch the war before it is too late.

This is an avalanche and in revolutionary politics there is no avalanche because something falls because there is a process of release or weakening. It is an avalanche which is the product of the maturity which the world is stimulating in Italy. Vietnam and Portugal voted in Italy. Italy voted for Communism. For Italy these are the most memorable days in history, in which actions overturn everything to concentrate the will of the masses. This will exists; previously it was separated and fragmented. The elections joined it together. This is not a process which appeared suddenly. It is an organised avalanche. The votes to the Communist Party do not come from people who are lost, who seek protection. They are votes for combat. They are a continuation of the strikes, of the occupations of the factories, of the mobilisations.

J. POSADAS 18.6.1975.

# TROTSKYIST PRESS

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an end, it is not possible to advance in the Labour Party without taking into account these factors, the world advance of the Socialist revolution (on the basis of the partial regeneration of the Workers States), the independent intervention of the working class, vastly superior to any parliamentary decision, and finally, marxist method.

### IMPORTANT DECLARATION OF LATIN AMERICAN COMMUNIST PARTIES

The confrontation of class against class, of system against system, has reached a new plateau over the last period on a world scale. World capitalism has tried to develop campaigns of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, whether over the Russian dissidents, against Mrs Gandhi, against Portugal (where they now take an interest in political prisoners, a subject they studiously ignored in the time of Salazaar and Caetano), but what has happened? A massive victory of the Italian Communist Party in the regional elections and a crushing blow at the Party of the Christian Democracy. Everywhere, confrontations develop between the masses and capitalism, as in Argentina, in the Middle East, in Turkey. Zambia announces nationalisations and Zaire, formerly an instrument of Yankee imperialism, enters into the course of the African revolution with the crisis of the Mobutu regime. All these events are crises of collapse of the capitalist system. On the other hand, the Workers States - led by the Soviet Union - present a policy of phenomenal industrial progress, the constant development of enormous industrial projects, extraordinary improvements in agriculture, presenting world capitalism with a social, political and economic competition to which it cannot respond. At the same time there is a process of constant rectifications in the policy of the world Communist movement, even if these are not consistently acted upon. The most striking example recently of the return to Marxism is the declaration of the conference of Latin American Communist Parties. There they declare that the conditions to change society to Socialism exist, that the bourgeoisie is not going to leave the scene of history without using all the means it has to resist, and finally, capitalism has to be confronted by force. These lessons of Marxism have to be assimilated by the forces of the left in the Labour Party, adopting a world outlook, not beginning with Britain and then looking at the world, but the other way about. There is no special British road to Socialism, only a world road to Socialism based on Marxism.

There is the need for a continuous and deeper discussion in the forces of the left in the Labour Party, to take account of all the new factors in the world situation, combining this with a more elevated programmatic response and policy to the crisis of collapse of capitalism. A programme of nationalisations has to be accompanied by a policy, not a passive registering of the programme and then parliamentary debates, or even a series of general meetings in various cities as was the case with the referendum. It is vital for the left in the Labour Party to develop a life with the factories, to establish firm links with the unions and the shop stewards committees to encourage a permanent discussion in the factories, to pay special attention to the youth and women. The youth and women are sectors largely contained in their development by the operation of capitalism, which is frightened of such forces. Local conferences and initiatives and discussions are fundamental in this respect.

The call by the engineers for forms of mobilisation to confront unemployment has to be supported by the left. A campaign linking the trade unions and the Labour parties has to be waged, opposing all factory closures and dismissals on the basis of WORKERS CONTROL. It is not sufficient to speak of price controls in an abstract way. The only way for effective price controls is on the basis of a mass intervention in price committees. And this activity has to be linked with a weekly control of the cost of living index so that the people decide this, not leaving it to the bourgeois statisticians who are always 'proving' that wages are the 'real' cause of inflation. But all this requires a turn towards the masses, based on the extension of the programme of nationalisations and pointing out the resistance that capitalism will resort to. It is not possible to continue with the discussion on the state of the economy without reference to the role of NATO and the continued repression in Northern Ireland, the continuous assassinations, and the complete lack of any programmatic solution for Ireland. The tendency to fragment the discussion by isolating NATO from the problems of the economy is absurd.

### MASS MOBILISATIONS TO SMASH THE WAGE FREEZE AND IMPOSE NATIONALISATIONS.

The confrontations between the population and capitalism are going to increase particularly with the efforts to systematically reduce the standard of life of the masses and to postpone nationalisations and avoid all the questions of the planning of the economy. The TUC has made proposals for the nationalisation of the printing presses, and attacked the distribution of wealth, but it is necessary for the unions and left in the Labour Party to prepare for a much more audacious leadership based on a COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAMME FOR THE PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY, CONTROL OF CREDIT AND FOREIGN TRADE, LINKED TO DISCUSSIONS WITH THE EUROPEAN TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS PARTIES.

World capitalism has no perspectives, it is openly preparing the climate for the use of nuclear weapons - even if in part this is an effort to intimidate the Soviet Union, it is also the real policy of imperialism. It tries everywhere to prepare the conditions of civil war, it tries to intimidate by using the problems of the economy, seeking to frighten the petit bourgeoisie, but its methods have failed and lacks resources to justify itself. It is only by leaning for support on the working class directly, and by posing the need for the Workers State as the only means to overcome the impasse of capitalist society, that the left in the Labour Party is going to develop. Capitalist society is not going to go 'gently' or by elections, and the slow evolution of a mixed economy; it is going to go by blows delivered by the working class on the basis of a programme of the nationalisation of the economy and the independent organs of the class in the factory and workers area committees. It is necessary to prepare for mass mobilisations and workers control to smash the wage freeze; for workers control leading to nationalisations without compensation; it is only by unqualified support for all the workers struggles against capitalism, that the way is opened for the transformation of the Labour Party and the elimination of the centrist and rightist forces in the government and the Party.

## THE DECISION OF THE A.U.E.W. WITH MOBILISATIONS TO IMPEL THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT

The statement by a delegate to the national conference of the TGWU that the crisis of Britain is not 'a temporary crisis created by oil costs or acts of God', but 'a lasting crisis of capitalism', is an expression of the fact that the process of the construction of a new leadership - and the development of ideas - in the workers movement, shows itself powerfully in the trade unions. These changes are the result of an objective process which is the product of the total crisis of capitalism on a world scale and the determination of the proletariat not to pay for it. The margin for the reform of capitalism has disappeared, crushed between these two powerful and fundamental factors. The frantic manoeuvres of Wilson and a sector of Labour Ministers shows the fragility of trying to stand between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat in conditions in which the existence and advance of the system of the Workers States is a fundamental factor - when capitalism disintegrates and the proletariat gains strength daily. In this context it is an important advance that the annual conference of the AUEW went beyond the adoption of an anti-capitalist programme to propose 'industrial action' to defend jobs. All the major trade unions have programmes which, if implemented, would mean the end of capitalism and the construction of the Workers State, of a Socialist Republic in Britain. But the policy to impose these programmes is lacking. The impulse for power, the leadership for the struggle comes from the factory - and the miners struggle and UCS are prime examples of this - but there has been a lack of organic means to generalise any particular strike, or factory occupation. The miners 'flying pickets' went towards the creation of organisms which could generalise the struggle, but the fact that a major trade union decides on mobilisations is an advance, the importance of which cannot be overestimated.

The decision of the AUEW to use the industrial force of the working class in order to protect employment is a response - a limited response in the sense that no concrete decisions were taken - to the civil war which the bourgeoisie are preparing in this stage of the death agony of capitalism. George Brown's statement that troops should be used against the working class is an indication of the thinking of the bourgeoisie and the fact that the printing workers took action to prevent Brown's attacks on the working class from being printed, shows what the response of the working class is going to be. However, if the bourgeoisie are hesitant to confront the working class with armed force at the moment (their social weakness does make them hesitate), they are more prepared to confront the working class industrially. The rising rate of unemployment - and the threat of its continuation - is partly the result of the total crisis of capitalism but it is also a method of terrorism, economic terrorism against the working class. The threat of the Chrysler management to close the whole enterprise if the workers in a component factory did not call off their strike, is part of this. So also is the threat made by the BSC management to close down the Port Talbot works and now Rolls Royce (engines) are threatening to close the whole factory if workers do not end a 'work to rule'. On another level the recent victory of the railway workers has been followed by the threat by the management to eliminate between 10,000 and 15,000 jobs. All these are measures of civil war and they demand a response from the working class, from the workers movement. The AUEW conference marks the beginning of a discussion on what that response has to be.

### Workers Control is not 'given' but imposed by the Workers.

This response has to be based on the fact that the crisis of capi-

talism is total and, therefore, that there is no room for 'half-measures', no possibility of reforming capitalism. The conclusions of the Meriden experience have to be drawn. The 'cooperative' at Meriden has been a failure on any level, with a few workers running their 'own' firm, whilst a large sector of the workers lost their jobs and the rest of the motorcycle industry is nearing total collapse. The necessity of nationalising the whole industry - as workers in other factories in the group have demanded - under workers control is now absolutely obvious, and this is what has to be discussed. In order to 'protect jobs', the only solution is nationalisation under workers control and workers control is not 'given' to the workers, it is imposed by them with occupations of the factories. In Portugal, (this is part of the world process which has to weigh in the discussion) it is the workers occupations, workers control, which have imposed nationalisations on the banks, large sectors of industry and the land, and now the radio stations. It is clear from the attempts of the management of nationalised industries to impose sackings that the nationalisation of isolated enterprises and services in itself doesn't answer the needs of the situation, the needs of the working masses. Workers control is essential and this means the construction of organisms which can fulfil this task. It means the elevation of the shop stewards committees by a more permanent mass functioning with delegates directly elected in each shop and subject to instant recall on a clear anti-capitalist programme. At the same time the imposition of workers control and the construction of the necessary organisms doesn't negate the role of the trade unions as organisations which defend the interests of the working class and centralise the struggles and actions of the workers nationally. This is particularly true in the present stage when the Labour Party doesn't act as a leadership and where the left still doesn't base

itself on the mobilisations of the working class. The leadership of the Yorkshire miners have demanded that the Labour MPs sponsored by the NUM have to be accountable, have to follow the policy and decisions of the union. This is correct, but what is correct for the parliamentary representatives of the working class is true for the trade union representatives themselves. They should be accountable to those who elect them, subject to instant recall, and receive no more than the average workers wage. There is a necessity for workers democracy in the trade unions and the basis for this is the factory committees, the anti-capitalist programme and the mobilisations of the class. The forms of organisms are directly related to the programme and policy, and it is not possible to construct one without the other.

### Translate the decisions of the AUEW Conference into action.

The response of one miners leader to the proposal of Healey that to impose a 'wage freeze of one kind or another means that the miners will have to treat the Labour government as they treated the Tory government previously': this is not correct. The miners 'detonated' a struggle which brought the Tory government down, but the same pressure - the mobilisation of the class - is now going to be directed to elevating the Labour government, to impel it to carry out the anti-capitalist programme of the Labour Party and to remove from it those elements that are not prepared to accept the programme, policy and instructions of the working class.

We appeal to the militants, to the shop stewards of the AUEW to translate the decision of the annual conference into action, with strikes and factory occupations on the basis of a programme of the immediate occupation of any factory threatened with closure, imposing workers control as a necessary preliminary to nationalisation, the opening of the books to the workers committees, and the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control and without compensations. It is necessary not to wait for the actions and decisions of other unions and sectors of workers, action should be taken against any factory closure, against unemployment no matter what the industry or what union the workers belong to. Imperial Typewriters at Hull would not be a bad start since the workers already in occupation are threatened with eviction. The engineering workers are well placed to provide an organising centre for the proletariat and, at the same time, to organise conferences - locally and nationally - to discuss a programme and policy for the unions, the Labour Party and the government which responds to the total crisis of capitalism.

## campaign FOR THE RELEASE OF THE POLITICAL PRISONERS IN URUGUAY:

The world campaign for the liberation of the political prisoners in Uruguay, and particularly Gloria Correa (ex functionary in the Family Allowance Department), Ruben Correa (Architect), and Otto Radiccioni Sanchez (functionary in the Department 31 of Family Allowances Department, ex-candidate in the Frente Amplio, arrested respectively on 22nd, 24th and 25th of February, 1975, continues and deepens. We have already reported the news of the liberation of Milte Radiccioni, which is the direct result of this world campaign. It is a demonstration of the success of this campaign and of the necessity to continue it in order to obtain the liberation of all the others, who who are held without charge.

The support has now extended to:

ECUADOR: Associations of Residents in the Catholic University (President: Pedro Unica); Student representatives to the Technical Council of the University Opera

(Galo Erazo); CEDOC: Ecuadorian A. Scargill (Yorkshire NUM); Centre of the Catholic Workers; Derek Robinson (Convenor, Shop CEDOC of Manibi (Ruben Garlar-Steward Longbridge); The Student za); FESITRAC (Jorge Burbano); Union, Sheffield University; The Peasant Federation of Rios (Cristobal Sandobal); The President of the Insurance Companies workers (Absilon Rocha); Franklin Torres, member of the CEDOC

MEXICO: Headquarters of the Popular Organisation (CNOP).

GERMANY: The JUSOS (the German Socialist Party's Youth); The Spanish Communist Party has made a protest in a meeting in Germany.

ITALY: A meeting of Amnesty International, which was held in Rome some days ago, has given information about the arrest of prisoners and the situation of the political prisoners in Uruguay. The FLM (Florence).

BRITAIN: M. Foot (MP); E. Loyden (MP); J. Maynard (MP); Ernie Roberts (Asst.Gen.Sec. AUEW); L. Daly (Gen.Sec. NUM);

We therefore appeal to you and to the workers organisation you may belong to, to send a telegram of protest to Senor Juez Azarola. Juzgado Militar De Segundo Turno, Calles 8 de Octubre y Jaimes Cibilis, Montevideo, Uruguay, or a telegram/letter of protest to Presidente Juan Maria Bordaberry, Palacio del Gobierno, Montevideo, Uruguay, demanding the immediate guarantees of safety and the immediate release of Otto Radiccioni, Gloria Raquel Correa and Ruben Correa, who are held without charge; Suggested text of the telegram: DEMAND GUARANTEES FOR LIFE AND IMMEDIATE RELEASE OTTO RADICIONI, GLORIA CORREA, RUBEN CORREA.

## On trade union unity and the class struggle in Italy

J. Posadas, 27.3.1975.

Trade union unity is discussed as unity at the top. We propose trade union unity from below, with the right of discussion and tendency in the factories. It is necessary to have the right of publication, writing, making and comparing experiences, and analysing them. It is necessary for the masses to intervene, not a unity of the UIL, the CISL and the CGIL at the top.

In France in the past year when the bourgeoisie was on the offensive to contain Mitterand and the triumph of the Popular Union, we proposed that the Communists and the Socialists discussed in the factories and that the workers of the factories spoke and gave their opinions; that there were public assemblies in the factories, so that the workers could give their opinion and intervene, besides electing workers as leaders in the factories, the trade unions and the parties together with the intellectuals etc.

In Italy it is necessary to propose that they discuss in the factories, that they discuss in the factories that a united front is established with a programme of the sliding scale of wages and hours of work, of investments and nationalisations. It is necessary to propose the nationalisation of the banks without which there can be no progress, together with trade union democracy, and the right of tendencies. In Portugal we have already agreed with a single trade union centre and a single trade union in the branches, but with the right of tendency, the right to write and to give an opinion, to be represented as a tendency, to have publications as a tendency while accepting the decisions of the majority. It is necessary to learn to resolve problems with different judgements, opinions and experiences, to discuss the level of an experience with a democratic trade union life, and then it is necessary to propose a single trade union centre with these conditions.

In Italy a very great reaction is going to come from the trade unions. The bourgeoisie is preparing to deliver a very powerful blow: an enormous increase in the cost of living and unemployment. All the payments which are made into the Cassa Integrazione\* came from the workers, and the fund is exhausted. They can manufacture money, but they devalue the lire and raise prices. What the government is doing is an index of the fact that they do not have the means to contain the situation. And within the Christian Democracy, there is a very great fear that they cannot take the process to a conclusion, not through the fascists of the right, but through fear of the left. Hence Fanfani was defeated with the repressive measures which he proposed. It was a great defeat not a concession. The resolutions which were adopted were against his strategy, for example in the case of the 'police warrants'. Perhaps they are going to do something else tomorrow, but today it is a defeat of the Fanfani line. The left and the centre of the Christian Democracy stopped him, and they stopped him because they saw the reaction in the factories, above all in Milan with the instantaneous demonstration to prevent the fascist meeting. The mobilisation of the proletariat in Milan indicated a very high level of the consciousness, decision and concentration of the proletariat. It did not demonstrate to defend trade union discussion with the management, it did not come out to discuss with Fiat, it came out to show that it was ready to resolve the problems of the country, and they have been seen also in Bologna, Sardinia in complete strikes and stoppages.

### CAPITALISM IS PREPARING A COUP.

They want police measures against the workers movement to repress the struggles against unemployment. They want to give greater power to the police and the judges to repress the process of the class struggle and to intimidate the working class. They are seeking this and it was defeated, a defeat pure and simple, independent of the fact that they secured one or two points without any significance and which still have to be approved by parliament. It is a defeat, and this was achieved by the masses in the streets and by the strikes, because, the masses of the Christian Democracy feel the power of the working class and this has repercussions in the Communist Party. They see that the Italian Communist Party resolved nothing in its recent Congress and does not refer to this process. All the analysis which they make amounts to 'the Christian Democracy has to change, it is necessary to change the country, it is necessary to change the direction', but who is going to do it. It is like saying to the thief 'be honest'.

It is necessary to see very clearly that capitalism is preparing for a coup d'etat in Italy. It is trying to prepare it furtively and secretly and it is preparing it because it has no other way out. One example is the rebellion throughout all the parties. It is necessary to make a programme of full employment, democratic rights and the development of the country.

It is necessary to be ready to discuss and to put forward a programme for very profound changes in the country, to move the trade unions, the workers areas, so that the country changes on the basis of this mobilisation with a programme aimed at the base of the Christian Democracy. We want the mass of the Christian Democracy to support this; it has to be aimed at the Christian Democratic base.

The Christian Democracy is not a popular Party in Italy, it is a Party which has a popular base but whose policy and leadership are reactionary and based on big business. To separate the Christian Democratic masses from their leadership, to impel the Socialist masses, agreements have to be established in the factories, in the trade unions, but with an anti-capitalist programme, otherwise they are not agreement but remain trade union struggles for wages and employment and leave in the hands of capitalism the power. Meanwhile the masses want and feel through their experiences that to be able to progress a programme is necessary which confronts capitalism. The masses have this experience. If capitalism could have provided a solution it would have done so. The conditions are open to discuss an activity for the solution of employment, wages and democratic rights and the development of Italy. Italy is the masses.

All this is going to mature with events. The Communists want to avoid the question with the regional elections and to centre everything there. The elections are going to be a blow at the Christian Democracy. But it is not going to solve the problems because they are regional elections. From there to weaken or take power from the Christian Democracy there is quite a distance. It is necessary to discuss this.

Portugal has to be discussed. Portugal shows that the actions of the soldiers are not local actions determined by local circumstances and by a group which has decision. This action of the soldiers represents the will of Portugal and through Portugal it is the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants, all the masses of the world which weigh. What difference is between Portugal and Ethiopia? there is none. What difference is there with Dahomey? The attitude of the Portuguese soldiers shows a whole current which has matured and has seen that its function in history is the opposite of what it was before. One cannot make an analysis of this stage of history without showing the importance of the soldiers. The soldiers are not an indispensable factor for the organisation of the revolution, for the programme and the policy, but they are indispensable for the weakening of the enemy because they are an instrument of the enemy. When the soldiers rebel against the powers that foster them, that bring them into existence, they don't just rebel just to serve them tomorrow. This is to say that there is an historic influence on them, and this means the Workers States, the revolution and the masses. The echo of history in Italy is that there is no solution by bourgeois measures. This has to be discussed, and this must be in the discussion of trade union unity. turn to page 4

## Private property, the Louvre, the artist and Socialism

J. POSADAS

8.1.1975

(CENTRE PAGES)

Workers of the world, Unite

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## Mass mobilisations to smash the wage freeze and impose a Government of the Left

The decision of the Newham North East Constituency Labour Party to remove Prentice as their parliamentary candidate is a heavy blow at the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party, particularly since Prentice is a Cabinet Minister. It is not the result simply of manoeuvres within the apparatus of the Labour Party, but essentially the result of the total world crisis of capitalism and the determination of the working class not to pay for the crisis. The attack on Prentice is part of the attack on the bourgeois policy of the Labour government and on those that support it; policies like the 'anti-inflation' laws of Healey which is an attempt to lower the living standards of the workers and which allow the continued rise in the cost of living and the rate of unemployment. The struggle takes this form because of the lack, at this moment, of the organisms in which the working class and the mass of the population can express themselves and of the lack of a conscious and coherent leadership in the workers movement. However, the pressure against the right in the Labour Party and the confidence with which the militants in the Newham Labour Party intervened, comes from the working class and is transmitted through the trade unions and the struggle in the factories. It is not accidental that the removal of right wing Labour MP's - like Griffith in Sheffield and Taverne in Lincoln - have taken place in working class areas where the trade union delegates have a greater weight. In the same way the pressure of the working class is expressed in the fact that 22 Left Labour MP's opposed 'Healey's law', voting against the government and acting 'like a party within a party'. This vote is a measure of how much the parliamentary Left now appears as a clearly defined tendency. Together with this is the fact that the resolutions submitted for the TUC Congress in September show a complete division in the trade union leadership on the question of the Healey 'wage freeze'. They are all distant expressions of the pressure, the preparation of the working class for mobilisations, strikes and factory occupations, and for the construction of organism of dual power in the next period.

### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PROLETARIAT AND THE WORKERS STATES IS FUNDAMENTAL.

The crisis in the Labour Party expresses the total world crisis of capitalism, the level reached by the world process of the permanent revolution and, within this process, the existence and the world intervention of the Workers States is a fundamental factor. The Helsinki conference shows the interpenetrative aspect of Soviet policy, of driving a wedge between each of the European bourgeoisies and between them and Yankee imperialism. Helsinki is something of an anti-climax in the sense that it has been an aim of Soviet diplomacy for a number of years, and the final result is far below the level reached by the world revolution, far below the process in Argentina, Portugal or Italy, and far below the process of advance in the Workers States themselves. It is a policy and tactic which, even if not incorrect, does not answer the necessity of the world struggle in this stage of the total and final crisis of world capitalism. However the reaction of Thatcher and the bourgeois press in this country is one of fear that

behind these diplomatic manoeuvres lies the reality of the disintegration of NATO - with the loss of the Yankee bases in Turkey being added to the advance of the revolution in Portugal - and the crisis in all the capitalist armies expressed in the struggle of NCO's in the Italian Air Force. Whilst Yankee imperialism tries to draw the war alliance together in preparation for the war against the Workers States, the European bourgeoisie still tries to find their own solutions to the total crisis by agreements with the Workers States. Thus, Giscard d'Estang visits Rumania in order to try to gain some economic advantage; and he was originally a representative of the sector of the French bourgeois most prepared for the war and in favour of the alliance with Yankee imperialism. In a sense Helsinki is an extension, on a European scale, of the 'Ostpolitik' of Brandt, but now the diplomatic policy of the Soviet goes together with a direct intervention to support the revolution - as with the statement in favour of

workers committees, workers control in Portugal - and with the conscious preparation for the war. The base in Somalia and the fact that the Soviets have more nuclear

submarines than the rest of the world put together, is part of this. At the same time, the Soviets intervene to impel the European Communist parties to adopt a unified anti-capitalist policy and programme. The criticism of the Italian CP by Novotny at the Prague conference of the Czech CP and, in another sense, the visit of Shelepin to this country is part of this process. The development of the relationship between the working class and the Workers States through the Communist parties, Socialist parties and trade unions, is a fundamental axis of the world revolution and it is something which the Labour and trade union left in this country have to base themselves on.

### THE WORKERS USE THEIR TRADE UNIONS AS POLITICAL INSTRUMENTS.

The struggle in this country is part of the combined world process of the permanent revolution and the rapidity and unity of this process is shown in the fact that the 'avalanche of votes' for the Italian CP, the proposals for workers councils -

in the factories and workers areas in Portugal - and the triumphant General Strike in Argentina, came within days of each other. It is a very profound process in Portugal inasmuch as they - the soldiers and the workers - are taking directly the experience of the Russian Revolution, the construction of the first Workers State, and the first seven years of Soviet democracy. It is quite conscious: without having a Bolshevik Party they are basing themselves on the Russian Revolution. There is a world process of dual power, a unified process in which the Argentinian workers launch the first General Strike in 30 years over the heads of the leadership of CGT (the trade union centre), impose a programme which includes the nationalisation of the banks, and force the right out of the government. Lopez Rega has gone and Isabel Peron is on an extended 'rest'. It has been a death blow to the Peronist right. The experience of the Argentinian General Strike is an important one because it demonstrates the nature of the struggle of the proletariat at this stage; it uses its trade unions as political instruments in order to impose itself

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FULL SUPPORT FOR THE MF A AND THE POPULAR COMMITTEES TO CRUSH THE COUNTER REVOLUTION! FORWARD TO THE PORTUGUESE WORKERS STATE!

# Private property, the Louvre, the artist and Socialism.

J POSADAS

8.1.1975

History is an uninterrupted succession of cultural, economic, scientific and technical activity. The process is determined by the ruling classes in history, by the sectors which determine the process. It has always been like this, and the development has been determined by the economy. Hence it has been a slow and painful development. The economy determined the course of history, until the conditions for Socialism developed.

One of the aspects which the existing classes have determined is expressed in the Louvre Museum in Paris: what class society has been capable of constructing and contributing. It shows the possibilities class society has given of developing human qualities of intelligence, sentiment and consciousness, the three fundamentals which go to determine the course of life.

This allows one to see the limitations of the regimes that have led humanity, the limitations of these regimes determined by private interests. Private property has limited the development of intelligence, culture and science. Everything is submitted to the interest of the ruling class. Intelligence and science, independently of the ruling class, have their own life, because intelligence and science develop the consciousness and the capacity of humanity, and this surpasses the ruling class. For example, scientists who serve private property — whether under slavery, feudalism or capitalism — developed knowledge which made possible the existence of Marx, that serve the consciousness, the intelligence, the scientific functioning of the organisation for the class struggle.

Everything which is produced under these regimes does not show that this is 'what humanity can do'. It shows what the human being can do under the conditions of the class struggle and private property. We cannot say 'if they had done better'. This is what humanity has been able to do, and achieved until now. And now, humanity has the conditions to be able to express itself much more directly, not freely, but directly. Before, it could not do this because of being subjected to the conditions of the class struggle.

Part of this history of humanity is expressed in the Louvre, and part of this work, which is very great, shows the limitations in the development of intelligence in all the regimes of private property, even in the capitalist regime which is the most developed and the most concentrated. The regimes of private property have made possible the development of intelligence, of science and of technology. This was inherent in the development of the system. Competition, which is the basis of the regime, determines and promotes the necessity of science and technology, for its utility and use. And hence it has developed for this also, intelligence, reason and art.

Art is one of the expressions of the search of the human being to unify the external with the internal life. All art was determined by the conception of life originating with the regime of private property. Afterwards, intelligence surpasses private property. Art is subject at its point of departure, in its origins, to the existing social relations. These relations impel the general course of artistic ability and direction. But art, like intelligence, promotes a series of conditions which cannot be subjected by the existing social regime. The ability and the sentiments which develop are centralised and rise beyond existing society.

**ART IS SUBJECT TO SOCIAL RELATIONS**

This is expressed fundamentally in revolutionary art, even without the creative consciousness of the role which the artist has played. The artists, in exalting his function or his works, surpasses, is against, is not subject to the equilibrium which the existing class relations seek to impose, whether under slavery, feudalism or capitalism. Part of what is shown in the Louvre, everything which has been created artistically in previous regimes, shows the power of the development of intelligence and of artistic aspirations. In the general historic sense, they are expressions of the development of the human being, who does not want to remain subject to the economy, to society, to war or to violence.

The source of art is the most elevated expression of human relations, whatever moment it appears. But art is subject to the existing social relations. These relations determine and oppress the function which art can play. Art is the discovery and the creation of humanity, a discovery of qualities inherent in the human being. This is one of the bases of intelligence which developed through social relations. Class relations oppress this function.

Every social regime produces artistically what allows it to perpetuate itself, everything which gives security, confidence and arrogance, which justifies it in front of history. Every existing regime seeks artists, or inspires, or develops artists, to justify it in history, so that they justify before history the function of a particular regime, showing its quality and its greater or lesser place in history. But, anyway, in every artistic work part of human creativity is expressed, creativity which appears independently and against the existing social regime, whether in Greek, Roman or Mediaeval art.

The Mediaeval period is a state of transition between the Roman and the present epoch. It delayed progress. There was a stagnation in the rhythm of science, art and intelligence. The feudal regime corresponded in its

stage of history to the regime of Stalinism. Both showed themselves to be impotent to detain the development of history, not through the regimes in themselves, through the ruling cliques, but because the regimes are part of a process which in its own development created qualities and needs that by-pass the ruling class, qualities in science, in technology, in the economy and in production, in the sentiments, in the intelligence and discoveries. This was expressed also in art.

With private property the perspectives of the individual are limited. It places a barrier, an obstacle in front of thought, which does not allow the individual to see the origins of the world, from whence we came, where we are, and where we are going to. Art is subject to a series of limitations which private property produces. And although there have been very profound artists like Michelangelo and Diego Rivera, or very profound scientists, they were also limited because they served or developed in the middle of a class which had no interest in developing intelligence, only intelligence which would serve private property and competition. This limited human power. The works which are in the Louvre do not demonstrate what the human being can achieve, but the limitations in which intelligence and art developed in the regimes of private property. This is not a joke or contempt for what they have created. It is a characterisation arrived at as a consequence of the social regime in which they developed. One can see the limitations in their paintings, in their culture, even with Michelangelo. This was part of the limitation of the objectives, although they were unconscious of this.

**UNDER SOCIALISM ART WILL BE INFINITELY MORE PROFOUND.**

In Socialism artists — and there will be artists superior to those of the present time — will have the conscious objective of what they want. In the regime of private property, they are unconscious of what they want. The artist shows sentiments which develop and free themselves from relations stimulated by private property. The artist is a vehicle which makes this sentiment aware of itself, the consciousness of a sentiment which gives a perspective but not a consciousness to foresee. Under Socialism, the artist is going to foresee because he will have another function in history. Music, literature, art, will be superior to what they are today. They will not be subject to the relations which arise in private property. Today, the artist expresses the need for harmonious relations but without an objective, without the search for the conscious objective to construct. Under Socialism it will be the opposite.

Diego Rivera in his best paintings was already the expression of what would come, in the paintings which refer to the Russian revolution to the Fourth International of Trotsky.

The artist is not a centre, he is not separated from human relations, but forms part of these relations. When the artist has more consciousness, this will be more profound. Capitalism poses as an essential quality of the artist this 'independent action', that is not touched by politics, which develops a separate life. This is a lie. The artist is a normal human being. He has qualities which are not generalised in the average human being. In Socialism, they are going to be, and every one will be, an artist. All will exercise this function, like the scientist who, through necessity, extracts knowledge from nature, studies the development of nature, the existence and the relation of nature with life. In Socialism, life will be the point of essential knowledge. The point of departure of knowledge will be infinitely superior to what it is today. There will no longer exist the ignorance, lack of certainty, or the mystery of life. Certainty, conviction, security, dominion of life, will be the norm.

In Socialism art will be infinitely more profound and better than in class society. Art now, though profound and great, is very limited because it is subject to the regime of private property. Humanity in all stages of history sought to overcome submission to the earth, to mystery, to mysticism, to the sky, to the gods, and to the economy. It sought always to surpass the conditions which private property imposed. Hence, art arose and existed. Hence, it sought to make, for example, tomb sculptures — as can be seen in the Louvre — as a form of encouraging itself, seeking to continue, to prolong, its existence and also to record that it lived to transmit. It corresponds to photography today. They were forms of wanting to perpetuate knowledge and to transmit to the human beings that came afterwards.

All the work which can be seen in the Louvre, in Paris, is the product of intelligence, of human passion and sentiment. Without passion, nothing could be achieved. Those who created the works which are in the museum communicated to the history of humanity the sentiment, the creation of sentiments, and one of the essential qualities of life: passion. Without passion, nothing important can be achieved.

Passion allows the organisation, the centralisation, the communication, and the utilisation of all the essential resources of life and intelligence. It promotes, organises and impels, and confronts all the difficulties. The human being has to confront a series of conditions which tend to overwhelm, to oppress, to smash, to oppose or reject him. The human being develops the passion which is

the drive, the will, the harmonious sentiment to be able to progress. Passion is not private interest, it is not limited to private property. Passion is a sentiment to communicate with every one, to utilise all the forces, to communicate the best. These are the qualities of the artists and of the revolutionaries.

Between the scientists, the artists and the revolutionaries, there is a certain and very profound similarity, the objectivity of the three. The three have to be objective to fulfil their historic function; the scientist, the artist and the revolutionary: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, all the revolutionaries.

It is necessary to render respect and homage to those who made the works in the Louvre. We render homage because they contributed to the history of humanity, to the security of the human being. But all these show, in turn, the limitations of private property. When we make jokes about some work, it is not a mockery, but simply the joy in the security that we can do better, not against the artist of that epoch, but with the security that the human being today can represent and achieve, but in a more elevated form.

We render homage to all the scientists, to all the artists of all the stages of history. We understand the limitation of means in which the artists developed, and also we compare them with Socialism. It is not a contempt, it is a historic comparison, a comparison to show that Socialism creates the necessary conditions which allow the human being to advance scientifically.

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE GREEKS**

In the epoch in which the works were created in the Louvre, the artist did not have means of creation. The artist could not think as we do, there was a very limited relationship with nature. Knowledge, with submission to nature, was very limited. The artist was submitted to these conditions of history. This was expressed in the thought, the form of art. But even in that period, there was Socrates and Aristotle. They inaugurated and developed the capacity for thought, the form of functioning of thought. They incorporated into the human being one of the greatest conquests: thought.

In the artistic works of the Greeks, for example, there is love for the human being. Later regimes declined from this conclusion. The Greeks had an affection for the human being even though they were a slave society. One example is the Venus de Milo. She is a very beautiful woman, and there is an absence of sensuality. She has a serene and intelligent expression, a harmonious expression. Among the Greeks there existed an affection for the human being. As Marx indicated, it was a specific attitude towards the human being, particularly children. Hence from Greece the first philosophy emerged and organised the life of thought. They taught that thinking was the most complete form of life.

The Greeks created sculpture, bringing out the organisation of the human organism and this without perversion. Hence, also, they invented sport, and combined sport with military action. There were the athletes. This shows that they sought to communicate human beauty and harmony. One can make a comparison with the sculptures of the African tribes, who produced sculptures with vacant eyes, tensed expressions and rigid bodies, characteristics which arose from the life which they lead, related to starvation; but also from a lack of conception of life, from a lack of a dialectical conception of life, sculptures of the life of a tribe, as opposed to the Greeks who had a dialectical conception of life. The Greeks developed the dialectical conception, but on the other hand the African tribes, more than 3,000 years after the Greeks, live the solitude of life. In their sculpture they show dead figures, distant from life, made with the sentiment of desolation, with lack of eyes and mouths,

## The political revolution and the class struggle

J Posadas

14.2.1975.

*The class struggle in the Workers States and the political revolution are two aspects of the same process. They are not two distinct features. The political revolution is the form of response of the process to confront the expropriation by the bureaucracy of the political power of the workers. The political revolution is not determined because there is a class struggle, but this creates the fundamentals which are plunder and the usurpation of the proletarian political power by the bureaucracy. This makes the policy of bureaucratic interests, and not of proletarian internationalism, of the development of Communism, as the proletariat would do. To restore power to the proletariat, to restore the power of the Communist conception, a political revolution is necessary.*

*In making the political revolution, the class struggle is not eliminated. But in place of a process affirming social differentiation, the revolutionary leadership would attenuate them, contain them, without interfering with the development of the Workers State, as in the epoch of Lenin. During the leadership of Lenin, there were the same differences, but there were none of the conflicts as with Stalin.*

*Partial Regeneration is a phase of the political revolution, it arises through the objective process. Without the intervention of organised forces, it takes place through the objective development*

*which obliges the bureaucracy to change its policy; otherwise, it is expelled. The economy, science and technology advance, but the bureaucracy does not. The bureaucracy tries to run at the level of history, but as it does not have any breath, it stops and is by-passed by the necessity of history. The more this process advances, the more the levels of the political revolution diminish. In some parts, the most bloody aspects, armed insurrection and revolution, are eliminated, for example, in Cuba. There is there a process of political revolution and they try to make the masses vote, intervene, elect, participate and decide. This is political revolution.*

*It is not that now they can do it and before they could not. Before it could have been done, but they did not allow it. Now it can be done and they have to put up with it. It is not a decision of a leadership but the imposition of the objective process. The masses do not do it through means of assemblies with demands, but the participation, the frequency, the intrepid intervention of the masses to demand improvement, progress, participation, democratic rights, obliges the bureaucracy to change. This is part of the political revolution. It is a camouflaged form of the political revolution. It is not that it happens and goes on inadvertently and the bureaucracy conceals it. It happens openly.*

J. POSADAS 14.2.1975

with an attitude of anguish.

In the sculptures of the Greeks and their works, there is no anguish. They were the origins of the conception of life organised with science, very superior to the Egyptians. It is a lie when the capitalists say that 'this is all that could be done'. This is all that can be done by capitalist society, which leads to accumulation and to interest. Nothing interests capitalism that has a transcendent quality. The Greeks were interested in humanity. And this was in a slave society, and was part of the origins of the process of accumulation which then showed itself more openly in slave society itself, in feudalism and in capitalism.

In many of these sculptures the Greeks tend to represent and prolong themselves, which was the form of representation of life, not to perpetuate themselves as a leading caste or class, but to continue representing themselves, continuing life. It was an indication that the human being had the conditions to pass from the epoch of the Greeks to the function of the proletariat today. It was the regime of the economy which made humanity retreat, it was not the lack of science or of technology. It was the economic regime which prevented a harmonious advance: the economy advanced but art retreated. One example: in comparison the Romans were inferior to the Greeks.

The Greeks had a sentiment which was very sensitive to harmony. They made very dynamic animated forms, sculptures which gave the sensation of movement. They still express a lack of conflict with nature. With the development of property, conflict enters. The system of appropriation and accumulation brings conflict. With the Greeks, such a conflict did not exist.

Their sculptures give a sensation of harmony, a harmony which was appropriate to the epoch and the forms of relation with nature. It has harmonious forms. To the sight and thought they do not give an impression of deformation but of harmony. Making comparisons, one would say that the work of the Aztecs and of the Incas gives the same sensation. But with the harmony which does not link with, which does not transcend with thought, linking with us at the present time. In the epoch of the Greeks there was transcendence. Every harmony must suggest superior forms of thinking, more elevated and extensive forms of thinking. This is harmony, otherwise it has no value. The harmony of a rose pleases: why? In some matters what pleases is far from intelligence. But the existence of the Workers State shows that every harmony must be related to intelligence. On the basis of this, it must impel intelligence, otherwise it is an adornment. Harmony forms part of the ways of thinking, of the capacity to think, of expression in the relations of the human being with objects and nature.

The works of the Greeks show that, before mechanics existed or existed only in an incipient form, thinking already existed which was superior to the material conquests and the products of human labour. They show that the most important human work is thought, then expressed in philosophy. They showed what could be done. Even slave society produced some colossal people in history. Even with all the mistakes and mystical inclinations, it impelled the ways to think. They did not negate themselves and drown in the slavery of living to get fat, or indulge in Bacchus, but they thought about the human being, giving an explanation of life.

This was the development of human capacity in art, it was a form of intelligence. The artist is intelligent, he has the capacity and expresses one of the forms of human intelligence. Hence, the artist penetrates and attracts, hence the most complete form of art is music, in which the senses are not directly represented. Other forms of art attract and move by the eyes, music by the voice, by the sound, and the human voice is the most complete sound of all, and the musical instruments are means of communication with the voice. Music was created as part of the continuation of life, of the continuation of work.

## LIMITATIONS OF THE MUSEUMS

In all the works of the Louvre museum, there is no music. It is a demonstration of the limitations of the capacity through its submission to the regime of private property. Marxism is neither against nor in competition with artists, it sees better than they do. Marxism on the basis of the development of capitalist society shows the development without limits of the capacity of sentiment and of consciousness. It gives a base of security in life which the artist does not have. Religion arose through the insecurity of the human being in life. Socialism is based on a security of life, it is based on a complete relation with nature. Class society is based on an antagonism with nature. Through the limited relations of existence with nature, creative capacity is not able to develop. In Socialism, it will be possible to create because there is no antagonism and conflict with nature. There is an identification with nature. It is necessary to see the works of the Louvre museum with the knowledge of what humanity has done, but also with the sense of repulsion and the rejection of this form of presenting art. The objects are presented in a mechanical, vacant and inanimate form, a form without the life of the history of humanity. But the works are part of the history of humanity because, with art, it was possible to give security to the human being, to give structure to his knowledge, to his historic force to conquer nature, to elevate and create the relations of love and fraternity. The works of the museum present them as inanimate and dead. They are inanimate because the rule of private property is inanimate. It is a regime without possibility, it does not have historic decision because it does not have the right, the basis to advance, to progress, and be able to reach the level of human intelligence. It cannot achieve superior human relations. Hence the museums are forms, presented in an inanimate way. We will destroy this form of presenting museums, but we will leave intact everything which allows the understanding of the history of humanity. They organise museums like this to be able to perpetuate class dominium. This is the objective which they give to museums. We communicate a certain strength and we make them live. With scientific explanation, the museum loses inanimate prostration; we give agility to movements which appear inanimate. We see the object as a function of history, not as a function of the ruling class to perpetuate the dominion of private property. Hence, they make the museums with inanimate forms, they are places similar to centres of wealth, similar to big churches. They are like people who want to perpetuate power, they seek

to perpetuate the 'majesty' of the life of private property. The objective of the museum should be to communicate, to give a transcendent value to increase the knowledge of humanity, the confidence in itself of humanity. On the contrary in the present forms, the museums are utilised to worship what private property has been capable of. They do not do it to give security to humanity, to advance, to conquer all the obstacles — the obstacles which are class regime and the regimes of private property. Hence they present museums like the Louvre in a passive form, like a massive cave, like a great block which seeks to smash down and prevent thought, which seeks to make people submit. It is a great block in magnitude, form and height, with the objective to weigh on thought and to make it feel inferior. What they have projected has been guided by mystical and religious thought. And the museum is not mystical. It is human creation, limited by the knowledge and the technical and scientific capacity of that epoch.

Socialism shows that it conquers everything. Peter the Great and all the Tsars produced in Russia quantities of churches to oppress and smash down the Russian peasantry. Today, it is a Workers State. It is not forms, or buildings or magnitude which determine the course of thought. It is not atomic arms or any bullets or any instrument of destruction that determines the course of thought. It can contain, divert and contain, but nothing more. Hence fascism was an historic stage, but nothing more. It was an historic

stage in Germany, and nothing more, through the errors and deficiencies of Stalin and the Communist parties. It is necessary to see the museum in this sense. The human being has as an essential condition of his life, to progress. This imposes on him his relations with nature and with life. The consciousness of progress does not retreat any more. This does not appear in the museums. In them inanimate life alone appears.

Capitalism presents humanity as though fixed in a permanent mould, as though the sentiment of property is inherent in human beings, and the sentiment of avarice. It is a lie. These sentiments originate in private property. All the consciousness of seeing and reasoning is the result of the regime of private property, which is what determines human relations. Hence museums show backward, old aspects, objects without present cultural value. They do not show, for example, together with historic objects, that the Soviet Union in 1917 was a peasant country. 80% were illiterate and in four years the Russian revolution finished with illiteracy and it had the greatest social power in history. People do not develop with the sentiment of competition, or robbing other people or countries. They do not show this in the museums. They show people clothed, as in Siberia, with caps and going about with canoes, but they do not show the social regime of the Soviet Union which went from nothing to everything. These are the museums which are missing.

Humanity advances slowly with private property. If collective property had developed as humanity had in its origins, history would have been different; but it was like this. The needs of consumption and human reproduction developed more than production to sustain and feed humanity. Hence the differentiation which provokes the class struggle and social regimes.

The class struggle means that the human being's behaviour is determined by class society. The economy creates all the conditions, the scientific and technical means, the capacity of construction, and thought in connection with these relations. Insofar as the economy was determined by empiricism, the development in science and technology was very limited; but, in its turn, it was extended by means of inventions, creations and conquests of humanity itself, not of the owners or the possessors, but of normal humanity and of some scientists who elaborated thought. With the development of human relations, better means were formed and among these, the artists, in painting, sculpture, and in other creative activities including music. Musical instruments are the creation of the human being. Beethoven made the creative use of instruments so as to be able to communicate by means of music. We create forms of speaking, of analysing, of writing, of reasoning, to make understood the epoch in which we live. This epoch is pulling down all the supposedly monolithic structure of capitalism, of the bureaucracies and of the Communist parties, and on the other hand, intelligence and reason is advancing. This is still not imposing itself as a norm; but now there is a reasoning which is advancing, and in art it is the same.

We measure in the museums a part of intelligence. In the museums the contradictions of the class struggle are developed. The principle aspect of art was in the service of those who command. But intelligence developed with science, with technology, with society, and became independent. Intelligence created art as a necessity to express the sentiments of humanity, the sentiments which are united to humanity. This is produced when the mass movements are elevated. The mass movements stimulated the artists to have a means of inspiration and interpretation, superior to that produced by the ruling class. This is a process which was linked with the class struggle.

**A MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATION**  
**Rosa Luxemburg — revolutionary**  
**struggle and the construction of**  
**Communism. J. Posadas** 10/10/1974  
ORDER FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS 20p

### EDITORIAL

*continued from page 1*

**on its political organisations. And without breaking its centralisation in its own organisations. The workers gained wage increases of 150% to 200%, but in depth it was a struggle for power. In the same way the demand by the miners for a hundred pounds a week is essentially a pressure for a struggle against Healey's Law', for an anti-capitalist programme and for a leadership capable of leading this struggle. The General Strike of the Argentinian workers is characteristic of the class struggle and the nature of the working class. There are direct conclusions to be drawn from it by the militants and leaderships of the workers movement in this country.**

**The threat of a 'wage freeze' and rising unemployment in this country is not acceptable to the working class, and the struggle in the TUC is a distant expression of the preparation of the working class to mobilise. The complaints of Stuart Holland that the government is not applying the measures originally proposed for the NEB are, in this context, a little naive. In the first place, it is not possible to plan the economy on the basis of investment in the 'most inefficient companies'. On the contrary, the planning of the economy demands the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control, together with the land, banks and insurance companies. In the second place, what is the force to impose even the limited measures**

**of the NEB? Certainly not 22 Left Labour MP's in Parliament: the force is the working class organised in the trade unions and the factories. If the Labour Left is to structure itself as a tendency, to play a role in the advance towards a Government of the Left in which the trade unions are the essential weight, it has to base itself on this force.**

**A Government of the Left means the removal of all those who won't accept the Labour Party and trade union programme of nationalisations; it means the intervention directly of the full weight of the trade unions and a constant progress in the imposition of measures of nationalisation under workers control, based on the organism of dual power: the factory and workers area committees. The forces of the Labour Left have to struggle for a programme which includes all wages to rise with the cost of living, and work sharing without loss of pay; all factories threatened with closure to be occupied and run under workers control; and all the factory books to be open to the workers committees. The workers are not going to wait for the Labour Left, but the intervention of the Labour Left, basing itself on the workers centres, on the shop stewards committees fundamentally, will accelerate this process. The Labour Left has, then, to link with the shop stewards committees, to hold meetings at which all workers can discuss and decide and, in this way, to prepare for mass mobilisations to finish with 'Healey's law', and to impose a Government of the Left.**  
29.7.1975

The human being is the result of the class struggle, and of the technical means at the disposition of humanity. It could not progress more because history developed in the way it did. Private property limited the development of intelligence and of human capacity. Socialism is going to eliminate every means of contention — Marx understood and interpreted and foresaw this course.

What exists in the museums is museums is only a cycle in history. It is a demonstration of the limitations of art, and at the same time, that art was an expression of the need of the human being to represent himself externally, showing that he was neither dominated by the machine nor by the economy, or by nature. This was the form in which the human being sought to reproduce himself in his sentiments, in his consciousness and his intelligence. Only Socialism gives integrally this possibility. The other is very limited because it is submitted to the class struggle. When the class struggle is eliminated, art will acquire another form. It will express a more direct superior relation.

It is necessary to see the museum of the Louvre in Paris as a part of human history, to see the insignificance which the regime of private property has produced, and to see that the human being is the result of a structure of a class struggle, and to see that, today, there are better conditions which allow the development of history: the proletariat and the Workers States.

J. POSADAS 8th January 1975.

## Campaign

FOR THE RELEASE OF  
THE POLITICAL PRISONERS  
IN URUGUAY:

The world campaign for the liberation of the political prisoners in Uruguay, and particularly Gloria Correa (ex functionary in the Family Allowance Department), Ruben Correa (Architect), and Otto Radiccioni Sanchez (functionary in the Department 31 of Family Allowances Department, ex-candidate in the Frente Amplio, arrested respectively on 22nd, 24th and 25th of February, 1975, continues and deepens. We have already reported the news of the liberation of Milte Radiccioni, which is the direct result of this world campaign. It is a demonstration of the success of this campaign and of the necessity to continue it in order to obtain the liberation of all the others, who are held without charge.

We therefore appeal to you and to the workers organisation you may belong to, to send a telegram of protest to Senor Juez Azarola, Juzgado Militar De Segundo Turno, Calles 8 de Octubre y Jaimes Cibillis, Montevideo, Uruguay, or a telegram/letter of protest to Presidente Juan Maria Bordaberry, Palacio del Gobierno, Montevideo, Uruguay, demanding the immediate guarantees of safety and the immediate release of Otto Radiccioni, Gloria Raquel Correa and Ruben Correa, who are held without charge; Suggested text of the telegram: DEMAND GUARANTEES FOR LIFE AND IMMEDIATE RELEASE OTTO RADICCIONI, GLORIA CORREA, RUBEN CORREA.

**trade union unity****TRADE UNION UNITY MUST BE BASED ON A PROGRAMME.**

Trade union unity in Italy, as in other countries, must be made on the basis of a programme, a policy, trade union democracy and the right of all tendencies to intervene. Why does it have to be the leaders who decide? What do they know more than the workers? The opinion of the workers has a value, above all because it expresses objective discussion and the will to fight. The will to fight determines the objective. One of the fundamental elements which determine the decisions is the will to fight. The will to fight determines the objective. One of the fundamental conceptions is that 75% of those who go to undertake the task are ready to fight. If the working class shows itself ready to obtain infinitely more gains than produced by the CGIL, why don't they do it? What prevents them? If capitalism says that it doesn't want them to go further and says that it cannot do it, it is necessary to nationalise. There is the example of Portugal which is weaker than Italy. Is capitalism going to accept? It is logical, the assassin is not going to change. It is a problem of logic, and it is necessary to discuss with the workers the necessity to include in trade union unity a class programme, a pro-

gramme of struggle in which the workers advance to the tasks of the leadership of the country. And the programme should be determined in accordance with the will to struggle of the proletariat. And how is the combative will measured? In every strike is complete proof, and every month there are two or three big strikes in Italy.

In Italy there is a rise in the cost of living and the conditions of work are growing worse. This, in accordance with bureaucratic calculation, should lead to desperation. Such desperation doesn't exist and the workers struggle and advance in their combative will. This has to be decisive, to fix what programme, what objective, at what point they want to arrive. This is what the discussion should be about, but who takes the decisions? The leadership? On the basis of what? On the calculation of what the management can give or what the workers can secure? The workers must intervene.

The right of tendency means the right to discuss, everyone including the 'left groups'. Why can't they participate if they form part of the workers movement? To act otherwise is to act with a form of property they have a right to intervene, why can't they do it? If the leadership believes that it is right, then it can educate the movement which will

accept reason, and reject the 'leftist' view, and the 'leftists are going to feel that there is a proper functioning and they are going to accept trade union democracy, and also trade union centralisation. It is necessary to discuss all this.

**EVERYTHING FAVOURS THE WORLD REVOLUTION.**

The world situation is favourable. In Vietnam imperialism has been routed. It is a real rout in Vietnam and also in the Middle East. The assassination of Feisal is not only an assassination but also a necessary cleansing. He was an assassin, but he had made a series of reforms as we posed two years ago in articles and he freed Communists. It is possible that he was assassinated by the CIA, but whatever the case, it expresses the need for progress, whether the Yanks killed him to stop him going any further, or others killed him so that they could advance quicker. But it is evident that he had to be eliminated. Progress is not made just by bullets. The bullet is an instrument to advance, but it does not replace measures or programme. Soon this situation is going to find an echo. The weakness of imperialism is immediately disclosed. They do not have strength as before when they could organise a coup by telephone, and decide and change.

The Venezuelan President went to Mexico and almost two million people welcomed him. This has a very great significance and is against Yankee imperialism. In Latin America an agreement was made between all the countries to recognise Cuba and to make a unification without Yankee imperialism. Everything is favourable to the revolution. In China there is a response. It is still necessary to see what level the process has reached and what course it is following, whether it is a real change or a measure to contain a force which is going much further to the left. But even so it is a change more to the left than to the right, because they condemn private property, those who make use of the Workers State. They limit the use of private property and eliminate the sale of property, that is to say that it is a blow at Chou En Lai who has supported all this.

A very important aspect is the Congress of the Hungarian Communist Party, and the speech of Bresnev there which, even with a policy of 'detente' was against imperialism. Portugal shows in a public form the divergencies in the world Communist movement, on the tactic, the objective and the policy. They do not discuss an election, they discuss tactics and objectives, programmes and policy. It is necessary to discuss in this way. They wanted to close the gates on Portugal, but

Portugal opened the gates and went in. They are experiences which cannot be pushed on one side and they are going to have a very great echo in the world Communist movement. The Communist Party of France, Cuba and the Workers States, support Portugal. It is necessary to discuss the problems which are posed in Portugal, economic, social and trade union, in the process of the permanent revolution. The concrete forms in which a backward country passes directly to the most elevated measures. It is similar in Ethiopia. In Ethiopia the problem of Eritrea appears to be a gigantic problem. We proposed that it was necessary to support the unification and afterwards to discuss the problems, but to support immediately the conditions of unification which are going to be a great impulse to the economy and to Socialist measures. It is the same with Irak and the problem of the Kurds.

It is necessary to carry out this discussion in the Communist movement and on this basis in Italy to propose trade union unification.

J. POSADAS 17th March 1975.

\*'Casa Integrazione': this refers to a fund contributed to by the state the management and the workers. It is utilised in the case of lay-offs to pay the wages of the workers.

**THE HAVANA CONFERENCE TENDS TO ELEVATE THE DISCUSSION IN THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST MOVEMENTS.**

The recent declarations in Havana (here partly reproduced) of the Communist parties of Latin America that the conditions exist for going to power, that power has to be preserved 'with arms' and that the bourgeoisie is not going to abandon power voluntarily, are an immense progress of the Communist movement and show that very important aspects of Marxism are retaken by the Communist parties. This means that the process of the Partial Regeneration in the world Communist movement has reached an advanced stage, and that there is a correction, as Comrade Posadas analysed, of the line, the objectives, and the tactic of the Communist parties. The recognition by these parties that 'nationalism must be transformed into an anti-imperialist and revolutionary position' means the rectification of the policy of the of the Communist parties on a revolutionary road, towards a revolutionary perspective. All this means that the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism is being recognised and the world Communist movement is retaking Marxism. — none of these advances eliminate the Political Revolution but favours it.

This is going to have an immense impact in the European Communist parties, particularly at this present time, in the controversy which opposes Carrillo (Spanish CP) and Berlinguer (Italian CP) to Marchais (French CP) and Cunhal (Portuguese CP). This controversy is about the reformist road which the Italian and Spanish CP leaderships are trying desperately to continue, and the road more and more orientated towards confrontation with the bourgeoisie which the French, and particularly the Portuguese, are taking. At this moment, this is going to increase the forces of the left in the Com-

munist parties of Europe, it is going to be a further blow at the policy of 'Democratic juntas' in Spain and the 'Historic compromise' in Italy, already by-passed in every way by the struggles of the Spanish and Italian proletariats. At the same time, this is going to strengthen the discussion on why the degeneration of the world Communist movement which led to reformism, 'revisionism' (as the Czech Communist Novotny has put it), and therefore a discussion on the role of Trotsky in history, the necessity of the Communist International, and the role of Posadas.

At the same time, such a process is the result of and cannot be separated from the process of Partial Regeneration in the USSR itself. Without the victory of the Vietnamese and the Portuguese, the Ethiopian masses, the masses of Latin America, Asia and Africa who advance towards Communism, thanks to the support of the USSR, such a process in the Latin-American Communist parties would be impossible. It is the objective reality which imposes itself on them, when they see that it is possible to go to power, but it is necessary to go 'arms in hands' and 'the ruling class does not abandon power voluntarily'. But, also, these are conclusions which come from the USSR and find an expression at a very high level in the Conference of Havana. That these conclusions come from Moscow, is demonstrated by the support which the USSR is giving to the revolutionary masses of the world, to Vietnam and to the formation of Workers Councils in Portugal. The USSR has already warned Shlessinger that 'limited nuclear war' will not be seen in this way by the USSR, and that the Communist system will triumph. The USSR is now discussing the experience of Stalin: that Stalin was wrong to let the Soviet Union be invaded; they criticise Stalin and in this way declare to imperialism that they are not going to let the same happen again.

There is still a bureaucracy in the USSR, and the Communist parties still function as apparatuses, but 'the world is ready for Communism', as has said Comrade Posadas. This is really what is imposing itself on the Communist movement, and this finds a qualitative expression in the USSR, qualitative because it is there that the decisions for world strategy against imperialism are taken. The USSR already concentrates this process, and itself advances on a road which is no longer one of complete conciliation with the capitalist system, but increasingly one of confrontation with it. Another very vivid example of the fact that the USSR decides this process is proved by the Prague Conference recently, where Ladislav Novotny of the Czechoslovak Communist Party condemned (in the name of the Conference) the 'revisionism' and the policy of conciliation at all costs, which has affected the whole of the Communist movement and particularly the Italian Communist Party. This is a direct intervention of the USSR and, moreover, animates a whole process of unification of the Communist parties on the basis of finishing with reformism, the old conceptions of 'non-interference in other parties' affairs,' etc. All these

conceptions are overthrown and the forthcoming World Communist Conference is being prepared on the road of correction of the objectives (power, not conciliation); of the policy (with arms, not with concessions); of the method, Marxism (not the bankrupt belief that the ruling class will let us take its power away gradually!). This is the way in which the USSR is preparing the world Communist movement for the next stage. The declarations in Havana are part of this, even if they are not directly in preparation for the world Conference.

**It is the nationalised economy that decides**

All this is a clear confirmation of the line of Comrade Posadas who foresaw this process of Partial Regeneration which developed from the time of the victory of the Soviet Workers State in Stalingrad. He saw that this process was determined by the structure of the Workers State in spite of the bureaucracy, which shows the legitimacy of the Workers State in history. The Workers State transcends the bureaucracy and, in the class struggle, it determines the course of history, not the bureaucracy. In this stage of the final confrontation between world imperialism and the system of the Workers States, the Workers States are increasingly deciding according to the defence of the nationalised, planned economy, less and less according to the conservative, egotistic interests of the bureaucracy.

The interests of the bureaucracy should logically conduce the USSR to decentralise the economy, to stimulate inter-bureaucratic conflicts, to stimulate private interests, to conciliate with capitalism, to isolate itself from the world revolutionary and Communist movements. However, the USSR is acting increasingly according to the necessity of centralising production, unifying the system of the Workers States (preparing another World Conference

of Communist parties), diminishing privileges in the USSR, confronting more and more capitalism, and supporting the world revolution and the left in the Communist parties! This is an objective process which objectively isolates the right wing in the Communist, the Socialist, the Labour and Social Democratic movements and parties. It goes towards identifying the Communists with workers control, workers councils, as in Portugal, leaving people like Soarez out. It has the inescapable effect of smashing all that is left of parliamentarianism. The unavoidable and beautiful future is Communism in the world, and in Britain. This means the inevitability of the construction of a left in the Labour Party which understands this process and organises itself according to it.

**The right is being isolated:**

We call on the left Labour comrades, on the trade union left, to discuss this objective world process which goes in their favour and is going to assist the formation of an organised left in the Party and the trade unions and, indeed, is going to impel it with the force of the world revolution. History constructs the instruments it needs. We call on the comrades to base their understanding on the significance of the declaration of the Latin American Communist parties, on the central importance of the progress and role of the USSR in the world, and on the intervention of the USSR in Britain itself. The visit of Shelepin, as Posadas has already analysed, meant that the USSR is seeking to make a tendency in Britain, on the basis of which it is going to be able to help constructing Communism. The Labour left must welcome this, and reject the invitation made by Hayward to Soarez. They must discuss the texts of Posadas which show that the world is ready for Communism, and that Britain is ready for Communism, and give the programme, the method, the foresight and the conscious understanding of how to construct Communism. The objective world process is ready for intervening to make Britain go to Communism, and the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions has to absorb, study and apply Marxism, which means in this stage: Posadism.

Reproduced from 'Le Monde', 18th June 1975. (French bourgeois newspaper).

The Communist parties of Latin America affirm that the conquest of the revolutionary movements must be defended 'with arms'.

Havana (AFP): The Conference of Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean met this week in Cuba and proposed to the parties of the Latin American left in spirit of a 'mutual respect' to obtain 'a frank and total analysis' to lead to unity and to accelerate the conquests of the 'second independence' of the continent.

'The revolutionary struggle in Latin America', declared the document, 'is a hard battle in which all the forces which oppose Yankee imperialism have their own positions. And against imperialism the revolutionary movement must know how to utilise different forms and methods of struggle'.

According to the delegates present in Havana (the Communist parties of the United States and Canada participated as observers), the recent case of Chile shows that all the forms of taking power by the democratic road can be used, but the revolutionary movement 'must defend its conquests with armed force'. After what happened in Chile, declared the document, 'the validity of the Marxist-Leninist conception is confirmed, according to which the old ruling classes do not abandon power voluntarily; they will defend it with all the means they have'.

In order to confront this and so that the working class does not find itself isolated, it is necessary, according to the document, 'to apply a policy of broad and flexible alliances so as to obtain a homogeneous and single leadership within the forces of the anti-imperialist coalition'.

The adopted resolution indicates that the Latin American bourgeoisie has for a long time lost the possibility of playing a leading role which now belongs to the proletariat, whose 'independence must never be subordinated to immediate gains although the incorporation of bourgeois sectors into the broad front of the anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic struggle possesses great importance'.

For the Communist parties of Latin America and the Caribbean, 'North American imperialism is the common and principal enemy'.

'Nationalism', assert the Communists, 'must be transformed into an anti-imperialist and revolutionary position to the extent that the popular forces enter with resolution into the battle and the contradictions between the nationalist governments of the continent and imperialism increase'.

'The three great currents of our epoch', continues the document, 'which are the world socialist system, the international working class and the movement of national liberation, converge to struggle against imperialism'.

The Conference of the Communist parties in Havana has elsewhere condemned energetically the 'harmful policy of the Communist Party of China'. The Communist parties of Latin America accuse the Chinese Communist Party of 'stimulating pseudo-revolutionary groups who only have a revolutionary facade, but they divide the left and attack the Communist parties, they block the progressive process and very often serve as agents of the enemy in the heart of the revolutionary movement'.

**Fundamental texts by comrade Posadas on the PARTIAL REGENERATION, recently published.**

'Economic development and the cleansing in the Workers States', 7.10.1974. Published in Red Flag 235.

'The term: State Capitalism, and the construction of Socialism', 4.1.1975. Published in Red Flag 242.

'The bureaucracy and the historic function of the Workers States' 15.2.1975. Published in Red Flag 244.

'The meaning, the different senses and objectives of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and in the Workers States'. 14.2.1975. Published in Red Flag 245.

PRICE: 5p —

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

# The polemic in the world communist movement offers the revolutionary perspective for the Labour left

## EDITORIAL

The crisis of ideas and functioning in the Labour Party can only find a solution in the adoption of Marxism. Empiricism, the outlook fundamentally of capitalist society, the provision of short term answers, is manifestly incapable. In every aspect of life, capitalism is decomposing. Its cultural superstructure consists of bestiality, its mental capacity is reduced to the instinct for assassination. Without strength, it desperately looks to the old apparatuses to the social democracy and the right in the world Communist parties to allow it to continue to exist. But the world process of Partial Regeneration of the Workers States and the Communist and Socialist parties limits, undermines and destroys these sectors. We are now seeing the development of polemics and discussions in the world Communist movement which, however inadequately argued, echo the days of the first seven years of the Soviet Workers State and approach problems raised by the left opposition and the Posadist IV International.

The intervention of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, through Pravda, is the most recent effort to resuscitate Leninist norms. We do not have the complete text, but it clearly represents a considerable decision and confidence of the CPSU, or its advanced sectors, to begin to confront the taking of power and the limitations in the existing mass and small Communist parties, where there is a lack of preparation to face the issue of taking power and actual resistance by rightist sectors. The article which comments on the 70th anniversary of the appearance of Lenin's work entitled 'Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution', makes the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat the immediate objective of the struggle for power, and this does not depend on the electoral road. This conclusion is not obscured by the old fashioned use of the term 'revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry', used for the 1905 revolution which was superseded by Lenin's adoption in practice of the permanent revolution in 1917, i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat based on the worker-peasant alliance. The emphasis on the fundamental role of the proletariat, rather than the current obsessions of some sectors of the Communist leaderships, who dissolve the role of the proletariat in broad fronts and electoral respectability; and the need for the use of violence to smash the inevitable reply of capitalism; extends the discussions further throughout the world workers movement and objectively re-emphasises the need for Marxism and the need for prepared Bolshevik parties to take the power.

This latest intervention is aimed to deepen the polemic which has already opened between the Italian and the Portuguese Communist Parties on the suppression of the counter-revolutionary right in Portugal and the superiority of the law of revolution to the requirements of parliamentary democracy and the interests of big business. Already Portugal has posed that the electoral road at the most can only be a stage in the revolutionary process, which inevitably passes through civil war and the active use of repressive measures against all the counter-revolutionary rubbish who try to prevent human progress. The Soviet intervention is seeking, on the basis of Leninism and the actual stimulus of the world situation, with events like Chile and Portugal, to establish norms of confrontation with capitalism, not the norms of conciliation. Inevitably, this is a break with the past - at previous conferences of the world Communist movement in 1969, for example, such fundamental problems were not raised although already, with the emphasis on the anti-imperialist united front, the world Communist movement was approaching such questions.

### THE POLEMIC CANNOT BE CONTAINED.

The reply of Marchais to the Soviet Union, trying to maintain the 'independence' of the French Party from Moscow, is the inevitable result of the separate corporate interests, local, regional, national, which develop in the absence of a functioning Communist International. The Italian Communist Party developed the theme of Poly-centrism as a means of evading centralisation and giving a margin of manoeuvre to the apparatus of the Italian Communist Party. The Stalinist mode of subordinating the Communist parties to the needs of the Soviet bureaucracy, led inevitably to this de-centralisation, when the conditions which gave rise to Stalin disappeared but the various apparatuses remained. In this new stage, whatever the resistances of the apparatuses, the inexorable process of Partial Regeneration, the unification of the proletariats of the world with the Workers States dictate that the apparatuses are not in the position to defend themselves as in the past. Differentiations take place ceaselessly: thus Marchais, who tries to maintain his 'independence' from the Soviet Union, is at the same time aligned with the Portuguese Communist Party against the line of the Berlinguer team who are paralysed and can only speak, when faced with great events of a revolutionary order, of 'democracy' and not Communism.

Comrade Posadas predicted such a situation after the Crimea conference of the Communist Party about two years ago. There is now an open polemic which cannot be contained or masked, and it goes to the heart of the world strategy and tactics of the Communist movement to overthrow imperialism and capitalism. At the same time it becomes more and more impossible for the present camarilla in China to maintain their present stance. Within China the development of strikes, the preoccupation with moral, as opposed to material incentives, and the total ineffectiveness of the present Chinese leadership to respond to any of the necessities of the Chinese Workers State and their inability on the other hand to maintain meaningful links with imperialism, are all symptoms of a very profound process. This impels the discussion of the objective interests of the Workers State, as opposed to bureaucratic interests, and the downfall of the present leadership. China cannot help but be involved with all the fundamental aspects of the present crisis in the world Communist movement, Portugal, the road to power, the need for prepared parties etc.

### IMPERIALISM AND CAPITALISM WILL NOT SURRENDER.

The determination of the CPSU to intervene in this way, even at the cost of apparent collisions with other Communist parties, is stimulated by the depth of the structure of the first Workers State founded on the basis of the October Revolution which, through the process of Partial Regeneration, obliges the Communist Party to intervene internationally on fundamental

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# The crisis of Lopez Rega and the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions. J Posadas 12.7.1975.

(CENTRE PAGES)

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG



organ of the

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

No. 248

Friday 15th August 1975

Price 5p

A RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL  
BUREAU

## NATIONALISATIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL, - THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THE SABOTAGE AND COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The present crisis of British capitalism is not episodic, or transitional, but part of the total and final crisis of world capitalism. The economic aspect has an importance, clearly, and there is a lowering of production and an enormous rise in unemployment in all the 'developed' capitalist countries, but this is neither fundamental nor does it determine. The crisis of capitalism is total; it is economic, political, military and, above all, social. Humanity has rejected capitalism and it has before it an economically and socially superior society - the Workers State. It is the conjunction of these two factors - the total crisis of capitalism and the proven superiority of a society based on a nationalised, planned economy - which has destroyed any conception of reforming capitalism, or of finding a 'half-way house' between capitalism and the Workers State. The final collapse of the motorcycle industry in this country proves this and proves also the absolute correctness of the condemnation by the workers of Norton Villiers Triumph (NVT), of the setting up of the Meriden 'workers co-operative'. They, and ourselves, demanded at that time the nationalisation of the entire industry and now, with the threat of redundancy facing 2,000 or more workers, we repeat that demand for the nationalisation of the whole enterprise under workers control and without compensation to the previous owners. We appeal to the Labour Party and trade union left, to the Communist Party militants, to the shop stewards committees and to the 'leftist' groups, to give full support to the workers of NVT in occupying the factories at Meriden, Wolverhampton and Small Heath in order to impose workers control as a prelude to nationalisation by the Labour government. It is necessary to make this experience, this action, not simply as an end in itself - correct as this may be - but as a focus, as an organising centre to generalise it nationally. This is the way in which rising unemployment and the threat of even greater unemployment - which is, in part, the result of the anarchy of the capitalist system, but essentially a deliberate measure of civil war against the working class - has to be confronted.

### NO REFORMIST SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM!

The experience of NVT shows with great clarity the role of the 'workers co-operatives'. It is a measure, a policy, which is intended to find a base of support in a sector of the workers aristocracy - by holding out the possibility of 'owning' their own company - in order to confuse and divide the workers and to impede the imposition of workers control and nationalisation. It is a measure intended to give capitalism a little breathing space by containing the struggle of the working class. It is a failure because the consciousness of the working class, which is based on a world experience, on the factory occupations in France, on the Workers Commissions, and the measures of dual power of the Italian workers, on the imposition of nationalisation under workers control in Portugal, results in a rejection of reformist measures.

At the same time, as capitalism concentrates and the economy collapses, the 'small firms' are pushed to the wall anyway. The Meriden 'co-operative' was a nonsense from any point of view in its origins. It is necessary now, for the Labour Party and trade union left in particular, to draw the conclusions from the fact that the leading advocate of the Meriden 'co-operative' is now saying that high unemployment is the only solution to the crisis of capitalism and that the sector of the Labour left which is opposing the

present policy of the Labour government is 'mad'. Other advocates in the Labour Party and trade unions of 'workers co-ops' and 'participation' are saying nothing, but these reformist ideas still persist simply because the left does not put forward a consistent, coherent, anti-capitalist programme and policy. On the other hand the workers of NVT at Wolverhampton and Small Heath have consistently demanded the nationalisation of the whole industry.

This is not to say that these reformist policies indicate any strength on the part of capitalism. It is just the reverse! The idea of 'workers participation', of 'workers directors' is, in itself, a proposal intended to contain the struggle for workers control, but it gives no comfort to the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, it creates all kinds of problems for them and it allows the trade unions to intervene directly in the control of capitalist enterprises. It is a bureaucratic measure, certainly, but it limits and erodes the 'rights' of private property. The bourgeoisie are forced to consider the idea because they fear to confront the working class directly. In the final analysis - and in the not so distant future - the confrontation will come but a sector of the bourgeoisie prefers, at this moment, the policies of Wilson, which are to try to contain the class struggle. Even then the CBI reacts by opposing the idea of trade union representatives on the company boards, saying that it means that 'the trade unions will control everything'. These repre-

sentatives of the big concentrations of capital recognise that, on a world scale, the apparatuses of the trade unions and workers parties cannot control the workers at the base. NVT, UCS, the miners strike, the present struggle of the print workers at the 'Observer', the intervention of the steel workers, the programme of nationalisation adopted by the AUEW all show that the working class is not going to pay for the crisis of capitalism. And it shows that they base themselves on - and express - a whole world experience, on the 140 or so factories occupied by the French workers, on the measures of dual power imposed in Italy, on the workers councils in Portugal and, above all, on the Workers States.

### IMMEDIATE WORKERS CONTROL IN THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRY.

NVT, at this moment, is a focus of attention and must become an organising centre but, at the same time, all the working masses are faced with a deliberate policy of economic terrorism on the part of the bourgeoisie and their allies, in the Labour government. Unemployment, the lowering of the standard of living through inflation - and the deliberate devaluation of the currency - and the limiting of wage increases, are being used as a weapon against the working class. They are measures of civil war. The CBI threatens a level of unemployment 'never before known' and the sacking of 35,000 workers is being proposed in the steel industry. This is terrorism. It is the same as the constant assassination of the masses in Northern Ireland by British imperialism, only it takes another form in this country. At the same time there is a loss of jobs in British Rail and attempts to sack workers in the newspaper industry. Some left Labour MPs, under the pressure of the class, are already opposing the anti-working class policies of the government, and supporting the full nationalisation of NVT. However, the problem is not simply with NVT and the fact that the British Steel Corporation (BSC) is already nationalised - so is British Rail - shows that there is no solution in simply nationalising this or that enterprise and leaving it submitted to the crisis, incapacity and lack of interest in anything but profit of the capitalist system. Part of the problem of NVT - and with British Leyland and, in part, with the steel industry - is that they are producing something for which there is little demand and even less necessity.

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# The Crisis of Lopez Rega and the Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

J. Posadas

12.7.75

It is necessary to salute the masses of Argentina for the action which they have carried out and their contribution to the development of the progress of history. It is necessary to take what has happened in Argentina as part of the world process. It is the result of a policy and of an orientation of a process where there is no leadership. The trade unions have taken the initiative without being leaderships of the left. They do not favour a programme for an anti-capitalist solution. They uphold a series of measures to contain the great pressure which exists in the factories, among the masses, and also certain measures of alliance with the nationalist sectors of the army for the development of the economy. The leaderships have a limit in what they are doing. They do not want disturbance, or a revolutionary or important change. The trade union leaderships want to throw a series of ministers out who carry on a policy which leads to confrontation with the masses. But it is not a question of demands but of a general situation in which the masses are above the leaderships.

The army and the left Peronists receive the influence, the pressure and the stimulus of the world process, and the stimulus which means the weakness of capitalism, the weakness of imperialism, and that the people are ready to go much further than the wishes of the leaderships. Hence the declaration of the trade union leaders: 'The changes are necessary, Lopez Rega has to go, wage increases conceded and a more popular policy developed or in a week the left will by-pass us'. It's the first time they have made such a declaration. They see that they are in a ship which is going down. Hence this campaign. And in the army also. But in the combination of army and trade union leaderships - which is not the same as the trade unions because the masses are to the left of them - there is not a defined, programmed, foreseen and developed perspective. The development of the tendencies of the left is going to seek to exert pressure, in the army, in Peronism, and in the workers movement. There cannot be a solution that remains at the tranquil level of an anti-Lopez Rega solution.

The policy of Lopez Rega was not only an economic policy for an increase in prices, and not an increase in wages. It was a political conception which pushed it into alliance with imperialism. And what has been defeated also with Gomez Morales, was the policy against agreements with the Workers States. Whilst Rega made this policy, Argentina went to all the anti-imperialist meetings, it participated in all of them, including the meeting which demanded the return of Cuba to the OAS. It means that this is an internal contradiction which has still not been resolved with this momentary solution. But it has already opened the road for much more profound solutions.

It is necessary to follow attentively what is happening in Argentina because it is going to influence the rest of the world. What links it with the rest of the world is the trade union-army alliance, in which the line is not that of the army but that of the trade unions. This is important for Spain. In Portugal it is also developing. Also in Ethiopia, soon in Chile and Bolivia.

The process takes this form in Argentina. It indicates the series of conditions for solutions when the political leaderships find no solution. For example, in Italy and France. If the political leaderships do not give a solution, the trade unions are going to seek support of the army, even in very developed countries like France and Italy. There are already symptoms of this. In Italy thirty NCOs rebelled against discipline; corporals and sergeants refused to accept discipline, in defence of an NCO who was disciplined because he said the meal was bad. This unleashed a rebellion of thirty NCOs who left the food and didn't apologise to the officers. It's a battle of Potemkin in Italy when this happens, it's not because it's a protest over the food. The food is the occasion for the event, but the reasons come from before. It is a beautiful process which does not come from the meal, but from Portugal. In part it is Spain, Ethiopia, but essentially the Workers States and the masses of Italy, France, Britain and Germany.

In Britain the trade union leaderships accept the containing of the increase in wages. They have accepted it by a small margin of votes. But the NUM demands the reduction from 36 to 29 hours work with the same salary. On one hand the trade unions accept the reduction of wages, and on the other hand, the NUM imposes a resolution which is infinitely superior. And among the small and middle businesses there's a panic because they feel that they are not going to be able to survive, businesses are going to have to close.

It is necessary to see this process in Argentina as a more elevated concentration of measures, of political organs, of organisation, which shows to the rest of the world the solution and how it can be achieved. At the same time it shows the incorporation of the army in alliance with the trade unions, directly and with a very great weight of the trade unions, although it may be the tendency of the centre of the leaderships of the trade unions which for now benefits. The masses have seen what the road is: it is not the Peronist party, but it is the trade unions exerting a pressure on the Peronist party. The masses have seen this and they are going to come back to this. And one of the demands of the soldiers is for democratic rights and this is against the right.

## DEVELOP A PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS.

What has happened in Argentina is a very great advance in the level of struggles. They are struggles which still do not have a leadership and for this they cannot define themselves, but already they open the way to a much more elevated level, much more elevated.

The bureaucracy of the trade unions, like the Peronist leadership and the army, the tendencies of the right, is going to try to contain; and now come new increases in prices, unemployment, and the closing of factories. Then it is necessary to make a series of propositions, that the state takes over enterprises, and nationalises under workers control, and gives credit to the state enterprises: not a government of the CGT but a popular government with a programme of the left to develop the tendencies. Now there are not the conditions for a government of the CGT, as the CGT of the left is a very small minority. It is necessary to use this situation to give a solution of trade union alliance with parties and army to see that the Campora tendency develops towards the Socialist programme and a united front with the Communists. It is necessary to explain to the Communists, to the Peronists, and to the Socialists of the left, why it is necessary to support the development of a Peronist movement of the left. If we wait for the Communists and Socialists to win, there is no immediate solution in advance. But these tendencies which have the support of the masses, like Campora, can give a very great impulse to the revolutionary development. Afterwards comes the stage of the Communists and the Socialists and ourselves. We do not work as a function of local interests, of a corporate interest, of a party. It is necessary to act as an objective property of history, not seeing the process in accordance with our

party. This has to be explained to the Communist comrades.

In Argentina it is necessary to take into account that this process is an expression of struggle, a much more elevated activity than the proletariat has developed until now, and of the crisis of capitalism, and also of the workers leaderships. This shows the maturity of the conditions to stimulate nationalist wings in the understanding, the maturing, the acceptance of the programme of left nationalism, to take these proposals, to nationalise Bunge and Born and the rest, to develop a campaign and extend it, for the necessity of the planning of the economy to advance from backwardness, to discuss a great deal over nationalisation, statification, and the planning of the economy, and why the necessity of workers control. It is necessary to show that workers control means

the struggle and the opposition to waste, bureaucratisation, empiricism and superficiality; and to the interests of groups at the cost of the economy of the country. It is necessary to propose a programme of the economy and development, showing that the solution is planning. It is necessary to show this, at the same time showing the comparison with the Workers States. They have gone from nothing - Hungary was a stable and nobody knew that Rumania and Yugoslavia existed - to an enormous development of these countries. Albania was a place where they lived in holes; today it exports machines. There is neither misery nor unemployment. It is necessary to pose these examples and discuss at the same time the necessity of Soviet democracy: not democracy in the abstract, but Soviet, Socialist democracy, democracy where the population can intervene in the elaboration of thought, of the control of the economy of distribution, considering the possibilities of the economic limitations, but showing that it is possible to triple production with planning of the economy.

It is possible to triple the production of the economy, eliminating the costs of police, army and the administration of the forces of repression. It is necessary to discuss all this. This is going to help the Peronists to pass from nationalism to understand that 'the fatherland and nationalism are processes of a part of history'. The Indians of Peru are passing from the veneration of the Inca, to involvement with the construction of Socialism.

It is necessary to be based on theoretical examination to advance towards concrete solutions: workers control, workers councils, factory councils, councils in the workers zones, and they are necessary because these have the objectivity to lead the economy and also the ability. The workers are capable. In Italy, as in France, they have occupied factories of up to 1,200 workers and made them function better than the management. They show that it is the management which is in crisis, that it's no use. It is necessary to discuss that private property has been by-passed by history. It is not a question of a need for an increase in wages, but of the need for the development of life. This is the objectivity of history.

Our texts are aimed to show that it is not a question of a class that fights for itself, but that the working class represents progress, that its ideas have to be in accord with the needs of progress, not because the workers are going to eat better, but for the progress of all the population. The proof is that a great number of bourgeois families go over to Socialism, not only in Laos and Vietnam, but in Portugal also. This is also the case with the church.

## CREATIVE FUNCTION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

It is necessary to show the ne-

cessity for workers councils because these have an objective opinion. The planners, the managers, the capitalist administrators, and politicians, have a local interest: the interest of a group, of a tendency or a sector, and the mentality of private usufruct, of the usufruct of the family or the zone. The workers have the objective conclusion and define what is the best. Hence the workers assimilate immediately any experience in the world; thus May 1968 went everywhere. The working class accepts and assimilates the most elevated experience, and develops in a uniform way, centralising all the wealth of the progress of humanity. It doesn't have local or limited interests, but takes the best and develops it objectively. Hence the superiority of the working class, and hence it is the constructor of Socialism.

The working class, through its function in history, does not have local, personal or family interests. There are workers who have family interests, but these do not represent the working class. The working class is the class which enters, attracts and organises the activity against the capitalist system. It cannot oppose to the capitalist system a new system of property. To develop the economy, society and the world have to suppress every form of property. At the same time it has to plan and plan, in an objective form. Meanwhile the bureaucrats, the managers, the politicians of the bourgeois camp - the Socialists and Communists themselves - plan in accordance with the conception of property, of usufruct, of private benefit. They think in order to secure wages and representation for themselves. The workers don't do this; they give their sons to go to fight. It is necessary to record the mother in Vietnam - who is in Portugal, Ethiopia and Laos - who said: 'They killed my two sons in struggle; I have four more but they unfortunately still cannot go'. She did not abandon her sentiment as a mother, nor in any way was her sentiment as a mother diminished, but she was answering to the mothers of history. 'The Mother' of Gorky, has been superseded by Vietnam, not because she was bad, but because the conditions already require another kind of mother. And the mother is the one seen in Vietnam; this is the example.

In Argentina the concrete conclusion now is that this is in a phase of development, in which nothing has been finished. A process has begun and the task is that they have to organise the left in these conditions. The most evident fact and the most important is that they have had to smash arrogance and petulance and open a process of democratic demands: the right to speak, to discuss, to give an opinion on everything. It is necessary to elevate the role of the trade unions without abandoning support in parliament or in the radical left. The radical left has to be won, which is maturing and by-passing its own leaders. The petit bourgeois base - the working class is very small - can be won to a programme of nationalisations, statification, workers control, and the planning of production, and for complete democracy to discuss these problems.

It is necessary to develop the explanation, the considerations in the sense of which democracy is not the right to say what you want, and to do what you want - that is for assassins and capitalists - but democracy for progress, complete freedom to discuss and no liberty for the multi-nationals, as they call them. There is no freedom for conspiracy against the masses, there is no freedom to impose on the masses a living death. We are all against all this.

The present stage which is opening is one of immense conditions for the development of the Peronist left, the Communists, the

radicals, and it is necessary to have a united front. It is necessary to appeal for a united front on a programme of nationalisations, planning, and the intervention of workers control, and to discuss also with the army. The function of the army must be as in Portugal; that it intervenes. But, as we have said and we say, the army does not represent politically or socially the thought or the necessity of the organisms which discuss and live the political, economic and social problems of the country. The army cannot of itself resolve the problems. It can be at the head, it can dominate for a time, it can mature enormously, but it needs inevitably the alliance with the trade unions. Portugal and Argentina are the example, but for this a programme of nationalisation and planning is necessary.

## THE FUNCTION OF THE TRADE UNION AND THE ARMY.

In Argentina the intervention of the army is timid and irresolute, and it is going to mature much more. There are tendencies much more to the left than those that exist now, in this crisis. Here we see the high command which reflects indecision, fear and the conception of the apparatus. They have a conception of apparatus. On the other hand, it is necessary to see and measure, to compare, to develop the ideas that in Portugal the army secured the power, the representation of power, the progress of Portugal, because it gave participation to the soldiers in an intervention of Soviets. Before supporting them outside, there were already Soviets in the army, even if in an imperfect form. But there were already Soviet forms. And the Communist Party of Portugal was not against this, which shows the profound changes which are going to come in the Communist parties.

The Soviets were not a necessity of Lenin, but a necessity of history which Lenin represented. And, in his turn, Lenin took it from the peasants, from the soldiers and workers of the Russian Revolution of 1905, and it was not the Communist Party which proposed this. It was an initiative of the Russian masses of that time, which shows that the people, through their situation, through their function, led by the proletariat which has the most objective ideas, the most general and useful ideas, finds a support and acceptance. The Russian peasants had already accepted the Soviets, and this was in 1905. There were peasants and workers, small peasant proprietors and owners. It was a semi-feudal epoch, and it is necessary to make this known.

The intervention of the army in Argentina, although good, is very partial and does not represent the real tendencies of the left which have to develop in the next stages. But what is clear and decisive is the force of the level of this stage. It is a very beautiful stage which is developing in Latin America, not only in Argentina. In Brazil a similar case is happening. There is a very important military tendency which is seeking to free itself from imperialism, because it sees that the economy is collapsing. And they see that this is going to go towards a Portuguese situation. They work as a function of preventing what is happening in Portugal, but also there are sectors which see that this is the road of progress. It is not only fear to contain something worse that might happen, but also because there are sectors who see that such a road is necessary for the development of the country. They work as 'nationalists with a national sentiment', but they take ideas that do not correspond to 'national sentiments' like the Portuguese or Argentinian soldiers. What is happening in Argentina or Latin America is going to exercise a profound influ-

ence throughout all the world revolutionary and world workers movement. It is going to influence in the crisis of the Communist parties who are going to see that the ideas, that the proposals, that the initiative do not come from the Communist parties. Carrillo, from the Spanish Communist Party, is proposing now a 'democratic Socialism', stimulating tendencies to doubt, to vacillation. to incoherence on the centralised ideas of Socialism.

This process in Argentina is going to stimulate and give an orientation to the revolutionary movements on what to do, to animate them to take measures and initiatives to break a certain passivity, and acquiescence which, without arriving at total immobility, waits for forces to impel them. This is going to show that imperialism is not all powerful. Imperialism has strength and means, but it cannot resolve any problem. The process is going to show that the strength where these forces have to find support are the trade unions and the parties which, though small, have ideas.

Peron had to give explanations to his trade union bureaucracy two years ago. He had to give them because he saw that there was a preoccupation and interest in the Argentinian workers vanguard to be preoccupied with world problems, with theory, Marxism and the Workers State. Then he tried to contain and to regulate by means of the reforms of the national bourgeoisie, using anti-imperialist progressive measures. He tried to contain the process, but at the same time, to lead the orientation if this escaped from his hands. They do not give these courses which Peron gave in the CGT, believing it was possible to construct a capitalist state. They do not give courses like that, where he posed 'Socialism is good, it is legitimate, but it is still not here'.

In the trade union field the bureaucracy of Argentina is developing corporate, careerist interests. To do this it is going to have to make a certain progress, it is not going to have any other choice. We are going to support progress, but meanwhile it is necessary to struggle for complete trade union and political democracy, so that the proletariat can speak, discuss, resolve and compare, so that in the factories they discuss, all this progress and an economic programme with workers control, in which is included the unification of Latin America; and unification means the later planning of Latin America, making a discussion for the economic and social planning of Latin America by means of developing the economy, planning production and nationalising the principle factories, the centres of production and exchange, with the intervention and control of the working class. These are the problems which are now in process of discussion.

#### THE PROCESS WILL NOT END WITH THE FALL OF LOPEZ REGA

The fall of Lopez Rega has not finished with the problem, but it has shown that the advance which they pushed forward is coming from below, and the most important conclusion is that the army has been attracted to intervene and the trade union bureaucracy also. It has been obliged to do this because it has been a process which came from below and which has obliged the trade union leadership to take a position before being by-passed, with the masses conquering infinitely more. This means that very great difficulties have been created for the capitalist system, which opens the way for class conquests, nationalisations, workers control and the participation of the workers in the economy.

The army yielded as the least evil. But, at the same time, because there is a tendency which coincides with its own aspirations to develop the economy, to develop the country, without going to Communism and Socialism. Already the discussion is open, already it is not being discussed which capitalist road to follow, but what is the road for the develop-

ment of the country. This is one aspect. The other aspect is that it is necessary to give participation to the workers movement, so that they discuss in factories, in assemblies, in workers areas, everywhere. To discuss this process is one of the most important conclusions. It is not a question of a stage which is finishing and everybody goes home. No; it has to be discussed in the factories, in the trade unions, in the workers areas, in the football stadiums, in the cafes; but there has to be a discussion with the programme, the working class must participate by means of factory councils, or of workers control, in the conduct of the economy. This is democracy! It is not only the technicians who organise the economy, but the workers who have to intervene who also run the economy. The technicians represent the capitalists, the workers represent the working class. The technician has a private interest. Capitalism means, in competition all the immense waste of human energy, in production and capacity for work which is not utilised because competition annuls all this. On the other hand, the working class does nothing through means of competition, but develops what is necessary without competition. All this has to be discussed.

The working class has to participate, it has to form organs of discussion, and in that, the right for all the tendencies to be represented, so that all the currents participate, so that in all the factories, factory newspapers are produced in which the economy is discussed. And it is necessary to appeal to the army to intervene and to discuss with the workers, so that the workers go from the trade unions to the barracks to discuss with the soldiers, and so that the soldiers go to the trade unions, to public conferences, and to the factories, to discuss with the workers. We agree about constructing 'a great Argentina, powerful and outstanding', but for who, how and why?

It is now a very firm characteristic of history, that in all the revolutionary processes, the workers go to the barracks. But this is a deficiency of the parties. Trotsky went to the barracks and also the Bolsheviks, but now there are cases in which they go in an individual form as factories and groups. It is backward, it is not bad, but it is backward, because it should be done in the form of a greater authority, to go to discuss with the soldiers a plan of production, of control and discussion for the development of the economy.

When we say that the process in Argentina is an effect of the world process, it does not negate the local conditions nor the local struggles. Without the local struggles, it is not possible to receive the influence of the world process nor to contribute to the world influence. It is a process which is fed and sustained by the general struggles, by the partial struggles, by the complete and general struggles of the proletariat, and through the weakness of the capitalist system. At the same time one of the essential aspects of this process in Argentina, which impels, has been the votes to the Communist and Socialist parties in Italy. There was a growth of 6% in relation to the total percentage of votes. But the Communist Party increased its number of votes by 2 million, that is to say, a 20% increase in votes. This happens only in the case of revolutions, it is not a normal expression, it is not an expression of a public opinion which has been irritated or exasperated. These votes were previously represented in strikes, in stoppages, in occupations, in meetings, and in anti-capitalist mobilisations. In this way, the Italian masses showed that they were going to vote Communist or Socialist, that they were going to vote for the left. Argentina forms part of this total world complete process. It's not that it depends on it, nor that the world process has caused what has happened in Argentina; but it feeds it, and the essential condition is the weakness of the capitalist system which shows itself impotent to solve

the problems which it has itself created. It is a problem of its crisis, of its competition which has no solution. It doesn't have the base to resolve it, but the working class wants to resolve it, and this stimulates and impels their leaderships and by-passes them. In Italy the working class has by-passed its leadership. The leadership of the Communist and Socialist Parties continue negotiating with the capitalist parties, but the masses act independently of them.

#### THE MASSES ARE WAY ABOVE THE LEADERS.

What has happened in Argentina is much more profound than appears on the surface. There is no leadership and now there is a process of organising a new leadership, a leadership with a programme of the left to solve the problems of Argentina. The events in Portugal affirm the conclusion that they can take power, affirm power without great economic means, and that they have the capacity to win the armies. The masses of the world see this and now in Argentina. Argentina, from the capitalist point of view, is more developed than Portugal, it has a more complete economic development. This means that what has happened in Argentina is going to have a great influence on the world Communist movement and in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Only when the world is developing a revolutionary process which by-passes the leaderships can events like Argentina happen. From where do they draw their strength? Each worker sees the world, reads about the world, discusses it and draws just and correct conclusions. Portugal influences a great deal. There an army formed, prepared, and sustained to massacre, resolves to reject massacre and to construct Socialism with legitimate organisms which put into crisis the reformist sectors of the world Communist movement. The events in Portugal and Argentina are beautiful, showing as they do the historic function of the working class, which has not forgotten what it has to do. If it did not do it before, it is because it was not able to; but now it has impelled the army to intervene. Hence the trade union bureaucrats say, either we do something or the left takes power. What they are doing now is to prolong the process, but for a very little time.

This crisis of Argentina has already developed on a line of advance. For now it's the apparatus which comes out to stop and contain. But it does this also because it forms part of its conception to make use of the situation as a trade union bureaucracy in front of the bourgeoisie or the allies of imperialism. It exchanges imperialism for the national bourgeoisie. But this, in itself, is already an impulse to the anti-imperialist struggle. It cannot canalise or contain, nor is this the epoch for such a process. Suddenly this bureaucratic sector of the trade unions supports Latin American unification. This cannot be done with bourgeois thought. Capitalism cannot unite Latin America. It is very beautiful to see the proletariat in such backward conditions as in Argentina with such a capacity for reasoning. How it reasons! It is necessary to realise that the French Italian and British proletariats are doing the same! They are doing this with a greater political maturity, because they have the experience of their parties. The petulant and arrogant leaders believe that they are the bosses and the geniuses. The masses are way above them. This is the meaning of Argentina, ten days of General Strike without guaranteed wages and with a standard of life half that of Europe. This is their will to struggle! This is the Argentinian 'May' achieved in ten days.

Argentina shows that Chile could have been avoided and that Chile was a transitory defeat has been shown by this. The events in Argentina will have an immense effect on the masses of Argentina themselves. They are going to see their capacity for action without a leadership, and that they were capable of mobilising and concentrating without breaking the trade unions. This is going to be an elevation of the organisation of the conscious opposition of the class, and it is going to eliminate small parties and groups and give to

authentic Peronism and the Montoneros an impulse for a better organisation. This means that the vanguard has found a response in the class which has responded well, and this is going to animate it to intervene in the trade unions.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the unification of the trade unions so that they orientate and lead the process, and so that they base themselves on the working class to discuss, and that the programme they must support is that of Huerte Grande and La Falda.

J. POSADAS 12th July 1975.

#### EDITORIAL

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problems, and on the basic fact that the proximity of the final encounter means that the leadership of the Soviet Union has to take steps to stimulate the overthrow of imperialism and capitalism on a world scale.

All this rich process of development which we welcome with joy because it imposes the necessity to discuss ideas, cannot be contained because it corresponds to the objective needs of the world process. The Workers States and the Communist parties are obliged to confront capitalism. The latter is moribund, but it will not surrender easily. Openly imperialism is preparing the war. Ford's comments on the possibility of another confrontation in the Middle East leading to collision between the United States and the Soviet Union are all part of the preparing of the bourgeois world for this encounter. The preparation for this war is the last initiative capitalism can take, Everywhere else it is impotent; it loses bases in Turkey, it's showpiece of Chile to try to frighten the masses of the world has simply alerted the masses, and all the forces of NATO cannot intervene directly in Portugal without provoking a major confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The Helsinki conference simply showed the gap between the diplomatic facades of detente and the reality of what is happening in the world. The agreements signed were meaningless, there was no possibility of arranging anything more tangible. And a few days after this parade of stuffed dummies, the Soviet Union intervenes to stimulate the Communist parties to take power irrespective of electoral considerations. Wilson's attempt to intimidate the Portuguese revolution finds no basis, just as his present crass attempts to intimidate the British working class end in failure. The visits of various bourgeois leaders, like Thatcher, to some of the Workers States is an effort to stimulate the Dubcek currents, but at a time when there is a constant liquidation of those strata in the process of cleansing constantly at work in the Workers States.

The implications of this process in the Communist parties and the intervention of the CPSU is fundamental for the forces of the left in the Labour Party to acquire a perspective by which to judge and intervene in the process in this country. The apparatuses who still largely govern the functioning of the Socialist parties are no longer in a position to determine

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## On revolutionary reformism. J. Posadas. 14.2.75

The definition of revolutionary reformism stems from this stage of history. Before the conditions did not exist for revolutionary reformism. Reformism in history is known because the Socialist Parties - and afterwards the Communist Parties - made the policy aimed at changing the leadership of the capitalist system, to impose changes in the capitalist system to achieve reforms, developed in Parliamentary forms, and with reformist trade unionism, waiting for the time when they would be in the leadership of the country. They did not have any proposals or revolutionary programme for a change in the economy, they were simply administrators of the capitalist regime. This was reformism.

The Communist Parties now aspire to go to the government, not through means of revolution, but through parliamentary electoral means, based on strikes and mass movements. But they aspire to go to the government, and whilst being in government not to administer the capitalist system, but to liquidate it through parliament. It is a reformist method with revolutionary objectives. Hence we call it revolutionary reformism. The method is reformist, the objective is revolutionary.

In this epoch they can make the beginning of these conclusions through the weakness of the capitalist system. The essential basis of the weakness of the capitalist system is the existence of fourteen Workers States, which is the most elevated form of the class struggle. It is more elevated than all the trade unions combined. All the trade unions combined create difficulties for the administrative power of capitalism. But the Workers States question, threaten and overthrow capitalist power, the capitalist class and capitalist society. The measure of the class struggle is established by the Workers States, not the strikes or the Communist or Socialist Parties.

At the same time one must not separate the big strikes and the struggles of the Workers States.

This gives such a force to the Communist, Socialist military, Catholic, left nationalist movements that, basing themselves on the existence of the Workers States, they orientate themselves to make transformations through government. But once this is begun, this process cannot be detained or contained, because it advances beyond them. The method is reformist, but the objective is to transform society. Hence we say that revolutionary reformism does not mean that this is an unalterable, constant process, but it is full of doubts, vacillations and retreats. This is a process which has to be understood, our critical judgement, our attitude and judgement, before this policy of the Communists is not the same as that of the Socialist Parties which collaborated with capitalism.

The Communists want to go to power and want to eliminate capitalism. They have measures which are necessary within this revolutionary-reformist game with capitalism. Our attitude is not one of unyielding condemnation but of critical exposition, of critical judgement, to impel the Communist Party to the maximum possible, while we educate, showing the unalterable, necessity of civil war, which capitalism promotes anyway, with the advantage for us that we have the experience of Chile, that capitalism cannot decide when, how and where it can launch it.

# Full support for the permanent revolution in Portugal

THE LABOUR LEFT MUST REPUDIATE THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY INTERVENTION OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL.

The actions of Soares are a conscious attempt to try and organise the counter-revolution in Portugal. It is for this reason that no invitation whatsoever should be extended to Soares by the Labour Party; on the contrary, he should be denounced for the role he has been playing against the establishment of Socialism in Portugal. Soares has never campaigned for a Socialist programme — all he can do is scream about the working class and the MFA taking away the democracy of the bourgeoisie! This has also been the role of the Social Democratic leaders, including Wilson, who would like to carry out the traditional act of the Social Democracy — betrayal. The decision of the 'Socialist International' to organise an international committee to support the counter-revolutionary policy of Soares is an action born of desperation. The bourgeois leadership of the Social Democracy would like to continue a policy which allows it to retain a link with the working class base of the Socialist Parties, but this support for Soares is going to rupture this link even more than it is already ruptured. However, the level reached by the world revolution forces them to defend what is left of capitalism — and thus they hasten their own final removal from the Socialist Parties. This action of the 'Socialist International' has to be condemned by the Labour and trade union left, by all the workers movement, and in its place a policy of full support for the forces which advance the permanent revolution in Portugal — the MFA, the Communist Party, the left of the Socialist Party, the trade union centre, and the workers councils — has to be adopted. It is also necessary to ask these great defenders of democracy — Wilson, Schmidt, and Co. — by what democratic process in the Socialist Parties, in the Labour Party, was the decision to support Soares obtained? And the answer, none, shows what kind of democracy they defend. This may be their intention; however history is not going to allow them to do so: because all economies in order to develop have to nationalise their productive forces, and hence there is no perspective of reversing the nationalisations already imposed by the masses in Portugal. History is going towards Communism inevitably, and the old Social Democracy, despite its attempts to repeat its

betrayal of the German Revolution of 1918, in Portugal now, find no strength to do this. They have to contend with the repudiation of their right-wing policies in their own countries.

A process of change (partial regeneration) is constantly developing in the Social Democratic and Communist parties. This is the reason why the Social Democratic leaderships can no longer carry out the role they, as individuals, would like to pursue. The basis of Partial Regeneration is the fact that now there are 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States, which show that the revolutionary developments are indeed on a world scale. The Workers States, since their structure is the planned economy, allow continuous expansion and development of science and technology, in sharp contrast to the collapsing capitalist economies. As the capitalist countries can no longer compete with the Workers States, and the revolution is advancing everywhere, the Workers States are given greater confidence. The pressure of the Soviet masses, who defeated the Nazis in order to defend the planned economy, obliges the bureaucracy to intervene to help other revolutionary movements. Because of these conditions, the Workers States take the initiatives, not capitalism. Capitalism is isolated and feels its impotence to stop the further collapse of its structures. Thus the weakness of capitalism is shown when they can only utilise the Social Democracy to try and contain the revolution. Yet, as capitalism is in its final crisis, it cannot perpetuate control of the aristocracy of Labour based on material and social gains, and so there is no possibility of the Social Democracy maintaining the old perspective of reforming the system and blocking the revolution. Hence, the conditions for the previous policy and tactics of the Social Democracy are no longer. A complete reversal of the conditions of 1918 have occurred, the revolution advances, the Workers States have enormous influence and are numerous not isolated. Even if the capitalist system was able to offer concessions the population is not interested in purely material gains, but seeks superior social relations.

Precisely why the armies are now becoming so prominent in many of the movements developing towards

Socialism, is because the political parties themselves have not responded to these pressures. The Socialist and Communist parties are unprepared theoretically for the developments taking place all over the world at the present time. It required a small decided team of the MFA in Portugal, which had been influenced so much by the masses of the world that they were able to change from being assassins to becoming a leading revolutionary force. It is true that there may also be indecision in the MFA. If so, this is due to no fault of their own, but is a consequence of past limitations of the world Communist and Socialist movement, who have given no direction or ideas to the armies that have wanted to go forward. The function of a political party should be to give a programme for the development of the economy, and the policy to implement such a programme. It is not a question of giving the working class the decision to overthrow capitalism; they already have such decision; but a party should give ideas to lead society.

The Social Democracy has never given an example of how to construct Socialism, anywhere in the world. Wilson and a large sector within the Social Democratic parties, are against Socialism, and because the parties themselves were structured into the capitalist system, the apparatus has functioned in the past to maintain the capitalist system and to block any advances to Socialism. However, the Labour Party cannot act as a consistent instrument of capitalism because the weight of the trade unions prevents this. The trade unions are the means by which the working class will impose the policies it desires, if the political parties do not respond.

## THE PORTUGUESE MASSES VOTED FOR SOCIALISM!

The elections in Portugal confirmed that the people voted massively for Socialism. The Socialist militants did not vote for Soares — they voted for the programme of the MFA. To think otherwise is to imagine that the working class in Britain votes for Wilson! There is a big part of the Socialist Party which repudiates Soares and the rest of the Socialist Party. Hence the need to discuss the best way to develop

Portugal. This discussion is not alien to the Labour Party, because all the problems which face Portugal at this moment are fundamental questions which are immediately raised when a process of nationalisations begins. Portugal is an experience from which the Labour Party should be drawing conclusions for the implementation of their programme of nationalisations.

Portugal has immediately refuted the parliamentary road to Socialism.

The bourgeoisie, although very weak are stimulating civil war, internally of the 'moderates' in the North (fascists, because they were quite happy under Salazar), and whipping up an anti-Communist campaign externally. The only reason that NATO has not invaded is because of the force of the USSR which will not allow another Chile. NATO previously would have invaded all these countries leaving the camp of imperialism or capitalism, but now it knows that if it did, it would lead to atomic war, and so they hesitate because they are not decided when to launch the war against the Workers States. The bourgeoisie have never yet given up without civil war, even when, as in Portugal, the vast majority of the population want Socialism. A class system is never persuaded out of existence. The conditions are not the same in each country, but the class system is the same and has to be smashed by force.

The counter-revolution would soon crumble if the army announced the arming of the population, shooting the leaders of the counter-revolution and the arrest of others, purging the army of all these against Socialism, the mobilisation of the tanks against the fascists. In the face of resistance from the bourgeoisie, the best method of defence is to move in hard against them. Anything less than this will inevitably mean a more complicated and bloody process. The army, trade unions, Communist and Socialist parties, should appeal for the population to complete the process of nationalisations by taking over the factories under workers control and seizure of the land. Soviets must be organised in every area for the population to discuss, to decide and run the economy and every other aspect of society: this is mass democracy and it is no wonder that the bourgeoisie are frightened when

they see this happening, because they know that they will be thrown out. Their democracy, in other words, exploitation will be finished. Appeals must be made for the Workers States to increase and elevate their technical, economic, military and, above all, political aid, and for the European proletariat to send aid. This would have an immense effect in the rest of Europe and would receive a great response.

The Labour Party left must understand the need for Marxism to foresee and interpret the events in Portugal. How is it possible to comprehend the reasons for the change in the mentality of the armies without a world analysis? This change is because the soldiers felt isolated, sent to repress the population, and they rebelled against this function. They felt the tremendous economic and social superiority of the Workers States, otherwise they would not be wanting to establish a planned economy. All these changes come not from local conditions, but from the influence of the world revolution attracting all sectors of the population to want to intervene to change society. Only Marxism can interpret these developments, and the Labour Party needs Marxism to be able to understand the situation in Britain. If the Labour Party left does not realise that the working class of the world influenced the assassin soldiers to change completely their function, then it cannot base itself on the very ripe conditions which exist, to be able to implement immediately and extend Labour's programme. The trade unions, shop stewards committees, Labour and Communist militants must campaign for unequivocal support to the revolutionary process in Portugal.

The experience of Portugal is a very rich one. Although there has already been the taking of power in 1917, the lessons have not been assimilated by the Socialist or Communist parties; hence an opportunity now of discussing fully all the problems confronting the masses in their struggle to change society. There must be widespread meetings, inviting the MFA, left Socialists, Communists and trade unions from Portugal, to discuss in the factories, shop stewards committees, workers areas, and Labour Party constituencies.

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*the will of the masses. The Socialist masses do not accept the line of the Socialist leaderships, which is why Soares is so impotent in Portugal — he can berate the military leadership, but he is incapable of organising the Socialist masses to overthrow the military government, because they, like the army, want Socialism and are not prepared to die for the bourgeois institutions of parliamentary cretinism. The perspective to advance to Socialism is not fixed by the timetable of parliamentary elections; it has to be fixed by the combination of the decision of the masses and the necessary programme and policy. There is room for the greatest optimism in this process, but it has to be based on the appreciation of what is happening in the world Communist movement and the Workers States because these — not the Socialist parties are the driving force, the centralisers of world history.*

*The Socialist parties in their present form have never built a Workers State and have never made any contribution to Marxist thought. Their past has been one of containing and breaking the working class. But now that history dictates a total transformation, they are obliged to pay attention to what is happening in the world Communist movement, realising that this takes its weight from the Soviet Union, the first Worker State constructed by a Bolshevik Party on the basis of Marxism. Without doubt as with crises within the world Communist movement, it involves a remorseless explosive liquidation of all those forces who resist the application of the anti-capitalist programme. It means theneed to strengthen the programme and relate it directly to the needs of the population and the intervention of the factories. It means above all, the end of domination by parliamentary conceptions. The slogan of the government of the left does not require an electoral mandate, objectively the conditions exist for its imposition by the trade unions, the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the masses on the basis of the liquidation of that sector of the government which resists Socialism. It is imposed in the confrontation of the classes and in the course of the process of applying anti-capitalist measure, even if not the most fundamental in the first stage the masses more and more weigh in their own organs and smash the resistance of capitalism in the process of civil war.*

### THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IS DECISIVE.

*The Soviet Union is trying to impel. Britain is part of the world structure leading to the final encounter. The force of the left in the union, the Labour Party and the shop stewards committees have to discuss publicly, as is happening in the world Communist movement, with local and national conferences to develop and extend the programme of the Labour Party constantly impelling the intervention of the masses in their own mass organs to substitute for the class organs of the bourgeoisie.*

10.8.1975.

## RESOLUTION from page 1

It is necessary to plan the economy for the benefit of the population, to produce for the needs of the population and this can only be done by the imposition of a programme of nationalisation of the fundamental centres of the economy: the banks, insurance companies and the land. And it does not require any further demonstration that this is not going to be done, cannot be done through parliament. The force to do it is the working class and the development of the organisms of the class — the shop stewards committees, the action committees, which begin to incorporate other sectors of the population — as organisms of dual power to occupy the factories and to run them under workers control. It is unacceptable that sackings are threatened and, partially, imposed in industries already nationalised. The demand has to be raised immediately for the removal of the bourgeois administrators, like Finniston and Marsh, and for workers control in all the nationalised industries.

The working class, on a world scale, has already demonstrated that it does not wait for the development of a political leadership prepared for the struggle for power. It uses the trade unions as political instruments and it creates the necessary organism to impose power in the factories; and in this way, attracts wide layers of the population — including the army — to the class and revolutionary struggle. This is the lesson of France, Italy, Portugal, Argentina. The trade unions are instruments which the class uses politically, but there is still the necessity of an

elevation of trade union democracy, of discussion and decisions, by the organisms in the factories, of conferences in which the delegates are elected directly by the workers who are subject to instant recall and to the decisions of those who elect them. We appeal for a National Conference of the base of the trade unions, of delegates from the factories to discuss the defence of those workers faced with unemployment and, together with this, the discussion and formulation of a programme of nationalisations under workers control of all major industry and the means to impose it — the workers committees in the factory and workers areas, and massive mobilisation to impose this programme on the Labour government. At the same time such a conference — and factory meetings — must give the right for all tendencies which support the basic anti-capitalist programme to intervene, to develop ideas. This means the Labour and trade union left, the Communist Party militants, the Trotskyist/Posadists and the 'Leftist' groups.

## THERE IS A NECESSITY FOR MARXISM IN THE LABOUR PARTY!

The working class uses its trade union and factory organisation as a political instrument, but the development of a conscious, organised leadership in the Labour Party, prepared to co-ordinate and lead the struggle for power, is a necessary factor and one which will accelerate the process of the struggle for power. We appeal, therefore, to the Labour Party left, both the parliamentary sector which opposes the present measures of the government, and the

sectors at the base of the Party to organise themselves as a tendency. This means to campaign for the programme of nationalisations of the Labour Party, to organise meetings and conferences, locally and nationally. They have to base themselves on the working class, on the factory organisation of the working class. It means the necessity to call for mobilisations on the demand for a government of the left, for the removal of those in the present Labour government who will not implement the programme and policy of the Labour Party and trade unions. It means the direct intervention of the trade unions in the government.

There is not a crisis of British capitalism, there is not a class struggle in Britain alone, and there is no 'British' solution to the crisis of capitalism. It is a world process. In order to develop itself as a tendency, as a leadership, the Labour left has to base itself on the proletariat in this country but, in itself this is not enough. It is necessary to be based also on the world process of the revolution, on the Workers State, on the developments, discussions and advances in the World Communist Movement and on the united front which develops between the Communist and Socialist parties in France and Italy. Together with this there is a necessity for a scientific method of understanding, analysing and generalising the world experience. There is the necessity for a method of thought which allows a world vision. There is the necessity for Marxism in the Labour Party.

# DEMOCRACY IN THE LABOUR PARTY MEANS A LEADERSHIP PREPARED TO SMASH CAPITALISM

In the recent period there has been much talk in the Labour Party (LP) on the need to give more recognition to the 'activists' in the LP, to see to it that National Conference elects the leader of the Party, decides more in the Party, and that MPs should be more easily recallable by those who elect them, etc... However, in this stage it is not possible to separate the question of how one elects MPs from the function of parliament and of the MPs; more democracy in the electoral machinery of the Party from what use is the electoral machinery? The left of the LP has to transcend this discussion on abstract democracy. Even the Social Democratic Alliance has a contribution to make to that concept of 'democracy', but the right wing of the Labour Party has no contribution to make to the programme of nationalisations of the Party, except by means of violent opposition to it. The Labour left has to appear nationally with a clear denunciation of the bourgeois campaign against the 'terrorists', the 'Trotskyists', the 'agitators' and 'Communists' in the Labour Party, and to denounce also the link which is implied between the bombings in London and Ireland and the development of the left in the Labour Party. The discussions in the Labour Party are very profound. A very deep process is at work predicted by the Posadist IV International and by no one else. The present discussion is only a small sign of this depth.

## PLANNING THE ECONOMY

Capitalism, in order to survive today, needs to concentrate itself ferociously. It no longer either obtains cheap raw materials, nor the needed market. The Workers States are expanding in number and quality. To concentrate so as to survive, the big monopolies have to increase the use of technology, and thus drive even more workers out of work, more firms out of business. Consequently, the lowering of the standard of life of the masses inevitably brings bankruptcy in an ever greater number of capitalist enterprises, and an ever greater concentration of capital: the economy is in the hands of a handful of magnates of finance and industry. They have absolutely no interest in the expansion of those industries most needed for the benefit of the population. To survive they have created, and daily create, conditions which are antagonistic to their continued existence, to the level reached of automation, to the level of consciousness of the working class in the Labour Party, the trade unions and the factories. The phenomenon of factory occupations has its roots in this antagonism and this consciousness. It corresponds to the sentiment that today the working class can run the economy, and that, whatever its individual lack of experience in the economy, as a class it feels that it can run it. It sees that it can plan because it wants to plan so as to provide for all, and it will achieve this better than any of the present day managers who are against the planning of the economy because this means its nationalisation and this means, in turn, the expropriation of the capitalist class by violent means.

Parliament is clearly an instrument of bourgeois democracy, democracy for private property. Even if the MPs can — as it happened in Chile, for example — pass laws in parliament for nationalisations, these laws have to be applied outside parliament by the concrete action of expropriation of the capitalist class, the factory owners, the land owners, the bankers etc. Who is going to ensure the triumph over their stubborn and inevitably armed resistance? The working class. This is what history teaches us, and this is what Portugal today teaches us. And also Portugal shows very well that the permission of parliament is quite superfluous. The proletarian vanguard has decided in Portugal.

This is workers democracy. We ask the Labour Party comrades: Are we really interested in electing MPs, in recalling them, electing the party leader more democratically, if these can only work through parliament acquiescing in private property, if these do not make use of the parliament as a revolutionary platform to call for nationalisations

and expropriations; and if they can only act so as to try to continue the line that society can be changed only through parliament? What we need is the animation of the internal political life of the Party, the creation of organs of the Labour Party in the factories and in the trade unions, composed of Labour members who actively defend the Party's programme and organise the left in it. It is the programme that must decide the character of the Party, not abstract democracy.

## THE LEFT IS ALREADY DEVELOPING IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

It is not by chance that there is a growing demand for the throwing out of the right wing MPs from various areas. These types are very great defenders of parliament and 'democracy', where they are at liberty to vote with the Conservatives. But their replacement is not going to mean better 'democrats'. It is going to mean that the Party will no longer function as before, and the new MPs will tend to represent more the desire of the Labour and trade union left to advance in functioning in a party which struggles against capitalism, not just a party which fights elections. This is due to the fact that the force which ultimately expresses itself in the trade unions and the Labour Party, to withdraw sponsorship or to recall MPs, comes from the working class. If today Len Murray says that £6 a week is not a ceiling for wage increases but a right for all workers, it means that he has been forced to break the contract with the government. And the working class is continuing its work of undermining the right wing of the government by stimulating the formation of a left in the Labour Party, and later is going to impel it to link itself organisationally with mobilisations against the capitalist class. The Labour left must discuss, not abstract 'democracy'

but the possibility which exists to organise itself in support of the workers, against the laws of the government, against the right wing of the Party, and for the nationalisation of the economy. To nationalise the economy, the mobilisation of the working class is necessary and, therefore, the left of the Labour Party cannot organise itself without basing itself on the trade unions and the working class and the working class in its strikes, factory occupations and struggles. This means working outside the party's present constitutional organisation.

The proof that the conditions exist for doing this is to be found in the rebellion in the constituencies against the right wing MPs, and in the preoccupation of Hugh Jenkins to impel 'constitutional recognition' of the 'activists' in the Labour Party, with the object of containing the process.

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# DETENTE AT HELSINKI AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

J. POSADAS 4/8/1975

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Friday 5th September 1975

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## THE CRISIS IN PORTUGAL AND THE NECESSITY FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME AND POLICY

J. POSADAS 19.7.1975

The initiative of the working class is a determining factor in the progress of history. The initiative of the class thinks, feels, represents, determines the moments in which it is necessary to act, to decide, to organise and to lead. The working class is the force which does this. It does it through its function in history. When the soldiers, as in Portugal and Ethiopia, take the decision to organise and to lead the struggle against capitalism, they do it by supporting themselves on the working class. In Ethiopia there is a small working class, the same in Portugal. But in the rest of the world this is not the case. And what is important is the programme, policy, objectives that they have. The programme and the policy and the objectives of the soldiers of Portugal and of Ethiopia are not those either of the peasants or of the petit bourgeoisie. It is the programme of expropriations, of statification, of workers control, of organs of workers control; that is, organs and conclusions of the Russian Revolution; organs, conclusions, functioning and objectives of the revolution in all the Workers States and, consequently, organs and objectives of the proletariat.

In Portugal the proletarian programme is adopted because the revolutionary process demonstrates the historic function of the proletariat. It is not because the proletariat is intelligent and decides to do this, but because no other solution exists than to act in this way. It is not a question of a proletarian decision which decided the adoption of this proletarian programme. No, it must adopt this programme because it has no other solution, because its position in history imposes on the proletariat and provides the conditions to realise this task — to nationalise and to plan. No other class has been able to do this through its relation with production, with the economy and with society. This conclusion it is necessary to maintain in a clear and categorical form, otherwise errors of idealisation of the proletariat are committed.

It is not a question that the proletariat thinks and decides for itself. No, it's through its function in society that it is made to think in this way. It does not make it egoistic, it does not make it think about itself, but tends to develop society, science and human relations. No other class has been able to do this. It is not the attribute of the proletariat because it is proletarian and then thinks for others, but it comes from its function in history.

Socialism is a necessity in history, it is not an individual desire. What Marx and the Marxists have done is to interpret the course of history and to give the programme to regulate history. Hence Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history. To undertake this task is not the result of the proletariat, such as it is: to think in this way is to idealise the proletariat and history. The proletariat is a conscious instrument of history but since, through its position as a class, it has not been able to dedicate itself to scientific and theoretical study, Marx did it — not in the name of the proletariat, substituting for it, but interpreting history. In this sense he represented the proletariat.

In Portugal they are developing

consequences from this. The armed forces have renewed their adhesion to Goncalves and to his programme.

The support which the military are receiving in Portugal is not in defence of the economy: it is the proletarian vanguard which will know how to act and it will act, substituting for the lack of political initiative of the soldiers. These do not have initiative and the Communists do not discuss these conclusions, nor give the initiative to do so. The organs which have been created in Portugal, the organs of direct democracy, cannot be organised if they are not directly linked to the economy. The direct organs to regulate democracy have little importance. The democracy is the right to discuss: what? who decides the economy? Life is still determined by the economy, and if the economy is not led by the people, by direct democracy, it has little value. Direct democracy must direct the economy.

## IN PORTUGAL THEY MUST DISCUSS HOW THE ECONOMY DEVELOPS.

We make an appeal to the soldiers of Portugal to declare that it is necessary to nationalise all the sources of production. It is possible that the ECM won't give any loans. It is possible. It is not certain, because in the Common Market they certainly fear the repercussion in the petit bourgeoisie and in the proletariat of the countries of the ECM. But, if they prevent economic support or credits to Portugal — which, in any case, would be very little — the Workers States would be obliged to give credit and support in a short stage. Once in Portugal the stability of the progress of the revolution and the annihilation of the counter-revolution is achieved, it is of interest and convenience to the Workers States to support Portugal, and they would be obliged to do so. It is not a question of an expectation but it is a theoretical-political conclusion. The prediction that the USSR would support Portugal against the interests of the other Communist parties has been purely a theoretical-political conclusion. The USSR has supported Portugal, has an identity with Portugal because it is weakening capitalism, goes towards the establishment of a Workers State, and reinforces, sustains and deepens the Workers States. It is a conclusion that the Workers States cannot avoid, and they have to support Portugal.

This discussion does not take place in the world Communist movement. It is necessary to discuss all these problems. It is undoubted that in the revolutions in Portugal and

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**THE CRISIS IN PORTUGAL** *continued from page 1*

Ethiopia it is necessary to rely on more economic means, but even without counting on these economic means revolutionary conditions, as in Portugal have an essential base in the beginnings of a developing economy which must be planned with the intervention of organs which lead the economy, not organs at the top but organs from the base! Organs which come from the factories, from the countryside. It is necessary to discuss the organisation of the Portuguese economy on the basis of centralisation and planning. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States to give support. It is necessary to make the peasants participate and do what they have done in Ethiopia: they have nationalised the land, they have expropriated and distributed the land to the peasants and the agricultural labourers. The counter-revolution, which is being organised, is a direct attempt of the landowners of the mediaeval sectors who dominated the economy of Ethiopia. These conflict directly with the population. It is necessary to create organs in which the population may intervene directly. We appeal to the Communist and Socialist parties in Portugal to discuss all this, to discuss this conclusion.

It is not possible to continue like Cunhal, saying, 'We are in favour of democracy, the multi-nationals are not democratic, therefore it is necessary to be against the multi-nationals. Very well.' 'The Socialists are favouring the multi-nationals', says Cunhal. Very well. But the problem is not only Cunhal, Soares and the Socialist Party. There is a political leadership, which is the military leadership, which does not have experience or security or centralisation in a process which demands understanding. Consequently it does not act with sufficient historic profundity. To act, it is necessary to understand. Historic depth means that the conclusion must lead to nationalisation, to the centralisation of the economy, and to the creation of organs of the population which openly lead the economy! In this way there will be no delay, no destruction, no retreat. The Communist leaders are afraid: 'The population leading the economy is a catastrophe. It is necessary to have technicians. Technicians, with what object? They want technical experts, they believe in the capitalist apparatus, who have created the economic experts. For the capitalist economy this is very good. In the capitalist enterprise the administrator is necessary: in the Workers State, no. If the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union has directors this is due to the fact that they are a base of support, a support for the bureaucracy, for the bureaucratic apparatus. Neither administrators nor planners are necessary.'

We appeal to the MFA to propose a programme for economic development so that the popular committees do not discuss only local problems, of the zones, but discuss the whole economy so that everyone can intervene. It is necessary to break with all the experts in the economy, the planners and administrators. It is necessary to impose that everyone intervenes and, moreover, to discuss what does the Portuguese people want?

**IT IS NECESSARY TO IMPOSE THAT EVERYONE DISCUSSES.**

It is necessary to plan openly and to make a public discussion. Discussion does not importune, create difficulties, or retard. It retards from the point of view of capitalist interest, but it does not retard - not even in relation to competition with capitalist countries. The Portuguese economy, we affirm (as we have said in all the articles which we have written), must dedicate the greater part of production to satisfying the national needs of the population: agricultural and industrial products, combined with some exports. This is what the Portuguese economy has to do. In order that the economy can affirm itself and there can be a development which is not an obstacle to the development of the revolution, and does not create bureaucratic strata and interests, workers control is necessary. In order that workers control can be exercised, organs linked to the population are necessary. Organs!

It is necessary to discuss what is the meaning of direct democracy, what are its attributes. We propose it is necessary that these organs are linked to the population. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States to draw these conclusions.

The Italian Communists and Socialists and the Socialists in Portugal are opposed, but the masses no. Every revolution progresses because the masses are going forward, despite their leadership, and stimulate it to advance; because the masses show that they have more confidence in themselves and in the working class than the leaders have.

The Portuguese revolution has reached a phase in which it is evident that there is the preparation of a coup of the Chilean type. They are preparing the conditions to overthrow the revolution. Hence also the ECM has changed ideas and agrees for economic aid on conditions, so as to stimulate the counter-revolution not to support the government, to support the counter-revolution from within, to weaken the internal life and to give access to tendencies linked to capitalism to weaken the social conclusions of the military struggles. It is necessary to make the masses participate.

In the discussion of the world Communist movement there is nothing of this. They discuss if Cunhal is right or if democracy is necessary or not, if democracy is sufficient with what there is. The Socialists say that there is no democracy because they are not allowed to do as they want; it is a false discussion! We invite the Communist Party and the Socialist parties to this discussion - that it is necessary to nationalise the principal means of production: the factories, the banks, the export trade of Portugal: and in this form, with complete democracy, discuss all the problems. Democracy must be an instrument of progress, not of retreat or stagnation. Who determines what is progress or stagnation? The population determines it. It is necessary to act in such a way that the population determines what economy - planning or private interest. Afterwards there comes the question of what type of democracy.

There is not much democracy. Democracy is the right to speak, to discuss, and essentially the right of the Portuguese masses to live. It is necessary to develop the economy which allows people to live, to develop intelligence, reasoning, the capacity to think: that is, to develop nationalised property, workers control, workers councils, the development of the peasants, of the workers, of the petit bourgeoisie, through the organs which lead the economy and all the aspects of society. It is necessary that the population intervenes on all aspects.

In this way it is necessary to discuss democracy, and elaborate the programme: let the population support this programme. It is necessary to show that it is not a Utopian programme, that the armed Portuguese forces are ready to support this programme, even with arms. The bourgeoisie will be against, and the Socialists. Then it is necessary to show that this is democracy! All the rest means the defence of capitalist interests which are: war, oppression, indignity, against the advance of the interests of the population. On that account, it is not necessary to define democracy according to the right of each one to think, but analysing with: what objective? in whose name? towards what objective? Otherwise democracy is an abstraction which serves the assassin rather than the assassinated. The assassin has the right to kill, the assassinated to be killed. These are all 'democratic rights'.

Everything which is happening now with the Constituent Assembly was already foreseen by the soldiers. This assembly had a very limited authority because the soldiers already had a programme, and if the Constituent Assembly or any other assembly did not wish to approve this programme, it would have dissolved it and continued to carry on this programme. Soares had accepted all that; if now he changes it means that imperialism is inciting him. And, through Portugal, imperialism is inciting reaction throughout Europe,

seeking to influence Mitterand to do the same thing in France with the story about the defence of liberty.

The armed forces have proposed a programme and an objective. The political parties were able to intervene only if they approved the programme and the objectives. Otherwise, no. The Assembly was part of this programme, while now out comes Soares, crying, 'We are the majority, the Constituent Assembly has shown this'. No! In the elections for the Constituent Assembly it was a vote for Socialism, not for the Socialists.

It is not a question of handing arms over to the population in any old way, but of forming organs of workers, of peasants, to discuss the Socialist organisation of Portugal. And they can give them arms and the soldiers have said this. But what it is necessary to do is for the armed forces to live politically daily. It is necessary that they discuss in the barracks and go to the trade unions, to the factories, to the countryside. It is necessary that the country, the factories and the trade unions, accompany the soldiers. This is what has to be done.

Portugal is an example, is one of the aspects of the permanent revolution which, starting off from the most backward elements, advances to the most elevated level of the objectives, but not of the organisms. It is necessary to create the organisms. The Communists do not have organisms nor ideas to do this. They also continue with a very backward conception of history. Their objective is not bad, because it is Socialism, but to propose Socialism as a generality is insufficient. It is necessary to say: how is Socialism to be arrived at? They don't discuss this. It is necessary to have a discussion of all the Portuguese population on how to elevate the Portuguese economy, on how to elevate the standard of life of the masses, how to elevate the dignity and the well-being of the Portuguese people. How to elevate it? It is necessary to discuss all that; in the cinema, in the streets everywhere. It is necessary to organise public discussions.

**ELEVATE THE INTERVENTION OF THE WORKERS ORGANS MEANS TO LIQUIDATE THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.**

It is necessary to take account of the fact that imperialism does not feel it has the strength for a direct attack. In another phase of history it would have invaded Portugal. It would have done it with a thousand excuses. Since imperialism no longer possesses any more strength to do that, it is seeking points of support so that the others can do it. It does not invade from fear of the masses, from the rejection of the masses. This is not the essential aspect. The essential fear of imperialism is the repercussion in its own country, in the uprising of the American people against them, and through the essential fear which it has of the European proletariat. Imperialism

has felt that any action directly by itself would lead to an immediate reaction against it, so it wants these actions to be carried out by other forces. Before it acted directly. Now is no longer the epoch of invasions. Now they are organising the counter-revolutions. Hence they still maintain Portugal in NATO. They do it to seek to influence a stratum within Portugal, of the government, of the population, and of the armed forces and, besides, not to present themselves before the European population as the enemies of progress.

The objective of making the revolution progress in Portugal requires presenting a programme in which all the population can intervene: soldiers, workers, peasants and petit bourgeoisie, so that through organs they can take decisions. Then it will be verified that the Constituent Assembly is a pack of cards without value, outside events. It is of no importance to make an appeal for the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly; with what object? To replace it with what? Rather what aim has the Constituent Assembly? Therefore, the problem is not to propose as a centre the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly. This resolves nothing. Let the organs of the workers areas function, with factory and trade union organs, so that these can say, 'What do we want the Constituent Assembly to do? Ours is the true power'. It is necessary to unify together the function of the soldiers, of the workers, of the peasants, of the intellectuals, and also the Socialists of the Soares tendency. It is necessary to discuss all this. It is necessary that the Socialist base states that its leaders are opposed to progress; it is necessary that the Socialist base states that it acts, not in the function of the defence of democracy but as a function of what has to be discussed and constructed, for whom to construct, and how to construct Socialism. Then it is necessary to propose a programme of planning, of expropriations, in which the masses may intervene through organs of the leadership of the economy, with full discussion of all the problems, among which are: how to make Portugal emerge from its backwardness, how to solve the problem of the backwardness of Portugal - by the private or the nationalised economy?

In this discussion it is necessary to make a confrontation on how Hungary and Yugoslavia emerged from backwardness. How did they come out of it? How did China come from the orphanage of history to construct the progress of humanity? With the planned economy, the nationalisation of the principle means of production and of exchange, and the centralisation of planned production. Will this disturb the bourgeoisie? Evidently, without a doubt. If one takes the arms of the assassin, he is liable to protest. But what is of importance is not the protest of the assassin, but the life of the one the assassin wants to kill. This has to be discussed.

In Portugal the absence of political leadership is clearly shown, the absence of leadership on the part of the Communist Party. A short time ago the Communist Party was saying, 'Nationalisations will take many years'. They had hardly finished speaking when the workers came and said, 'We will nationalise everything'. The workers base is above them. In Portugal all the parties must function who support the revolutionary process and who are orientated towards the programme of nationalisations of the means of production, of the planning of production, of the centralisation of planned production.

There is not a logical discussion on what is happening in Portugal, either on the part of the Socialists or the Communists. The Socialist base does not support the position of Soares, but nor does it have faith in the leadership of the army which gives neither programme or policy, nor has it faith in the Communists who do not give programme or policy. The Socialist base sees a void from which the Socialist leaders profit, and the right, which is based on the Socialists. The Socialist base is in agreement with the road to Socialism, and it is necessary to seek contact with the Socialist base. The contact is through the programme, the policy and the objectives: nationalisations, planning, organs of workers control, organs of the peasantry, petit bourgeoisie, of the soldiers, as forms of direct democracy. This is not the right of the base to speak, but the right of the base to lead - to lead from the base to the top.

The Communists do not discuss these problems. We appeal to the leaders of the Communist Party to consider that this experience of Portugal is being lived by all the world workers movement of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We also appeal to them to discuss the course of this experience: what can they do? How can they develop the force, the leadership, the capacity to organise; what experiences do they receive from this? They have consequently the responsibility to feel that, through the experience of Portugal, they are communicating to the armies, to the movements, to the peasants or petit bourgeoisie, to the peasants or petit bourgeoisie, for example in Algeria, the road, the course and the possibility of the revolutionary road to advance. Portugal cannot continue very long in this state of uncertainty. The counter-revolution is preparing a coup; it is not strictly the same as Chile, but of the Chile type. This will be organised according to the forces that they have. They are already trying to concentrate all the discontent in Portugal of the petit bourgeoisie, in which sectors who, without having economic motives of discontent, feel put out, disquieted, because they do not see clarity in the objectives; saying, where are we going to end up? what will we do? There is no clear objective.

It is necessary to make a public discussion in Portugal! We invite the world Communist movement to do this. These are the problems which it is necessary to discuss.

J. POSADAS. 19.7.1975.

**The labour left must intervene with an anti capitalist programme and policy for Ireland**

In a sense the struggle of the masses of Northern Ireland diminishes in importance as the class and revolutionary struggle on the mainland of Britain elevates. Nevertheless, as the mobilisations of the catholic masses against internment and the continuous trade union action of the working class shows, the class and revolutionary spirit of the masses is undiminished. Thus the struggle in Northern Ireland continues to be an important factor in the process of disintegration of British imperialism and of the army, since the British army cannot be untouched by the process. The case of the soldier, Vincent Roche, who deserted from the army after a year of 'hazardous secret duties' in Ireland and who said that he had lost 'his love for the army' is an indication of the process of disintegration which undoubtedly exists in the army of British imperialism. At the same time, as comrade Posadas has insisted, the repression and assassination against the Northern Irish masses serves to warn the vanguard of the British working class what British imperialism is preparing for this country.

The assassinations and terrorism in Northern Ireland is part of the preparation of British imperialism for the civil war. Clearly the intention is to terrorise and, as such, it is a failure. It also creates a climate in which it is easier to impose repressive legislation but, since imperialism and the bourgeois state apparatus can launch the civil

war without excuse - and Chile is an example of this - another motive exists. This is to create confusion and uncertainty in the workers and revolutionary movement. The terrorism of British imperialism, the bombings and assassinations, such as that of Birmingham, has this as its prime intention. The invention of Red Flag 74 at the time of the

Birmingham bombings is an indication of this. Red Flag 74 was an attempt to prevent the intervention of Marxism in the workers movement, primarily into the Labour Party, by linking the Posadists with terrorist actions, and the fact that this campaign disappeared very quickly shows the uncertainty and disintegration which exists in the organs of repression of British imperialism. The trial of those accused of the Birmingham bombings confirms our analysis at the time that this was the work of British imperialism. The trial was a farce, nothing more. The evidence, which did not fit the inventions of the 'special branch', such as the evidence of the prison doctor who said that some of the prisoners had been beaten-up before they arrived at the prison, were ignored. At the same time, one of the accused who had 'rattled' the IRA and was 'too frightened' at the last to withdraw, was released. There can be no doubt that he was

a provocateur employed by British imperialism. Then one of the leading prosecution witnesses is revealed as a member of the National Front, a fascist, and he admits that he also hid Littlejohn when he was 'on the run'. And to complete the farce the police authorities say that they are to take no action against him for what is clearly a crime. But then, Littlejohn has admitted that he was an agent employed in Ireland by British imperialism. It is correct that Jeff Rooker, the Labour M.P., questions this situation, but it is not enough. It is necessary to analyse and discuss the fact that this terrorism is the work of British imperialism, that it is part of the preparation for civil war, and that, in the course of the class struggle, civil war — even when, as in Portugal, the bourgeois are weak and have lost the army — is inevitable.

### THE BOMBINGS IN THIS COUNTRY ARE THE WORK OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The terrorism of British imperialism is directed primarily at trying to confuse and fragment the workers movement and the petit bourgeois sector, who are being won to the revolution. It is the only method they have left. Clearly it is a method which has some small effect in Ireland, where the movement is already fragmented; but, in this country, with the centralisation of the class in the trade unions and Labour Party — and in the factory organisations — it has little effect. The truce of the Provisional IRA is the result of a complete lack of perspective on their part, which itself comes from the lack of a programme and policy based on the necessity for nationalisations under workers control in Ireland as a solution to the problems posed by the final and total world crisis of capitalism. The SDLP still engage themselves in discussions over 'power-sharing' in an organism — the Convention — which, even from a bourgeois point of view has absolutely no power. Here, again, we have a leadership which is made impotent by a respect for the institutions of capitalism — even when they are no more than a facade — and by the lack of a class programme and policy. However, the main responsibility lies with the left of the Labour Party which — perfectly correctly — concerns itself with South Africa, Portugal, Chile, but ignores the process in Ireland and does not give a leadership, does not put forward a programme and policy for Ireland. Fitt, of the SDLP, made precisely this criticism of the left of the Labour Party and, even if his motives are to justify his own lack of policy and programme, it is a correct criticism. The working class in the six counties shows that it is capable, as the masses of the world demonstrate, of superseding these leaderships, but it has to be emphasised that the prime necessity is to create direct links with the working class in this country. The working class in Ireland lacks a centre, a mass workers party, but the trade unions exist and provide the possibility both of a centre for the struggle in Ireland and for links with the mass of the British working class. There is no solution for Ireland in itself and there is the need for initiatives to be taken in the trade unions in this country to call a conference on Ireland with the Irish trade unions — north and south — with the left of the Labour Party and with all the anti-imperialist organisations of the Irish masses, including both wings of Sinn Fein.

The process in Northern Ireland warns the British workers vanguard that the bourgeois prepares for the civil war and, on a world scale, Chile played the same role. Portugal shows that, even in the worst possible conditions for itself, the bourgeois uses all means to try to retain power, and Portugal also shows that Chile cannot be repeated, that the world balance of forces does not allow capitalism to decide anything. However, the civil war is inevitable and a conscious preparation is needed. It is important that the Labour Party has called a national conference on Chile, because this shows a pre-occupation in the Labour Party with fundamental questions of the struggle for power, for Socialism and, because it allows

basic conclusions to be drawn. It is necessary to deepen the discussion at this conference to include the process in Ireland and in this country. It is not possible to discuss Chile — and to propose actions of solidarity with the Chilean masses — and to ignore Ireland. It is a major limitation of both the TUC and the Labour Party conferences that little or — in the case of the Labour Party — nothing appears in the resolutions on Ireland. And little is said about the bombings in this country. The reason is clear, and that is to draw conclusions on Ireland, to propose a policy and programme, means to deal with the whole question of the nature of the class struggle, it means to go outside the framework of parliamentary, electoral functioning. Those of the left of the Labour Party who have already demanded the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, must develop a programme and policy which links this demand to the programme of the Labour Party for nationalisation of the major industry and the demands for full trade union and political rights in the army and the police, which will serve to disintegrate the organs of repression of British imperialism still further. It has to be seen that the attacks made on the striking journalists of the Birmingham Post and Mail by 'special branch' men, is an indication both of the nature of capitalism in its final death agony and — inasmuch as the attacks are made only on the most isolated sectors of the masses — the weakness of the system.

### FULL POLITICAL AND TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN THE POLICE AND ARMY

The intervention in Ireland inevitably weakens and disintegrates the army and this stimulates a sector in the bourgeoisie, which wants to withdraw from Ireland, to concentrate their forces to face the proletarian vanguard in this country. At the same time, the Labour government is by no means the best instrument for the implementation of the policy of British imperialism. There is a tendency in the Labour government which has all the defeatism which infects the bourgeoisie at this stage. These sectors hope that by withdrawing troops from Ireland, the capitalist system will be given a little longer to survive. The statement of Leo Abse that 'we have to withdraw British troops from Ireland otherwise the violence will spread to this country', shows clearly the motives of these sectors. The upsurge of violence in Ireland is part of the reaction of world capitalism in its death agony. It has nothing left but to stimulate fascist groups, assassin elements as in Portugal, and the bombings in this country are part of this. In this way imperialism prepares for the civil war and for the war against the Workers States. The recent bombings in this country are also the reaction of the hardest sectors of the bourgeoisie to all the uncertainties of the Labour government, to the fact that, by its very nature, a Labour government is directly under the pressure of the working class.

Even if it is only expressed in an indirect form, in the attacks being made on right wing M.P.s like Prentice in the Labour Party, there is a process in train which goes towards a government of the left. The Labour and trade union left have to base themselves on the mobilisations and organisms of the class in this country, in order to accelerate this process. At the same time it has to base itself on the struggle of the masses of Northern Ireland and to formulate a programme which includes not only the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland, but full trade union and political rights in the army and police, together with the demands for the nationalisation of major industry, the land, banks and insurance companies under workers control. The full anti-capitalist programme. It is necessary to draw the conclusions from Chile, from Portugal, from Ireland and the whole process of the world revolution that the road to Socialism goes through a process of the civil war, and not through parliament. And the necessary preparation for this is the development of the mobilisations and organisms of the working class, the independent organisation and actions of the masses.

## The progress of partial regeneration will lead to the discussion on Stalinism

The most fundamental aspect of the present phase of history is the determining role being played by the Workers States, and it is the understanding of this which is indispensable for the organisation of the left in the Labour Party. It is clear that an enormous process is at work in the Labour Party which, empirically, is leading to the steady ejection of the pro-capitalist sectors, even if the top governmental apparatus has as yet not been touched. But it is a process which requires theoretical and programmatic clarity, and this can only be achieved on the bases of understanding the role of the Workers States, the process of Partial Regeneration, and the historic re-encounter with Marxism in the Workers States and the world Communist movement, and the fact that imperialism and capitalism have lost the initiative. Without this understanding, impressionistic attitudes prevail, the possibilities of the objective situation are underestimated and capitalism is given further time and a strength attributed to it which is entirely mythical.

The weight of the Workers States economically is merely the most obvious feature of the process. The world recession of the capitalist system, from which no important recovery is possible, contrasts vividly with the phenomenal expansion of the Workers States. Comecon expands its links with countries as distant as Mexico and Argentina, whilst the Common Market collapses into unemployment, inflation, and inability to expand the internal market. The income of Soviet collective farmers has increased by nearly a quarter in the last four years whilst British agriculture can only show impoverishment and falling investment. Huge projects involving the co-operation of various Workers States are the norm in the Soviet Union; in Britain production of North Sea oil is a source of constant tension and the steel industry, vital for any expansion of the economy, can only proceed on the basis of sacking thousands. On the level of straight economic competition it is obvious that the Workers States constantly gain despite lags in the per capita productivity of workers and the presence of sectors in the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union who resist the need for rational planning and scientific accountability (see the analysis made by cde Posadas in the article on Helsinki).

But this economic superiority contrasting so powerfully with the world wide agony of the capitalist system is not, of itself, the most important aspect in the role of the Workers States (although, coupled with the ability of the Workers States to sustain the needs of defence and the tumultuous advance of Soviet science, it demoralises the capitalist class); more important is the social and political initiative of the Workers States, the tendency to intervene directly against capitalism, including military means, thus depriving capitalism of breathing space. The article in Pravda which re-emphasised the need to proceed directly to the dictatorship of the proletariat and that the majority support for revolution was not to be judged on an arithmetical basis, is an example of the profound process at work in the Soviet Union, the development of Partial Regeneration and the power of the structure of the Workers States to impose changes in the norms of the policy of the Soviet Union. This means, at the same time, to impel changes in the Communist parties to confront (not only electorally) capitalism, but using all the means to take power from capitalism and repress it with violence. This process of Partial Regeneration is not a linear one, and it cannot be idealised. The bureaucracy is not a consistent sector dominated by an objective desire for progress, but a stratum which responds empirically to the objective pressures of the Workers State. It is open to the internal struggles of its various sectors and its desire for survival does not allow the rigorous discipline of consistent thought and action. Nonetheless, unlike the period of Stalin, it is under pressures of enormous magnitude — the vast Soviet proletariat, victor over the nazis, and the forces of the world revolution, linked indissolubly to the advance of the Workers States, with the need in consequence to prepare for the final encounter. The discussion in the Red Army appearing in Red Star is linked to all this. There, the experience of the Second World War, i.e. the surprise attack by the nazis and the appalling losses inflicted on the Red Army in the early stages because of the monumental incompetence of Stalin and the bureaucracy, is being used to pose the need for a highly centralised command which cannot be improvised over-

night. But, in this discussion, scarcely concealed lies the question is not the war inevitable? and, if so, do we just wait for the enemy to attack first? The immense centralisation of the world process weighs enormously in the Soviet Union; it has the particular responsibility to confront all the problems, it is obliged to confront all the machinations of imperialism and, because of the existence of 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States, it can do so now with greater confidence. An example of the decision it is obliged to take relates to the re-organisation of the Egyptian Communist Party. As part of conciliationism with Nasser, it was disbanded in 1964. Now it is re-organised. This is a line of confrontation aimed at developing the opposition to the Egyptian bourgeoisie in the proletariat, the peasantry and the army. It is a form of confrontation, a refusal to submit to Sadat's intrigues with imperialism and, at the same time, even Hussein of Jordan is obliged to link militarily with Syria. This latter event is an aspect of the policy of penetration, but it is a policy more and more linked to preparations for confrontation and war with Yankee imperialism and all the forces of capitalism.

At the same time, the process in Portugal has thrown into relief all the problems of the taking of power. It has shown the need for Soviet organs, not the absurd holding of elections but, above all, the need for a prepared party which knows what it wants. It has shown that capitalist power is so decomposed that armed forces trained to repress in the interests of private property, rebel and go over to the side of Socialism. It has posed the need for the Socialist programme and policy, and demonstrated once again that no progress is possible without the violent overthrow of capitalism and the inevitable passage of civil war. The recent intervention in Pravda which followed on the Soviet intervention in the conference of Havana, is closely linked to the events in Portugal and the need for the Communist parties to elevate their intervention.

### THE SOCIALIST PARTIES SUSTAINED STALINISM.

When parties of Socialist origin discuss the Soviet Union or the Workers States, there is a tendency to view the problem ahistorically, as though these states have nothing to offer Britain and, in any case, they had the phenomenon of Stalinism. The latter has been used as a ploy to prevent discussion or submit it to the lowest common denominator of anti-Communism. Its use as a battering ram to block thought and pose problems as though there was a special and superior 'Socialist' way to solve problems. This attitude has been enabled to develop because the Communist parties themselves have refused to discuss or explain Stalinism, because its legacy — bureaucratic apparatus and thinking — remains in the Communist parties. Stalinism arose from specific conditions in the Soviet Union, due to the isolation of the revolution caused by the failure of the Socialist parties to take power in the west. The Bolshevik Party as a whole — through immense loss of cadres and the influx of new untried cadres — was unable to confront the new phenomenon of the bureaucracy. But Stalinism, in its widest sense, comes from class society — traits that were in this case centralised in the first Workers State and is characterised by, apart from mass physical terror, fear of ideas, fear of change, ambition, dishonesty, worship of the apparatus, and substitution of the apparatus for the

class. In other words, the Stalin mentality is an expression of the repressive psychology of class society and finds its echo, also, in the functioning of the Socialist parties. Quite apart from the Socialist parties having a particular responsibility for Stalinism, many Stalinist characteristics belong to the Socialist apparatuses. Elements of the apparatus mentality exist among the various capitulators from Trotskyism who thought of themselves as administrators of history, the great truth apparatus conferring charitable awards as they went along. When it became obvious that history did not pass through them, they disintegrate. (Now the left groups, feeling more and more the centralising forces of history, tend to try to adapt themselves to the mass organisations) All this, although not Stalinism, has its links with Stalinism. When the sectors in the Socialist Party conceal their limitations, using the subterfuge of Stalinism to attack the Communist Party, they are using the devious methods of all apparatuses to defend themselves and avoid an objective discussion. Traditionally, the Socialist parties have adopted a self-righteous attitude to the Communist parties on the question of Stalinism. But, objectively, the refusal of the German social democracy to take power in 1918 was decisive in promoting Stalinism in the USSR. The attitude of the other Socialist parties in refusing power elsewhere sustained Stalinism continuously.

In all this the discussion in the world Communist movement on Stalinism cannot be long delayed. The polemics over Portugal between Communist parties, the discussion over concrete world strategy, means going over the ground of Lenin and Trotsky and the first four congresses of the Third International. When so many issues are discussed, how avoid the discussion over the role of Stalin, the role of Trotsky? It is not possible to avoid it, or only for a period, because the fundamental problems — such as civil war, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the process itself of re-organising the economy in ever more scientific, as opposed to bureaucratic methods — imposes the need for Marxism and the need to discuss why Stalin?

The Socialist parties in the whole global policy of Partial Regeneration are obliged to change. They have to break with bourgeois leaders who, like Soares, try to take advantage of differences in the Communist parties. He proposed a conference of the French, Italian and Portuguese Communist parties and Socialist parties to discuss Portugal. The reply of Marchais of the French Communist Party was, why not the parties from other countries, and we add, why not world conferences to discuss strategy and tactics to, overthrow capitalism? The inability of Soares and the right of the Socialist parties to develop support for their anti-revolutionary positions on Portugal is a measure of the collapse of the social democracy and the need for the restructuring of the Socialist parties.

The discussions in the Workers States and the process of rectification by the process of Partial Regeneration are fundamental to elevate the understanding of the forces of the left in the Socialist parties. The Workers States are both a material conclusion of the application of Marxism and the basis of the world Socialist revolution. This provides the basis for security and confidence to transform the Labour Party and to finish with its bourgeois leadership and antecedents.

## REDFLAG

Owing to the total crisis of capitalism we have finally been forced to raise the price of 'Red Flag' from 5p to 8p. At the same time we appeal for financial support for this indispensable instrument for the construction of the revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party.

# Detente at Helsinki and the class struggle J. POSADAS 4. 8. 1975

The meeting in Finland about detente has no value and no importance but in any case it's a defeat for imperialism. It appears involved in war and before the populations of the world, even being reformist, the Helsinki agreement expresses a defeat for capitalism. The meeting confirms that there is no possibility for an agreement between imperialism and the Workers States.

The resolutions which they drew up are pretences which imperialism has no other way out than to sign, in order to justify itself before its own peoples. It cannot justify its war policy. The Soviet Union does it to compromise capitalism, it tries to win time and, in an empirical form, seeks to have an effect. It wins time, effect no; because capitalism prepares war anyway. The attitude of the Soviet Union has an influence - very limited but it has an influence - over the petit bourgeois sectors in the capitalist countries. Also capitalism is involved in war budgets in which the Workers States show themselves to be more capable, as they have a healthy economy, an economy in development without the difficulties and distortions of the capitalist economy. The Soviet Union tries to extract advantages from this penetration.

This policy of the Soviets historically is not incorrect, what is incorrect is to depend on this policy. It is not incorrect to make a pact with a capitalist country, but what is incorrect is to believe that with this pact peace is guaranteed. It is necessary to make pacts, agreements, as the Soviet Union did in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. But, at the same time, they appealed to the masses: 'Do not believe them, the capitalist governments are liars. We sign the pact, but they are bandits and when we can, we are going to attack them.' If the Workers State for diplomatic reasons, or because of the effects on the population of the capitalist countries, may have to sign an agreement like this, the Communist Party, the trade unions must make an anti-capitalist policy, without stopping, saying: 'They are preparing the war'. On the other hand, now the Communist parties co-ordinate and programme the activity, saying: 'We have seen that detente is possible'. Then they orientate the activity of the Communist parties and the trade unions towards detente. And this detente is an attack on the truth, because capitalism is preparing war.

## THE YANKS TALK PEACE AND PREPARE WAR.

Hence it is necessary to see that, in the combination of this policy of the Soviets - between reformism and anti-capitalist conclusions - there is a constantly changing equilibrium. It is not favourable integrally to capitalism, but neither is it the necessary policy because it is the bureaucratic leadership which is in control.

The Yanks are preparing the conditions to do the opposite to what they have signed. They sign peace and prepare war. It is necessary to discuss such a conclusion, because it is going to have a very great importance. The Workers States want peace and to construct Socialism peace is better. The problem is that we and the Workers States want peace, but capitalism no. Thus it does not depend on us. It depends on them also. It is necessary to declare that we signed this agreement to show to the peoples of the world that we want peace, but that imperialism is preparing war, and we appeal to the countries of the world, to the Workers States, to the Communist and Socialist parties, to the trade unions, for an anti-capitalist united front. It is necessary to appeal on the basis that the way to secure peace is to overthrow capitalism, which is the promoter of war. We appeal to them to show that at the same time as they made this agreement which imperialism is obliged to sign, in order to appear before the masses of their country it wants peace, it is preparing war. The press and the capitalist sectors despise the agreement when they should be happy. But they don't wish to embarrass themselves before the petit bourgeoisie, and the masses of their countries, and they prepare the war.

The Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions must make a united front and appeal on the basis: we sign for peace because we want it, and we show this; but

imperialism is preparing the war. This is the conclusion it is necessary to discuss.

This will have very important effects in the Workers States, where there is a tendency which seeks to understand history even if pushed forward by bureaucratic interest. It seeks to understand history bureaucratically, but bureaucratic interest pushed forward with the economy and the science of the Soviet Union, brings them closer to truth, not the truth, but closer to truth, on the road to truth. This is to define the road to confront capitalism. These sectors do not want to compromise with detente, they will seek to continue with armaments and respond to war with war. This makes the internal struggle evolve, the discussion and the impulse to the left in the Workers States.

It is necessary to condemn the Chinese who act in favour of capitalism. It is a leadership which is behind Stalin or, at least, at the side of Stalin. They appeal for disbelief in the Soviets, they do not say it is a lie by both sides, but only of the Soviets. It is necessary to condemn the Chinese in their attitude and policy which completely favours the capitalist system. It is necessary to condemn them and to appeal to the Chinese for a public international discussion on the construction of Socialism, the struggle against capitalism and the unification of the world Communist movement and the Workers States. We appeal, so that they plan the establishment of a new Communist international, plan the economy and orientate the struggle to finish with the capitalist regime and prepare the intervention of the masses to respond to the war which capitalism is going to make.

This is fundamental and important because it is going to dominate for quite a long period the life of the Workers States. No Soviet believes in this policy of detente. But there are sectors which, even without believing, get hold of it, trying to stimulate making concessions so that imperialism does not make the war; whilst there are other sectors who prepare because they see that imperialism will launch the war. Hence the discussion is important in the Workers States on 'peace or war'. There is a sector of the army which considers that the war is almost inevitable. They do not pose it as imminent nor determined upon, but, yes, the war is almost inevitable.

It is necessary to discuss in the world Communist movement because this policy of detente of the Soviets can be the foundation for a general social, trade union economic policy towards the capitalist countries. From antecedents that exist, the Soviets do not tend to contain the level of the class struggle but, yes, a sector of the Soviets can please the Yanks and show that they want to conciliate, to cede much more than what they are conceding, and to make an internal conflict. Sectors as in Rumania, or in Poland, seeking their own local interest can make a contribution to the policy of giving concessions to the Yanks to ensure that there is no war. Above all, the Rumanians can make quite a lot of important concessions to imperialism so that it does not launch the war.

But what is going to dominate all this process is not the attitude of any particular Workers State but the general relation. In Rumania there is a sector which is integrally pro-Soviet. Hence it's in the Warsaw Pact, otherwise it would have broken.

It is necessary to expect in a short stage the continuation of the cleansing in the Workers States or the re-ordering and re-organisation as in Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and the echo and transcendence which all this is going to have. In all the Workers States there is a tendency to centralise, to liquidate the local interests, to plan, in a centralised and concentrated way, and to liquidate a series of local leaderships and organisms. These are based on leaderships which are pre-occupied with local planning, and they are being eliminated and planning that is more centralised introduced. This is an historic advantage at the same time, which strengthens the power of the most dominant sector of the bureaucracy. But, at the same time that it increases its power over the other layers of the bureaucracy, it diminishes its points of support and its capacity for manoeuvre. It is not a deliberate solution, but it's imposed by the advance of the economy and the preparation of the war, although the war may not be launched for some time.

This advance of the power of the centres, of the central nuclei of the bureaucracy, has been made at the expense of a much more powerful previous support than were the local bureaucracies. Now, on the contrary, there is an increase in centralisation and breaks with the local bureaucracy. This leaves the way open for internal national struggles, which is going to open the way inevitably, and is already doing so, for the struggle for Socialist centralisation. One of the greatest effects of this is that it deprives the bureaucracy of the power of mobility based on the catholic sectors, or of local agriculture. It deprives them of a very great capacity of manoeuvre and support. This is going to express itself in the policy of detente. All these sectors were before friends of detente. With the economy centralised, the new sectors who advance do not have the interest of the others linked to the local sectors. The sectors who advance are no longer bureaucrats, strictly understood; already they depend, in part, on a scientific functioning. They are closer to reason than all these other bureaucrats; that is to say, that the social weight is going to be opposed to what the rest of the bureaucracy sought.

It is necessary to follow with much attention all this process, because it is going to have a great repercussion in states such as Algeria and Mexico, in the countries of the so-called third world, which see what is happening in the Workers States. It is not an automatic process, it does not proceed inexorably but, yes, it is a conclusion and a consequence which is going to develop, and is going to express itself in more acute internal struggles in the Workers States; internal struggles and efforts at a greater centralisation.

## THE CHANGE OF BREZNEV IS IN THE OFFING.

In the process one of the events of greatest importance in this stage is the line and the orientation which they are giving to Comecon and Came, i.e. a much more open road linked to the capitalist countries. It is a risk, but also it is a force. The risk is because it means conciliation with capitalism and stops planning coherently with the Workers States. But, at the same time, it attracts into the camp of planning of the Workers States a number of capitalist countries, which weaken the links of the capitalist structure, in such a way that the reformism of the

bureaucracy is not now the reformism which benefits capitalism. It is a reformism which contains the rhythm of the revolution but does not contain the revolution itself. It affects it in the immediate sense. All this has to be discussed in the world Communist movement, because they are events of much importance. Soon Argentina, Peru, Mexico, are going to participate at meetings of Comecon.

This policy of the bureaucracy is one of conciliation but not of capitalist, but of anti-capitalist conciliation, because the object is to deprive capitalism of clients and bring them into the workers camp. This affirms this bureaucratic sector it affirms it, because it has points of support which make its leadership secure and put doubt on the revolutionary road. This confirms the bureaucratic function. But, at the same time, the elevation, the extension of the power of the Workers State affirms the revolutionary will.

The other aspect which will tend to resolve itself in a short time is the question of the continuity of Breznev. His importance is his policy. Detente has turned out well,

but in the Soviet papers there is no great fuss because they see that the signatures in Finland have no significance. They have signed things of a certain importance, like the reduction of armaments, reduction of atomic tests and, also, that the frontiers of Europe are fixed. That is to say, that, now the frontiers of the Workers States are recognised - a thing that capitalism threw doubts on. And this is a blow against the Yanks, who wanted to leave the question of frontiers as a constant element of discussion. All this gives a little air to Breznev. But the attitude of Breznev, the Soviet silence, and the very little fuss that the Soviets have made, shows that they feel that this policy of detente is a very weak policy.

The change of Breznev is in the offing. This is not decided simply on the basis of a resolution. They are indecisive because the change of Breznev means to confront the Yanks, to put another to the left of Breznev means to confront the Yanks.

These are the conclusions of the meeting in Finland.  
J. POSADAS 4.8.1975.

## Editorial

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*Jenkins hopes that the constitutional recognition of the party 'activists', i.e. what he defines wrongly as the impelling element in the party, is going to permit change in the present functioning of the party without as yet breaking its whole structure. However, what is required and what is already being posed is not a transformation and amelioration of the electoral structures of the party, but the construction of a different type of party, a Labour Party to lead the struggle of the working class to expropriate the capitalist class and construct the Workers State. What Jenkins and others are doing is using the concept of 'democracy' in the party in abstract, so as to reject the necessary and much more profound discussion: Democracy for what? To allow the representatives of private property to accumulate privileges, wealth, at the cost of the economy and of the people, or democracy for all the masses through their own organisms of dual power, organisms of complete democratic discussion by all workers, and workers parties to direct the economy?*

*When there is such a movement all over the country against the right wing MPs, when Jenkins is so preoccupied by the 'activists', it is because there is already a left sector fairly well defined in the Labour Party. The fact that this left is developing rapidly is shown by the fact that already there is a tendency in the LP actually discussing the 'transition from capitalism to Socialism'. Inevitably, the bourgeois is very alarmed, and this alarm confirms analysis. It is precisely it, the bourgeois class, which is not willing to let this transition be peaceful. As in Chile, the ruling class is not going to let itself be expropriated.*

*The coup against the Chilean workers who - against the democratic system of the property owners - rose to nationalise the economy, cannot be repeated. Today, in the Labour Party and the trade unions, the conclusions are being drawn. The bourgeoisie will not let itself be expropriated. However, as the apparatuses of the trade unions and the Labour Party remain in the hands of careerists or reformists, who govern these in a similar way as the boss governs the factories, without discussion and through small cliques the discussion in the trade unions and the party is impeded by the existence of these cliques which decide. And, as these 'leaderships' have not any theory to base them-*

*selves on, to explain the justice of their position of privilege and power, they try to maintain the discussion at a level of such abstractions as 'democracy', which means acquiescence to what they want. We ask the comrades of the Labour Party whether they think that the formation of the trade unions or of the Labour Party itself came as the result of a 'democratic' process? According to bourgeois 'democracy', there was certainly no need of trade unions. And, when they and the Labour Party appeared, the bourgeois class used every ruse and bribe and intimidation to corrupt or eliminate their leaderships. We have no need of this democracy. The left in the Labour Party must define clearly democracy, not leaving it on the abstract plane which only allows the bourgeoisie to appear as the champion of it. Democracy concretely means the ORGANISMS OF DUAL POWER, the FACTORY AND AREAS COUNCILS, the functioning of which lays the foundation for the Soviets, which are the most complete organisms of workers democracy. These organs of dual power mean the elimination of the bourgeoisie. The Labour left has to discuss that in Chile there existed the 'Cordones Industriales', and that these were smashed by fascist mass assassinations from the bourgeoisie. And all this in the name of 'democracy'. The left in the Labour Party must give a concrete definition of 'democracy', i.e. for what objectives? Bourgeois parliamentary 'democracy' exists as part of the functioning of the capitalist economic system, not in the abstract.*

*In conclusion, we tell the comrades to the left of the Labour Party that they have to intervene towards the trade unions, and to draw conclusions such as those on the experience of Chile, which were that the greatest advocates of 'democracy' - the bourgeoisie - did not themselves show any type of respect for it, nor for its much exalted electoral process. The present discussion that National Conference should decide the functioning of the Party, should elect the party leader or the MPs, and subject them to recall, in abstraction from policy and programme, can be used to contain discussion. The Labour left has to pronounce itself in support of the workers committees in Portugal, the nationalisation of the economy through workers control, the formation of such committees in Britain, which is real democracy. This is the necessary discussion for the construction of the Labour left.*

# The disagreements in the world communist movement

J. Posadas

14th August, 1975.

The Soviet Union, through its publication 'Rude Pravo', organ of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia — commented a short time ago on the Leninist principles of the struggle for power. This does not mean that it has become revolutionary. This is not the case; but it announces the retaking of the principles for the advance to power. They say, quoting from Lenin: 'It is not possible to construct a new society without destroying the state and the structure of the old regime'. This is a struggle against the old bureaucracy, the regional bureaucracy, the bureaucracy of every Communist Party (CP) of every Workers State, the bureaucracy which links itself with the economic and social backwardness of these countries. The Soviet Union needs economic and social progress. The scientific and technical development of the USSR does not allow it any more to function with cliques, but it must plan and centralise. This conflicts with the interests and the local structure of each of the other parties and, at the same time, it fears the development in the CPs of bureaucratic tendencies with local interests which adapt themselves to the capitalist regime. This is the consequence of the old Stalinist policy which today the Soviet Union must overcome, and the CPs have still not overcome it.

This produces a direct conflict between the objective necessity of the progress of the Soviet Union, which is legitimate and just — although it might be led by the bureaucracy — and the CPs who adapt themselves to the capitalism of each country. This is the depth of the problem.

This does not mean that the Soviet Union has decided to adopt a revolutionary line, although it feels that many CPs create bourgeois wings and tendencies, pro-bourgeois wings of adaptation to capitalism, or of a mixture and combination with the capitalist regime. This creates obstacles in the plans and the needs for the development of the Soviet Union, and serves to make a counter-weight in favour of imperialism. At the same time, the objective development of the economy, science and technology, obliges the Workers State to progress and to have to co-ordinate to centralise. The regional interest of every country impedes centralisation.

The interest of every Communist Party co-ordinates with the bourgeoisie of each country, and creates wings interested in subduing the objective Soviet development of the Workers State. For this reason the Soviet Union must struggle with all its force against this, which is an obstacle for progress, to the logical support for the Workers State.

At the same time, this forces and imposes a conscious progress in the Workers State and it helps the understanding of strata — which, although of bureaucratic origin, are intermediate or lower strata who have security and confidence in the ideas, in the process of history, in the masses, and now are mouth-pieces of the necessity of progress. Hence, this article in 'Rude Pravo' is a combination of aspects but the historic depth favours and stimulates the development of the correct policy to eliminate the capitalist system. It is directed to impede the alliance, the co-ordination between the bourgeoisies of the countries of Europe and the bureaucracies of the Communist parties. This shows that the Soviet bureaucracy, that the development of the Workers State, must advance towards the necessary line, not correcting everything, but necessary. This is the third time that it has intervened to direct the Communist parties to give an impulse so that they adopt positions of struggle against the bourgeoisies, to impede or limit the tendencies which adapt themselves to capitalism. The meeting of the Communist parties of Latin America in Cuba is an example. The resolution: 'Struggle and civil war are necessary to take power', is another example. This resolution in 'Rude Pravo' is another. There, they do not speak of 'civil war' or 'revolution', but they speak of 'revolutionary struggle to destroy the state apparatus'. They are not revolutionary positions but they are not opportunist or conciliatory. The method which they proposed can, perhaps, be conciliatory and opportunist.

One of the more difficult problems of the world Communist movement, and which has maintained its backwardness in relation to capitalism, was precisely the question of 'destruction of the state apparatus'. They believed that the apparatus of the capitalist state could be absorbed and regenerated to make it serve another objective. To make the capitalist structure serve the objective of the Workers State is impossible. These positions demonstrated the tendencies in the world Communist movement of the 'Czechoslovak type', which seek to

utilise the nationalised property for the private end of groups, sectors and tendencies. This prejudices the general plans of the bureaucracy and also of its interests. It cannot do this. The structure of the Soviet Union does not allow the Soviet bureaucracy to do this, which is what Stalin did. On the contrary, scientific, economic development, the very great progress — social, political and revolutionary — of the Soviet masses, impels and obliges the Soviet Union to elevate its objectives and prevents it from conforming to limited agreements with the Communist parties of the other countries. The scientific, economic development of the Soviet Union needs the planning of all the Workers States. To compete with capitalism, with Yankee imperialism, and to confront the atomic war which imperialism is preparing, it needs the planning of all the Workers States.

The interest, as a bureaucracy, is that of making this policy of alliance with capitalism, but this interest is now not strictly in opposition, in contradiction with the progress of the Workers State. In many aspects it coincides.

For this reason everything makes for growth in the political life in the Soviet Union and also in the Communist parties. Science develops intelligence. Capitalism has no other remedy than to develop science, to develop industry, to make more profits. It must develop science through competition. And this science goes beyond capitalist interest. It cannot contain it and the bureaucracy cannot any more contain the development of the Workers States, as this is now expressing.

These are all principles which we have developed and for which we have carried forward the activity and which the Soviet Union sees itself obliged to apply. It has a support in the process of history. It is an elevation which does not depend on a group which becomes revolutionary, but it is the elevation of the technology, the economy and the social development which results, for example, in Portugal. It is the influence of all that which is expressed in Portugal, where there are soldiers who have a position much more consistent and coherent than the Communists. This does not mean the Communists are against; it is evident that the Communists are influencing a great deal the Portuguese soldiers. But this does not mean that the soldiers are behind the Communists.

All this process and discussion inundates the world. It is expressed in Italy and in China. According to the comments in the journals, they say that there are strikes in China, there are factories occupied by the soldiers, who work instead of the workers. Taking this information with reserve, because it comes from capitalism, it indicates anyway that a tense situation exists even if it is not at the level which they say.

Moreover, they do not speak of repression but of 'replacing the workers'. This indicates that there are very important sectors who have a weight in the economy, and who have support in the state and Party's apparatuses. There has been no repression. The soldiers sympathise with the workers. And the workers have made big Letter-Posters where they demand increase in wages, better conditions of work, and seek to throw out all the administrative personnel. It is an open dispute.

All this shows that Partial Regeneration is a profound force. J. POSADAS 14th August, 1975.

# The crisis of capitalism in the workers movement in Germany J Posadas 29th July, 1975.

(CENTRE PAGES)

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organ of the

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No. 250

Friday, 19th September 1975

Price 8p

EDITORIAL

## FOR A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IMPOSED BY THE TRADE UNIONS, THE LABOUR LEFT, AND MASS MOBILISATIONS

*The Labour Party Annual Conference is an essentially limited form of functioning, but it does provide a focus of attention and means of public discussion on fundamental issues. This year's Conference takes place at a time when, as Comrade Posadas analysed, the 'crisis of capitalism is concentrated in the Labour Party'. This being so — and whatever its limitations — the Conference has to be a discussion on how the programme of nationalisations of the Labour Party and trade unions is going to be implemented, on what the 'road to Socialism' is. The Labour Party Conference, like that of the TUC, takes place under the pressure of the reality of the total and final world crisis of capitalism, of the struggle of the working class — expressed through the trade union and factory struggle — in this country and in all Europe, by the advance — expressed in the process of Partial Regeneration — in the system of the Workers States. This is the reality of the world process of the Permanent Revolution at this stage and it will weigh in the Labour Party Conference — as it weighs in the Labour Party itself — and creates the ambience in which all the discussion will take place, in which the decisions are taken.*

**THERE IS A SITUATION OF DUAL POWER IN THE LABOUR PARTY.**

*The fact that the total world crisis of capitalism is concentrated in the Labour Party is expressed now, a hundred times over, in the disagreements between the team of Wilson — and the right — on one hand, and the Left — including a sector of the parliamentary left — on the other. Judith Hart and Audrey Wise go to Portugal and then speak in support of the revolution. Limitedly, perhaps, but in support nevertheless. At the same time, Wilson makes agreements with Soares, who represents the interests of imperialism and capitalism in Portugal. The NEC meets, the majority denounce the policies of the Labour government and Wilson sits and says nothing. 'Labour Weekly' continues a discussion on Portugal in which everybody — left and right — intervenes, and says what they like. The government continues the policy of British imperialism*

*in Ireland, whilst left Labour MPs campaign for the removal of British troops and organise a demonstration in favour, which is against the law which was brought in by the government. At the base of the Labour Party meanwhile, a sector of the most bourgeois MPs are removed — or threatened with removal — by their local Labour Parties. A situation of dual power exists now in the Labour Party, in which the bourgeois sector are losing control of the apparatus — and this is shown by the fact that Prentice, Jenkins, Williams and co. have to organise their own meetings and pretend that they are Labour Party meetings — while the left is not yet structured sufficiently around a coherent anti-capitalist programme and policy to enable it to impose itself. A major fact in this situation — as we show elsewhere in this issue of 'Red Flag' — is the fact that the trade unions, under the pressure of the workers at the base, have forced the leaderships to intervene politically and in opposition to the bourgeois policies of the government.*

**A MARXIST CURRENT IN THE LABOUR PARTY.**

*Faced with the rise in unemployment, with all the manifestations of the deepening of the economic aspect of the total crisis of world capitalism and the impotence of the right and centre of the Labour government to propose any policy or programme to answer the crisis, the Home Policies Committee of the Labour Party has produced a document which proposes a strengthening of the powers of the NEB. It contains measures which include an element of compulsion against capitalist enterprises to determine investment and production. They are proposals which, like the original 'industries bill', are very distant from the necessity to nationalise under workers control and to plan the economy on this basis. Nevertheless it is part of the process of constant collision and, on another level, a distant expression of the fact that within the Party there are currents which seek Marxism, seek a programme and policy outside electoral and parliamentary illusions. 'Tribune' does not represent this process and the clearance of right wing MPs only limitedly. An indication of the depth of this process is the clamour of denunciation — from the bourgeoisie, inside and outside of the Party — against Trotskyist 'infiltration'. The truth of the matter is that the left as it develops needs Marxism and the appearance of Marxist, Trotskyist tendencies (not yet visible) in the Labour Party is a logical development. It is not infiltration but the expression of the class struggle.*

*The crisis in the Labour Party over Portugal persists and deepens precisely because it brings into the open the fundamental questions of the class struggle and the nature of class society, which are hidden behind such vague terms as 'democracy' and 'freedom'. Portugal poses the question of democracy and freedom for whom and for what purpose? It is clear that the invitation to Soares to speak at the Conference must be denounced. Soares has intervened in Portugal against the trade unions and against the advance of the*

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RED FLAG

# The crisis of capitalism in the workers movement in Germany J. Posadas, July, 1975.

Germany is the capitalist country which is most developed after the United States. It has a solidly based industry, a firm economic development and a very corrupted Social Democratic Party in the service of capitalism. To carry out this function, the Social Democracy has to have a workers aristocracy which is in the factories.

It is necessary to advance in the knowledge and dominion of the structure of capitalism and of the strength of the proletariat in Germany; to see that capitalism can be sustained because it has the Social Democratic Party and this, in its turn, has the workers aristocracy which is the most powerful in the capitalist countries as in the United States and in Britain. The three most powerful countries of the capitalist world, the United States, Britain and Germany, are sustained on the basis of the workers aristocracy; Britain and Germany through the Social Democratic workers aristocracy.

This is the structure which is solid but which has quite a lot of weaknesses, and cracks are beginning to show in the solidity of German capitalism. And this is not through the crisis, not through the lack of trade, but because the working class is advancing much more than the capacity to contain, to dissuade and to repress, of capitalism. The force which allows the German working class to develop is the world process, and also the German Workers State.

In the sectors of the vanguard of the German proletariat, the concern to see where the process is going is developing with considerable strength. It cannot be expressed more directly because it does not have any more political life, an independent life or freedom to express itself politically. And the errors of the Communist Party, as well as of the German Workers State, in capitalist Germany as well as in the rest of the world, are not points of support or impulse or support for the German proletariat. All this exists and is the reality of Germany. But, at the same time, the crisis of German capitalism which is essentially economic, is going to become a social crisis in a short time; not in months but in a short time. Their claim to reanimate the economy is false, whether it is in the spring or the autumn. In Italy they are saying that, at the beginning of winter, there will be an economic upturn. And now they are saying that they have forgotten a series of things, and now this will be postponed for a little while. But the most decided capitalists, who realise that it cannot be concealed because the position is getting worse, pose that there is no solution; not even for the year which is coming do they see a solid perspective, not until after six months of the coming year. This is joined now to the usual economic crisis in the production of surplus value, in which a thousand articles can be produced but only eight hundred sold.

This crisis, which capitalism has confronted by means of state intervention with loans and stimulus to the economy by the state, is faced with the world development of the revolutionary struggle and new countries which enter into the area of the revolution. These countries which enter into the area of the revolution, in developing economically acquire a certain importance which is very small, but a certain importance nevertheless because they are consumers and maintain trade with the capitalist regime. But it is small, even if it is important, in comparison with the crisis of capitalism, because the crisis has made capitalism retreat; and the incorporation of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America even purchasing more, does not compensate at all because it is only a very small contribution compared with the prior magnitude of the crisis.

But the essential basis of this crisis of German capitalism is the development of the Workers State, the development of the revolution. These reforms which they are carrying out in Germany are similar to in Poland and the Soviet Union, liquidating or annulling local interests of the local bureaucrats, the small factories, to concentrate them, eliminating production at a high cost though small scale in order to concentrate production. This is still not done, but they are discussing and already they have intervened in various cases.

There is a pre-occupation on the part of the bureaucracy to increase the concentration of production, to diminish the cost of production, and to increase the contribution, the efficiency of production which is the product of labour, which means that with the same effort and time they produce more without increasing costs through technology. Thus capitalism, contrary to the epoch of Marx, individually through each worker profits less than before, extracts less surplus value than before, but as a whole extracts more because of the use of the machine. Then, in proportion to the yield of the workers labour and the machine, it is the machine which yields infinitely more.

The tendency of capitalism is then to make a cleansing in this state, in Germany also, and to eliminate the small factories. In Germany they are constantly liquidating hundreds of small enterprises, small banks and small insurance companies. There is a process of cleansing, of the elimination of the least competitive sectors which is the form in which capitalism - if it could get through this stage - thinks of as the means to re-animate the economy. But this requires a cycle over a number of years.

At the same time, different from earlier stages, with crises of this nature, there are now 14 Workers States and 18 Revolutionary States. The German proletariat, if it has to put up with a powerful bureaucratic apparatus, has also on one side the Workers State, and then there is Poland, a little further away Czechoslovakia, and looking even further, which the sun cannot conceal, there is Moscow.

The perspective of the German trade union bureaucracy is not so good because the process is going to the left. And the fear which they have is that any event which leads to a movement of confrontation, of criticism of capitalism on the question of solving the economic problems, can lead to a continuous reaction. They fear this and undoubtedly they have the apparatuses but they understand that the agitation of the German proletarian vanguard, without being Communist, is not submitted to capitalism. Hence the DGB (the German Trade Centre) has warned capitalism: either arrange things or we are going to be thoroughly disarranged. It doesn't formulate demands that are a product or a consequence of the workers movement, but it is sounding an alarm "either negotiate, or they are going to liquidate us". And when the workers aristocracy is obliged to make such proposals, it is because it feels the danger.

It is the German trade union centre which has done this, in which there is also the engineering trade unions with great weight, and a left. It means that it is not only the bureaucratic apparatus which determines this.

At the same time that this shows that these sectors of the left have support and have the attention of the workers vanguard, it shows that there is a process of internal discussion which neither the 'Jusos' nor the Socialist left register or represent. And neither do the 'Jusos' nor the Socialist left, which doesn't appear programmatically represent the process in the German trade unions.

The crisis throughout the capitalist world is accumulating, developing and concentrating. It is going also to involve Germany and to raise what measures to take in the crisis. Capitalism is now working as a function of the defence of the system; before it stimulated the crisis, now it wants to contain the crisis. Before it used the crisis as a means of blackmail, corrupting and intimidating the workers movement with the fear of unemployment. It utilised it with the objective, but now it cannot utilise it with this objective. Hence it subsidises unemployment, not of a few but of millions. It subsidises unemployment to prevent them going to the left. In Germany they are proposing solutions of nationalisation. And, when the German trade union centre make these proposals which contain certain forms of statification that are incomplete, it shows that the pressure is very great from the proletarian vanguard or from the sectors of the vanguard in industry not politically the vanguard, but sectors of the vanguard

in industrial struggle. The Socialist Party doesn't intervene, the Socialist left doesn't intervene, the German trade union centre doesn't intervene, and neither do the Communists.

This is not a dangerous situation, a symptom of decadent retreat. It is a question of the wealth of German capitalism and the lack of revolutionary policy of the Communist parties of the world. If the Communist parties, particularly the German Workers State, had developed a revolutionary policy, influencing the organisation of the left in Germany, there would now have existed a left in the Socialist Party among the 'Jusos' and a programme to intervene in this process.

It is necessary to discuss the reason for the necessity for a sliding scale of wages. The cost of living is increasing at almost the same rhythm as in other capitalist countries. It is increasing a great deal, and even with a very stable country, prices, including internal prices, are at present going up. This means that the unhealthy basis of the German economy is very profound, otherwise the prices wouldn't go up in a regular and constant form, regular in relation to the magnitude of the increases, constant insofar as they involve all products. Permanently, everything is going up and this means a very weak basis for German capitalism.

It is necessary to propose now an anti-capitalist left and a programme. It is necessary to propose this, but still there is not the leadership of the party or of the trade unions to apply it. They avoid the anti-capitalist policy, above all any measure of important nationalisations which has a real effect on the economy.

But it is a real fire going in a Soviet direction. Hence the workers bureaucracy has tremendous fears of any measure of statification, any measure by the state. But also Schmidt had to threaten statification. He threatened statification if 'the economy does not improve'. They want to impose on the capitalists to make sacrifices, to diminish profits, to maintain German capitalism. It cannot do this. Capitalism did acquire the Social Democracy so that it would increase profits and maintain the functioning of the capitalist system.

Conditions for the crisis in the Socialist Party are being created and elements for the formation of the left. Many publications are required for this. At the same time, the texts of the International are going to help the 'Jusos', the vanguard of the Jusos, the left in the Socialist and Communist parties, the Liberal left, to understand the necessity for nationalisations, the planning of production. It is necessary to make an analysis that this is not a passing, transitory crisis, but a crisis which is going to become more profound, showing the historic and world roots that it has. And, in this, one of the essential bases of this crisis is the world development of the revolution which deprives capitalism of a field of action. It has deprived it by removing one of the essential sectors of capitalism: the colonies. The advance of the revolution has eliminated the colonies for capitalism. Now they can scarcely invest 100 Marks. All the former colonies are developing and overthrowing capitalism.

It is not the competition of the other countries which produces the crisis of capitalism, but the advance of the revolution which reduces its forces, the areas of investments of profits of the capitalist system, and increases consequently the areas of profit of the revolution, although it might not be economically very much, it increases the profit, which is the social forces.

It is necessary to write on the democratic rights and to develop in the factories, the trade unions and the parties, an open discussion on economic problems, of Germany and of the world, proposing nationalisations, workers control, sliding scale of wages and hours of work, full democracy for all the tendencies, publications in each factory of newspapers in which all the tendencies can write, the left groups can write as much as they wish, and we seek that they write. There should be complete freedom of thought, but also centralisation in action, not to be a debating circle where everyone applies if it

suits him, but full discussion and centralised application. Although centralised application means that the bureaucracy is the force which leads, for now it is like this but, at least, it prepares the conditions for stages immediately afterwards, of months, a few years of development of the left.

When the German trade union centre takes the initiative to pose to management: 'Either you negotiate or we are going to come unstuck', it is because the reaction of the working class is imminent. It is true that in Germany the standard of life is very elevated, but it is also true that it is the most fragile capitalism because it must maintain in an unalterable form such a condition, otherwise it produces in the S.D.\*, in the Liberals, and part of the Christian Democracy - a disintegration because they lose confidence in the future of capitalism. And the struggle in the Christian Democracy and the CSU among others, is the conflict over what road, what orientation to take in this German crisis. Strauss seeks a strong policy to confront the other sectors, seeks a suave policy of adaptation, a flexible policy to agree with the Socialist right and try to win the Liberals. They are not opposed to positions over the future of capitalism, but they are seeking what tactic to meet this stage and, in accordance with the interests of each sector, they give their proposals. The interest of Strauss is the interest of big business linked with Yankee imperialism directly. The other also but with less political strength to achieve a solution by means of a hard policy of confrontation. Strauss is ready to do this, and he offers the bourgeoisie to carry out this policy.

It is necessary to develop at the same time full democratic rights to elevate the programme throughout the country; to propose a discussion throughout the country in which the petit bourgeoisie can intervene also, so that all intervene to find a solution, to propose a programme of production, a planning of production, in accordance with the needs of the population, of trade with the Workers States, of help and exchange with the Revolutionary States, with a plan for the sliding scale of wages, sliding scale of hours, nationalisations, planning and workers councils. It is a plan which is not going to have any immediate welcome, but it is going to tend to be a centre for the grouping of the left which does not know how and where to organise. Above all, it is afraid that any organisation of an important left will fall into the hands of the Communist future, not of the Communist Party of Germany but of the other Germany. Hence the difficulty, the delay and the fear in the formation of the left. It is not only the economic boom which subjects the organisation of the left, but their fear of where the process is going to go. They still do not have programme, policy or objectives. They have to pass from the Social Democracy to become Socialists and Revolutionary Socialists. There have been efforts among the Jusos and the Socialist left, but they lack consistency because they lack security and, at the same time, they fear to go further because of the fear of being by-passed. And together with this the policy of the German Workers State has not helped the organisation of the left, because the German Workers State supports the Communist Party of Germany which has no strength.

Germany is not like France or Italy where every day there is a list of meetings, mobilisations, insults against the government, constant occupation of factories. In Germany it is not like this. When there is a demonstration, people come out and shout slogans. But the bureaucracy does not make a mobilisation over anything. Thus, there are many difficulties in gaining contact with the Communist movement, the Socialist movement, the youth and the trade unions. And the life of the trade unions is no use because they are real capitalist enterprises.

The Communists have not advanced at all. In very good conditions, just right to advance, the Communist Party has not advanced at all. The working class has concentrated around the Socialist Party. The lack of confidence in the Communists lasts and is transmitted.

But it can be transmitted, and the lack of confidence in the Communists finds an audience through the attitude of the German Workers State, of the USSR, and of the Communist Party. Undoubtedly this is going to change. The attitude of the French Communist Party is going to have a great effect, but it is necessary to wait for the effects and the consequences. It is not going to be instantaneous.

In a country where there are so many anarchist groups, with bomb throwing, assassinations and crimes, there is a real basis for this, i.e. the immense disproportion between the wealthy and the very great poverty of sectors of the population, particularly of the immigrant population. And this ostentation provokes the discontent of many people, particularly the anarchists, and the CIA utilises this.

It is necessary to write on all the present problems of the economy, on the crisis of democracy, on the need of a discussion in the workers movement, of a United Front to discuss all these problems and to show the necessity to nationalise the German economy. In the 'State and Revolution', Lenin poses all the problems of Soviet democracy and the smashing of the state apparatus. Lenin said clearly and decisively: 'It is necessary to smash all the state apparatus'. As there was no experience, or the experience which they had was very recent, Lenin wrote about it in all his complete works on the revolution. He made no mistakes, either on the dictatorship of the proletariat or on the forms of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin was quite clear when he analysed that it is necessary to transform the state, and to do this by force. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the instrument to develop the capacity for action of the proletariat and to construct Socialism, not to oppress or to persecute, or take vengeance, nor to kill. It is the form of organisation which guarantees, which secures, which dedicates itself to preserve the functioning of the Workers State to construct Socialism.

Insofar as he spoke of Socialism, as Trotsky explained in: 'The great organiser of defeats' and in: 'Revolution betrayed', it never occurred to Lenin to suppose that the Workers State was Socialism. He used the word Socialism as a form of popularisation, as when Lenin referred to progress in the countryside: 'Socialism is electrification, soap and machinery'. Good. There is soap, machines and electricity, but there is no Socialism. In the same way, Lenin proposed to change the words 'dictatorship of the proletariat' into the words 'peasants and workers government'. Trotsky explained that they were synonyms aimed to attract the peasantry, but they were not in opposition to the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat. What preoccupies the Communists now is to negate the dictatorship of the proletariat, a thing to which we are opposed. Lenin proposed to generalise, to familiarise, to popularise the conception of the workers and peasants government, as a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although it was not identical, it prepared the basis for the dictatorship of the proletariat, above all taking into account that in that stage, 80% of the population were peasants and the proletariat was a minority. Then it could be utilised to stimulate the resistance of the peasants who were in a majority, and the other small proletarian sectors, and then to develop the lack of confidence in the proletariat. But Lenin posed that it could be resolved as a function of the proletariat which gave confidence to the peasants.

Lenin in no instance spoke of Socialism. In discussion which they have just had in Italy, Ingrao - without any reason to justify it - said that Lenin never posed Socialism in one country. He posed it without anyone asking him, and now Ingrao has posed this several times. And these formulations of Lenin show that it is not Socialism about which he was speaking, because this was written before the Russian Revolution. It was in 1915, and the Revolution was in 1917. He used the term as a general popularisation, of the Workers State and the construction of Socialism. The Communists themselves do not utilise this any more, because they cannot substantiate it theoretically. The

# THE LIMITATIONS OF A DOCUMENTARY FILM, AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE RUMANIAN WORKERS STATE.

18.1.75

J. Posadas

In the Rumanian Workers State, there is a powerful revolutionary development. Rumania exports technicians, engineers, industrial products, machine-tools, and gives loans to countries in Latin America. This documentary film in Rumania has nothing to do with this reality. Rumania was 90% peasant, and one of the most backward industrial sectors in central Europe. Now, only 40% of its population are peasant. No capitalist country, within a period of 25 years has reduced its peasant population on this scale: they all stagnate, because there is no possibility of industrial development.

In Rumania there is a very great bureaucracy and very powerful trade union bureaucracy which weighs a great deal. The trade union review which is edited in Rumania, seems like a very glossy review of a very wealthy enterprise. It is a review with articles on luxuries, showing the life of the bureaucracy, of the leadership, not the life of the workers movement; the trade union leaders seem preoccupied with living well, the pages are full of restaurants and women, and bureaucrats, eating in restaurants. It does not show the revolutionary cultural life which exists in the Rumanian Workers State although in a limited form. Even so, the Workers State has the strength to impose and force social progress, economic and revolutionary progress more than all the capitalist states combined. In this film, nothing of this is shown. In every documentary film it is necessary to express the reality of today: in this case, what is Rumania today; to express what the country was like then, and what it is like now, showing what has progressed, and that it lives the world progress of the revolution. Rumania is within the Warsaw Pact, and in spite of all the efforts of the Rumanian bureaucracy, it has not come out of the Warsaw Pact. This is Rumania.

This film shows the less important aspects, not those which are more fundamental. It shows customs and still the submission to backwardness, which does exist. But it is necessary to show what Rumania was hardly 25 years ago. It is necessary to discuss, to show how the peasants lived then. The peasants even progressing mentally, socially and intellectually, maintain their social customs. But what prevails is the more elevated level which they now have, which is the social understanding that the collective life is superior.

In Rumania, even though there exists a collective life founded on cooperatives, it is infinitely superior to the previous life and there is no private property. There is an enormous progress of the peasants, some thing that capitalism has never achieved, nor could achieve, because its action is opposite: it stimulates private property. In Rumania, the peasant has collective property, and still maintains old customs; for a period still he is going to maintain them, not because it need be like this, but because the political leadership of the Workers State does not develop the conditions to allow the development of superior social relations. Hence, backwardness remains, and they still have previous customs of a certain mystical, religious nature. They do not completely understand the world. every thing which resorts to the customs of the past, which is not naturally necessary or progressive is the road to mysticism. On the other hand, even with these customs, the peasants have a very advanced social life. When they have to decide, they decide for the Workers State, and they expelled the nazis. It is necessary to compare the life of the peasants in the Workers States and in the capitalist system. In the U.S. agricultural production is highly industrialised with a high level of productivity. Nine per cent of the population is agricultural, a much lower proportion than in all the Workers States. In the Soviet Union approximately 30% of the population is involved in agricultural production in the U.S. more is produced, with better productivity and better quality. But the peasant of the U.S. has an individual life. He is very backward, and the basis for this backwardness is because he continues believing in and holding on to private property. This is one of the bases of backwardness, because it prevents the development of the intellectual capacity to understand what is happening in this stage of history in the world. On the other hand, the Rumanian peasants, like the Soviet peasants, with more backward means of production and still

very backward customs, are socially very advanced. The peasantry accepts collective property, the collective relationships, and develops its mind in the collective appreciation of history and human relations.

The Rumanian peasantry sees the social superiority of the Workers States. So, it accepts, puts up with the delays, backwardness and bureaucratic managements. It sees these, it does not succeed in understanding totally, with a sufficient historic sense, but it sees that it is superior compared with what occurred before. The same situation gives a base for superior intellectual functioning, a thing which no regime of private property gives. Capitalism can increase productivity, but it cannot increase intelligence. On the contrary, it degrades it. The Workers State does not increase productivity, but it increases intelligence. This is the way history is measured. It is not measured by productivity. Capitalism measures how much rice, and how much maize, is produced. It is certain that this is important, but it is not decisive. It was important in capitalist competition; in social competition, it is no longer decisive. In the epoch of one Workers State, yes, it had historic importance. Today, no. Today, humanity sees that the problem is one of leadership and that this can be resolved, that already the Workers State is superior to the capitalist state. What this film shows is an infamy against the Workers States. We criticise the leaders of the Workers States for their bureaucratic management and their limitations. But through its structure, through its very existence, the Workers State is infinitely superior to the culture of all the capitalist states put together.

North America has many technicians, engineers and doctors, and there is a high level of production; but also, there are eight million unemployed and gangsters at every corner. The U.S. has a very developed agricultural production with a high level of productivity. It has incorporated the development of electricity into agricultural production and a series of advantages which the Workers States do not have, but which they are now reaching towards. The Workers States have not achieved it yet, because of the deficiencies of the leadership which holds back social relations, and through the system of social production which impedes the optimum production levels. The problem does not derive strictly from the absence of machinery or industrial production. It is the social organisation of the bureaucracy which has the Kolkhoz and the form of production of the Sovkhos which limits production. But, on the other hand, the Workers State produced Stalingrad. It is beautiful to see how in Stalingrad the Soviet masses smashed the nazis. But they did not develop hatred for the German people. When the war finished, they gave them cigarettes and sandwiches. On the other hand, when the war came no capitalist defended his churches. When they saw that they were in danger, the capitalists gave orders to clear out. The workers defended Stalingrad, and this is Rumania also. Let capitalism try to recover Rumania! What would happen is what has happened in Yugoslavia. When capitalism tried to recover Yugoslavia, by means of federations of bourgeois nationalists, the whole of Yugoslavia went to support the proletarian vanguard, and this impelled Tito to take measures. No capitalist country does this. And this is what they must show in the film. This is the progress of society, and this is the essential quality of the country. It is important that we see in this way the Workers States. Capitalism tries to make comparisons and has no other solution than to show that the Workers State exists. The Workers State has a great effect on the petit bourgeoisie. Hence, they seek to show the least advanced aspects. It is sufficient to see what Rumania was like 25 years ago, and what it is like now. On the other hand, the capitalist regime, what has it done? It is sufficient to look at Korea. It was a Rumania: both North and South Korea. North Korea exports tractors, technicians, machinery, and the revolution. South Korea exports assassins. It is necessary to compare in this way. And, in Cuba, also, it is the same.

It is necessary to look with love and affection at the Workers State, which is not expressed by the bureaucracy. It is the existence of the Workers State, the structure, the historic character of the Workers State which is the base for progress.

The deficiency comes from the leadership which impedes a better development. In capitalism there is not a deficiency of leadership, it is the system itself which prevents it from being other than what it is. In the Workers State, this is not the case, and it is necessary to look at Rumania with sympathy, to see what Rumania was, a country of shepherds

In the Workers States there are some degenerate aspects which arise from the most backward sectors of the bureaucracy. But the Workers State no longer allows this. For many years capitalism talked about the fact that 'in the USSR there are child pick-pockets and child-

thieves'. But that was one, two, or five or ten cases in a million. They said: 'As in capitalism, in the USSR there are cocaine, and drug addicts'. But this again meant the sons of the bureaucrats, which means an insignificant percentage. Capitalism does not say that the Soviet Union is weighing on the political crisis, that it is weighing on the bureaucracy, that it is improving the economy and social relations. It intervenes supporting Vietnam, it prevents capitalism from advancing and progressing in the world. Capitalism does not say this. If the population was degenerate, this would not exist.

The Workers State maintains a

unity because it develops the intelligence of the population. The social regime, the forms of production demand superior social relations, which develop the intelligence. In capitalism this is not the case; it develops private property, customs, and shuts off intelligence and reason. There is scientific progress, but it has a minute effect because each one utilises it for private property and competition. In the Workers State, this is not the case; it allows intelligence to develop.

J. POSADAS. 18th January, 1975.

## THE TUC CONFERENCE SHOWS THE CONDITIONS EXIST TO DEVELOP A LEFT CURRENT IN THE TRADE UNIONS

From the first day of the TUC Conference, the trade unions affirmed their conceptions of the social contract with the government, thus showing that they, the trade unions and not the government, have the initiative. There have been discussions held and resolutions passed which do not entirely correspond to the functioning of the TUC as an apparatus (which it still is), but which tend to give way to the pressure coming from the trade unions, for a real discussion, for a political functioning in the trade unions and the TUC, and for the trade unions to be a conscious 'political force'. Besides this a resolution for the legalisation of factory occupations was discussed and another was passed for a campaign to be made to release the Shrewsbury picket; this shows that there is a left developing in the trade unions and that the right wing has lost the possibility of controlling it. The trade union leadership cannot function as they once did as the Labour lieutenants of capitalism; they do not have the strength.

The TUC is still very distant from the workers, in the sense that it has no real organisation so as to be a leadership to the individual unions, and the representatives in it are very distant representatives of the workers. Moreover, the TUC is still a machinery which thinks in terms of negotiations, arbitration, arrangement with the Labour government and the bosses in industry. Those in it live a dull, unimaginative life. They tend to be opposed to discussion, to change, to struggle, for this upsets their quiet lives. However, today they feel that there is no quiet life and they have to respond to an extent to the pressure exerted on them, if only to try to maintain their control over their various unions. This is because the working class is applying an enormous pressure.

When the TUC had to discuss - as was raised by Lyons of the electrical engineers - the question of the 'TUC as a political force' and the question (raised by Kendal) that the TUC should have a journal, should discuss, should animate itself, should have a life: it is because the vigour and creative strength of the working class has found its way through a sector of the trade unions and is now putting pressure on some of the actual leaderships. Indeed, we call for the left of the trade unions to do just this, to create a life of discussion fundamentally in the trade union branches and in the factories, making small journals and publications in which are discussed such things as: balances of the result of the miners' ballot and its significance, the result of the referendum and the way the trade unions in Portugal succeeded in applying the programme of nationalisations of the land, the banks, the CUF, by occupations and workers control, not by expecting this or that government to do it for them, not expecting this to come through negotiations or by peaceful means.

In answer to this pre-occupation for a political life in the trade unions, it is necessary that the sectors of the left in the trade unions call local conferences, for example, on unemployment, on workers control, on the running of the nationalised industries, etc.

### THIS TUC CONFERENCE SHOWS THAT A LEFT EXISTS

When the TUC with the conservative apparatus which it has, has to discuss such topics as making factory occupations legal (in spite of the interest of some to use this in order to contain), and pass a resolution for the liberation of a worker jailed for having picketed, this shows how the unions move outside respect for bourgeois norms whatever the intentions of individual workers. It is revolutionary in implication, if in no other way. When this expresses itself at the TUC Conference, it announces new developments in the trade unions. The same applies to the discussion over Ireland, even if it has been very limited; Ray Buckton of the Railway Workers Union spoke about the necessity of an Irish and British trade union conference, but what is also necessary is a programmatic discussion. Another

element of progress has been shown in the passing of the resolution for the collaboration of the two world trade union centres. This inevitably means a better relationship with the trade unions of the Workers States and, fundamentally, it is the Workers States and the Soviet Union among them, who have taken most initiatives towards this. This means that there is a response to the initiatives of the Workers States which included the visit of Shelepin to 'Her Majesty the British working class' a few months ago. The decision of the TUC to campaign for the coming closer of all the trade union centres means that there is the basis for the left to seek to apply this resolution, by initiatives towards the Soviet trade unions and the other Workers States.

### THE LEFT IN THE TRADE UNIONS HAS TO HAVE A PROGRAMME.

It is very important that the class which took place between Jones and Bowman, even though it is an inter-bureaucratic clash, had its roots in a discussion which is one of the burning issues of this stage: the nationalised industries such as the railways, and the proposal by Bowman - which is the line of the NUR as a whole - that there should be an integrated transport system with a national plan. This poses clearly the question of the furthering of the revolutionary process in Britain, in the sense that the nationalised enterprises will have of necessity to be removed from the hands of predatory managers, sold to private property, and run under workers control. This requires a left in the Labour Party and a very determined action by the trade unions, with a conscious left current in it. In part this is why the response of Jones to Bowman was a furious one, and certainly without reasoning or programme. What this furious exchange showed is the public crisis in the trade unions and the no less public rebellion from the part of a sector more linked to a left current which is indignant at the way the nationalised industries and the trade union life have been reduced to nothing so as to avoid confronting this moribund and inhuman system. This is a reflection of the crisis all the way through the unions and the absolute necessity of the left to organise itself on the basis of a programme without which it cannot transcend the pettiness of

We propose that a balance of this year's Conference be made in all the trade unions, in all the branches, the factories and the shop stewards committees, and that the question of the trade unions as 'a political force' be discussed. We propose that the role of the trade unions in Italy, in France, in Argentina and the world, be discussed; and also the relationship of the trade unions with the Labour government in this country, the necessity of a Government of the Left in Britain, which the trade unions are already preparing to construct.

the apparatus: the nationalisation of the banks, the insurance companies, the monopolies, and the method of obtaining this, which is: OCCUPATIONS, MOBILISATIONS. the imposition of WORKERS CONTROL, in private and nationalised industries, and more nationalisations. This demands a complete discussion and democracy in the factories and in the trade unions. The right for all to speak, the election and recall of all delegates at mass meetings; that each shop and department in each factory has representatives in the FACTORY COMMITTEES, and that these should send delegates to what will then be a National Conference of trade unions. To achieve this, a determined left has to intervene as a leadership in the trade unions, calling Conferences of the left to discuss this programme

### THE LEFT OF THE TRADE UNIONS MUST SEEK TO GOVERN

The open, if limited, struggle, in the TUC is an example of what is happening in the trade unions today; the clash between Jones and Bowman was, in fact, provoked by the fear of the bureaucratic layers of the TUC when seeing that there is now expressed in their own ranks the need to take on the path of mobilisations against unemployment (for example), and of putting the nationalised enterprises at the service of the masses. This is revolutionary in its implications;

In the same way as the resolution to free a picket in spite of the law is revolutionary in its implications, for it means that the law is defending criminals, the capitalists, and is used against the workers. This challenges the monarchy and the capitalist system. In the same way, to use the trade unions as 'a political force' has revolutionary implications today. Today is the stage of the political intervention of the trade unions so as to impose, change, and impel governments. In this country, the trade unions defeated the anti-strike laws of Wilson and smashed the Tories. In Argentina, they smashed the right of I. Peron's government, and stimulated a left in the army. The importance of the intervention of the British trade unions in Britain is that they have to struggle in the same way, to smash the right of the Labour Party and the right of the Labour government - taking full advantage of capitalist decomposition. This is a political intervention at the level of government. It does not mean the trade unions are going to replace the Labour Party, but they are going to mobilise to decide the policy of the government by putting themselves in the government with the Labour Party. The actual Labour government must be transformed into a Government of the Left, and this is precisely what the trade unions are in the process of doing.

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# Nationalisations and planning ~ to the chaos of capitalism the only solution

The social and political debility which has marked world capitalism is now joined by a very profound economic crisis, no longer on a par with the modest recessions of the period since the second world war, but linked in depth and scope with the unsolved economic crises before world war two. This is speaking of this crisis as it affects the major capitalist economies (Posadas some time ago characterised the crisis of capitalism as total, i.e. in every sphere of life, base and superstructure), although for the countries advancing towards revolutionary states in Asia, Africa or Latin America the stagnation of capitalism and the exploitation of imperialism has inflicted on them a perpetual slump and mass unemployment, open or concealed, for decades.

The very decisive character of this crisis is linked with the terminal condition of capitalism. Whereas in the inter-war period capitalism produced a Keynes who gave a limited perspective for capitalism with the conception of injecting aid into an economy which could be constantly adjusted, now capitalism can only find experts of the bruiser variety to try to justify wholesale unemployment and reduction in the standard of life; that is, the so-called monetarists. This is the crudest form of capitalist apologetic which, linked to the regime in Chile, is the outlook of confrontation. It's an attitude of despair reflecting only the impotence of capitalism, because the change in world relations do not allow capitalism any successful confrontations with the working class. Delays, yes, before succumbing to the proletariat; but defeats of the working class, no! Reflation and deflation involve hopeless dilemmas for the capitalist class on an international scale. The system cannot operate without massive injections and expansion of credit, but neither can it advance with it. Inflation embraces and destroys it at the same time. Above all, in this the attitude of the working class prevents capitalism solving its crisis at their expense.

The present world economic crisis will be continuous in the sense that, even with some forms of recovery in particular industries, capitalism does not have the resources or markets to revitalise itself historically. At the most, technology, i.e. automation, can lead to higher production with fewer workers and consequently a limited market. There is no profound recovery possible, the crisis is world wide, economies such as the Japanese - with formerly, by capitalist standards, unusual rates of growth - are now prostrate with the rest. And, in such conditions, the viciousness of inter-capitalist competition redoubles. All this tendency to capitalist overproduction was described by Marx a long time ago; it is a crisis exacerbated in the conditions of the twentieth century by the massive inflationary tendencies resulting from capitalist arms budgets and state orientated inflationary credit expansion on an international scale.

## CAPITALISM IS TOTALLY IMPOTENT.

The economic putrefaction of capitalism in the most powerful capitalist economies was temporarily covered up by the 'recovery' of capitalism after the second world war. With the refusal of the Communist parties to take power in western Europe, capitalism was given the opportunity to reconstruct the west European economy. But the internal contradictions of the capitalist economy are now intensified at a higher level, because it does not have new territories to conquer and cannot compete with the Workers States. Capitalism was permitted to continue by the policy of Stalin - of itself it had no innate capacity to continue. Thus, despite all the efforts to modify capitalism, its ulcerous condition reasserts itself. Even when expanding, whole sectors of the population were abandoned to poverty; infrastructures of transport and housing decay with variations between the capitalist powers. Of itself capitalism never solved its crises. The slumps of 1929 'solved' it by a process of bloody repression of the working class and massive arms preparations. Now the processes of 1929 return in an infinitely weaker capitalist world. Trade with the Workers States can only slightly moderate the crisis. The Workers States, with their monopoly of foreign trade and state planning of investment, prohibit the possibilities for capitalism to develop new spheres of investment and massive new markets.

This economic crisis, therefore,

has to be seen in the light of its international and irreversible character - which does not mean that a little push and capitalism will fall over and admit its mistakes and make way, as good democrats, for Socialism. Only people with special interests can argue for a peaceful road to Socialism, people who dream of a quiet orderly existence where big business can be convinced by parliament and mass pressures, to go quietly. The economic crisis will act both as a stimulus to the proletariat to organise its forces and, on the other hand, it is yet another warning to capitalism to prepare for the final encounter. All its problems - economic, social, political - demand war as the only way out.

The forces of production are in open conflict with the social relations. Humanity on a world scale rebels against the insolent misuse of science and productive relations induced by capitalism. Thus capitalism can no longer shift the burden of its crisis onto the masses and hope to leave it there. In trying to do this, as it did before 1939, it risks entering into immediate and despairing confrontation with the masses.

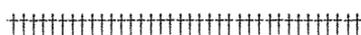
Neither are the methods of 'interventionism' much use for capitalism, i.e. massive subsidies, limited nationalisations, because these give no social authority to capitalism; rather they point the way objectively to the need for the Workers State. A half-way house, not on the lines of capitalism, is a source of instability.

Capitalism is desperately trying to develop fascist provocations, but it lacks the means to do this. It praises strong arm fascist methods in Portugal (Daily Telegraph) and stimulates fascist gangs in Northern Ireland, but to solve its internal problems only a massive fascist force could give it respiration, but the power of the Workers States and the massive decomposition of capitalism deprive it of means of attracting the petit bourgeoisie or the unemployed. In this situation the left of the Labour Party have to adopt a bold programme and policy emphasising its class character. Capitalism never came in by peaceful means, it came in by violence and the predatory exploitation of man by man. It devised parliamentary democracy with the cooperation of the labour aristocracy as its camouflage. The profound crisis of the economy and the incapacity of capitalism to attract support, or indeed to present an effective united front among its own forces, gives the opportunity to explain and develop the programme of nationalisations, the need for a massive outlay on public works under the control of the trade unions and factory committees, workers control in the factories; and overall the government subsidies to industry, monopoly of foreign trade, nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies. To achieve this there has to be a discussion on the basis of the inevitable class conflict, because such a programme cannot be determined by legislation. 60% of Portugal has been nationalised, but only as a result of the force coming from the masses and the army, and do the bourgeoisie give up? No, and as Britain is one of the centres of world finance, it is absurd to argue for a Socialism without civil war, it is a hopeless opium dream, an attempt to escape from reality and live in the electoralist world of filing cabinets and select committees and memoranda which bear no relation to the struggles and aspirations of the masses.

The force of the economic crisis gives force to the programme of transitional demands - sackings must be met by occupations, workers control, opening of the books, massive strikes and demonstrations. This is what has to be done. Arguments over inflation and de-

flation must take place in the arena of the Socialist programme. A small number of nationalisations is a start, but it is insufficient. Capitalism is totally putrefying.

The programme and the policy has to be of a quality to overcome the collapse and disintegration of capitalism, and this revolves fundamentally around the nationalisation of the key industries and banks, workers control and occupations. In essence, the programme is simple; but the revolutionary methods of confrontation which accompany it, require the world confidence and vision of Marxism.



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IV International Publications

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# THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM..

Continued from page 2

activity of Lenin, the struggle of Lenin, demonstrated that if the Workers State was Socialism he would not have launched the struggle that he did against the bureaucracy. In writing the testament against Stalin it was evident he did not believe that it was Socialism, but that it was a Workers State; and Lenin was the one who approved and developed the conception of the Workers State. The Bolsheviks accepted this. And there was the text published in Mexico of Gramsci which they concealed from 1919 to 1924, in which Gramsci recalls: 'As Lenin spoke of the Workers State', 'As Lenin proposed: The Soviets...', and he explained the nature of the Workers State.

These are the problems which it is necessary to discuss. And in this relationship between the State and Revolution, it is necessary to intervene to organise and lead. And in Germany, there is a situation where it is necessary to form the left based on this process of crisis. The difference of wages in the Workers State means that there is a class struggle, otherwise the workers would accept in a resigned way the differentiation of wages - and difference in wages promotes inequality in other spheres, juridical amongst others. For example, in relation to possession, there are bureaucrats who have two cars and two houses. Is this Socialism which increases differences and divergences? Socialism is not the collectivised economy, it is the social relations. It is not the form which property has; Socialism eliminates every form of property, otherwise it is not Socialism, it is a more advanced form than capitalism. With the existence of the working class, there exist class differences and divergences. There is no Socialism. And, in the USSR, there is a class struggle as in all the Workers States; there is a class struggle, attenuated, but it is a class struggle. These are the problems which we have to discuss.

The crisis of capitalism is world wide. Germany resists it, contains it still, because it has a greater wealth and a very great trade union and political bureaucracy. But it cannot impede it any way. The bureaucracy cannot impede the orientation of the vanguard and of the workers who seek a solution in the crisis of capitalism. This solution is difficult because the Communist parties should give a class solution. In Italy, they are seeking how capitalism can re-invest. But in France, no. The Communist and Socialist parties are seeking how to change the capitalist government and to impose a government of the left, a government of the left with the programme which expropriates and nationalises the principle industries. It is necessary to do this. The Communists do not do it, the Party has to do it. It has to create a current, which is a necessity of history for Germany.

J. POSADAS 29th July, 1975.

\*S.D. - Social Democracy

# EDITORIAL.. Cont'd

from page 1

revolution, against the independent intervention of the masses, against the Communists, against workers control, and against the decisions of the base of his own Party. It is a clear demonstration of the kind of 'democracy' which Soares and his allies in the Labour leadership defend when this decision was not taken by the trade unions or the Labour Party, but by a small clique in the apparatus. The right for such people to speak has to be denied and, on the contrary, full opportunity to speak should be given to representatives of the Portuguese revolution to the trade unions, the left of the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the MFA and the workers councils. The conclusions from Portugal for this country have to be drawn. The civil war is inevitable and the bourgeoisie, even when they are weak and largely expropriated - as they are in Portugal and on a world scale - do not give up without a struggle and without using all the force (including armed force) which they possess.

It is important that Portugal is discussed in the Labour Party - in the same way as it was important that the Labour Party called a national rally on Chile. When such meetings and discussion are left at the level of the Chile Rally, of vague expressions of solidarity, they are simply means of containing the discussion, of giving an impression of doing something whilst, in reality, doing nothing. The repression in Ireland, the terrorism and assassination of British imperialism and its extension in this country - with the bombings in Birmingham and at the Hilton - are preparations for civil war and they go together with repressive 'fascist' legislation (like the Terrorism Act) imposed by the government. It has to be said publicly by the Labour left that the TERRORISM WHICH NEEDS PREVENTING IS THAT OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM. This is the first and necessary step to the formulation of a policy for the imposition of the programme of nationalisations, with a policy for the mobilisation and independent organisms of the working class. It is a step towards the recognition that nationalisations are going to be imposed by workers control and through factory occupations.

## THE LEFT HAS TO TAKE ITSELF OUTSIDE THE STRUCTURE OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

Benn has now broken his silence - during which such world events as the revolution in Portugal, the victories of the masses in France and Italy, the struggle in the Middle East and the intervention of the Workers States have passed him by - with a statement containing an 'eight point plan'. In the main the proposals are so vague as to be meaningless, inasmuch as they suggest the implementation of Labour's 'manifesto' without saying how it is to be implemented. Equally, he says not a word about the debacle of the 'co-operative' at Meriden and the crisis of NVT. On the other hand, he does propose discussions and the tightening of links between the trade unions, the Labour Party and the Labour government. We agree there is a necessity for discussion, but

one which involves the working class and the mass of the population. Yes! A campaign of meetings in the factories, the workers areas, in which everyone can intervene, all the tendencies which support the programme of nationalisations which are anti-capitalist. However, if this process of discussion is to be developed, it has also to be based on an assessment of the past period; to draw conclusions. The experience of the referendum campaign has to be discussed and the question has to be raised, why the left did not mobilise the support which existed and which was shown by the fact that key sectors of the working class abstained. The question of NVT and the failure of the 'co-ops' should also be discussed. We agree that there should be a closer relation between the government and the trade unions. And the best expression of this would be the Government of the Left in which the trade unions are directly represented and which is based on the programme of nationalisations already adopted by the trade unions and the Labour Party.

The Labour Party Conference is, in its form and structure, limited but it can be used. The mass of resolutions from the CLPs and the trade unions can provide a basis for the discussion and formulation of a coherent anti-capitalist programme by the left. However, it is little more than a platform for ideas and, even if the right is losing control of the apparatus, the structure of inertia of the apparatus still exists. THE LABOUR LEFT HAS TO TAKE ITSELF OUTSIDE THIS BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE, HAS TO BASE ITSELF ON THE MOBILISATIONS AND FACTORY ORGANISMS OF THE WORKING CLASS in order to develop the political life which is an essential part of the process of structuring itself in the Labour Party. This demands LOCAL CONFERENCES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT on a national scale. Conferences and meetings based on a programme to combat unemployment which is: a programme of public works, the construction of houses, hospitals etc., for no worker to be sacked - work sharing without loss of pay, for any factory threatened with closure to be occupied and run under workers control and without compensation; for the PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY on the BASIS OF NATIONALISATIONS TO FULFIL THE NEEDS OF THE MASSES. It is on the basis of the conjunction of an internal political life based on the world experience of the revolution - and central to this the existence of the Workers States and the elevation of revolutionary policy and programme in the world Communist movement - with the direct relationship with the mobilisations and organisms of the class, that the left in the Labour Party is going to advance, to structure itself and to play a role in the transformation of the Labour Party. At this moment the Soviet Union is intervening, not only in the world Communist movement but in the Socialist movement also, and this is a fundamental strength on which the left forces in the Labour Party have to base themselves.

14th September, 1975.

This paper is Registered with the GPO as a newspaper

Printed by the Russell Press Ltd., Nottingham (TU)

# Editorial

## THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND IN THE TRADE UNIONS, MUST ORGANISE AND DISCUSS IN THE FACTORIES AND THE WORKERS AREAS

The crisis of development in the Labour Party — highlighted in the impasse in the policy of the government and the policy statement of the NEC — is part of the whole crisis of development throughout the world workers movement. This receives its impetus from the process of Partial Regeneration in the Workers States and the international Communist movement. The process of transformation of the Communist and Socialist, or former social democratic parties, is an uneven and empirical process. As there is no Marxist vision, the objective process which demands the transformation of these organisations into parties dedicated to the overthrow of the system of private property, does not find its complete and representative expression. It is clear that there is a real break between the general leftwards tendency in the Labour Party and the policy of the Labour Government, but the true depth and quality of this crisis is hardly represented either by NEC texts or the uproar over the removal of rightist MPs.

Two forces are indispensable in the clarification of the policy of the Labour Party — the decision of the British proletariat which is going to find expression in the elevation of the intervention of the trade unions, and the powerful process of rectification in the world Communist movement in the process of the return to Marxism. The open identification of Breznev with Zorodov whose re-emphasis on the role of the proletariat and rejection of policies of submission to bourgeois electoral arithmetic, is a sign of the decision of the CPSU to confront the resistances of the various Communist parties in Europe to unification around the Soviet Union and breaking links with capitalism. The inability to agree to call a European conference of Communist parties is going to deepen the need for more intervention by the Soviet Union to overcome the resistance of entrenched and conservative apparatuses in the Communist parties who have their own regional interests. The open disagreement between China and Vietnam — the latter openly appealing for Sino-Soviet unity and supporting the Soviet Union — also contributes to the pressure to discuss fundamental ideas, i.e. what is the strategy of world Communism to confront capitalism? Why not organise a new Communist International? Why not the unification of China and the Soviet Union? The response of the Soviet Union to all these issues is going to demand a superior intervention of the Soviet Union, also to the situation in Britain, superior to the intervention of Shelepin. This intervention is bound to occur in some form, because the objective interests of the Soviet Union, the need to defend itself against the war plans of imperialism and the need to sustain all the world forces that advance towards Workers States dictate, even if not immediately, the way they have to act.

**ADVANCE OF THE PROCESS THROUGHOUT EUROPE.**

The decline and fall of British imperialism is accompanied

by the whole crisis of European capitalism. It has not proved possible to reverse the process in Portugal whatever the complications caused by the transitory defeat of Goncalves. The strong reaction, particularly in Italy, France, Belgium, Holland and Sweden, to the executions of the Basque militants in Spain and the efforts of the bourgeoisie to associate themselves with appeals to Franco, shows the tendency towards unification of the workers forces throughout Europe, to stimulate the overthrow of the Franco regime, already crumbling and with no possibility of allowing a smooth transition to a more liberal bourgeois regime. The institution of Communist-Socialist juntas throughout all the principle cities in Italy and the organisation of a joint campaign of opposition by the CP and the CGT in France against the policies of unemployment of Giscard d'Estang, are all examples of the growing relentless accumulation of pressures against capitalism throughout Europe, which more and more imposes on the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in particular the need to stimulate parties ready to destroy capitalism. When Marchais attacks the hesitations of Mitterrand on the policy of the Common Programme, he says: 'Why postpone nationalisations until 1980?' This means the continuation of the polemic of the Communists and the Socialist Party, but also the CP has to shift the emphasis from electoral preparations with the Socialists to the emphasis on the extra-parliamentary intervention. It is no longer possible to continue on the line of submitting the CP to electoral perspectives and the oscillating line of the Socialist Party, centre and right. When fatzo Soares has to say that capitalism has to be eliminated, it is because he cannot continue on the line of openly sustaining capitalism, he has to adopt a more devious way of trying to contain the process (i.e. Socialism combined with bourgeois democracy). When he has to do this, it confirms that no Socialist party, however bankrupt the particular leadership, can escape the need to change its functioning and programme to the left and advance towards Marxism.

### THE NEED FOR AUDACITY

All this rich, dynamic and joyful process has to be assimilated by the left forces in the trade unions and the Labour Party. The way is open for audacity, audacity and more audacity. Capitalism in Britain is reduced to unmitigated fiasco. The gross mediocrity of its political representatives is particularly striking. Trotsky, in his brilliant characterisations of British politicians fifty years ago, already brought out the peculiarly mindless and effete qualities of the Baldwins and the MacDonalds. Wilson and Thatcher and Thorpe continue in this path of total crassness, but there is less excuse to permit such immense tedium to continue. They have no solution to any problems, but the trade unions and the left in the LP, by making massive popular campaigns publicising the programme of nation-

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## THE TRANSITORY DEFEAT OF CONCALVES AND THE PROGRAMME AND THE POLICY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PORTUGUESE REVOLUTION

J. POSADAS 9th September 1975 (central pages):

Workers of the World, Unite!

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No. 251

Friday, 3rd October, 1975.

Price 8p

## THE REACTIONARY KISSINGER-ISRAELI-EGYPT AGREEMENT IS TO INTERRUPT THE REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST J. POSADAS 3rd September, 1975

The Yankee Egyptian-Israeli agreement is a manoeuvre and an intervention of imperialism to cut short Soviet influence in Egypt, to elevate the function of property in Egypt, by making an offensive on the basis of a greater weight of private property. This task of Kissinger was not about ten yards of sand, but was aimed at causing a retreat in Egypt. They have made the agreement to give an authority to Sadat or whoever replaces him and to stimulate measures for the restitution of private property.

The agreement serves to affirm the reactionary circles, the capitalist circles, to launch the war and to cut short the revolution in the Middle East and Soviet influence and the influence of the revolution. For this they have based themselves on the most powerful bourgeoisie, that is the Egyptian bourgeoisie. This is the objective of the agreement.

The Israelis and the Egyptians need the agreement so that this policy can proceed, and also so that they can ship petroleum and exert a pressure on the Arab countries to lower their costs. Transportation through the canal means a lowering of costs on a very considerable scale. Imperialism needs to maintain Israel, such as it is, as a key base for imperialism. Commercially, economically and socially, it does not have a great weight, but militarily, yes. It has weight through the military and political weakness of the Arab States.

This agreement is a policy of imperialism with the perspective of the war. In the short run the objective is to cut short the advance of the revolution in the Middle East, to stimulate private property, to cut short nationalisations, that is the social advance and the struggle of the masses. This means also to eliminate the military weight of the Palestinians who have an enormous importance in the Middle East. In such a situation the Palestinians have an immense strength, not because they have it of themselves, but because of what they represent. They represent a historic necessity — which could have another solution — but a historic necessity, a will to combat which weighs a great deal in the Middle East. Imperialism needs all this zone, it needs the Israelis for the war — economically and socially they don't have any importance. What importance does it have for imperialism? only militarily, nothing more.

This agreement signed by Kissinger caused quite a lot of problems in Israel among the right and ultra-right, not because they were against, but because they had to make certain concessions so that Egypt, in its turn, could make them with the centrist middle wings of the army and the bourgeoisie, so that they were given something. The right in Israel wants everything,

they want to deliver a blow.

The sector which is opposed to the agreement of the big bourgeois sectors of Egypt and Israel is so because they are put on one side, or it is not convenient for their future economic interest or the military, economic conception which they have. It is not a historic divergence in depth, but it is an opposition of sectors who have accumulated a great deal of wealth and who have conceptions of being the real proprietors representing politically layers of the big Israeli bourgeoisie. The Israeli sectors who sign are those who think that with this they can gain some relief and they try to gain time. Imperialism utilises both sectors.

If imperialism wanted peace, they would not give any more arms to Israel, they wouldn't give any more money and that would be that. In less than six months Israel would be exhausted. The Soviets should pose this and they don't. We appeal to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, to China, to Cuba, to the Communist parties, to make this denunciation. If imperialism stopped giving arms, money, material aid to Israel, Israel would be finished. It is not a problem of an oppressed country, but Israel is oppressing the others in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq and Egypt. The Israelis are the assassins and the problem in the Middle East is totally fictitious.

At the same time, the agreement is of use to the Egyptian bourgeoisie because, with this, it contains the process of nationalisations and means a retreat to maintain the regime of private property. This is the basis of the agreement between the two sides. The Egyptian bourgeoisie needed this agreement because within Egypt there is the basis for a very great crisis.

It is important to see the attitude of the Soviets who still have not put themselves into all this in a direct form, but they are going to

have to change their policy. This is not an agreement of the Soviets with the Yanks. This is a lie, it is not detente. The preparations of the Yanks are clear and decisive. All the progress of the Yanks has been aimed to stimulate the return to private property.

It is necessary to reiterate always, Israel has no value. It has no weight, neither for investments nor anything else. It has a military value, hence it is necessary to see that the Soviets are not going to remain with their present position. This is going to have consequences within the Soviet Union. And it is very important the march of the Lybians with the Soviet MIG fighters and the Palestinians.

It is necessary to appeal for a mobilisation of the world workers movement against these agreements — Out with the Yanks from the Middle East.

This agreement brings out the real motive for the negotiations — the presence of the Yanks in the Middle East. The presence of the Yanks is a direct intervention consented to by the Egyptians. This is going to mean very great repercussions in Egypt against such a presence.

It is necessary to appeal to the world workers movement, to the Communist parties, to the Socialist parties, the nationalist, Catholic and military sectors, to oppose this agreement and to make a world mobilisation for the expulsion of Israel from the lands occupied by the Arabs. And, at the same time, it is necessary to form a movement to expel Sadat and all the bourgeois gang in Egypt who are linked with imperialism. It is necessary to appeal for nationalisations, for an agreement with the masses of Israel, with the Communist and Socialist parties, with the left of Israel, to make a federation with the right of Israel to exist, to plan as a whole the economy. The solution to finish with this problem is the Socialist federation in which all the differences can be finished with. It is necessary to appeal to all the Communist, Socialist parties, to the workers centres and the trade unions, the left Catholic movement, the nationalists and the military, to make declarations on this basis. And it is necessary to appeal for the land to be returned to the Palestinians and for a federation of Jordan with the Arab countries. This is the reply to this agreement.

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DOWN WITH THE MURDER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITANTS IN SPAIN! FORWARD TO THE EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONARY GENERAL STRIKE TO OVERTHROW FRANCO!

# The transitory defeat of Goncalves, and the programme and policy for the development of the Portuguese revolution.

## J. POSADAS

Portugal is going through a stage which is still not defined, but there cannot be an important retreat. The essential factor is that the cohesive, homogeneous political leadership to push forward an elevated economic programme is missing. This shows the necessity that, together with the programme or before the programme, it is necessary to develop the political leadership, and the political leadership has to have support in the masses, the intervention of the masses.

In Portugal, it is clear and decisive that the masses don't weigh, do not intervene, to attract the rest of the population, which is not incorporated in the programme of the Portuguese revolution, or which has reservations, or is not at the level of the programme. In this sense, the Socialists, the PPD and the right, basing themselves on the PPD and the Socialists, have points of support to detain the progress of the revolution in Portugal.

The clear and decisive task that it is necessary to develop now in Portugal is the development of mass organs incorporated, living and advancing, in the formulation of the policy, in the management, in the organisation and the problems of distribution of the economy, and in the leadership of the country. Also, it is necessary to see that the army cannot now just play the role of the army. What quality does the army have to lead the country? It has it, insofar as it works as a function of the political programme, as a social, political, economic leadership of the progress of the Socialist revolution; otherwise, it does not have any special attribute. It can be an arrogance, an arrogant material force which, instead of acting in the interest of capitalism, as before, is now in the service of the hesitations, the doubts, the vacillations, which impede the progress of the revolution.

It is necessary to give an opportunity in the army, then, without destroying its internal structure, for the soldiers, corporals and the sergeants to have the same rights as the military chiefs. Why not? And one of the consequences which Portugal poses for the rest of the armies, in order that they can elevate, is precisely this. The army has value insofar as it thinks politically. It is important to consider that this transitory defeat of the Goncalves tendency is not going to be, does not give the opportunity for a paralysis of the revolution. The counter-revolution hopes and wants to do this, and it is based on the policy of the Socialist right which is represented by Soares. Although he does not say anything, it is represented by Soares because his policy represents the interests of the Socialist right. This, in its turn, represents the interests of the PPD, and this correspondingly the interests of the reactionary wing of Spinola and of imperialism. Imperialism and the right do not have their own strength to appeal to the masses to contain, to stop or to divert, imperialism has to support itself on the internal differences in the political leadership of the revolution in order to succeed in containing the revolution. The object is to eliminate the left wing, the wing decided to impel the revolution and to block economic, political and social advances, and so make the revolution retreat. This is the present game they are playing.

Hence, Spinola went to stimulate

the Socialist right and centre, and the Portuguese right to intervene, to prepare so that there could be a coup at the top. He went to stimulate the elimination of the left. The problem is to eliminate the left which is the one which has the most consistent programme. This is their task, and the Communists show that they do not have the political preparation. The resignation of Goncalves is the product of a whole combination of processes from the right, the centre, the centre of the Socialist leadership - not the left nor the Socialist Party - and sectors even of the military left who don't have either the understanding, or the programme, or the experience, or the decision. Goncalves is the one who had the most complete programme. It does not mean that he had the most complete understanding, but he showed that he was decided and resolved to push forward the programme. Then it is necessary to make a public discussion and Goncalves will learn what he has to learn and acquire the security which he has to acquire, and to correct the limitations and lack of political formation in order to advance. Imperialism supports such measures as the least evil, with the object of weakening the left, and being able then, on this basis, to contain the progress of the revolution and to prepare a Chilean opening. This is the conclusion of this process.

The Socialist leadership, the

centrist leadership do not believe in the proletariat. They believe in the intellectual forces, even in the soldiers, which is correct. Soldiers and intellectuals are important as a force to intervene, but the social basis is the proletariat which gives the historical security, the security in the policy, the programme and the objective. It does not have individual or group interests. It has the objective interest in the impulse of history. Hence, the Socialist leadership does not have confidence in, nor does it believe in the proletariat. It believes in itself as an apparatus. It does not base itself on the experience, on the capacity of reasoning, on the historic objectivity of the proletariat. Hence, an immense force is wasted, because they do not believe this. They have the programme of evolutionary progress, expecting to convince capitalism that it should change, when it is necessary to impose by force, taking into account the conditions which exist, as they actually exist in Portugal.

### NATIONALISATIONS AND PLANNING NOT ABSTRACT DEMOCRACY.

They do not believe, they do not have the Marxist preparation, the experience, the conviction; indubitably they do not have points of support, because the other movements have not developed like this. But it is a problem of the class struggle, because this determines the understanding, the behaviour, gives the basis to foresee the behaviour of the classes, of the sectors linked to the class, and of the associated sectors of the petit bourgeoisie linked to the bourgeois class. Without the interpretation of the class struggle, it is an interpretation of will, intention or opinion of people in abstraction. People move in a class conception. It is possible to win over people from the bourgeois camp, from the camp of the counter-revolution, as in Ethiopia, in Algeria, in Portugal, and as is happening in Peru. It is possible to win over people, but classes behave as classes. Spinola represents the bourgeois class which elects the least evil to contain the progress of the Socialist revolution, to give a blow for power, to organise a military coup as they did in Chile, without the social forces, the historic justification or the historic reason to do so; and this policy of the Socialist Party stimulates and

favours the intervention of Spinola and of imperialism.

The comrades of the Communist Party have committed very great errors of not understanding that audacity is one of the essential factors in every progress in history. Audacity in Portugal meant that, having a good programme of the left of the army, they should have diffused and developed the programme, the policy and the objectives, not the abstraction of 'democracy' but the objective programme of the revolution, which is nationalisations, planning, workers control, factory councils and workers and soldiers councils. They should have discussed this. This is democracy.

On the other hand, the Socialists base themselves on abstract democracy which is bourgeois. Democracy for whom? Spinola? Spinola wants to make the country retreat. Spinola is the representative of the monopolies of imperialism, of the retreat of the country, of the containing of the process of the country. Hence, it is necessary to see that the progress of Portugal is in a discussion which it was necessary to develop in every way, because in the very great progress of the programme, even if limited, but very great, the corresponding political leadership did not exist. Hence it is necessary to seek to organise, then, the political leadership.

All the Communist and Socialist parties, all the workers movements have to discuss Portugal. It is inexact and erroneous, the criteria sustained by the Communist, Socialist and trade union leaderships, that it is not necessary to intervene on the problems of 'other countries'. In science, music, literature, culture, one intervenes, unconfined by national boundaries. Portugal can be discussed in all sorts of ways, opposing or rejecting. It is necessary to discuss, to intervene, to communicate the world experience of the revolution, to be based on the highest levels as is done in science, culture and art. It has to be the same in politics also, even more so, because it is politics which leads, it is the mother of all the others, because it is what determines the course of history.

It is necessary to intervene and discuss the process in Portugal throughout the world Communist movement, throughout the Socialist movement, in the trade union centres

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to draw the conclusions, to advance in the struggle for the elimination of capitalism, for the construction of the Workers States and the construction of Socialism, which then is the way to eliminate war, oppression and every form of repression, of suppression, of oppression of the human being. This is what has to be discussed.

It is an objective necessity to transmit experience, to discuss in an objective and public form the experiences of the process of the class struggle, and to take into account that in Portugal - as in Italy and France, as in the rest of the world - there is a process of class struggle. Capitalism is not going to leave the scene of history if it is not thrown out by force. Hence, Yankee imperialism is preparing the arms for war and not simply to defend the economy. It is preparing for war. This is what has to be discussed in the world Communist movement. The trade union centres must intervene and appeal to the masses with initiatives, not acting as the monopoly which controls but showing that it has initiatives, intervening and discussing democratically the process of the revolution, on the basis of the economic progress, of nationalisations, of planning and of workers control. This is democracy. It is not the democracy of Soares who demands that Spinola speaks, that the right can speak and that the Catholic reaction can speak. This is not democracy. This is the reaction which utilises democracy to impede the development of the revolution.

### THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES MUST USE MARXISM.

The Communist comrades must understand this, because they have shown that they are not capable of leading the process; because they were saying that nationalisations would take many years - but Goncalves did it in four hours! In a few days they made a whole series of nationalisations and showed that it was possible to do this and more. If they had increased the number of nationalisations with agrarian reforms and the Socialist agrarian co-operatives, with a programme of production in which all the population intervened, the revolution would have advanced much more in Portugal.

The way to disarm the counter-revolution is by advancing economically in measures of nationalisations which is the most elevated way to produce, because it eliminates competition and individual accumulation and, on the contrary, develops the centralised co-ordination and the concentration of accumulation to develop the economy which is the Workers State. It is necessary to discuss this. It is in this way that Portugal is going to develop. On the path of private property, there is no development for Portugal. Capitalism has failed, and when it did not invest money it is because it did not have the interests; moreover, because every investment faces world competition with capitalism. It is not possible to develop Portugal on the road of capitalist competition. It is necessary to discuss this.

The Socialists of the Soares tendency have to face this dilemma. They do not have the programme to develop Portugal. They have the programme of the bourgeois development of the bourgeois democracy. But, already this is not the stage of the advance of capitalism, it is the stage of the collapse of capitalism which has no perspective. It is necessary to discuss that the Socialists do not have a programme, a policy or a perspective. Hence, the resistance, and in part the Socialist centre accompanies the right - because it does not have its own policy. The Communists do not show that they are capable and

## The strike of the railway workers in Italy

### J. POSADAS

(Extracts from a Letter to the Italian Section)

The most important aspect of this strike, of the objective of the strike, is that it is a dispute between the Communist Party (CP), the trade unions and these 'autonomous' groups (trade unions not affiliated to the trade union centres of the CGIL, CSIL, UIL). The autonomous groups like the fascists, do not have any support. They live as a reflection of resistance and protest, against the CP and the Socialists, of the trade unions, the Socialist and Communist workers. They live on this.

When they succeed in surviving like this, it is because there is a reason to exist, there is air, oxygen and food. It is because, the workers want, and are ready, to achieve conquests at a much higher level and their trade union and political leaderships do not allow them. Then, situations and circumstances and conditions arise, which allow a nucleus to intervene and to decide. This is the case for the mobilisation of the railway workers in Italy. It is not the first time that this has happened. The fascists have also done this, sectors linked to capitalism also and sectors which seek their own group, caste interest, like those who demand wage increases for themselves exclusively. They utilise the will to struggle of the factory and the protest against the immobility and passivity of the trade union leaderships. They utilise this so that they can make proposals basing themselves on some correct positions.

The trade union leaderships, the CGIL (Communists), CSIL (Socialists) and UIL (Christian Democrat), have a programme which they contain, because if they went further they would overthrow the government. Then they defer strikes and contain them, not because the government cannot yield or the railway administration is not in conditions to yield. Through the mobilisations much more elevated advances could be made, so they disorganise the movement by limited demands.

A logical effect of this movement which shows that the conditions exist to triumph, is that the government refused to discuss; now it discusses. Then the triumph does not belong to the fascists; the fascists lost. They wanted to take a slice of this but they could not. It is not possible to do this with the workers movement.

In front of the attitude of the 'autonomous' trade unions and the CISNAL (the fascists), the Communists and Socialists must answer with a movement and with proposals. There have already been strikes in which the workers came out united around the 'autonomous' sectors because their leaderships did not support them. But this movement at the same time indicates the nature of the railway centre, and the centralisation of the masses. The nature of the railway organisation is that a

small nucleus can paralyse, i.e. the engineers and administrative personnel. It is the concentration of the functioning of the railway network which allows this. The other aspect is the discipline of the proletariat which did not accompany the movement. They were not either intimidated or attracted. But they showed that they followed with attention and did not condemn the strike. There was no important meeting in which the strike was condemned, which shows that the conditions existed for it. And the last communication of the Italian CP and trade unions was quite flexible, very flexible. They had to recognise that the strike was not fascist, but that it was 'led by a sector linked to the fascists' and also by the 'autonomous sectors' which were not fascist.

This discussion of the railway workers is going to have consequences on the trade union movement. The 'experts' in the Italian government foresee for September and October a great number of strikes. The government will seek to use one of the more important consequences of the railway strike - that the Communists gave a free hand so that the army could intervene in the trade union conflicts - the CGIL allowed this. If this measure did not succeed, it is because there was resistance among the soldiers and in the army itself, and the workers base which was going to oppose by making the

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revolution. Hence, the intervention of the 'military genius' (the sector of the army in Italy which is concerned with the construction of public works), as they call it, showed little genius. They were hardly genius. They were hardly able to intervene. The intervention found a resistance from the workers base; the duty of the CGIL and of the Communists was to discuss openly with these sectors, making proposals on what to do. On the other hand, to maintain the authority of 'their' trade unions, of 'their' CGIL, they preferred an alliance with the government; not a declared alliance, but they allowed the intervention. This is going to have an echo in the workers movement, it is going to have a great effect and conclusions. The Communists are opposed to the regulation of strikes in the public services. But with these positions they have fomented the intervention of the state in the railway strike. What the government has done is not new. It is an old method, but they have fomented it. They showed that confronted with a situation as mature as this, for great impulse, the workers parties did not act because they did not have a policy. They feared to be displaced, so they did not generalise the struggle. This is another of the conclusions of this small strike.

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resolved, understanding that they are not the leadership. But alliance with the armed forces, defending the programme of nationalisations, of workers control, of the programme of the planning of the economy - that is the road to win over the rest of the population which was not won.

This is part of audacity, but it is not the audacity of arrogance. It is the audacity which takes into account the solution for the country which is this, and that the people are going to support it. It is a crime which the Socialists have committed and history is going to judge and condemn them for being accomplices in the assassination of the Communist militants in Portugal. We demonstrate our solidarity with the heroism of the Communist militants. In the same way as we criticise the lack of a consistent policy, we applaud the Communist militants who showed heroism in defending their locales and their movement. It is a crime committed by the Socialist Party, led by Soares, the Soares wing, for having kept quiet, and for not having shown their position and come out in defence of the democratic right of the Communists to defend the programme of the revolution. But they defend the right of Spínola to come and speak and discuss. The Socialist base is going to condemn fat slob Soares, who is a swindler of history and does not represent either the ideas nor the need to progress of the revolution. But the Socialist left, the Socialist masses want to advance in the revolution; this is the Socialist Party. All this is being discussed at this moment in Portugal. Portugal is an important experience which shows that it is necessary to organise in time, together with economic measures, the political leadership, the political experience and capacity. It is not a crisis of destruction, but a crisis of organisation and progress. To progress, it is necessary to have the leadership with the programme and the objective. The Communists feared to advance. And it can be seen that, in Portugal, they can advance very well. All the policy of Concalves, of the government of Concalves, shows this - which shows that they could have gone infinitely further, and every other revolution could have gone infinitely further, like Madagascar or Algeria for example. This is to say that it is not a question of poverty, but of political leadership which is superior to poverty. In its origins the Russian revolution was infinitely poorer than Portugal or Madagascar. Infinitely poorer, and it advanced infinitely more.

**THE PROGRAMME OF THE REVOLUTION UNITED THE ARMY.**

Audacity means to know, to understand the relation of world forces, the possibilities which exist and to know how to have the audacity to attract, so that the rest comes. The rest want to subject the development of progress to the timidity, the inhibitions of the leadership, like those of Soares and the Socialist Party. This shows the inhibitions and the timidity of the bourgeois conceptions, and not a revolutionary Socialist conception of history.

The development of the army in Portugal must accompany the revolution. This is the tendency which Concalves was seeking. Then it is necessary to consider that the Socialists and the tendency in the centre of the army are not counter-revolutionaries. The Socialist Party is not counter-revolutionary; it supports the revolution. But the present leadership of Soares does not correspond to this necessity, because they do not have programme or policy, objectives or experience. They are afraid, full of doubts, they vacillate and they are intimidated in front of the process of history, because they do not have a programme with which to respond. They have the programme of the democratic development of the country, but democracy has a limit. Bourgeois democracy was not made for the destruction of the capitalist system. Bourgeois democracy was formed so that they could continue the struggles between themselves

of capitalist conflicts and competition, and because the masses dragged out of them some democratic rights. The democratic form of relations must be that which allows advances in such a way that the economy is at the service of the population and of the world, not of the capitalist system. Then, the Socialists are opposed to this; they do not have a programme and a policy, and the Socialist right is full of fear in relation to the development of nationalisations and centralisation. This is what has to be discussed and is in discussion,

Hence, it is important to conceive that, in a short time, the Portuguese army will be politicised and a larger part is on the revolutionary road, and the Socialist Party also, not the present leadership which does not correspond to the Socialist base. This leadership is the one made in the clandestinity of the small circles and of the apparatuses. It does not correspond to the will of the Socialist masses. Hence the Communist Party committed the error of not making the political life of discussions, programme, policy of revolutionary democratic rights, of trade union leaderships, of the initiative of the trade union leaderships. It stopped, leaving the only leadership without initiative. Then it could not influence the Socialist base, nor the agrarian base, the agricultural sectors. It is necessary to make this policy.

**THE COMMUNIST/SOCIALIST/ ARMY AND LEFT CATHOLICS UNITED FRONT.**

The leadership of the revolution has not been defeated or by-passed. It does not have an experience, it is making one. Concalves and the Portuguese Communists themselves are making an experience. But it shows that there is an enormous basis of interpretation of the process of the revolution. It is not only that they have to make an experience, but they have to overcome the erroneous conceptions, believing that it is necessary to expect the democratic consent of the bourgeoisie and of the petit bourgeoisie to advance. The bourgeoisie is never going to consent to its defeat - that it should be thrown out, that private property should be eliminated. The petit bourgeoisie is going to be won by the audacity of the proletariat in putting forward the programme of nationalisations, by showing that this is the way for the development of the economy. As it is at present, Portugal lives infinitely better than on the day of the coup, even with the little that it has.

It is necessary to make an appeal to discuss with the militants of the Portuguese Socialist Party and to appeal for a United Front of Socialists, Communists, sectors of the democratic petit bourgeoisie, sectors in the countryside, sectors of the Catholic left, to make Portugal advance. We want a great and immense Portugal, and the only way is Socialism. And the only form of Socialism is nationalised property, planned production, monopoly of foreign trade, the organs of workers control which intervene in the planning, the discussion, and the distribution, and also in the army.

It has to be shown that the army loses nothing of its capacity for military actions because it intervenes in politics. The Soviet army was the most important in history. The Chinese army is among the most important in history, and the Cuban army was the most important in the history of Cuba. This shows that the army can fulfil its function in the most complete form because it elevates, gives more ability, intelligence and use of military capacity, together with the social intelligence and the objectives of the progress of history. Hence we appeal for a discussion at the present moment in Portugal on this.

The support of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States in Portugal is important, of a very elevated value, but it is insufficient. It must make an appeal for a discussion in

**WORKERS' CONTROL IN THE NATIONALISED INDUSTRIES, AND THE SOCIALIST PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY**

The 'unofficial' strike of blast-furnacemen which started at Llanwern and spread nationally is symptomatic of the preparation of the working class to mobilise in order to confront the total crisis of capitalism. At the same time the fact that this strike came to an inconclusive end - with the promise of an enquiry - demonstrates that the trade union leadership is desperate to contain any mobilisation now because there is no solution, no perspective within their norms of 'conciliation' and 'negotiation'. The solutions demanded are nationalisation, workers control and the planning of the economy, all of which are outside their interest and experience. Thus they can only seek to put things off for a little while, they try to contain the process. This is why Len Murray spent two days in negotiation with the management of the steel industry and the National Union of Blast-furnacemen (NUB) leadership. Underneath the demand for pay increases and the reinstatement of one worker 'sent home' for refusing to work a new furnace at Llanwern, lies a much deeper problem. The NUB strike was, in every sense, part of the previous mobilisations of the steel workers against the threatened 40,000 redundancies and the whole-scale running down of the industry. At Llanwern, the blast-furnacemen were faced with a situation in which the management was proposing to start production on a third furnace which can produce 5,000 tonnes of iron each day, more than the other two furnaces put together; and with 150 men as compared with a total of 400 for the other two. Overall, the steel industry increased its productivity by more than 30% between 1964 and 1969. The working class is faced with a situation, therefore, where even if there is some expansion in production in the next period, it will still be faced with the threat of unemployment. The strike of the blast-furnacemen, the previous mobilisations of the mass of steel workers, and the general attitude of the working class show that they are determined not to pay for the crisis of capitalism.

It is true that the blast-furnacemen are a small, comparatively well paid sector who, in their origins, are craftsmen, skilled workers. However, the confidence and speed with which they organised this strike shows that they have a support in the masses of steel workers. After all, had this strike continued, it would have meant a closing of the whole steel industry. This small sector expressed, then, the preparation of the class, the fact that conditions for much wider mobilisations exist. The constant collision between the workers and the management of the nationalised steel board itself indicates a struggle for the imposition of workers control which is not confined to Llanwern, or to the steel industry, but which exists in the working class as a whole. It is particularly acute in the nationalised industries because this sector of workers feel that they have already made an advance - in imposing nationalisations - and now they seek to impose their own management. In this stage of the total crisis of capitalism, the contradiction between the needs of the population and the running of the nationalised industries for the

benefit of the profit of the bourgeoisie is even more obvious than before. The 'Action Committees' organised by the steel workers in the struggle against closures incorporated the women in the workers areas, and this shows the aspiration of the proletariat to widen the struggle, to involve other sectors of the population, and to impose that industry - particularly in the nationalised sector - is run for the benefit of the population. The question of the nationalised industries and their role in the economy is ignored, simply because to raise this means to discuss the fact that capitalism cannot advance the economy and, therefore, any real advance demands the overthrow of the system, demands Socialist planning on the basis of the nationalisation of all major industry under workers control.

Nationalisations, even if partial and in the interests of maintaining capitalism, are a gain of the working class, a limitation on private property. Previously it served capitalism to some extent, because it meant that the state ran necessary industries and services like coal mining, steel, electricity and the railways, whilst the bourgeoisie - which was incapable of running such industries - took the profit. However, the existence of the nationalised industries tends, more and more, to deepen the crisis of capitalism precisely because the state is more capable of investing in scientific and technical advances. Capitalism, anyway, is forced to adopt more efficient means of production by the necessity to compete and this, in its turn, produces unemployment. It is the normal cycle of capitalist production but - as Comrade Posadas analyses - even a certain increase in production does not absorb the amount of workers who are being sacked because of the increase in productivity which results from automation and mechanisation. In the nationalised industries these has been an enormous increase in productivity, and this deepens the fundamental contradiction of capitalist production which is that the social system is a block to the development of the productive forces. At the same time the workers in the nationalised industries, in the course of the struggle for nationalisation, have made considerable gains in working conditions and, in particular, in security of employment. In addition, is the fact that there is a Labour government and the workers are now demanding to know who runs the nationalised industries - the government or the management? In turn this raises the question of the necessity of planning the economy or, at least, for the Labour government to begin the process of the planning of the economy on the basis of those industries already nationalised. The intervention of the NUR delegate - Bowman - at the TUC in support of a planned, co-ordinated national transport system is an expression of this. Why isn't the demand made for the opening of the books of the nationalised industries to the workers committees? Why isn't it possible for the mass of the population to see exactly who profits from government investment in the nationalised industries?

The response of the trade union leadership is to try to dodge the

issue altogether in the hope that the problem will be solved of its own accord and without the intervention of the working class. The absolute cretinism of some of the trade union leadership is shown by the support given by the NUM leadership for a coal board leaflet to be distributed urging the miners to greater productivity at a time when coal stocks are higher than normal. At the same time these people complain that the Electricity Generating Board is not building enough coal-fired power stations. The solution is simple: plan the economy. But, to do this, necessitates the intervention of the proletariat, the imposition of workers control, and this leadership is incapable of leading such a struggle. It is the trade union left and the workers committees which have to produce this leadership and to organise mobilisations; occupations to impose workers control and committees which link the factory struggle with the rest of the population. In this way a direct pressure has to be exerted on the Labour Party left to discuss and formulate a programme and policy for the planning of the economy on the basis of nationalisations and workers control.

In the same way a pressure has to be exerted on the Labour government. It is clearly not possible to expect the present Labour government to nationalise the whole economy immediately, even under the pressure of mass mobilisations of the workers, but the Socialist planning of the economy can be started on the basis of the nationalised industries which already exist. On the basis of transport, coal, electricity, steel, the railways, and companies like British Leyland which are semi-nationalised. This has to go together with the extension of nationalisations to take in - in the first instance - all those industries which supply the nationalised industries and which are parasites on them. This is what has to be discussed and it forms part of the programme for the Government of the Left in which the trade unions will be directly represented. It is clear that the discussion and any extension by the Government of the Left of measures of nationalisation and planning cannot be held at this level. Immediately such questions are raised, or such measures are taken, the necessity to plan the whole economy is raised. A planned integrated national transport system or a national planning of fuel and power supplies would very quickly come into collision with the anarchy and chaos and self-interest of what remains of the capitalist economy. Planning on the basis of the existing nationalised industries is - as the Government of the Left itself is - purely a transitional stage. Conferences on 'unemployment' - like that called by the Upper Clyde workers and the Scottish Confederation of Shipbuilding Engineering Workers - are a good initiative but the problem is not 'unemployment'. It is the total crisis of capitalism, and such conferences have to be based on a programme of nationalisations under workers control and without compensation, and for the planning of the economy on this basis with the intervention of the working class and the mass of the population.

the world Communist movement for the unconditional support to the development of the Portuguese revolution, and the condition for the development of the revolution in Portugal is the elimination of the capitalist system. It is not possible to appeal to the bourgeoisie to form part of the process of history, because this is against them. They think as a class. They think as private property. It is necessary to appeal for the world United Front to support the Portuguese revolution.

History shows that the relation of world forces is favourable to the process of history and of humanity, and can facilitate the winning of other sectors, of other armies in the world, which will be a very powerful contribution to the relation of world forces, for the development of the anti-capitalist struggle for the development of the revolution. This is one of the more elevated forms of the class struggle.

It is necessary to appeal for a

Socialist/Communist United Front, with democratic sectors of the left, the left Catholics, the army, for a programme of the development of the economy; to discuss publicly what is the road for the progress of Portugal. It is not a question of waiting for the consent of the bourgeoisie, but what is the road of progress; and this is going to go against the bourgeoisie. This is the conclusion which it is necessary to make.

J. POSADAS 9th September, 1975

# Editorial

from page 1

nationalisations, stimulating mass meetings in the factories against unemployment, leaning for support on the direct intervention of the proletariat, could impose a change in the government, throwing out all those resistant to the speedy implementation of the manifest programme of nationalisations, import controls, a programme of public works to absorb unemployment, particularly in all the areas such as the NE where capitalism has abandoned productive investment, withdrawing troops from Ireland, developing campaigns in the armed forces for political discussion and trade union rights, the imposition of price control with price committees involving the population, wages linked to rise in the cost of living. All this would be the preface to extensions of nationalisations, more profound steps towards a monopoly of foreign trade, and leaning on the population to prepare to confront the bourgeoisie in civil war. The trade unions have to take the lead in such a programme. The working class will use them in the struggle to impose on the Labour government and constitute a government of the left. The bourgeoisie periodically develop conceptions of coalition; it is a non perspective, because they have no solution nor a common policy. The government of the left is the perspective to be imposed by the masses in the factories not awaiting elections and allowing the bourgeois state apparatus to decide.

## HESITATIONS OF THE NEC.

The statement of the NEC for the LP Conference is one of great vagueness; it is a containing text, designed to try to allow the government to pass through this stage by accepting certain 'modifications', i.e. suggesting import controls, planning agreements with the top thirty firms, increases in public expenditure, pressure for intervention in the banks. It is a text, pink in hue, permitting delays and procrastinations while the crisis becomes more profound, factories are closed down, and local government has been instructed to reduce expenditure. It's no use to capitalism but shows what happens when trying to go to the left by little

steps and avoiding anything so unpleasant as mobilising the workers. It is the result of the weak formation of the left, although it also shows conclusively the void of the Wilson-Healey clique. Without mobilisations, public discussions, everything is confined to the apparatus and the magnitude of the opportunity is not grasped. Without sufficiently audacious steps in the next period, the proletariat will take its own measures and the trade unions will be obliged to elevate their programmatic intervention and mobilisation. Whole teams in the union apparatus and the LP are not prepared for action, and hope against hope to pass through this stage without 'mis-hap'. It is not enough to speak of the need for more import controls and more public ownership. Mass mobilisation is required and this requires imagination, confidence and decision. The bourgeoisie are weak and stupid but they recognise indecision when they see it and hope to drag out the process as long as possible.

A government of the left should proceed immediately to nationalise the ship building, aircraft industries, the North Sea oil, the construction industry and the car industry, impose price controls backed up by the mass intervention of the workers in price committees, withdrawal of British troops in Ireland. This has to be accompanied by seeking out the support of the masses for the stages which will inevitably come - the confrontation over the banks and all the other key industries. British capitalism is collapsing but its viciousness has no limits nor has NATO. A government of the left is only a stage in the permanent revolution. To live within the present structure of the LP and the trade unions, to try to advance by little steps and avoid confrontations, is simply to give capitalism more time. The whole world is preparing for confrontations, in the Middle East, in Europe, Africa. Detente is dead, even if some of its features in appearance continue. There is no detente in Britain either. With a weak and divided capitalism, the opportunity exists for the forces of the left to decide in the next stages provided they act with programme, policy and decision.

29th September, 1975.

# The destruction of the capitalist system needs not democracy, but the dictatorship of the proletariat

Recently, Soares has come out with the statement that it is necessary to destroy capitalism in Portugal. Judith Hart has declared that 'Socialism in Portugal is not social reformism but means the end of the capitalist system'. Hart only says this because she feels that this is discussed in the Labour Party and, although she does not apply it to this country, she has to make this analysis. None of these people can explain why they are now adopting such a position and how capitalism should be destroyed. However, it is clear that the need to destroy capitalism is no longer in question, that it is accepted in general in the Socialist movement, and the most important discussion today is how the destruction of the capitalist system is to be carried out.

Formerly, the Social Democrats in the Socialist parties could dominate these parties by basing themselves on the existence of Stalinism, on the reformist policies of the USSR and on the declarations of 'respect for the electoral road' by the Communist parties. Today, all this is changed. In the USSR Zhdanov has declared in the review 'Problems of peace and Socialism', that the objectives of the Communists should be the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' brought about by 'suppressing the reaction by using force'. This view is no longer confined to a sector of the leadership of the USSR but has been endorsed by Breznev himself in the name of the CPSU. This is having an immense impact in the world Communist movement, and such events are part of the reason why Marchais of the French Communist Party goes to the factories to speak to the workers and makes declarations in which he warns that he respects electoral roads but other methods equally well, such as mobilisations of workers, factory occupations and strikes. This inevitably brings about an immense impulse to the Popular Union of which Mitterrand of the Socialist Party is part. And this means, very directly, the advances in the USSR find an almost immediate impact in the Socialist Party, stimulating in it a struggle against 'reformism', 'Social Democrats', etc. The declarations of Judith Hart about Socialism in Portugal not being 'social reformism' but 'the destruction of the capitalist system', mean - as the declarations of Mitterrand that 'there are no more Social Democrats in the Socialist Party' (which is obviously not true) - that the Social Democrats are no longer welcome, and no longer in a position to determine the orientation of the Socialist movement. It is clear that they still exist in the Socialist parties, as in the Labour Party, but they are increasingly isolated inside the apparatus of the parties, whilst the Socialist parties become more and more parties for the mobilisations of the Socialist masses and their intervention and political discussions.

A left is in development in the Socialist parties, as shown by the recent Young Socialist Conference in Sweden; many delegates were actually from the trade unions, a large proportion of them supported workers control, without compensations, and the leadership supported the public ownership of the economy. It was very important also that the delegates wanted to see the integration of the soldiers trade unions in the trade unions of the country.

In Norway, there is an uninterrupted process of increase in state control over the oil companies, the banks, and private industry as a whole. All this process goes against the right of the Socialist parties, and strengthens - as in Sweden - the sectors of the left which tend to formulate and elevate the anti-capitalist programme.

The strength of the left in the Socialist parties can be judged by such events as the Prime Minister of Holland taking to the streets over the demand for the release of the Spanish revolutionaries now executed. In the whole of the Socialist parties, even in sectors of the right such as Schmidt, protests have come against the Spanish regime from all quarters. This shows that it is the left and, beyond everything else, the USSR and the Workers States which weigh in Europe, and this is particularly clear in Scandinavia. The world advances of Communism, of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States, is making a powerful inroad into the capitalist system of

Western Europe, and this is fundamentally expressed in the GENERAL GOING TO THE LEFT OF ALL THE SOCIALIST PARTIES.

## THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IN EUROPE DRAWS NEAR.

The bourgeoisie sought, all over Europe, to utilise the bourgeois right of the Socialist parties against the left and the advances of the revolution to seek to perpetuate the regime of private property. However the incapacity of the present government in Portugal at the moment, either to confront the engineers or to make the working class renege 60% of the economy now nationalised, or the radio station to its fat clergymen, shows the failure of the bourgeoisie that does not have any direct method of its own, but has to utilise the Socialists, who are in even weaker a position to accomplish the task of curbing the working class. In France, in view of the partial retreat of the revolutionary process in Portugal, the Social Democrats sought to raise their heads again. The organisation of Social Democrats, which Mitterrand (Wilson, Schmidt, Soares etc.) is part of, has increased the pressure on Mitterrand to make the Socialist Party of France compete with the Communists in the coming local elections, and Mitterrand is taking a 'full support to Soares' attitude. However, this is finding a great resistance in the middle cadres of the Socialist Party, who have said that Soares is a re-incarnation of Social Democrats who try to maintain and manage the capitalist system. They give, as an illustration at this point, the example that Schmidt (who threatened the masses of Portugal with the direct intervention of NATO), is present in such an organisation of the Socialist parties in Europe. Meanwhile, the CERES (the left of the Socialist Party, with two representatives in the Executive of the Socialist Party, Sarre and Motchane), cannot be removed by any action of the Socialist right either from the Executive or from the Party. The partial retreat in Portugal, not only has not permitted the right to raise such an issue, but it is Soares himself who has to talk of 'destroying' the capitalist system! In the meantime, the Socialist Party has had to condemn the radicals of the left for talking to the Giscard d'Estang government.

All this must be discussed in the Labour Party because it gives the possibility of measuring the actual strength of the proletariat, and the weakness of the right. The proletariat is advancing all over Europe and this is precisely why the EEC itself begged the Spanish government not to kill the revolutionaries. The European bourgeoisie is only too clear that the more it confronts the class directly, the more the latter organises for power. The PROCESS IS ADVANCING ON TO THE WAR IN THE WHOLE OF EUROPE AND THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

## FOR THE PROGRAMMATIC UNIFICATION OF THE SOCIALIST/COMMUNIST PARTIES.

If NATO and Yankee imperialism

do not invade Portugal, it is because they feel that, on an international scale, this would mean the precipitation of events, the intervention of the USSR within or before the process of the taking of power in France and Italy. What weighs on a world scale by the side of the proletariat and the masses of Europe is the USSR and the Workers States that impede imperialism and reaction from launching wholesale repression. It is clear that it is the proletariat, through its conquests under the form of Workers States, that has achieved all this and now proceeds to make the necessary leaderships within its own parties, the Socialist, the Communist parties, to finish with what is left of the capitalist system. This is why Marchais goes to the factories; this means that to confront the terrorists of the bourgeoisie, which does not invest, makes provocations, uses the laws against the working class etc., the workers parties have to link up with the workers and mobilise them. This means that there are less and less obstacles to the imposition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this country, the proletariat has defeated several laws of the Labour government, and has actually imposed the Labour government in office. In a sense, the proletariat has taken some of the power away from the bourgeoisie. Now it is imposing that its Party should defend and represent it, and not the bourgeoisie. THIS PROCESS GOES TOWARDS THE IMPOSITION OF THE POWER OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. THE COMRADES OF THE LABOUR PARTY MUST SUPPORT THIS CONSCIOUSLY.

At the same time, the CPSU emphasises the support for the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', and that the proletariat of France and Italy impels the Socialist Party into a United Front functioning with the Communist Party. This is objectively going to influence the Labour Party because, in the same way, it has no other alternative but to nationalise and plan the economy. Its support and strength will, and does, reside in the existence and support of the USSR and of the world Communist movement, now engaged with other Socialist parties on the same road. This requires a Marxist preparation and a worldwide scientific vision of the process of the world revolution to appropriate capitalism so as to plan the economy. In this coming struggle, the Labour left comrades will have to link in every way possible with the world Socialist and Communist movement. It is quite ridiculous that the 'Socialist International' to which the L.P. belongs, holds meetings and supports the reaction of the bourgeoisie, without any criticism or comments being made in the Labour Party about it! Surely, what is being done by the so-called 'Socialist International' should be discussed in the Socialist and Labour Parties. Meanwhile the comrades of the Labour Party must discuss the necessity of calling a European Conference of Communist/Socialist and workers parties, so as to plan the strategy for the nationalisation and planning of the economy in Europe. It is clear that the declarations in the USSR concerning the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', is going to influence a great deal the various Communist parties towards the taking of power, the nationalisation and planning of the economies of the various countries of Europe, with the USSR itself. The Labour Party left must seek fundamental support in this process for the construction of the Government of the Left in Britain.

## CORRECTIONS

In the last issue of Red Flag, in the article on the economic situation (Column 1, line 15 from bottom), the sense was distorted. It should read: '...The slump of 1929 was never cured in the Thirties - only war came to the rescue of capitalism. Hitler 'solved' it by a process of bloody

repression of the working class and massive arms preparations'.

Column 4, page 3 (line 33 from bottom of double column), article on the trade unions should read: '...from the hands of predatory managers, representatives of private property...'.

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J. POSADAS 15.2.75

# THE TROTSKYIST POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL TENTH WORLD CONGRESS, HAS BEEN HELD

AUGUST 1975.

The Trotskyist Posadist IV International has held its tenth World Congress with participation of delegates from all the sections, with comrades of Latin America, Asia, Africa and Europe. The meeting was organised by a very great number of texts, resolutions, theses and internal bulletins by Comrade Posadas, of the International Secretariat, of the Trotskyist Posadist parties of all the world, which were debated by the organisms of our parties. The majority of the texts were published by the Trotskyist Posadists press throughout the world, in eight languages. In addition, the resolutions of the extended International Executive Committee of May 1974 and the texts of Comrade Posadas of the Vth and VIth World Cadres Schools of December 1974 and February 1975 respectively, served as a base of preparation, besides the documents produced in the successive meetings of the Extended International Secretariats of the last three years. The Congress was preceded by an intensive political life and a world preparation of discussions and meetings in all the sections. The delegates represented this political life and the development of the sections of the IV International throughout the world. Many of the delegates besides formed part of the leading organs of the masses of the Communist, the revolutionary, Socialist and trade union movements. Half of the delegates and participants in the Congress were woman comrades.

The Congress was centralised in the analysis of the present unequal and combined course of the world Socialist revolution, of the form of the permanent revolution, of the Partial Regeneration, and of the tasks for the historic re-encounter with the world Communist movement. Based on these theoretical principles of Trotskyist-Posadism, which are the centre of the present course of the revolution, the Congress, with four central reports, made an active assessment of our development from the IXth to the Xth Congress, made an assessment of the progress of the Socialist revolution in this period, and prepared centrally the forces, the programme and the functioning, and the objectives for the next stage. The reports were the following: 'The revolutionary world process and the course of the Partial Regeneration in the Workers States', by Comrade Posadas; 'The present course of the revolution in Europe and our tasks', by Comrade Bernard; 'The present course of the Latin American revolution and our tasks', by Comrade Rosana Marquez; 'The revolutionary world process and the function of the Posadist IV International', by Comrade J. Posadas. Each report was discussed fully with interventions from delegate.

All and each one of the reports analysed the immense development of the forces in the quality of the IV International, the increase of its militant forces in Communist discipline, and particularly affirmed that the fundamental principles of Marxism, sustained and defended by Posadism (dictatorship of the proletariat, Soviets, destroying the bourgeoisie to construct Socialism, the passing from nationalism to Communism, the conception of the Revolutionary State, the independent intervention of the masses, the function of the proletariat in history and in society, the unification of the world Communist movement, the inevitable war), are the themes and the centres of the present discussion of all the world Communist movement. The Congress registered and discussed the immense progress of humanity. The historic triumph of the masses in Vietnam, in South East Asia and in Portugal; the elevation of the class struggle in Italy - with the votes in the elections of the 15th of June for the Italian Communist Party and the establishment of left juntas in centres of more than half of the population of Italy; in Argentina with the beginning of the fall of the reactionary right; and in the world wide wave of anti-imperialist struggles - correspond, although not in a harmonious and co-ordinated way, with the elevation of the programmatic and theoretical discussion and the return to Marxism. The unification of the anti-capitalist will of the masses and Marxism will be the task of the IV International in the forthcoming stage: the stage of the Communist International, of the masses, of the unification of the world Communist movement, of the unification of all the Workers States, beginning with the Sino-Soviet unification.

The Congress showed in a combined way the development of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International, new sections, regular publications in eight languages, leading interventions with workers fractions, students and peasants fractions, and discussion on the thoughts and the ideas of Comrade J. Posadas in leading centres of the world Communist movement and in the Workers States. The complete validity and foresight and policy of Posadism demonstrated with irrefutable proofs in the world process of the Socialist revolution, and the leading intervention of a world team, monolithically centralised in ideas, Communist life and morality which constantly develop, intervening in the changes and progress of the class struggle on a world scale and in each country.

The Congress did not function with an individual and separate objective, discussing in itself the forces of the IV International, nor in competition or comparison with the world Communist movement and other revolutionary tendencies, but functioned by putting its forces, its ideas, its programme and its teams to act through the texts of Comrade Posadas, as the theoretical and political nourishment of all the revolutionary movements which progress. The Trotskyist Posadist IV International ratified its decision to act as an objective property of humanity. This is its fundamental force and this is the decisive significance of its texts and documents. The complete historic re-encounter between these texts and the decision and the points of fundamental historic support which the Workers States mean, the Revolutionary States and the world Communist, Socialist and revolutionary movement, is the centre of the pre-occupation of the IV International, of its teams and parties throughout the world, and it is the scientific basis for the construction of Socialism and Communism. In this task the plans of independent growth of our movement are included and form part. 'The world is ready for Communism': this principle, elaborated by Comrade Posadas, verified in all the continents, in all the actions of the masses, in the actions of the children, the women, the old people, of the youth, of the adults, in the human vanguard which organises the triumph of Communism on a world scale, was the base of the functioning of this Congress, and of all the activities of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International.

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# ALIENATION IN CAPITALIST SOCIETY AND IN THE WORKERS STATE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM J. Posadas 18.8.75.

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No. 252

Friday, 14th October, 1975.

Price 8p

EDITORIAL

## Unity with the European Workers' Movement in the struggle for the Government of the Left

Despite the fact that capitalism on a world scale shows its total crisis in every aspect - economic, social, political and military - and, at the same time, displays a complete absence of any perspective or force, it is still able limitedly to impose a lowering of the standard of living of the masses. It is in part the result of the incapability of the system to develop the economy, and in part the result of a conscious policy to try to make the masses pay for the crisis of capitalism. The Tory conference demonstrated both the complete lack of any policy or perspective on the part of the party of capital in this country and the desire - but not the ability - to launch a direct confrontation with the working class. The depth of the disintegration of the Tories is shown in the complaint of one delegate that they had no policies and it 'was like being sent into battle without weapons'. The speeches of the leadership expressed all the frustration of a ruling class which needs fascism to confront the advance of the working class but knows that it has not the social authority over those sectors of the population necessary for a mass movement in defence of capitalism. In the midst of speeches in favour of repression, for 'law and order' and the reimposition of the death penalty, in defence of private property there were interventions in praise of the policies of the Labour Government, of Foot, recognising that the best the bourgeois could look for was to contain the advance towards Socialism. If, in these conditions, the standard of living can still be depressed, unemployment increased and the limited programme of nationalisations - shipbuilding and aircraft in particular - still deferred, the problem is not that capitalism has any force but that the leadership in the workers movement which is prepared to confront the crisis of capitalism is still lacking. Clearly sectors of the Labour left recognise the necessity for the programme of nationalisations, it is correct for Frank Allaun to point out the idiocy of a situation in which there is considerable unemployment in the construction industry and a lack of houses, schools and hospitals for the population, but the programme needs a policy for its implementation and it serves nothing for Eddie Loyden to 're-

mind' Wilson of Labour's programme, because it is not going to be implemented by Wilson or through Parliament, but by the mobilisations of the proletariat. PORTUGAL SHOWS THE LEADING ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT.

There is no basis in reality for uncertainty and timidity in this stage of history such as is displayed by much of the Labour left, and reality is the advance of the world revolution, the leading role of the proletariat and the Workers States. Portugal shows us clearly the leading role of the proletariat in society. It is the proletariat which previously imposed nationalisations and now comes into the streets to defend the gains of the revolution against the attempts of Soares and his allies in the government to contain the advance of the revolution. This massive demonstration of the working class, organised in the Intersindical (the trade union centre), is the proletariat acting as a leadership and transcending the limitations of the army which is fragmented and - although there are sectors which have an economic programme, which have supported nationalisations - does not have the ability to organise on a national scale. At the same time they transcend the limitations of the Communist Party leadership, which doesn't seek to contain the process but shows itself incapable of leading it. It follows the process. Cunhal salutes 'the magnificent response to the reaction', but without posing a policy and programme of nationalisations, workers control in the economy, based on the organisms of dual power which already exist. The reality of the world is also Spain and the response of the masses of the world, including those of the Soviet Union, Latin America and, without exception, Europe. The days of mobilisations and demonstration which followed the assassination of the Basque militants in the whole of Europe - even in Switzerland, which has a very small proletariat - expressed the level of the world revolution and were sustained by the preparation of the European proletariat for a struggle for power. The conditions exist for the raising of the demand for a European General Strike, for the overthrow of Franco, for the end of NATO. Clearly the assassinations committed by the Franco

regime have not produced these conditions; it is simply that the response of the masses has emphasised that the class struggle transcends national boundaries. What was true at the time of the referendum is still true now - there is no solution to the total crisis of capitalism within the boundaries of this country! And the Labour and trade union left has to link itself much more with the workers parties - which means centrally the Communist parties and the Workers States - and trade unions on a European scale in order to develop an anti-capitalist programme, policy and strategy. The bourgeoisie and the bourgeois wing of the Labour Party do not confine themselves to this country, they organise to support the reaction in Portugal, and it is ridiculous, for the left to remain isolated. THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP DEVELOPS A POLICY OF CONFRONTING CAPITALISM.

The reason why Prentice chose to attack the left of the Labour Party NEC for their links with the Workers States and the world Communist movement is that this is the centre of the pre-occupation of the bourgeoisie. They see - with the clarity of their own class interests - that it is the system of the Workers States (with the Soviet Union at the centre) which is the deciding factor in the world process. This is why Giscard d'Estaing made his trip to Moscow. He sought - as all the leaders of the bourgeoisie do at this stage - to find agreements with the Soviets which give some economic advantage, and, fundamentally, for agreements which would contain the Communist Party in France. The rebuff he suffered at the hands of the Soviet leadership is an important measure of the level which the process of Partial Regeneration has reached. When Breznev says that there is no 'detente' as far as the 'ideological struggle' is concerned, he is expressing the fact that the Soviet leadership has a policy of confronting capitalism and it is, at the same time, an orientation for the French Communist Party and for the world Communist movement. 'Detente' is a sham, and the judgement is not that the Soviets continue to talk about it, but what they are actually doing. In effect the hope which the bourgeois leadership had in a

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# ***Alienation in capitalist society and the Workers State and the struggle for Socialism.*** J. POSADAS 18.8.75

The worker in capitalist society is a commodity, just one more commodity. He is a human being but he cannot develop, because the regime of private property, through the labour market, considers him as a commodity. The worker does not act with all his power and capacity. Capitalist society develops intelligence and the integration and centralisation of the human being in a very limited way, because it considers him as a commodity, not a human being. This is how the capitalist regime regards the worker, and this is the basis for alienation. The proletariat is represented by work and sells its labour power. Marx says that the slave is handed over, body and soul, whilst the worker is formally free but has the same conditions as the slave. Hence, we say generally that the proletarian is a commodity. But what he sells in his labour power, which is a commodity. Hence, the basis for what is called his alienation. The essential part of his existence is represented by work, the part by which he lives. Represented by labour, his life does not belong to himself, but to another. We generalise by saying that the worker is a commodity, although in reality the labour power is the commodity. In selling his labour power, he still remains free to intervene.

The worker is represented in society by means of production; his family is part of production because he goes to the labour market, and the worker is constructed in society by the sale of his labour power. The production of an object is the prolongation of the life of a worker. Between his life and his production — which does not belong to him — there is a separation. It is an exclusion, a partialisation, a robbery of the life of the worker. This is alienation. It is alienation because it means to divide the thought, life, the function of the worker into two parts: himself and production. What he produces he cannot dispose of, he cannot determine the course of what he is producing, nor the course of his life, because he depends on capitalist society, he is exploited. This provokes alienation.

Capitalism speaks of the integration of the human being. In the process of production, in the relation with the worker, it shows that such an integration is inexact. Capitalism cannot produce an objective regime, a conscious regime, because the worker cannot determine. The worker produces for another and hands over half of his life to another. He cannot determine his existence, it is the capitalist who takes the surplus value and what determines is the class struggle. This shows that capitalist society is a regime which divides, atomises and breaks up human relations, a regime which prevents having foreseeable objectives. To have foreseeable objectives the human being would have to be integral, so that he can deduce, foresee and determine. Hence, a social regime is required in which there are no contradictions, antagonisms or contradictions in human relations and in human beings.

The harmony which the Church sought, and capitalist philosophy, is a complete lie. It cannot be so because it is supported on the capitalist system of production and the regime of private property. The Workers State is a contradictory regime; in order that the nationalised property functions, objective interest is needed, not the interest of private property. In the Workers State, all form of private property is eliminated, and private management, and all the essential aspects of property are concentrated

in the state, although small enterprises may continue. The Workers State develops with all possible amplitude the economy, eliminates the competition which is inherent in the system of private property, and plans. Production is determined in relation to needs, foreseeing the basis of consumption.

The organisation of the capitalist regime allows the capitalist state to accumulate, to re-invest, to extend the power of private property, and to accumulate in one pole wealth and power, and in the other misery and exploitation.

## **ALIENATION IS LIMITED IN THE WORKERS STATE.**

In the Workers State the class struggle exists, but in a diminished form; alienation appears in a mitigated form. In the capitalist system alienation forms part of the accumulation of capital. In the Workers State, there is no accumulation of capital in itself. It is an accumulation of the Workers State, and the class struggle is not as in the capitalist system. The Workers State is one of the most elevated steps in the termination of the class struggle. In the Workers State, it is not possible to have accumulation or appropriation, unless it is the political leadership which stimulates it.... There is a contradiction between the superior forms which go towards Socialism and the distribution of wages which is

bourgeois. In this contradiction lies the class struggle in the Workers State.

In the Workers State the bureaucracy makes an appropriation of interest, goods, an accumulation of political leadership, of a car, of a house, of two houses, but it cannot reproduce, and accumulate to invest. Then the class struggle is very limited, alienation exists but it is attenuated, it does not have the character and the antagonistic form of capitalist society, which makes the social revolution necessary. The political revolution is necessary in the Workers States, that is to say, it is not a question of having to change the structure of the social regime, but it is necessary to change the political leadership — hence, the political revolution. In the capitalist state, it is the social revolution, the transformation of the relations of production, exchange, property. Alienation exists in both cases. In the Workers State it exists in a mitigated form, which transcends relations through the basis of the nationalised property. The state synthesises, centralises, concentrates production, and plans. There is no private owner, there is no private investment, the private extension of wealth and property. In the capitalist state, it is quite the opposite.

Alienation does not determine only the sentiment of oppression, but fragments the individual; the individual cannot represent everything that he is, and neither can he do so in the Workers State, under the leadership of the bureaucracy. But the bureaucrat cannot accumulate to invest and increase his power. He increases political power but not wealth, and if not increasing his wealth, who in fact is profiting? The bureaucrat of the Workers State? In the Workers State, even in the Soviet functioning of the first seven years, there was alienation. The basis of the Workers State now, and in the time of Lenin, are identical: nationalised property, centralised planning, state monopoly of foreign trade. But the relation of the workers with the state was, and is, through wages, through a bourgeois distribution. This divergence between one and the other, leads to alienation. But in the Workers State, it does not produce the consequences of the capitalist state, of accumulation and class struggle which can only be suppressed by the Socialist revolution. In the Workers States, the social revolution is not necessary but the political revolution is, which means that the form can be very simple and bloodless. In the capitalist state, no. It is necessary to overthrow the regime.

Alienation is expressed in all its forms in a thousand ways, and especially in the fact that the individual cannot be otherwise than subject, submitted to the economy, wages and production. In the Workers State this continues, but in a much lesser degree, because wealth increases with the relations of the economy and the power of the Workers State, which is the basis for the liberation of the human being

Alienation is the consequence of the alienation in distribution, the differentiation between production, the human being and remuneration. In the capitalist state, it is determined by the regime of private property which carries out its function. In the Workers State, no. But, as the Workers State is dominated by the bureaucracy, it is expressed only in distribution, not in production. The class struggle in the Workers State does not have the historic and concrete consequences as in the capitalist regime. ....

The conditions which allow the reproduction or the maintenance of the bureaucracy are disappearing. In the Workers State there is re-investment and reproduction, not as individual power but through the economy and society and, in consequence, through science, technology and intelligence. Hence, in the Workers State, alienation does not play the same function as in the capitalist state, neither does the surplus value.

In capitalism, surplus value serves to fortify the system by means of reproduction, by means of accumulation of capital. It serves to affirm the capitalist system and the owner. In the Workers State, this is not the case. The surplus value which arises from the proletariat in the Workers States, is not to affirm the power of a class, of a sector or of the bureaucracy in a permanent form. It favours the interested distribution and planning of the bureaucracy, but it cannot sustain and extend the power of the bureaucracy. Hence Stalin was liquidated, otherwise he would have formed a new society.

Alienation does not depend on the political leadership, but on the social and economic relations and property. The Communists do not speak of this, because they do not understand it. Otherwise, they would have to speak of the Workers State, of the historic function of the Workers State. The Posadists are the only ones who speak of this, and these are not non-transcendent phenomena, they have enormous transcendence because they allow one to understand the necessity of the function of Soviet democracy. Soviet democracy eliminates the power of the bureaucracy. The function of the Party is to eliminate the power of the bureaucracy, and then what is in question is political power, not the social and economic power. It's a question of the political power of the bureaucracy whose basis does not depend on the country where it is, but on the rest of the world. When the relations of world forces were favourable, Stalin fell.

Hence, our confidence in seeing that all this necessity of history always finds the strength to triumph. It finds the will of the masses, the consciousness of the understanding and of intelligence...

Trotsky explains in his 'Revolution Betrayed', all these problems; and the nature of the class struggle in the Workers States which does not have the same function as in the capitalist state. Trotsky defines the situation — as in another stage Lenin did, without arriving at the depth of Trotsky — because it was not necessary at that moment — that the Workers State is a state of transition. The Workers State is a stage of transition between capitalism and Communism, a stage of transition which is going towards resolving the problems of alienation and surplus value.....

Without surplus value, there is no alienation. Alienation is eliminated with every form of state, every form of exploitation. In the Workers State there is exploitation, the workers are exploited but they are exploited, not through another class, but through the conditions of history, a regime of transition to increase the power of a class to overthrow capitalism. It is the political leadership which does not fulfil this function. Hence it is necessary to make the political revolution and not the social revolution. It is necessary to change the political leadership, not the social regime, which is the Workers State, which is correct.

It is necessary to understand this process, because it allows one to understand the class. 'The professional dangers of power', which Rakovsky spoke about, always exist in conditions, like the present, of lack of conscious leadership. For a period, a leadership can exercise the function of expropriator without becoming a class; but it behaves as a class, like the bureaucracy of Stalin behaved as a class, without being able to be one. In the same way, the Yugoslavs behaved as a class without being able to become one, and if it wasn't for the fact that the political revolution was on the march begun by the Yugoslav masses and which Tito has to support, there would have been the counter-revolution.

It is necessary to see and feel that the vital problems of the economy are determined by the backwardness with which the proletariat comes onto the scene, by the backwardness of capitalism and by

the backwardness of the political leadership.

## **THE CONDITIONS ARE MORE FAVOURABLE THAN IN 1917.**

The proletariat must take power in these conditions. It takes the state, such as it is, with the existing conditions, and it has to produce and compete with the rest of the world. Today, there are better conditions than in the epoch of Lenin, because there are 14 Workers States, there are Revolutionary States and a process of the disintegration of the capitalist system. The perspectives, the policy and the tasks are better, but the programme doesn't change. The world relation of forces facilitates the process enormously, but historically the conditions are the same.

Socialism is not measured because there is work and no unemployment, but by human relations. Socialism is not a better economic relation but a better human relation, because it eliminates every form of exploitation, eliminates the essential basis of human conflict, eliminates private individual interest whether over money or position. Socialism restructures thought in eliminating every form of property, appropriation and accumulation, and all the results which come from this process, including vanity. Vanity is not an attribute of the human being because the human being invented or created it. It is the relations of private property which developed the conditions for what is called vanity and egoism.

It is necessary to see that in the Soviet Union, in the Workers States, even in China — with this leadership allied to the capitalist system which in certain degree is an agent of the capitalist system in relation to Europe, Portugal and Mozambique — the tasks are those of the political revolution and not of the social revolution. In the Workers States it is not necessary to transform the regime of property, but the political regime, the political leadership. To understand this is fundamental. The one fundamental basis of the development of the Workers State is Soviet democracy and the democratic right of the masses to intervene. The objective of Socialism is to eliminate every form of power, of government and of leadership. Humanity will lead itself. For this, it is necessary to have the masses, the level of capacity, of understanding, of science, of security to apply, of experience. This is the case with Soviet democracy.

On the other hand the parties continue working — even in the Workers States — as a property superior to the capitalist system. The party acts determining, but without educating the masses. The Bolsheviks, with a small number of militants, took power in Russia. They were less than 5% of the population. That was in another stage of revolutionary conditions facilitated by the first world war. But this new stage is superior and facilitates the process more than in the Russian Revolution. There is an experience in the world; the masses have seen that there are 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States. The masses of the world have an experience which the Soviet masses did not have in 1917. The peasantry of the world is already won to the revolution which was not the case in the epoch of the Russian Revolution. The petit bourgeois was a counter-revolutionary weight. Today it is a weight favourable to the revolution. The soldiers in Portugal, who represent the peasants and the petit bourgeois, are a proof of this. The objective conditions are infinitely superior to those of the epoch of the Russian Revolution, but the Party of Lenin is missing.

There is an advance, and this is going to continue because the historic conditions allow it, but to construct Socialism, the Party of Lenin is necessary. It is not possible to mock at history. When history does not find a genuine representative for the necessary progress of hu-

## **ARGENTINA:**

### **FOR A WORLD CAMPAIGN TO CRUSH THE ASSASSINS AND SMASH THE RIGHT IN ARGENTINA.**

The brutal assassination of Comrades Luis Blinda, age 21, and Jose Gimenez, age 23, of the Workers Party (Trotskyist), Argentinian section of the IV International, in Cordoba by the police and the AAA, is part of the crisis without a solution of the right and of its complete failure in Argentina. They do not have a social base of support and thus they have to resort desperately to assassinations, to intimidate, preparing the counter-revolution. These methods are typical of capitalism — Ireland, Portugal, the Middle East, Vietnam, express the same brutal cretinism, the face of private property.

There was an immediate response to the assassination of our comrades. The university of Cordoba immediately launched a protest strike. The Cordoba regional of the CGT declared the strike commemorating the assassination a year ago of their leader, Attilo Lopez, and against all the latest assassinations of revolutionary militants and of the workers movement, including and referring specifically to our comrades. Our comrades were submitted to 14 hours of torture, but did not say a word. This is an expression of the Communist structure which comrade Posadas has constructed in the Argentinian section as part of the task of the IV International acting as a public instrument of history.

We appeal to proletarian solidarity, appealing to the Labour Party, the trade unions, to all the organisms of the masses in the factories, to all the revolutionary forces in Britain and Europe to launch a campaign demanding the punishment of all the assassins, and appealing for democratic rights for the masses and the parties in Argentina. We appeal for support to the proletariat and all the revolutionary tendencies, with strikes and resolutions of solidarity, unifying this campaign with the struggle against fascism in Spain and in Chile, impelling the organisation of the vanguard and of the masses to smash capitalism and its assassin groups. We salute with all our revolutionary conviction and passion the dear Comrades of the Argentinian section and the two murdered Comrades — examples of Posadist militancy in their lives, dedicated to the struggle for Socialism.

## ALIENATION..

manity, it invents people and leaders. But they are inventions which last for a transitory stage which is very short. The construction of Socialism cannot be achieved with inventions which last a very short and transitory stage. Socialism cannot be constructed with inventions, but only with genuine representatives of the necessity of history: the Party, the programme, the policy, the working class. It was possible to advance, as in Yugoslavia, right to the edge of returning to the capitalist system. It went to the edge and one foot was in the other camp. The working class recovered Yugoslavia. There is a very clear symbol of this when they put Tito on their banners as a guerrilla leader, saying 'This is what we want of you'. The Soviet bureaucracy said to Tito that he was responsible for this process. It is not possible to accept the excuse that Stalin impelled Yugoslavia onto the path which could lead back to capitalism. Stalin also oppressed the Soviet masses; but the Soviet masses did not follow him. Tito went to the edge of returning to capitalism. All this means that the Party was missing.

Socialism is a science. At present the conception of science is taken as a special activity taking the time, intelligence and attention of special people. That is to say, science is for the people who are intelligent. No, Sir. In Socialism science is going to develop intelligence. Science is the basis for the development of intelligence. 'But intelligent people do it', says the bourgeoisie. But, in Socialism, human relations can and they must intervene. On the other hand, in the programme of the Socialist and Communist parties, they do not know what is going to come, and they only pose as an objective making better administration than capitalism.

### SOCIALISM CANNOT BE CONSTRUCTED WITHOUT MARXISM.

Hence, all of them do not have the conclusion: how are we going to construct the Workers State? They are the agents of a correct historic representation. They do not have objectivity because they do not represent the necessity of Socialism and they have atomised Socialism into twenty forms. There are not twenty forms of Socialism. But, although they say, 'This road and that to construct Socialism', they all nationalise and all plan. On the other hand, there is a current which in the Italian Communist Party, proposes to include private property on the road for the construction of Socialism. This is what Tito did before in Yugoslavia; Stalin also, although not in the USSR where there was a bureaucracy, but in the rest of the world. Tito had to change radically; Stalin could not change radically because they eradicated him.

Socialism cannot be constructed without Marxism. Marxism cannot function without the Party. And the Party cannot develop Marxist intelligence without functioning with the method of Soviet democracy. The lack of this functioning was a retreat in history, but the retreat did not lead to a leap backwards there were thirteen Workers States more, even with Stalin! The world had to be mature otherwise it would not have led to this process. If people were not mature they would have been content to defeat the nazis and nothing more. But people defeated the nazis, and the bourgeoisies of their own countries. The Soviet army intervened, something which every Communist Party of every country constantly concealed. The Soviet Army intervened throughout all Europe, including Yugoslavia.

In Yugoslavia, the Soviet Army did not intervene in a decisive form. But it was very close to being decisive because its mere existence prevented the nazis from concentrating against Yugoslavia. Tito says, 'Our presence, our struggle, prevented Germany taking forces to fight the Soviets elsewhere'. This is badly posed since, without the Soviets, the Yugoslavs could not have made the struggle. The Soviet presence, the Soviets in Europe, allowed the struggle in each country against fascism and stimulated them in spite of Stalin. All this is a demonstration that Socialism cannot

be constructed without Marxism.

Alienation is a social relation, not an act. It can be expressed in an act. It is the social relations between the system of production, the regime of property, and the social consequences. It is the social relations which do not allow the human being to be integral but divide and separate him. It prevents him from developing imagination. Hence the importance of alienation is not simply a question of pointing out or knowing a fact, but of seeing what transcendence the construction of the human being has. These are the essential problems of what is called philosophy, or what they call philosophy. The Communist leaders do not understand all this.

The economy is the base which centralises and provides the nucleus for human activity. From there, the structures, physiological and biological formation of the individual arise. Alienation prevents the unity of this formation, the conscious unity of it, or the conscious objective which is human love. Alienation means that the individual cannot express himself because he cannot control what he produces. And this is one of the essential bases of ignorance, lack of knowledge, discouragement, anguish.

It is necessary to consider alienation as a special relationship which leads to this situation, including war. It is not simply a relation between owner and proletarian, but one of the consequences which develops in the construction of humanity. Hence the concern of Marx to write on these themes, otherwise he would not have done it. Hence it is necessary to consider these problems.

The Workers State exercises functions of alienation in the form of wages..

The alienation in the Workers States does not produce the effect and the counter-revolutionary historic consequences which it produced in the capitalist system, because in capitalism surplus value is to increase capital, to concentrate, accumulate and re-invest. In that family, accumulation of capital is the pregnancy, the gestation; and the child is the investment. The alienation and insanity which capitalism produces affirm its laws and its power..

And now, the other aspect: how is the change brought about? The Russian, Chinese, Cuban revolutions have demonstrated this. Each country does not have its own special way. It is achieved through the class war, the class struggle, and the revolutionary form. And, even if attenuated or limited compared with the Russian, the Chinese or the Cuban revolutions, the transformation has to be on the basis of the class struggle. There are no examples in history which put this conclusion in doubt. And it can also be demonstrated that the proletariat is a commodity which is considered as a commodity, which is the basis of its alienation. The relations in capitalist society prevent the human being from developing in an integral form. He is a commodity - and in Socialism is not going to be a commodity. Hence the Workers State develops between capitalism and Socialism, but is not Socialism. It is absurd to suppose that the Workers State is Socialism. In the Workers State the exploiter continues, which does not have the effects, the consequences and the function as in the capitalist state, because there is no accumulation and the economic power of the bureaucracy does not increase.

### THE CONCRETE CONCLUSIONS FROM UNDERSTANDING ALIENATION.

When the revolution triumphed in the Soviet Union, it occurred in very backward conditions but with a very capable political leadership - in the first stage. On the other hand, it did not have material means. It was the most complete revolution in history - after Marx - but it could not eliminate the relationships which are an inevitable condition of work, 'to each according to his capacity'. This is also alienation. If the wage is eliminated the human being is no longer a

commodity, because then he works in accordance with the needs of society and contributes to it what he can. Insofar as wages exist, the basis of alienation exists. In the Workers State there is no competition as there is in capitalism, although in some Workers States it exists (as in Yugoslavia and Rumania). There is competition as a consequence of bureaucratic interest, of bureaucratic empiricism, of bureaucratic superficiality and usurpation. There is no competition by necessity. Insofar as these bureaucratic particular conditions exist as in Rumania, as now appears in China, they come closer to the most crude and original forms of alienation.

The discussion on alienation does not have importance, save to draw theoretical conclusions for practical conclusions, applicable conclusions. For example, in the Workers State there is surplus value, but to strengthen the Workers State. As a consequence, although the the bureaucracy makes use of this, it is not a class and, in not being a class, it cannot renew and extend itself as does capitalism.

In capitalism the proletariat is considered as a commodity. A society like this cannot construct reasonable human beings. It has to construct quite the opposite; how is it going to reason with this level of human relations?

In the Workers State, the proletariat is also a commodity, but less so. These are not grades which we determine, but they are human relations as established.

Hence the process is dialectical, goes towards the negation of the negation. The process is contradictory, it is not an uninterrupted functioning and progress. It is uninterrupted in a global form, a form which is most evident, internally it is contradictory, it is necessary to understand this to see how to intervene. It is necessary to study the social forms in accordance with the forms that arise. As part of this, the class struggle is attenuated in the Workers State, not because the bureaucracy or the proletariat hides it, but because the social relations are determined by the regime of property. In the Workers State nationalised property, not private, prevails. This creates the conditions for social relations which notably diminish the class struggle. In capitalism the class struggle requires the social energy of the proletariat to transform society. In the Workers State the social energy of the proletariat to transform society is not required, because it is not necessary to transform it but to change the political leadership, to allow the advance to construct Socialism; as in the capitalist state in lesser proportion, it is possible to support a series of progresses which are the basis and point of support for the advance of the proletariat and the disintegration of the enemy. This does not negate the revolution, it facilitates it. All these problems which belong apparently to philosophical circles, are those which are going to be discussed in the Workers States very quickly.

It is necessary to study all these problems. They are the essential principles of Communism. Love of study is not a necessity for the political line. Love for study is love for science, and life is science. Still it is not in a generalised form, because those who dominate do not allow it, but already it can be seen that science is the base for human relations, science led by intelligence, not science controlled by business, commerce, the boss, but intelligence which suppresses lack of objectivity. This means objective intelligence, meaning what is the best, the most convenient, to organise for development. After Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Rakovsky, Bukharin, no one has written on these problems. Today, we are the only ones who are concerned with this, and it is necessary to remember that Lenin was the only one who thought that it was necessary to form a Party. These discussions are going to return. Socialism cannot be constructed without Marxism.

J. POSADAS 18th August, 1975.

Printed by  
the Russell Press Ltd.,  
Nottingham (TU)

Registered with the GPO as a newspaper.

## EDITORIAL

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previous period, of gaining a little social authority in front of their own class and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie by demonstrating that they have a relationship with the Workers States, has been shattered. When Gromyko went to the United States, he went outside the 'normal' diplomatic functioning by greeting the masses of the United States and, in particular, those of New York. That 'particular' is very significant, since it is in New York that the masses are facing the total crisis of capitalism - expressed in the complete financial collapse of the city administration - with preparations for a struggle, and where a trade union leader has threatened a general strike. This means that not only is the Soviet leadership attempting to give an orientation to the world Communist movement - and this is the importance of the insistence of the Soviets that the World Conference of Communist Parties should have a unified policy - but it is trying to give an orientation to the masses, to the proletariat directly. This is what disturbs bourgeois sectors like Prentice in the Labour Party, and the bourgeoisie itself.

It is true that Partial Regeneration is not a conscious process, and the development of ideas, of a world strategy based on a confrontation with the capitalist system is an empirical one. Thus, whilst there is still talk of 'detente', a Bulgarian 'ideologist, Mitev, takes the discussion raised by Zaradov in 'Pravda' and, in the revue 'New Times, criticises the Communist parties who pose only 'peaceful' methods of struggle, and says that it is necessary to use every form of struggle against capitalism. At the same time, he poses to the Communist parties of the capitalist countries - in Europe in particular - that it is not possible to go to Socialism by peaceful means, and that this is the only policy of the world Communist movement. He also draws the conclusion from the experience of Chile and, even if it is qualified by saying that the bourgeoisie use force 'as a last resort', the tendency to go towards the conclusion that the civil war is inevitable is clear. It is not accidental, either, that while Giscard is in Moscow being attacked by the Soviet leadership Marchais (General Secretary of the French Communist Party) raises the demand for the nationalisation of the steel industry. The decision of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) at its recent meeting in Paris is also significant inasmuch as it proposed to answer the 'crisis of capitalism' with unified action by the world trade union movement. This concentration on the trade unions is an indirect way of intervening in the world process of the permanent revolution, which requires a political leadership. However, on the other side of this policy of the Soviets is the recognition that, at this stage, it is the trade unions which the class is using as political instruments in the absence of a sufficiently developed leadership in the workers parties.

The role of the trade unions is clearly demonstrated in this country by all the initiatives for struggle, for the overthrow of the Tory government, for factory occupations have come from the trade union base. The Labour left do not need to remind Wilson of the programme, but to remind themselves that the present Labour government was impelled into office by the mobilisations of the workers, by the massive demonstration against the 'industrial relations act' and by the miners' strike. It is part of a world process as, for example, the way in which the Argentinian working class have shattered the right wing of the Peronist movement with the general strike, and in Italy where elements of dual power are imposed by the factory councils and there is a constant mobilisation of the trade union base. The Labour left have to base themselves on this force: there is no other! The initiative of the North West Trades Councils in organising a lobby of parliament on November 26th has a certain importance inasmuch as it proposes a mobilisation of the class. It is limited to the extent that it makes parliament a focus of attention - as if there is some solution through parliament - and its lack of programme and policy. Nevertheless the proletariat is going to use it in the absence of any other means of mobilisation being offered. What the Labour and trade union left have to do is to base themselves on such mobilisations and to use them as a means of putting forward a programme of all wages to rise with the cost of living, work sharing without loss of pay, all factories threatened with closure to be occupied and run under workers control pending nationalisation by the Labour government, all factory books to be open to the workers committees, and the nationalisation of the land, banks and major industries under workers control and without compensation. They have also to base themselves on the factories, on the shop stewards committees, impelling a discussion and the elevation of the organisms of control of the working class. Because of the lack of a centralised leadership, a conscious, coherent left tendency in the Labour Party and trade unions, it is impossible to predict exactly when or how the proletariat is going to mobilise in the next period, but the nature of the class itself and the world conditions determine that it will mobilise. It is necessary then to be based on this, to raise the discussion and demand for the Government of the Left, with the direct representation - without a general election - of the trade unions in the government, the removal of all those elements who resist the programme of nationalisations of the Labour Party and trade unions, and a progressive implementation of that programme. There is the necessity for local conferences of the labour movement, including the trade union and Labour Party militants, the shop stewards committees - with the right of all to speak, for all tendencies of the left to intervene - to discuss the programme and mobilisations to impose the Government of the Left.

20.10.75

## THE X.WORLD CONGRESS..

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'The intelligent joy', as was defined by Comrade Posadas, which humanity lives weighing on and superior to the transitory defeats like those in Chile, developed in the heart of this Congress. Revolutionary songs, the sentiments of Communist fiesta, of Communist victory and fraternity in which the Conference developed, was the conscious synthesis of the relations of Communist fusion which humanity lives today. In the Congress this intelligent joy, the development of a world monolithic team, with an open and complete aptitude for application, was expressed in the embrace of the delegates in the Congress to Comrade Posadas when he finished his first exposition. The embrace was a recognition of intelligence and

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# ON THE POLICY OF THE UNITED FRONT IN SPAIN

J. Posadas

28th JULY, 1975.

(Title of the Editorial Board)

They are not preparing to make a democratic junta in Spain, but a Portuguese junta. And, although it might not be with Cutinho, Concalves or Carvalho, there are similar people there. The masses want to discuss immediately, not as a means of criticising or condemning the leadership of the Communist Party, but to elevate the experience of the cadres. In Spain, they can do the same as in Portugal and better, because they have the experience of the Spanish revolution and, besides, they have Communist and Socialist parties, tendencies of the left, and left tendencies in the bourgeoisie. Together with this, there is the decomposition of capitalism, the grinding down of capitalism which has to grab hold of Don Juan; that is to say, they have very exiguous resources in history. The Communist vanguard sees this and it is necessary to discuss it.

There is no political life in Spain and 'Mundo Obrero' (organ of the Communist Party) reflects it. There are two or three newspapers and nothing more. The Soviets are trying to organise a tendency against Carillo. And Carillo, together with the Italian Communist Party, is opposed to Portugal and to the French Communist Party. Although the masses of the Spanish Communist Party are not called to discuss, to participate or to give opinion on these problems, the bourgeois press communicates to the Communist masses that there is such a discussion and such a situation in the world Communist movement. And the masses are making an experience and enrichment of a knowledge and judgement, of capacity, infinitely greater than their leadership.

Every leadership which today does not live Portugal, is condemned to death. Although the corpse can continue walking around, it cannot generate authority and confidence. Throughout the world Communist movement, they are discussing Portugal. As there is no leadership, the discussion is not organised. It is not a discussion which has an organic sense for seeking conclusions. But the base, the cadres, the vanguard of the world Communist movement, of the left and the trade unions, discuss making correct appreciations of the situation, i.e. the roots of this process, and they support Portugal. The masses see in Portugal the objective progress of the revolution, and they see it essentially in the points in which it can discuss, discuss, judge and give an opinion. They see that it advances in organs of power linked to the class, and that democracy advances linked to the class. They are not pre-

occupied so much with economic progress, although it is important and it is concerned, but see that it is not decisive. They see that, to advance, class organs are required - organs which think in the name of the working class, not for the working class but in the name of the working class - which has the objectivity to develop the economy. This is what the vanguard is living in Portugal and in Spain also.

In Spain it is necessary to give analysis and make concrete propositions, to propose the necessity for preparing movements which can make democratic agreements, including with the bourgeoisie, but without programmatic ties with the bourgeoisie, not remaining subject - as Carillo remains - to the bourgeoisie leading and deciding programmatically. He says that they are making this policy because the Communist Party is a minority in the workers movement. We also consider that it is a minority, but the majority want to overthrow Franco and to take the road of Portugal. And so now, it is not a question of the Communist Party and what it can do, but considering the Communist Party - which has important cadres and can be won - transcending the limitations and the levels which the Communist Party wants to give to the Spanish revolution. It is necessary to discuss, showing Portugal and Ethiopia. They are very decisive examples, as with Mexico and Peru.

It is necessary to make a very great criticism of Carillo. The criticism has to be on the basis of political discussion and analysis, not a criticism of rejection, of accusation, but of analysis, showing that the policy of submission, of agreements with the bourgeoisie, of being submitted to the bourgeoisie, is false and erroneous. This affirms the power of the bourgeoisie, when there are the conditions to win over the petit bourgeoisie by means of mobilisations, with class and anti-capitalist objectives. This can be done. The soldiers who are preparing the coup do it, not as a function of the capitalist regime but of Socialist measures.

We do not want to intervene in the internal disputes of the Communist Party, but neither do we want to stop participating. What we do not want to do is to intervene to throw out, or to cut down, but to reason, instead of giving positions to show that they are traitors, capitulators, or bourgeois, to reason. Instead of saying that this position of the CP serves as a point of support for the bourgeoisie, to pose that this position tends to make the proletariat abandon its positions and elevate

the bourgeoisie, and this impedes the proletarian movement. If the proletariat does not make such a mobilisation, the bourgeoisie has the ability to continue to dominate the situation, but if the proletariat dominates or resolves, the bourgeoisie cannot determine. This is the example of objective analysis.

It is necessary to function to intervene in all this process to organise a current within and outside the CP, among the left Catholics, the left Socialists, the Communists and people without a party, and to consider also that there is a very great number who are now won through disillusionment. They find that fascism is not a homogeneous movement which functions through necessity. A number of fascists have given up. There is no strong fascism in the country. It is a weak, gutless fascism. It functions on the edge of death, and there is a whole number of people who just abandon fascism. Fascism is not increasing its forces, but diminishing. It concentrates in a few sectors now, as a prelude to death.

In these conditions, a very great movement of resistance to Franco develops in Spain on the part of the bourgeoisie, who show a certain drive to try to appear as the axis of the anti-Franco movement - as with all their publications, like Cambio 16. But the policy and the interests of the bourgeoisie cannot go very far, they have very short perspectives. What they are proposing is to change Franco so that the capitalist regime functions better. The regime of Franco, which is a function of big business, perturbs the function of big business. As the bourgeoisie does not feel that it has the strength to smash and impose itself upon the masses - who have had 40 years of Franco and the bourgeoisie have not imposed their power - they seek to conciliate and to develop the economy and eliminate from it the obstacles of the Franco regime. This means, at the same time, the very great weakness of the Franco regime. The Communists try to use the situation, to make what they call the 'democratic juntas'. Based on the analysis of the situation in Spain, this policy has no rational basis. It stems from the fear of the Communists who are small, do not have strength and cannot decide, because if there is a class movement the Communists are not the majority, and they fear to be by-passed by their base. In the 'democratic juntas', which is the struggle for democratic rights, they can compensate and develop themselves competing

with others. They give reasons to the Communist militants for their timid policy. It is necessary to see that this policy is not reasoned, it is senseless. It does not respond to the necessity of the situation, nor to its perspectives. This policy answers to a false analysis and conclusions of what is happening in Spain.

It is necessary to analyse the necessity for the United Front of all the parties, the trade unions, for democratic demands. The right wants to make organisational links,

hence it is necessary to make the independent action of the Communist Party and of the trade unions, pushing forward the normal demands of the workers movement, and supporting the essential demands of democratic rights, increases in wages, and a certain planning of the economy, giving a perspective of what is happening in Spain. A 'democratic junta' comes, and then what? It is necessary to give a perspective supporting a series of nationalisations; there is already a sector of the capitalist economy which is statified with 40% of the principle industries nationalised. Some are in a bad way and the objective is to get rid of the debts, the deficits and the backwardness, to install modern machinery and more advanced structures of production, and afterwards hand them over to private capital. This is their objective.

At the same time, this objective has nourished a sector of leaders, of administrators, of state functionaries, who are against this policy and who want the state function to continue. This is one of the consequences of this stage of the crisis of capitalism, which exists in all countries - the increase in the layers of planners, co-ordinators, presidents, local economists, a competition of state economy and private economy. But if they certainly do this with the objective of their own interests, they also do it pushed forward by the needs of the development of the economy, and they seek the best means. They do not do it with the programme which advances towards Socialist measures, but they develop towards this level and nothing more. It is necessary to count on these forces.

We are not against democratic united fronts with the bourgeoisie; we are against submitting to them. The present stage requires a struggle for democratic liberties but, at the same time, the independence of the workers movement and the workers parties, to continue struggling for their own demands. They are not to be subject to the bourge-

ois level because this commands, determines and paralyse the workers movement. What Carillo is doing is to submit the workers to the bourgeois movement. This is not an alliance, it is submission to the bourgeoisie. And hence, we say, it is not going to be accepted. We accepted in our opinion in the 8th Congress of the Communist Party that it is necessary to make the democratic alliance with the bourgeoisie, but for particular objectives: democratic rights, freedom of the press, words, ideas, development of the economy. But we pose as a class how it must be done, including when we organise actions in common. But we make our own life independent of them, elaborating the objectives which are superior to those of the bourgeoisie. Carillo acts like this, because he does not believe in the permanent revolution but we do. An outstanding example of it is in the Catalan Assembly. What is this? And that of Andalusia? It is absurd and criminal that they favour the regionalisation of Spain. It clashes with the mentality of any Spanish worker. This is the policy which favours the bourgeoisie, the backwardness of the Catalan overlords, and all this.

This is a backward and absurd conclusion. Instead of tending to unify and centralise - as the Yugoslavs are just doing - they tend to divide and respect the regional rights, maintaining the backwardness of the nationalities, which is the product of capitalism. This is the necessity of culture and of science. It is a lie, and it is absurd.

It is necessary to look at the first struggles which Lenin pushed forward in the Russian Social Democratic Party for a centralised movement. There was a tremendous extravagance on this issue. Lenin opposed the separatism of each Russian state from the necessity for centralisation to develop the economy, and also to develop culture and technology. There was a tremendous struggle, and in the Social Democratic Party too. Even Plekhanov, who then had good positions, was a partisan also of the atomisation of Russia, and this was an economic, social and cultural inheritance from the past. There are Communists who still have this position.

J. POSADAS 28th July, 1975.

\* J. POSADAS: 'The problems of the revolution in Spain and the VIIIth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party', 5th February, 1973.

## THE X. WORLD CONGRESS..

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the decision of the intelligent joy to apply and develop the immense forces of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International. This same sentiment was verified in the other reports which expressed, in their intervention by other Comrades of the team, the monolithic development and advance of the forces of the International-

The world Congress of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International resolved, as part of its objectives of functioning, to prepare theoretically and politically all its forces, all its activity and growth, to weigh with its ideas on the formation of the Communist thought of the revolutionary world movement; of very active ideas, and as a movement with a base and mass authority in the construction of the world revolutionary leadership; to weigh in the forms in which today this activity develops the Partial Regeneration of the function of the Workers States. The Congress ratified and discussed the historic validity of this principle. It increases the function of the Soviet Union in the camp of the world revolution and diminishes, as a consequence, the bureaucratic function of its leadership. This is an objective course imposed and demanded by the world forces of the revolution. The historic basis of the formation of the bureaucracy and of the degeneration of the Workers State has ceased. The basis of the construction of Socialism throughout

the world has elevated and increased. Partial Regeneration facilitates, but does not eliminate, the tasks of the political revolution in the Workers States. The Trotskyist Posadist IV International is hastening to intervene more actively with the programme of the Soviets in the Workers States, for the leading intervention and with the organs of the working class, for Socialist and Soviet democracy. Together with this it hastens to continue its activity in the struggle for the programme of the construction of the Workers States: statification, workers control, planning of the economy and of the Workers States amongst themselves. This process of increase in the forces of the revolution, of intervention of the masses, is the basis of the world crisis of disintegration of the system. This is the epoch of the liquidation of private property. The world Congress discussed the immense retreat of the forces of capitalism and imperialism which took refuge alone in its counter-revolutionary essence to prepare the atomic war against the masses. Its

vacillations in launching it comes from its insecurity, and from the fact that the conditions are constantly unfavourable to it and lead to defeat. The military, religious, juridical superstructure of capitalism is disintegrating. It is breaking up because of the forces of the world revolution. Sectors of the armies and armies are won to the revolutionary struggle, as in Portugal, partly in Peru, Ethiopia and Madagascar.

The Congress discussed and resolved the programme for the revolution in Europe and in Latin America. In Europe, to centralise the forces of the Communist parties and of the trade unions with the programme of the Soviet Socialist Federation of Europe, based on the organs of the direct intervention of the proletariat and a policy of expulsion of NATO and of imperialism throughout Europe. In Latin America, centralisation of the masses in organs of the anti-imperialist United Front, workers parties based on the trade unions, a single workers centre, a Socialist Soviet Federation of Latin America.

For these objectives, the Congress resolved to maintain and extend the regular publications of the 15 newspapers of our parties in the world, to edit Marxist Reviews in the Italian, British, French, Spanish and Arab languages, and to take as

a basis the five editions in a year of the Marxist Reviews in Latin America. The Congress discussed the foundation of new sections and the extension of the existing ones, with plans of concrete growth. The Congress discussed and elaborated documents aimed at the tactical discussion of each section of the International in the struggle for the Governments of the Left in Italy, in the development of the programme of the Popular Unity in France, based on organs and committees of the working class and the population.

Salutes were made to all the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, to the masses of the world, to the Soviet and North American proletariats. The Congress saluted all the revolutionary militants in prison or dead in the struggle against capitalism, among these our comrades Federico and Anape. It saluted all the sections of the IV International. All and every one of the comrades expressed their fusion and salutes to Comrade Posadas, who had elaborated the decisive ideas of this epoch of humanity. Retaking the basis of Marxism and extracting the principles of our masters, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, Comrade Posadas has given continuity and resolution to the ideas of Marxism, in their theoretical and practical application in this phase of the struggle

for Trotskyism, in the foundation of our parties, and in the fundamental support for the understanding of this stage of history and in the construction of a world team of leading cadres of the International.

The Congress remembered and saluted Comrades Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks.

The Congress elected a new leadership and re-elected Comrade Posadas as General Secretary. The Congress functioned with the active participation of Comrade children, who were part of the fraternal and Communist relations in which the Congress developed. All the resolutions and reports were supported and voted unanimously. The interventions of Comrade Posadas, the reports and speeches will be published immediately in the press, the news papers, bulletins and reviews of Trotskyist Posadism. Their reading, discussion and diffusion will be an immense support in the struggle for the ideas of Communism and Socialism. We refer to the texts.

The Congress began and finished its deliberations with the singing of the International.

The International Secretariat of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International, August 1975.

# REVOLUTIONARY HOMAGE TO COMRADES HORACIO BLINDER AND JOSÉ LUIS GIMENEZ

ASSASSINATED BY THE POLICE IN CORDOBA.

With all our Communist love, we render homage to the Comrades Blinder and Gimenez of the Argentinian Section of the IV International, who have been found assassinated with their eyes and genitals destroyed, and every part of their body smashed, which shows the demented mentality of the degenerated bourgeois class in this stage. Even if some of those mutilations have been carried out after the death of the comrades this is an example of the abject bestiality of the bourgeois class and its stooges the AAA, the special services and the 'Informaciones' of the police as part of the work of imperialism on a world scale. As comrade Posadas has posed, these people are right outside civilisation and they are being overthrown the world over. Communism is triumphing all over the world! This is why they have to resort to such base, vile and despicable actions on individuals. This is the attitude of those who are so totally degraded and depraved that life itself has become their enemy.

The homage which we pay to our two Comrades is the homage which we pay to all those who die every day in the world, in comparable conditions, for the triumph of Communism. We pay homage to all the Communists, the Socialists, the nationalists, the left Christians, the trade unionists who die in the world for the triumph of Communism. We pay to our Comrades tribute for the role which they played in constructing their lives without any sentiments separated from those necessary for the building of Communism, without any conservative attachment to their own lives; whilst without contempt for their lives which the Posadists put at the service of human progress.

The comrade Gimenez came to the Party four years ago when he was then twenty. Comrade Blinder came when he was eighteen, and was two years in the Party. Both developed in the uninterrupted revolutionary activity, wanting to win their families, their mothers, everyone they lived with, to the absolute security in the Communist future, in the triumph of intelligence of consciousness over all the moribund forces of reaction. They educated themselves in the Posadist conceptions of the patient preparation of the intelligence, the culture, the theoretical and political preparation to take power and construct Communism. The comrades Gimenez and Blinder are still alive in the rest of us, and in the indispensable necessity of the political revolution in the Workers States, the development of Trotskyism/Posadism as an organic wing of the world Communist movement. In the advances in the USSR and the world Communist movement towards returning to Marxism, the Comrades still live and go on living. As the PB of the Argentinian section of the Posadist IV International has posed, individually death triumphs, but socially it does not. This is the source of our determination to continue struggling and living so as to further the progress of the Partial Regeneration and the political revolution, for the unification of the world Communist movement and the final destruction of the capitalist system, and the construction of Communism.

The burial of imperialism is not going to take place as capitalism thinks, out of the revenge of the exploited. It is coming out of the triumph of intelligence, of consciousness that today, the productive forces exist to resolve all the problems, to plan the world economy, to make world production a very simple process, and to utilise human intelligence for the infinite extension of scientific discoveries, the exploration of new universes, the communication with all intelligences, on this planet and outside of it. This is what infuriates the bourgeoisie and imperialism beyond description, because they see that this is the end of the civilisation of private property, the opening up of a new civilisation. The eyes of the Comrades which they destroyed were mirrors of this simplicity, this vibrant intelligence which arises from the rational utilisation of the human mind, not for the petty search of self interest but for the radiating of understanding, which is the most elevated form of care and love. By destroying the eyes, the assassins try to imagine that they can destroy this in humanity. Already the whole world is constructing Communism; The Workers States, and the USSR in particular are giving more and more direct fierce support to all countries constructing Socialism, are giving more and more support for the Communist parties to go to power. The assassins are sad because of their utter sentiment of isolation, desolation, misery, and of having never really lived. This is what disintegrates from inside imperialism. Our joy never disregards the loss of life, never forgets the loss of Comrades, but it is a profound and deep joy because the lives of the Posadists, like those who die for Communism, are infinitely useful lives. This is the source of our joy.

When a class has to resort to such means to survive, we repeat, it is because it is against the wall of history and it will not shrink from launching the atomic war, the civil war. This is the class violence, the class struggle. Imperialism is going to inflict much damage to humanity. But Communism will triumph, because never in history has intelligence been defeated by class violence. Its development has caused class violence and has always triumphed over it. The Communist and Labour comrades in this country must draw conclusions from such events, from the kidnappings, the shootings, the bombings and murders which are now growing in number and murderous intention in Britain. THESE ARE THE WORK OF IMPERIALISM, OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH, either directly, OR THROUGH GROUPS WHICH THEY INFILTRATE. The masses, the proletariat, the Socialists, the Communists, have nothing to gain by such methods. These are perpetrated by the British bourgeoisie so as to pass anti-terrorist laws in parliament, raid houses, try to suppress the development of the left, while at the same time it is accusing 'public opinion' to the idea of armed police - and later the army - in the streets. The Communist and Labour comrades talk of '30 years of peace since the last war'. What peace? The assassination of more than a quarter of a million Indonesians, of 50,000 Chileans, the tortures and vicious and insane assassinations carried out in their jails, the abject repression and bombing of Vietnam for 25 years, the blatant carelessness of the bourgeois mode of production which assassinates workers at a continuous pace, what peace is there? What peace is there, indeed, under capitalism? The civil war and the war are inevitable. It is necessary to adopt a programme for the construction of the organisms of proletarian power, the smashing of the state apparatus, the violent expropriation of the

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# THE SHOOTING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY BASQUES AND THE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW FASCISM IN SPAIN. J. POSADAS

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The efforts of the Wilson government to prop up the dis-integrating structure of British capitalism only confirm the latter's utter infirmity. Injecting millions of pounds into the system, extracted from the surplus value produced by the proletariat will neither avert the collapse of the system nor ward off the coming counter-attack of the working class. The NEB has been converted simply into the capitalist device of pumping money into a system rendered prostrate by the activity of the world masses who prevent capitalism recovering from its total crisis. Whatever the ruminations of the capitalist economists, there is no hope of capitalism developing new stratas of support on the basis of its rationalisation, because world capitalism no longer has the historic possibilities it possessed in the nineteenth century to open new markets. It is entirely submitted to competition with the Workers States economically, socially and politically, and in this competition it is clearly the loser. Enormous resources are dedicated to the war which is coming, the final encounter with the Workers States.

### INTERNAL DEMORALISATION OF CAPITALISM.

Although the response of the workers organisations, the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions has, in the last stages, been notable for total lack of initiative based on extreme fear of mobilising all the vast capacities of the working class, this has not enabled capitalism to win back any lost ground. On the contrary, the objective process of the collapse of capitalism constantly gathers momentum, only throwing into greater relief the cowardice and incapacity of the present leaders in the workers movement, posing the need for changes, superior programme and policy. The statement of Bishop Stockwood that this society was finally collapsing and that a Communist government could settle all the problems without difficulty, shows the enormous decomposition of the traditional organs of capitalist authority. When a speech in favour of Communism comes from the heart of the capitalist apparatus, the church, which unlike the catholic church has no roots in the masses and is controlled by the state, this is an index to a collapse which

is continuing everywhere, i.e. the army, the police, the civil service, all the organs of capitalism. The uproar caused by this declaration arises precisely because capitalism feels it is being stabbed in the back within its own institutions. The local bourgeoisie in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, in this situation seek to save themselves, to develop their own interests, because capitalism offers nothing in wider arenas. And now Lynch, feeling the whole decomposition of capitalism, calls for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland. This action by the leader of Fianna Fail shows the impossibility of centralising capitalism.

But what of the solution to this impasse of capitalism, to its irretrievable decay? It is clear, if only distantly, through the discussions in the limited expression of the left in the Labour Party, that the crisis of growth of the party is deepening. The latest intervention of the Tribune group, if correct in its general rejection of the capitalist policy of the government, i.e. not extending nationalisation but subsidising capitalism, is limited in its conclusions. The whole experience of the last period has shown that it is not possible to combat Wilson's attempts to adapt to capitalism simply by referring to the way Conference decisions are disregarded and to conduct the struggle within the terms of the existing political system, parliament and the structure of the Labour Party. Even now Tribune speaks of the NEB 'weakening both parliamentary government and democracy itself'. But the 'democracy' of the bourgeoisie has nothing to do with the needs of Socialism. It is a fraud - just as parliament is a fraud. Parliament's only value for the masses is as an adjunct to the serious matter of mass factory assemblies, meetings in the workers areas, workers control in the factories, the right to recall delegates immediately. History is not interested in sustaining the lies of the bourgeoisie, i.e. parliamentary democracy, but in its superseding this with proletarian democracy.

The need for the forces of the left in the Labour Party and

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the trade unions to deepen the discussion on the present stage of the process is fundamental, because the only way to persuade the capitalist class is by force. Similarly the only way to change the Labour government is by mass mobilisations using the trade unions in the same way as Wilson himself was obliged to retreat in his efforts to control the trade unions and the Tories had to release the five dockers. This is the perspective of a Government of the Left enforced directly by the mobilisation of the masses. All this can be prepared by the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions, in stimulating local conferences, establishing links with the factories, developing publications, opening discussions on international and national issues, concerning themselves with the discussion of what is happening in the world Communist movement, abandoning the heritage of regional and impressionistic attitudes. This is the perspective; it is revolutionary, not parliamentary. The bourgeoisie are using the house of lords to resist the Press Bill, they will not give up, however disintegrated. In Australia their efforts to bring down the Whitlam government essentially shows: The civil war is inevitable and the bourgeoisie, even when they are weak do not give up without a struggle Everything is decided by the decision of the contending classes; there is no peaceful road to Socialism. The only response of capitalism is terrorism.

One of the gravest limitations in the interventions of the left in the Labour Party is the imprecise way in which the present stage is interpreted; for example, the policy of bombings is never analysed. The way the trials were conducted in Birmingham and Guildford, with evidence of forced confessions, and the significance of the fascist law whereby the police can do what they like, on the pretext of investigating bombers, is an expression of the capitalist barbarity of this stage. The supporters of 'parliamentary democracy' sustain it by fascist methods.

The actions of the army in Northern Ireland are part of the process of civil war directly in Britain. In the thirties, the police gave protection to the

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# The mobilisation of women in Iceland shows that the world is ready for Communism.

It is essential that profound conclusions are drawn from the recent national strike of women in Iceland. Almost one hundred per cent of all the women in Iceland went on strike, including housewives and a great proportion of these went to a rally and afterwards continued discussions in smaller groups. The significance of such a complete response is that women, along with all other sectors of the population, are ready and willing to mobilise for human dignity.

The population is showing its support for Socialism constantly. For example, in Britain the health workers are waging a struggle to abolish private practice in the National Health Service. This is a fight against all those who put the individual above the interests of society as a whole, and has nothing to do with immediate economic benefits for health workers. This shows the aspirations of the population to finish with social inequality, and this can only be done by overthrowing capitalism and constructing Socialism. Over the past few weeks there have been enormous mobilisations of sectors who previously would not have been incorporated on the scale that we are now observing: the mobilisation of 150,000 young people in Italy and the massive upsurge of demonstrations in Europe and on a world scale over the assassination of the Basque militants in Spain, are just two examples. The completeness of the strike in Iceland is just part of a world revolutionary process which affects even those countries which have little weight or importance on a world scale. It demonstrates how no country or part of the world is immune to the influence of world events; on the contrary, the proletariat attracts more and more sectors of the population as it intervenes with greater confidence and determination to overthrow capitalism. Women are not a special part of the population, but the importance of the women mobilising is that it points to a revolutionary situation. In all previous revolutions women have been incorporated, and the importance of women intervening is precisely that they are a fresh force in the struggle which tends to combat all the old containing structures.

In this epoch, there is no problem of convincing the population that Socialism is necessary. All the conditions exist to construct Socialism save one fundamental factor: a leadership which is resolute and prepared to smash capitalism. There is a total crisis of the capitalist system - stagnation of productive forces, social and financial crises, no ability of the capitalist class to give any perspective of development of the economy, science or culture. Capital's traditional parties are paralysed, there is no possibility of fascism resurrecting itself as a mass movement and yet, despite all these historical conditions, the proletariat has to act far ahead of the 'leaderships' because the workers parties and trade unions do not respond sufficiently to these conditions. It is scandalous that the mobilisation of women took place in Iceland only. Are there any reasons why such mobilisations could not take place in Britain or elsewhere in Europe, for example? None; except that the existing leaderships are neither prepared to organise mobilisations, nor do they want them. There is a bureaucratic fear and timidity about saying or organising anything, because they know that this would lead to forces which are beyond their control. When more undeveloped countries such as Ethiopia, Dhofar, Mali, express directly the permanent revolution by developing directly from immense backwardness to Socialism, this demonstrates that the only force

slowing down the revolution is the lack of a leadership prepared to confront the bureaucratic trade union functioning and the absence of any deep political life in the Labour Party. This strike in Iceland is an example to the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions of what it is possible to organise everywhere.

It is essential to realise that the population is capable and is showing its desire and ability to intervene in society. It is the population, and not the apparatuses, who will decide. And hence, in Portugal, the masses participate in the development of factory and area committees, to carry forward the Portuguese revolution. It is necessary to develop all the conditions to allow the working class to intervene, and this means creating organs of the masses to control prices and rents, for example, as is happening in Italy at the present time. Committees in the factories to control hiring and firing of workers, and to have access to all the books, are necessary to combat the situation as it is now. Strikes, mobilisations, occupations, are the only way to overthrow capitalism, and if they are taking place now it is because of the actions of the proletariat, not its leaderships.

The Labour Party has a programme of nationalisations which, although very limited, will inevitably be extended by the sheer determination and force of the working class. It was the miners who threw out the Heath government, not the mobilisations of the Labour Party. Hence the programme of nationalisations in the Labour Party is only due to the working class - it is not due to any force within the Labour Party. We appeal to the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions to realise that the working class is ready for Socialism, and thus to campaign for the drastic extension of the Labour Party programme to meet the total crisis of capitalism.

At this time, when the leaderships do not discuss the need to incorporate women on the road to Socialism, it shows their unspeakable crassness. It is natural that Socialism cannot develop without the involvement of women, and hence when one talks about going to Socialism a systematic campaign is required in the trade unions to allow the participation of women. There will be many sectors of the bureaucracy against this. Right, then this poses the need to eliminate all those who are against, because they are against Socialism. How is it possible to have Socialism without the participation of women, youth and the old people? It is absurd! It is as though we are going to go plodding on towards Socialism, slowly nationalising little parts of the economy and all the fundamental issues - including the problem of incorporating women - are never discussed. What the left has to discuss is that Socialism means the end of a whole stage in the history of mankind, the epoch of private property and classes, and it is no easy matter to abolish them. To act in this irresponsible way of not discussing that and all its implications, i.e. civil and atomic war, the problems of women etc., is totally incorrect. This is the function of leadership, to lead the population; this is how the Bolshevik Party functioned, and now it is completely the opposite way round - the population is constantly kicking the leaderships to act.

This mobilisation of women took place with no previously prepared leadership; with the extent of the response, it must have involved the vast majority of the petit bourgeoisie and also even sectors of the bourgeoisie. It is an expression that the world is ready for Communism.

This mobilisation in Iceland is - as all the world process is - influenced very directly by the Workers States, particularly the USSR. The Soviet Union weighs very much in Iceland and there are Communists in the leadership of the government there. However, the weight and influence of the Workers States lies in the example that they give of social superiority, of elevated human relationships based on the destruction of the regime of private property. The intervention of women in the economy and life of the Workers States is illustrated by the fact that there is a greater proportion of women doctors in the USSR than in any bourgeois state, and that the only woman to travel in space was Valentina Tereshkova of the Soviet Union. In the Chinese Workers State women, who had previously been little more than slaves and played no role in the economy, now intervene with com-

plete equality in every aspect of life. It is an expression that the world is ready for Communism! We appeal for the trade unions to campaign in the factories for the incorporation of women in the shop stewards committees, trade union conferences, in the developing factory and area committees. Women are showing with the occupations of factories by women workers and the mobilisation of women in support of the Chrysler workers on strike last year, that they would respond with enormous force to such a campaign. And this would develop another social force actively against capitalism.

The left in the Labour Party and the trade unions has to discuss that nationalisations do not just mean an economic change. The planned economy completely changes the social relations and all the existing structures. The family will not continue in its present form. The

education of children will become a more communal task. The aspirations of the women in Iceland are fundamentally that they no longer wish to be bound to family and home as we know them at the present time. The irrational development of private property means that, within each house, the woman is preoccupied with housework, cooking, and children throughout the day. It is not possible to think of a more energy consuming, irrational way of doing tasks which are necessary. There should be communal laundries and restaurants to cope with these tasks. But such resources can only be developed with a nationalised, planned economy. Hence, none of these problems can be solved by capitalism. The conditions are ripe for the overthrow of capitalism, this is the conclusion of the strike in Iceland. Now it is necessary to discuss the programme and the policy to achieve this.

## THE PARTIAL REGENERATION DEMANDS THE REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION OF THE LABOUR PARTY WHAT THE GROUPS MUST DO.

Today, the left groups in France, Germany, Italy, and here in Britain, tend to centralise themselves with the actions of the proletariat and of its mass organs: the trade unions, the Communist parties, the Labour Party. The left groups do not represent the proletariat, but yes, they do represent the maturity of the conditions - created by the proletariat - to expropriate capitalism and plan the economy. Their existence and their tendency to act less as protestors, and more fused with the mass parties than before, shows the elevation of the objective conditions to confront capitalism. There must be a full democratic discussion in the Labour Party and the trade unions, the right of tendency and the full exchange of ideas to build a Marxist tendency in the LP, to confront capitalism, expropriate it, and lead the Party to nationalise and plan the economy.

The massive mobilisations recently in Italy, against Franco, the huge wave of demonstrations all over Europe against Franco, the very important strike by women in Iceland, would not be possible if the proletariat of Europe, in particular, was not preparing already to take power.

The left groups express the discontent, the frustration and the impatience of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie which are won over to the revolution. Faced with the reformist policy of the Communist and Socialist parties (even if these are changing much today), the left groups react with a certain revolutionary fervour and violent criticism for all 'reformists'. However, in the final analysis, it is the proletariat which has attracted the groups to itself and which is preparing for greater actions. The groups - even in 1968 in France - didn't and do not lead the revolutionary process. It is the proletariat which does, for it is the class which can change society. If the groups appear to be more free to mobilise against capitalism, if they appeared rather quicker than the workers at the time of the Basque shootings, it is because they do not have the weight of the apparatuses which exists in the workers parties and in the trade unions.

However, the proletariat decides and it is through its organisms that it does. From a position of calling on the workers to leave their parties, the CP in France - a call made in '68 by Krivine and most of the groups - the LP in this country (this is implied in all the activities of most of the groups to 'expose' the LP, the TUs and the CP) - the groups had to change completely. The proletariat refused to leave the CP in France in 1968, even though the proletariat gave support to some of the actions of the groups when they were correct, and should have been called for by the CP, but it did not leave the CP. And what has occurred instead is a continuous process of change in the CP. The expulsion of Tillon and Garaudy in 1969 was only the start of a process which has strengthened constantly the Popular Union. The breaking away of the Tavernes, the Mayhews, the Prentices, the Griffiths, from the Party is also due to the fact that the Party is changing and they are left behind or expelled.

The proletariat has taught the groups a lesson, not the groups a lesson to the proletariat. It is a lesson of patience and a lesson of respect for the proletariat, of confidence in its revolutionary nature. To assist its struggle demands that one assists the process of the revolutionary transformation of its organisms, with the construction of a new structure and functioning of these organisms.

The revolutionary force of the proletariat, of the intervention of the women and the youth in the

Labour Party - is rejected by the L.P. structure which is based on the continuation of conciliation or negotiations with the capitalist system, with the imperialist function of Britain, with the monarchy and the capitalist constitution. It is not because the workers, the women, the youth, cannot join the LP that the LP does not change; it is because the structure of the party, its apparatus, excludes them.

Over a number of years there has been a shift to the left of the LP as a whole. Where has the force for change come from? It is the proletariat that defeated the anti-strike laws, imposed a Labour government, by smashing Heath, and is proceeding to throw the right out of the party. All the experiences of Chile and Portugal have been weighing heavily in the changes that are taking place, and the links with the USSR have become the centre of a discussion on the role of the USSR, how does one construct Socialism, what is Stalinism, etc? Through the proletariat of Britain, it is the world that now comes in the LP and, fundamentally, it is the Workers State and the USSR which is a nationalised and planned economy whose political authority is immense in the LP and the TUs. The apparatus is losing its possibility of maintaining the LP isolated, insular, narrow minded, localist conservative, and petty. The world experiences are coming into Britain. The left now forming in the LP cannot develop whilst ignoring the proletariat, the world and the USSR. This is a fundamental advance on the road of the construction of Marxist currents in the Labour Party.

The process of 'going to the left' in the LP is not ephemeral, temporary or accidental. It is necessary to see that it has profound roots in the world process of the Partial Regeneration, the increasing elimination of privileges in the USSR, the abandonment of backward chauvinist and conciliatory conceptions in the CPs, the development of Trotskyism Posadism in the world Communist movement, the objective process of the unification of the world Communist movement in preparation for the world war. The comrades of the groups must not see the changes in the LP as observers who 'go and see', to 'make a work with the left that is developing', somehow hoping that it will be possible to win over to the groups the developing left. All the conceptions of expecting the left in the LP to be perfect, the LP to be a perfect party, are an impediment to developing a programme to impel forward the coming left in the LP, give it an orientation, a policy, a programme, so that it transforms the LP from an electoral machinery into a party to expropriate capitalism by force, nationalise and plan centrally the economy.

When at last year's Conference of the Krivine groups in France two tendencies could be seen which were favourable to the Communist and Socialist parties; when, today, Krivine proposes a national Conference of the Popular Union with the left groups; when in the IS, IMG, and in general in groups which call themselves 'Trotskyist', tendencies form themselves which tend to take the Labour Party into account as against the traditional position of these groups, it is because there is an objective force which tends to draw and centralise all the sectors of the left to construct the necessary leaderships in the Popular Union in France, particularly in the Communist Party, in the world Communist movement, and in the LP in this country. This is what Posadas has called the Partial Regeneration.

This is taking place today because there has been an elevation in the role of the Communist parties which promotes united fronts with the Socialist and radical left. At another stage, such events as those which took place in Newham would not have happened, but they occur now precisely because there has been an elevation in the Partial Regeneration.

The process of cleaning the Labour Party of sectors of the right, such as the Tavernes, Griffiths, Prentices, etc., was not possible before and for the same reason.

We propose a frank discussion on this and the open discussion of what Comrade Posadas and the section in this country have posed, and do. We propose that a discussion is opened on the fact that this is the stage of the end of all apparatuses, in the Labour Party, in the trade unions, and in the Communist movement. The groups must intervene as we do towards the Labour Party; as Comrade Posadas says: 'as an objective instrument of history,' not for the sake of their continued existence, but for the sake of putting their existence at the service of the construction of a left in the Labour Party; that the conditions are mature for this is shown by the anti-Trotskyist campaign recently by the bourgeoisie and the right wing Labour - which is a proof that Trotskyism has great influence in the LP. The fact that it also failed, shows the strength of the developing left and the weakness of the right. The bourgeoisie and the Labour right linked these so-called 'Trotskyists', 'Communists', 'infiltrators', to the Militant tendency in the Labour Party (whilst Militant does not particularly proclaim to be Trotskyist and monotonously denounces the USSR and the CPs as 'Stalinist'), but it is not the Militant tendency that they are concerned with, but a left in development in the LP which is influenced by the process of the Partial Regeneration, by the USSR, and which seeks the Trotskyist ideas so as to prepare the next stage of the construction of the Workers State in Britain. The revolutionary change in the LP is demanding the ideas of Trotskyism, the direct intervention of the proletariat in the LP and permanent links with the Workers States. This is what the left groups must discuss.

# THE SHOOTING OF THE REVOLUTIONARY BASQUES, AND THE STRUGGLE TO OVERTHROW FASCISM IN SPAIN

J. Posadas

30th September 1975

The Basque movement is not united in a dynamic way to the rest of the world workers movement because it is separatist and local, and with demands which are not felt by the proletariat, which do not form part of the dynamic process of the class struggle. It forms part of the class struggle, but not in a dynamic way. But when this Basque movement has such a world echo and repercussion, it means that all the working class and the petit bourgeoisie consider that these events are united to their own motives for struggle. That is, they consider and interpret them as necessary for historic combat: hence, it has such a repercussion. These are the sentiments of the masses in the world, against injustice, arrogance, arbitrariness and, in this case - beyond injustice, arrogance and arbitrariness - they are for the defence of the process which gives an impulse to the struggle against capitalism. All these Basques, even if they are separatists, demand Socialism. The working class interprets them very well, it does not see them as a movement separated and foreign to itself. At the same time, the Spanish bourgeoisie does not say a word. It has a panic terror because any movement displaces it and the petit bourgeoisie, which still supports it, escape its control. All this promotes a movement which by-passes the limits which the bourgeoisie want, goes beyond their interests of developing competition with the big sectors of the monopolies, the Spanish multi-nationals.

For this reason, the Basque movement has such an echo. It is very important that two of the assassinated comrades said in their letters 'Socialism will resolve all these problems'. This is to indicate how the backward problems of history, like those of separatism, can be resolved. Their demands are not incorrect. They want Socialism. But progress is not made through separation, but through Socialist union. Hence they say: 'Socialism will resolve all the problems'. They were killed, but Socialism triumphed. No bourgeois movement can do this! No bourgeois leader about to be killed says this.

The bourgeoisie is afraid because it fears that it is being displaced, because the masses see that they cannot expect anything from agreements and peaceful changes, that it is necessary to advance by force. This shows that changes must be imposed by force. Peaceful changes do not exist. There is no example in history of peaceful historic changes. Conditions are prepared with peaceful progress like parliamentary elections, with great strikes and trade union mobilisations. These are peaceful changes without war but they are the class struggle, which is already a form of violence and very profound. Hence the bourgeoisie has a tremendous fear of Spain, because it trembles, the whole of the bourgeoisie is silent. This shows that they do not have the capacity, the means, nor the coordination to organise anything. The Spanish bourgeoisie is incapable of publishing a clandestine leaflet. The workers in every area publish clandestine leaflets and make them public. The soldiers distribute them and they see that it is the people who mobilise, and not the bourgeoisie. Hence, the bourgeoisie fears that the soldiers, the NCOs, might be influenced like those in Portugal. Hence it leaves everything in silence, to try to make agreements at the top, and changes without mobilisations. But all the conditions exist to overthrow Franco, to impose directly a regime like that of Portugal, for an advance like that of Portugal. The conditions exist for this now.

Hence, the bourgeoisie tries to use the EEC to polemicise at the same time with the Americans, to exert a pressure on them so that they yield. Giscard d'Estaing speaks of 'democratic rights' when, in France, they are assassinating Algerian workers. They hold them in secret prisons in Marseilles, and let them be killed: Algerian, Tunisian and Moroccan workers. And these are the ones who now say: 'Be honourable, use clemency'. All this is false, it is done to contain the petit bourgeoisie, to prevent them fleeing from the control of the bourgeoisie, and it is the same with Ford. They do it to prevent the development of civil war, because they know that they would lose. This is what the Communist and Socialist leaderships should say, and the Communist and Socialist base. All this is the theatre of the bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie had a real interest in protesting, they would be interested in giving freedom in every country, eliminating repression in France, Germany, Italy.

It is necessary to give to the general strike called for in Europe an objective: to overthrow Franco by force. The world bourgeoisie considers the situation as a means of conciliation to appear in front of the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants, to appear pre-occupied with 'freedom' and 'democracy'. What a load of crap! They slaughter in Germany those who protest because they have not got a house and against the increase in transport prices, and for that they beat and arrest people. In Britain, there are one and a half million unemployed, and they demand that the workers make sacrifices, so that they do not ask for increases in wages because this increases the cost in production. They demand that the workers defend the capitalist system and kill the Irish masses. The Irish masses are being killed every day, every day! These are the people who speak about freedom. In Italy, the fascists assassinate every day with the support and protection of the government and of the judiciary, which, with an enormous number of judges in decisive positions, is in the hands of fascists and people hostile to the workers movement.

The bourgeoisie seek to appear democratic. This is the democracy of the bourgeoisie. What is necessary to do, together with the general strike, is to propose a programme of struggle to overthrow the capitalist government which allows such a situation. Franco exists because there is capitalism in Europe. If capitalism did not exist in Europe, Franco would have been finished a long time ago. It is not possible to have any confidence in the bourgeoisie overthrowing Franco, because it will not do it. It will put in a regime which maintains repression, unemployment, preparation of war, high cost of living and the repression of the workers movement. This is the 'change' which the bourgeoisie wants.

Franco sustains himself through imperialism and the top layers of the Spanish bourgeoisie. It is not possible to have any confidence in any

agreement with the middle Spanish bourgeoisie, because they do not have any interest. All the meetings in Catalonia, all these agreements which they made have shown that they were useless.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the USSR and to the Workers States to support this struggle. The factories must make declarations, and it is necessary that the Committees and meetings and the Communist Party of the USSR, and that the Soviet government make declarations. It is necessary to appeal for a world-wide mobilisation to overthrow Franco and the way to influence the Spanish army is that they should see the security of the mobilisations to overthrow Franco. This is like the situation in Portugal.

Imperialism, as in Portugal, wants the least evil. Soares is the least evil for imperialism in Portugal. He is the least evil who has to contain the revolution and, afterwards, tries to change it. And, in Spain, the European bourgeoisie goes outside in defence of the capitalist system, protesting against Franco. But what measures does it take? A general strike with a complete boycott, and appealing to the masses to overthrow has infinitely more value.

The Communist leaders with good intentions, are confused and paralysed because they do not know what to do. The norm which they had was that of protesting, shouting, and going on as before. Now they see that this does not have any result. The problem of the Basque comrades is the problem of militants who demand separatism, local and regional solutions to their problems, but with a universal and international sentiment. This is due to the world influence of the revolution, in which a problem as small as that of separatism cannot be solved with a bourgeois perspective. Hence they must seek a perspective which is Socialist, that is, a movement of the petit bourgeoisie and of the workers, who by-pass the objectives which the bourgeois leadership of the Basques wish to give them. They want to compete with Spanish big business, and canalise for themselves all the developments of Spain. All this has overwhelmed them. There are various Basque nationalist movements: 'Guerillas, bourgeois, non guerillas, respectful of the law'. For these, the problem is not the independence of the Basque country but to maintain exploitation and not share with the rest of the Spanish bourgeoisie the wealth which they filched from the workers. This is the problem. It is an important event and indicates a great maturity of the workers movement which by-passes the leadership. The strikes and the mobilisations had to be organised to seek to contain and to divert a great will for anti-capitalist struggle of the masses. But, at the same time, they had to yield because, with this, they seek to overpower and to contribute to overpowering one of the essential sectors of capitalist reaction, which is Franco, one which stimulates the rest of capitalism. Even with all the conciliatory sense of the bourgeoisie who seek to defend themselves, not as before by beating up and arresting; but they have to defend themselves by taking evasive action. It is necessary to appeal to the workers movement, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the nationalist movement, the soldiers, the Catholics, showing them that to impede new crimes, it is necessary to overthrow capitalism. Capitalism generates, develops, and does all this. It cannot propose to do this, finishing with Franco, without finishing with the capitalist system. Franco can fall and the bourgeoisie seeks how to substitute for him. Franco is the consequence of the capitalist system, and also in this stage of the total crisis of the capitalist system. Total crisis! What Franco has done is the same type of assassinations which they do all over the world - in Africa, and also in Europe. In France, in full 'democracy' they assassinate Algerian and Tunisian workers. They kill them in the streets.

It is not necessary to make any new agreement with the bourgeoisie. It is possible to make a common front for democratic liberties, but the workers movement has the strength to advance. And, at the same time that it makes a front for democratic liberties, it is necessary to show that the bourgeoisie is responsible for the situation. If the bourgeoisie is incorporated in a common front, it is not possible to mask the bourgeoisie presenting it as if 'it is a question of a small bad sector, the fascists'. No! The whole of the bourgeoisie is like this. And, if they cannot do what they want, it is because they are not able to.

These mobilisations would be a very great impulse for the workers movement, and also limited in a general sense against Franco. There are the conditions to repeat and to continue the mobilisations. The point of departure of these are the general movements which the workers in the car, rubber, plastic industries, have already organised in Europe. They are seeking a co-ordination, and all the strikes which have been made are complete.

The mobilisations in Portugal have a very great sense because, together with the internal crisis, in the efforts of the Socialist right - allied to capitalism - to make the revolution retreat, the masses answer by defending the revolution, defending the organs, creating new organs, and sustaining the leadership to give an impulse to the revolution and, at the same time, devastating all the centres of Spanish capitalism. This shows that the masses are very secure and very resolved. Within two years of the collapse of fascism in Portugal, the masses intervene on a world scale to launch their forces with such a pressure and such a collaboration of the class struggle, extending the revolution.

It is necessary to demand the programme which throws out fascism in Spain by force. A complete boycott! Everything to help the Spanish proletariat and the Spanish masses! It is necessary to make a world campaign of help to compensate for the shortage of work due to the boycott. Boycott tourism and, at the same time, campaign to overthrow the regime of Franco by force.

It is necessary to make a world united front in Europe to overthrow Franco! General strike to overthrow Franco! Mobilisations to overthrow Franco! And arms to overthrow Franco!

J. POSADAS

30th September, 1975

## Editorial

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*fascists, now the fascist formations are insufficient so new methods are used, ie. explosions as a means of extending the laws of repression and justifying wholesale intimidation. This is the way capitalism operates, hence the need for the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions to base themselves on the activity of the masses.*

*The agony of British capitalism, the agony and impasse of the government of Wilson, are part of the agony of the whole capitalist international system. The disorder in the government of Ford, the apparent coup which settles nothing because Yankee imperialism, in its confrontation with the Workers States, finds itself beset by vacillation and expresses the incoherence and lack of perspective of the system as a whole. On the other hand, the Workers States give an image of immense social and economic progress. At the same time, while capitalism has to conceal its objectives of war under thin disguises about parliamentary democracy, the Workers States begin to develop via the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a public discussion on the need to overthrow capitalism by revolutionary means, using strikes as they were used, for example, in the 1905 Revolution with political objectives. This allows an immense clarification for human progress. And what of the clarifications of capitalism? Criminality, perversion, corruption labelled as freedom and democracy. The world sees through it all.*

*The coming demonstration on 26 November - totally absurd to be contained as a parliamentary lobby - is only an anti-impasse of what is going to happen. The British proletariat will not submit to a capitalism on its knees. The Chrysler crisis is symptomatic of the permanent chaos of the capitalist economy, the bankruptcy of a main capitalist industry and the absurdity of an economy geared to outmoded individualist instead of collective interest. Nationalisation under workers control without compensation is the only way forward, everything else simply gives oxygen to the dying patient. The perspective has to be that of preparing for mass interventions, occupations, workers control, sliding scale of hours and wages, pressing forward for an extension of nationalisations. Immediate condemnation of all the bombings organised by the bourgeoisie! Out with the troops from Northern Ireland! For a programme of nationalisations, public works, etc., linking the struggles of the Irish and British masses! For a Government of the Left based on the trade unions as part of the process of terminating the capitalist system, smashing the state apparatus and substituting for the organs of bourgeoisie power those of the proletariat to determine all aspects of society on the basis of collective interest!*

8.11.75.

**PUBLISHED NOW  
EUROPEAN  
MARXIST  
REVIEW**

NOVEMBER 1975

Available from the Party's  
address: 60p

# THE DEMONSTRATION OF THE LEFT GROUPS, THE UNITED FRONT AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN ITALY

## J. POSADAS 27th SEPTEMBER 1975.

The mobilisation of the left groups from the whole of Italy in Rome, and also that of the Italian Communist Party, is not an isolated event determined by itself. There were 150,000 people involved, mainly young people, and this corresponds to a much greater number, repercussion and significance. When so many people turn up spontaneously — the demonstration was prepared in a week and they came from all over the country — it means that the will exists to overthrow capitalism. It corresponds to an election. It is attenuated and diminished in its form because it is not an election, but it has the significance of an election. At the same time, the immense majority were young people. The young people in their immense majority voted for the Italian Communist Party. Half of those who went to the demonstration voted for the Communist Party, but do not militate in the Italian Communist Party.

The other aspect of the demonstration is that the passion was uninterrupted even if it lacked precise and logical objectives of the class struggle. The slogans, yes, but not the objective. They were transitory slogans of the moment. But there was an uninterrupted passion, without stopping, constant shouting, shouting; young men and women with a constant will without stopping for a moment. They shouted slogans such as: 'Death to capitalism, and not tomorrow, but now'. This was said in a thousand ways, without a political programmatic precision, but this was the objective of the demonstrators. This is what was shown immediately. It is a clear expression of the fact that the youth wants to change society. This must be a very important symptom and warning for the leaders of the workers parties.

The people who went to that demonstration did not go to affirm 'Lotta Continua', or 'PDUP', or 'Avanguardia Operaia', they went in a concentrated way to declare against the capitalist system. The drive of all the young people was the way of making this felt and noted in a categorical way: 'We are against capitalism'. The political and trade union leadership has to take account of this decision, and base themselves on it.

Another fundamental aspect which this demonstration has shown is the existence of many left groups, very numerous and with weight in the youth, in the students and the petit bourgeoisie, but not in the proletariat. In the demonstration there were few workers, not even 10% of the total. The composition was socially petit bourgeois, students etc., but very combative. Their will to struggle did not come from problems which they have in the universities or in the schools. The slogans did not come from the school: 'Now, now, power to those who work'. All this does not come from the schools: 'Down with Franco, Long live Communism!'; 'We want Communism, we want Communism'. This is maturity. The youth show a great maturity.

The absence of a revolutionary solution creates the basis for the existence of all these left groups. They were not developed as a direct opposition against the Italian Communist Party, but as a necessity to adopt anti-capitalist positions. Since none of them had the form of the Party, the necessary objectives and programme for the struggle for power, so many groups exist. Each of them has little weight, and then they unite. And, if they come together, they unify on the basis of protest not around a programme or objective policy. In the demonstration, all this was clear and categorical.

The lack of objective and political programme was expressed in the slogans which were articulated and they were slogans which were quite far away: 'Franco the hangman'. What was necessary to propose was what to do in Spain: Democratic Juntas? No! Government of the Left and the organisation of armed resistance, this is what

will influence the Spanish army.

A very beautiful and elevated aspect was that the only existing banners were red banners. Everything was red. The presence of a 100,000 people was equivalent to half a million. The will, enthusiasm, passion, dynamism, corresponded to half a million. They were the representatives of the youth of Italy. This is how it is necessary to define this demonstration. It represented the will of the Italian youth, which wants immediate changes. This is an affront to all those people who want to bury Marx. These young people showed that he cannot be buried; and the necessity of history which shows that society has to be transformed, means that Marx is not buried.

This demonstration, like the combativity of the working class throughout Europe as in Spain, will have an effect on the Communist Party. The assassination of the Revolutionary Basques comrades shows that the expectation of the Spanish Communist Party for a democratic change in Spain without problems, the transference of power as they expect will not be like that. The Spanish bourgeoisie, Spanish big business linked with imperialism will not give up power, will not let itself be disintegrated. What it has done, and what it is doing, shows that it will defend itself still more. Now they are repressing. They are arresting isolated people like the nazis did.

The demonstration of the left groups in Italy shows the state of excitement and of emotion on the part of the working class and petit bourgeoisie, and it is like this throughout Europe. Throughout Europe there have been mobilisations for Spain. This has shown, as also 'Unita' of the Italian Communist Party has said, the necessity to overthrow Franco by force. In the meeting of the left groups in Italy, all this was seen. It was present, even if not in a clear and evident way, that this is the situation in Italy, in Europe, and in the world. But, in the demonstration of the left groups, the absence of slogans which should have expressed programme and policy was also to be seen clearly. The slogans which they raised about Spain were not very different from those of the Spanish Communist Party: 'Franco the Hangman, Death to Franco, Down with Franco', 'Freedom, democracy', 'Red Spain'. But what it is necessary to say is what programme, what policy. Soares says: 'Socialist Portugal, Socialist democracy'. But what Socialism? How to arrive at Socialism? We propose nationalisations and Soares is opposed. How to arrive at Socialism? We propose workers councils and Soares is opposed.

The slogan 'Dictatorship of the proletariat' which they agitated for was not incorrect. But it is necessary to say what is logical and how you arrive at the dictatorship of the proletariat. For example, 'without nationalisations there is no progress in Portugal'. 'To maintain the capitalist economy means to maintain the backwardness and the power of capitalism'. 'Capitalism is war, Socialism is peace'. 'To achieve the peace of Socialism it is necessary to finish with the war of the capitalists; to overthrow capitalism'. These are simple slogans which anyone can understand. They are not extremist or sporadic words. They are words of a logical order. Capitalism acts according to its own interests, not according to the interests of humanity. If capitalism thought according to the interests of humanity it would not exist. Capitalism thinks according to its own interests. It has the base to continue even if ten capitalists die; those who remain carry forward this policy. Hence it is necessary to say, 'Progress cannot be made on the basis of the capitalist system'; 'No country progresses within the capitalist system'. Progress can only be made on the basis

of the progress of the economy, of society; without the economy in capitalist society what progress can be made? Is it necessary to

educate people so that they can be better? We would be better; the capitalists, no. Those who decide and determine are the capitalists who have the power in the economy. It is necessary to reason in this way with slogans.

A notable thing of the groups of the left is that, together with the passion which they demonstrate, an unceasing passion with cries, exclamations of joy, there is an absence of slogans. The slogans in the demonstration were empty. They were combative against capitalism, but programmatically and politically they were timid. They do not feel secure politically. But to influence the Italian Communist Party, a programme and a policy are necessary because, together with the will to struggle, what do they want? 'Franco is a hangman'. And after Franco, what? How do you overthrow Franco and what about what remains of fascism? What does one do? These groups do not have a policy. For what concerns Portugal, they say, 'Portugal will not be like Chile'. But what do we do? What is to be done? Why did many of the left groups vote for the Socialist Party in Portugal? It is necessary to give slogans for this process, and this means a political leadership.

In the meetings and demonstrations made in Italy, the youth were very beautiful, but with an enthusiasm without order or organisation because they do not know what to do. What they wanted was clear, but they did not have the means to put forward what they wanted. They wanted to overthrow Franco, impel the Portuguese revolution. But how? And in the leaflets they were saying all this. We all want the same thing. But how? With what means? What programme, what policy, what experience? The shouts meant the will to struggle, but not the capacity to organise to overthrow the regime of Franco and influence Italy. But, it is an absurdity that no group of the left intervened, particularly in support of the strikes which are taking place in Italy, with a criticism of why the leaderships separated strikes, fragmented them, and why they do not make the general strike? No group said this; all of which indicates the lack of political life and the limits of these left groups.

The other aspect which is very important is the maturity which these movements are achieving, in the sense that there were no attacks on the Communist and Socialist parties. This is an indication of a very great maturity. In comparison with the preceding madness of the groups, this is an attitude of reasoning. They want to make the United Front.

When there is such an attitude, it means that now the base of these groups there is the will to want to make the United Front. In part, in Italy, they are making the United Front in the left juntas in the regions. But this demonstration and meeting is the expression of a very elevated United Front. 'Unita' did not say that the movement was hooligans, but that hooligans had penetrated there. That is to say, 'Unita' was saying that it was some event.

This indicates that there is a process of United Front, and that the left groups seek to weigh on the Italian Communist Party to impel it towards the Government of the Left. This is the conclusion. The young people were joyful and, at the same time, with a certain discipline as though prepared. They shouted in a disciplined way, songs, shouts, slogans, and well prepared. Practically every militant went with a red banner. The impression was that the banner continued the body of each militant. It was an expression of the will to struggle. It was not a distinction of groups. The Red Banner was not distinctive of groups, it was the expression of the will for the objective. There were thousands of red banners, thousands and thousands.

The other very important aspect

was the participation of the soldiers which is an expression of security. It was not a defiance, it was security. It was a demonstration that the will to struggle was very great. The soldiers show it. And the events in Portugal show with the 'transitory fall' of Goncalves (\*) that nothing is finished; but there is a beginning, a stage, based on the preceding forms: 50,000 people to liberate two arrested soldiers! And the 50,000 were not only soldiers! There was an immense number of soldiers and they were armed; and people who were initially against and are now uniting. The press is saying this clearly: the intention of this new government and of the Socialists is to overthrow all revolutionary laws and, besides, the fact of the money which the Americans are giving is coming to light.

All this has very great importance and will have an echo, particularly in the Spanish Communist Party and in the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party. The Italian bourgeoisie has made a great scandal over Spain because it feels that, with the policy of Franco, the doors of negotiation are closing, and they are going to civil war directly. It is very bad for the bourgeoisie. The letter of the Basque comrade whom they assassinated posed this: 'All this will be finished in Spain when Socialism will be constructed, which will finish with every type of oppression'. And the comrade was not an Anarchist or a Communist, he was a left nationalist. This shows that all of them think like him. It is necessary to consider that the influence on the Spanish Communist Party will be very great and it will be a very great blow against the conciliatory tendency, which expects pacification or that the Spanish government realises that it must soften or must yield.

This demonstration, this meeting of the left groups, and all the mobilisations of the working class in Europe, will have a very great echo on the conciliatory conceptions of the Communist parties. The assassinations in Spain will certainly have an echo, and the reaction of capitalism, which wants to take the initiative to contain the mobilisations of the masses and to stimulate alliances with the Communist parties so that they contain the process of class solution. This demonstration and meeting will influence the Communist Party and the Communist youth. Of those who participated, a great percentage voted for the Communist Party and are of the Communist Party. It went so that its anti-capitalist sentiments were felt.

Another very important aspect was the United Front between the left groups and, at the same time, the maintaining of their differences which, at no moment, are expressed programmatically. It is a difference through lack of a clear road, not through opposition or divergences around programme and objectives. They do not have slogans, programme, policy; but only slogans of immediate agitation. All the slogans were anti-capitalist, without order and programmatic aim. This indicates that the left groups arise as a reaction to an erroneous policy, and not as a programmatic and political necessity. This necessity exists. For this reason, we exist.

It is very good and very moving to see the will of the youth in demonstrations. There was no obscene behaviour, nothing of a provocative nature against the Italian Communist Party or against anyone.

In the demonstration, there was not a single provocateur. It is a demonstration of how Italy is preparing, how it is tidying everything. It is making a cleansing to maintain order in the mind, the objective, the programme and the tactic, and this is united to the present discussion in Italy. The Republicans accept now a dialogue with the Italian Communist Party, and this is a revolution! They want the Communists to enter the government in such a way so as to be an instrument of containing. The Communists say no, because they have a Party and some ideas which inevitably will damage some part of the capitalist system.

The demonstration was pervaded by a very communicative enthusiasm but a communication of struggle, not of political orientation. At the same time as there was a great outburst and a demonstration of struggle, there was a void in relation to programme. It was the struggle without the detonator. The slogans did not refer at all to trade union problems, nor to the tremendous crisis of the government. It is not a reply to say that the government is no good; what is required is slogans, what programme, what economic policy, a policy for the Government of the Left in Italy.

The left groups do not make this formulation because they do not know what to say. In this demonstration there was a very notable absence of the Italian workers movement: in the fact that the 'Internationale' was sung very little, if at all. They sang 'Bandiera Rossa', which is a way of remaining subject to regionalism. 'Bandiera Rossa' is a revolutionary song which proposes the same things as the 'Internationale', but it is inferior to it. The 'Internationale' is a song adopted by the world workers movement as a symbol of struggle against capitalist power. This is its centre and its sense. 'Bandiera Rossa' has a local conclusion. It does not propose the world conclusions of the 'Internationale'. It is necessary to propose that in every workers demonstration the 'Internationale' is sung.

It is necessary to unite this demonstration and the struggle in Europe with the situation which exists in Italy; of an increase in the conditions for the Government of the Left. When the groups decide to go into the squares, it means that the conditions are mature for the trade union struggle with its effects on the political struggle. Yet the leaderships separate the strikes! This is the opposite of the necessary tactic! Whoever wants to see an idea of the process, Italy is the example! And this demonstration of the left groups and also of the Italian Communist Party shows that Italy is ready for Communism.

J. POSADAS 27th September, 1975

\* This refers to the text: 'The transitory defeat of Goncalves and the programme and the policy for the development of the Portuguese revolution'. J. POSADAS, 9th September, 1975. Published in Red Flag No. 251.

## ARGENTINA:

REVOLUTIONARY HOMAGE TO COMRADE HORACIO BLINDER AND JOSE LUIS GIMENEZ, ASSASSINATED BY THE POLICE OF CORDOBA

Continued from page 1

bourgeois class. Such conclusions permit the saving of valuable workers and Communist and Socialist lives, and put them at the service of human and scientific development.

VIVA THE COMRADES GIMENEZ AND BLINDER!

VIVA THE ARGENTINIAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

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# STRIKES, MOBILISATIONS, DEMONSTRATIONS TO IMPOSE A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT

The collapse of the 'moderate government in Portugal in front of the mobilised masses, the massive demonstrations of the revolutionary youth in Italy, the political discussion which becomes more elevated in the French factories, the tremendous confidence of a country like Iceland in front of imperialism - all this shows that the proletariat on a continental scale is preparing for great events. It is sustained by the progress of the Soviet Union and the process of Partial Regeneration, the force around which the masses of the world are concentrated. The intervention of the CPSU emphasising the violent road to power, has led to the Marchais-Berlinguer statement supporting 'pluralism' and electoralism. This is entirely transitory; they are defending their regional interests against the Soviet Union, but objective reality will determine the process. Berlinguer all the time has to contain the masses, there is no perspective outside a Government of the Left in Italy - with massive demonstrations of the Italian youth with Communist slogans - shows the direction of the process.

An indication of the way the electoral road is being pushed to one side is to be seen in the fact that the French Communist Party has just decided to open political discussions in the factories, where all the workers can intervene. This has been imposed by the proletariat which itself has taken steps of dual power in the Renault factory and others. The French proletariat has imposed this and by this change in its party, it is re-directing the orientation of the Popular Union as a whole, not so much on the basis of electoral competition between Communists and Socialists, but on the basis of the intervention of the proletariat and its ideas. Besides, Leroy (French Communist Party) has announced after the Berlinguer-Marchais so-called agreement on the 'dissidents' in the Soviet Union, the French CP does not accept 'the historic compromise'. This, too, is an indication of how the French proletariat has reacted to the agreement: it impels its leadership to reject the road of electoral submission to the bourgeoisie. The recent speech by Comrade Pelshe of the CPSU on the occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution in the USSR, in which he supported the Havana Conference, means that there is a change of emphasis of leadership in the USSR which is the result foreseen by Comrade Posadas in analysing the process of Partial Regeneration. This was addressed to all the Communists and workers vanguard of the world, to show the determination of the USSR to continue to elevate its intervention against imperialism, by means of armed confrontations. Thus, the Soviets are today intervening in Angola, and this is an irreversible step going in the direction of the final encounter in which Communism will be victorious.

The Soviets' support of the Soares feels that he has to repel the Christian Democracy is a bourgeois party in the rebellion in the PSP against decomposition (which is the analysis of Posadas), means that the USSR intervenes to correct and rectify the Italian Communist Party, which had maintained the Christian Democracy. In the same way, the criticism against the Portuguese Socialist Party, which has allowed the partial recovery of the right in Angola, is also directed at warning the Communist parties that such a line cannot be supported, and opportunist alliances with the Socialists are not the road. This is pulling the Communist parties away from what remains of electoral interests, and concentrating the forces of the left by submitting its allies (the Socialist left, the left radicals etc.), to the policy of the Communist Party, not to the electoralist conceptions of the Socialist leaderships. The Socialist masses themselves support this process and it is why

the PPD is going to engulf him as well. It is the proletariat that has achieved this, and with the objective support of its highest representative - the Workers States and the USSR centrally. The proletariat feels that the Soviet Union is a permanent support, and this multiplies the forces of the proletariat even if it is small as it is in Portugal. It becomes the repository of the world forces of the Workers States whatever its size or its lack of conscious leadership. This is why such a small proletariat in Portugal has smashed the fascists and the 'moderates' who are also another version of the right, and won the army to the most elevated proletarian functioning. This is an immense power which does not simply have significance for Portugal, but for Britain also.

## PORTUGAL IS LIVING IN BRITAIN

The process in Portugal of the smashing of the 'moderate' Azevedo government is a conclusion for the world, not simply for Portugal. It is the 'moderates' of the world who are falling under the blows of the world proletariat and the Workers States at its head. This is part of the process which leads in this country to the cleansing of the trade unions and the Labour Party.

Whilst the bourgeoisie is too disintegrated by the authority of the proletariat, as exemplified by the fact that the Scottish Nationalists would not support Thatcher to bring the government down because they claim to be 'social democrats', the trade unions and below them the proletariat intervene to clarify within themselves the programme and the tactic to smash the right. It is necessary to see the elections in the AUEW in which the conciliatory 'left' were thrown out as part of the polarisation of positions in the unions and the working class, the class is seeking a revolutionary leadership, not conciliators. The real class position is seen in the resolution

passed at the national Chrysler conference of shop stewards, FOR NATIONALISATIONS AND PLANNING, which is more than any of the 'left' of the AUEW have ever campaigned for. This vote in the AUEW amounts, like the rejection even by ballot in British Leyland-Triumph of workers participation, to a rejection of the workers aristocracy, its bankruptcy and lack of programme.

This explains a great deal of the crisis in the Communist Party where there is a very distinct sector of comrades who reject the electoral road to Socialism, because they can see for themselves that their policy of com-

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# THE PARENTS, THE CHILDREN, AND THE COMMUNIST RELATIONS OF HUMANITY. J. POSADAS

6.10.74

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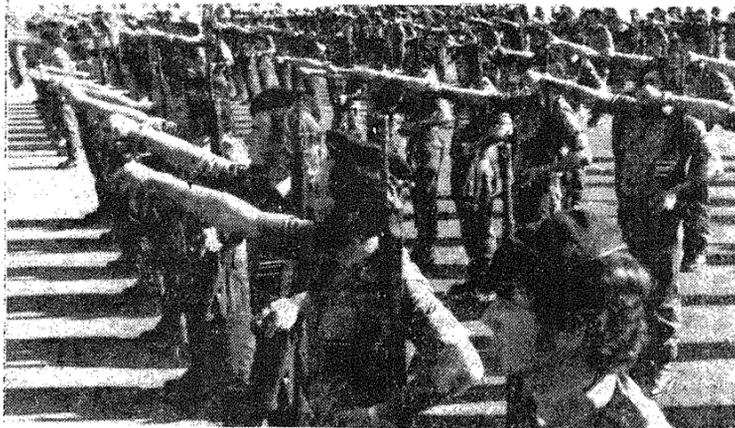
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## THE REBELLION IN THE BARRACKS AND THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL J. POSADAS

16.10.75



**INTRODUCTION** The workers commissions and the revolutionary soldiers of the SUV produced a force destined to poleaxe any of the cretins of history who try to stem the tide of Communism. Whatever complications lie ahead, the decision, spirit and level of the masses triumphs over all the hesitations of the leaderships. All this coincides with the celebrations of the 58 anniversary of the Revolution of 1917, and is the continuation of it. The huge demonstrations of the 16th November, following the massive interventions of the engineering and building workers, was the reply of the masses to the preceding demonstration of Soares and the PPD.

We repeat our salute to the magnificent response of the Portuguese proletariat whose activity shows the bases for the new mass civilisation of Communism. The article of Cde Posadas which analyses the elevated functioning of the Portuguese proletariat is fundamental to understanding the new phase in Portugal and the very advanced functionings of Soviet forms even without the existence of the Bolshevik Party.

Portugal has no solution other than the Socialist solution. But Socialism is not a phrase. Goncalves, Fabio and Anthunes say 'Socialism'. Socialism means to eliminate the basis of injustice, of unemployment, the increase in the cost of living, hunger, repression and war. What it means is the nationalisation of property, and to see that the workers lead and control to make a collective functioning - otherwise, Socialism means saying 'We want Socialism', and having done that making a whole policy favourable to the monopolies, to capitalism and to the right which favours consequently the reorganisation by coup d'etat.

To want Socialism means to take measures for Socialism, to nationalise, to plan production so that workers lead and control the economy. And there has to be complete democracy for all workers tendencies. There has to be a full discussion without concealing, and without preventing any one thinking from the point of view of Socialism. The advance to Socialism is an anti-capitalist policy. This is the basis of the policy which is called 'going to Socialism'. An anti-capitalist policy means to expropriate the capitalists - not to compensate - to plan production, to make the workers intervene in the control of the factories, of the workers areas, of the factory councils, schools councils, agrarian councils, workers and peasant alliances; otherwise everything is negated and there is no leadership. Spinoza also spoke of Socialism, but 'somewhere ahead', and he is opposed to the measures of nationalisation.

Portugal is in a phase of transition. The leadership has a good programme which impelled, which attracted, which led to measures of considerable nationalisations, but the Party is absent. The blow made at this moment is not through the weakness of the revolution but through the lack of leadership. In a stage in which the leadership is forming, there has to be an experience, there has to be the unification of the tendencies, the groups, soldiers, the Communist parties, the Posadists, some left groups;

and this requires a stage, and there is the possibility that the right can use the opportunity. Meanwhile, this is a way to learn. The important thing is to see that whilst Goncalves, who is to the left of this movement, is dislodged, the others who replaced him had to continue speaking in the name of Socialism. And they do not speak of retreating or handing back the nationalised enterprises. On the contrary, they want to present themselves as the continuators of Goncalves.

It is a country in which the high command has to put up with rebellions and insurrections. They have to accept it. Undoubtedly they hope to repress it, but also the others prepare to confront the repression and throw them out. This example of the soldiers has already spread throughout the barracks. In all the barracks small groups are disposed to rebel and, besides, it is the majority who are going to rebel. This rebellion of the barracks in Oporto, the existence of the SUV (Soldados Unidos Vencedor) shows that the conditions are mature, and this has taught the others already how to organise. The soldiers did this in Italy - nine hundred soldiers who are in worse conditions than in Portugal, because the revolution did not exist, and the constitution contains ferocious sentences against insubordination. Nine hundred soldiers rebelled in defence of a comrade whom they killed or allowed to die through medical negligence in the barracks. They did not rebel for a comrade who had been arrested, but they rebelled as though it was on everything, particularly stemming from Portugal and Spain. This shows that humanity is ready for Communism. Today, humanity receives influences very rapidly, which before demanded decades to organise the decision. Then it is necessary to discuss at this level, even though the leadership does not do it.

When one country reaches such a level of insubordination and maintains itself, and others go to support them and seize tanks and take heavy weapons, it shows that the conditions

are mature. Moreover, the election in the engineering trade union show that the Communists have support, almost of three quarters of the workers movement. They do not know how to utilise it. It is necessary, together with the progress of nationalisations and of workers control, to propose the sliding scale of wages, the sliding scale of hours of work, as points to confront the present crisis.

This rebellion of the soldiers shows that there is a very great will to progress. And all those who speak of 'discipline', and if the government is attacked fascism will come in, are just telling lies. Fascism does not have any strength, it is a lie to justify measures to contain nationalisations and social measures. Fascism was defeated, they got only 7% of the votes. If they can deliver blows, it is because the leadership - with the Social Democrats and the Socialist right - led by Soares, facilitates it; as in the case of the 80 who escaped and they hardly succeeded in recapturing any of them. This is to say the fascist danger is a lie to intimidate the masses. Fascism does not have any possibility if measures are taken towards Socialism. If they remained paralysed, they allow it to come back and give cohesion to capitalism, because then private property can continue. They facilitate it by the maintenance of private property, with the repression of the nationalisations, workers control, repressing the soldiers who are opposed to the altering of the plan of the revolution.

How does one impede the fascist danger without discussing that it has its social bases of support in private property, the army commands and the means to suppress political thought? It is necessary to nationalise with political and Soviet measures in the army. Decisions in the army do not have to be taken according to ranks, but according to political capacity. When there is a discussion of policy, of ideas of the construction of Socialism, then it is not the military ranks which decide but the level of scientific knowledge, of Marxist knowledge and

turn to page 4

# The parents, the children, and the Communist relations of humanity. J. Posadas 6th OCTOBER, 1975

The education of the child is not a matter only of pedagogy, but it is a question of the social treatment of the child. It is not a programme which it is necessary to develop. Social treatment means the behaviour of the parents, the adults in society. With an antagonistic society, logically, the child assimilates such relations. It is not possible to substitute the antagonistic relationship of the class struggle by means of introductions and texts. It is impossible! But we can educate the children, elevate them in the purity of the sentiments and in the relations in the home.

For the education of the child, persuasion has importance, but more important still is the example, the relationships which exist. At the present moment in society, violent relations exist, living is under the shadow of violence, aggression, lying, cynicism, immorality and corruption - all the result of the capitalist system which imposes such relations as the norm and this decides everything. The child develops in these relations and does not acquire confidence in human beings but in cynicism, in the ability and the skill and the qualities which he has to make his own road.

On the other hand, developing in harmonious relations with human beings with whom he is in contact and with objects, he acquires the conviction, develops and forms a structure in his consciousness, unconscious and sub-conscious, on the basis of truth, purity and fraternal human relations. Then he acquires confidence in everything. This is to say, he does not feel the sense of aggressiveness, he does not see that aggression is necessary. Attack is for capitalism the way to live. For us, violence is a means to abolish the possibility of conditions for aggression, thus eliminating class relations. Already the conditions exist for this; that is, the proletariat, the development of the economy, the development of science, and 14 Workers States, are examples.

Children do not have their own state of mind, their specific state of mind, because they do not have an independent life. Children are in the process of organising their existence and they are a reflection of what goes on around them, and the base on which they educate themselves. Then, the conduct with them, the relation which one has with them, determines their state of spirit. And the relations and the conduct which surrounds them is reflected in them. One cannot say about the child: 'Look how difficult he is'. First of all, one has to see what the child is reflecting. Then instead of punishing him, one goes to the root of what is reflected in his behaviour.

To educate a child is the most beautiful task in the world, it is as beautiful as leading the struggle of the working class, the most complete and necessary task in history is to lead the working class for the struggle of power and the taking of power. But, within the struggle for power, the education of the children forms part of the education of the sentiments, the consciousness and the Communist capacity because, to educate children, means to educate the adults. Not to educate, in the sense that they have to learn one thing of another, but educating them in the relations they should cultivate. This is what is meant by behaviour.

For this the parents must live a life of constant reasoning, in which they all develop reasoning, reasoning. The children see this, and hence they are the reflection of what they see, and they see and live in the home which is the essential place of education and human contact. Then they develop and feel tendencies and customs which they see in the home. If they do not see reasoning, but individualism, then this develops in them.

It is necessary to develop an ambience of harmony, of reasoning, to reason and reason, to discuss, to persuade, to organise, to reason, to have an attitude with objects of harmony, of constant, constant harmony. Then the child observes and sees - although he might not have the capacity to deduce - and receives notions of harmony, and goes forming himself in his organism and in his mind with the sensation of harmony and with the orientation of harmony. Afterwards, he learns with intelligence, the use, the objective, the understanding through culture, but already on the line of harmony. The child educated in this way, in six weeks is transformed. This is not done by advice. Advice can be useful for one thing or other i.e. that the child does not put his finger in the fire. But to educate, to orientate the thoughts, the reactions, the opinions, reasoning is necessary.

It is necessary to develop in the child harmonious sentiments, not the violence to impose, the lies to conceal, but the objective purity to seek to impel the human relations. This is the basis of the education of the child, and it will be like this in Communism. Already the children in Italy are an example, and the children in Ireland, also.

The children in Ireland are the most beautiful children in history.

From birth they show that they can use the feeding bottle and the milk bottles as bombs and also to drink milk, and they make no distinction in the use. They do not feel that they are assassins or murderers and they maintain the purity of their sentiments. They feel that it is necessary to do this, that there is no other way out. But their aspirations is to finish with all this. Then they do this without suffering, neither creating obstacles, nor developing bloodthirsty sentiments. The children who do this, like those of Vietnam, are those who construct the most loving Communist forms. There is not in them the development of any sentiment of aggression, perversion, assassin or immoral sentiments.

The 'Piccolo An' is an example, not the best, but it is an example. Hence we rendered homage to 'Piccolo An'. We are the only revolutionary organisation which had the dignity to be pre-occupied by 'Piccolo An'. Even if it is an image, 'Piccolo An' is the representative figure of thousands and thousands of children in Vietnam. Hence we made the analysis of the song. Only in Socialism can it arise. And we live Socialist relations. We do not have the means to develop Socialism economically, but socially, yes. Hence, we do this among the children, who have the ambience, the human relations, which allow them to see all the problems of intelligence, of reason, of persuasion; not a method to impose, to conceal, or to compete with violence. They see persuasion as the normal form of existence to persuade, that is, to convince. What the child does not know, or is not acquainted with, is still out of reach, and so it is the adult who has to explain to him. In this way the unity of the human race, in knowledge, in human relations and sentiments, is established and, together with this, scientific explanation, not the imposition to live remote from life. They are very stupid people who say: 'Scientists live remote from life'. Scientific people as ourselves, who are the most scientific in history together with our masters, live the most complete life. The child has to develop in the scientific life in which he participates in everything, not just listening and looking, but participating.

Among children the most important aspect is contact with human beings not the relationship with objects. Otherwise the child will have an introverted life which would be deep, but very weak from the point of view of contact with human beings. The contact with human beings gives children the correct, precise notion of things, of proportions, of the relations with others and of our relations and our behaviour with them. Therefore, they consider and relate to human beings and objects and consider themselves an important part of all this with which they come into contact, and so work in this spirit.

The child reasons with human beings, learns to reason, to reason with everything. The behaviour with them must be one of reasoning, not the empirical, superficial, agnostic attitude developing fear or ignorance, but so that children feel

capable of reasoning and in front of facts which they do not know, so they can say 'Why is this?', and so reason.

This comes from the quality of life in the home, how they discuss, how they reason, and the general attitudes. Children must feel that they form part of the adult world. They are not adult, but the parents, yes. And then the child seeks communication and feels immediately attracted towards them. In this way the child does not feel intimidated by anything, but feels that he belongs to the prolongation of the life of the parents and of the adults. He sees that the adults are a prolongation of him, and this gives him an immense capacity of imagination.

Then they make drawings with vivid colours which have sentiments of very profound love, not what they call at the present moment 'child-like delicacy', which is determined by the incapacity of capitalist relations. The child has what they call 'child-like delicacy', i.e. draws with very subtle, remote colours, very diffuse tones, because this is how he sees the relations with life. If, on the other hand, he is linked to us and what he doesn't know he knows that the adult knows, he is united in a fraternal, human and loving relationship with us, he feels an immense power.

The child has to feel that he does not work in the direct function of parents, of brothers, in the interests of the family nucleus, but as a function of the human being with the logical sentiments that for a whole period the family gives him. It is necessary to elevate in the child the sentiment of objectivity, of things, of relations of love, of human relations, that is to say, a cultural life.

For this, the parents must elevate an intellectual pre-occupation. The child then is going to see in them the permanent serenity of intellectual pre-occupation. Never the intellectual pre-occupation of sudden enthusiasms, but the intellectual pre-occupations giving serenity which leads to enthusiasm. This means an ordered not an impetuous, disordered life. And in the child it will be a stimulus to see cultural quality and cultural life, not only to know and to accumulate knowledge, but to develop the scientific cultural life, to develop and apply.

It is necessary to be dedicated, feeling that the children are not an addition, but that they form part of us. The complex which they call timidity in children, it is true it exists. But it is an outdated analysis. This complex exists when a society does not mobilise the child. This, with a society in which all decide, this spirit is transmitted to the children also, because this complex of timidity in children which the psychologists have invented belongs to a society in which the child did not intervene. Society was the mystery of those who led who launched wars, killed and tortured; and there were not 14 Workers States, nor juntas of soldiers of officers, taught to kill, who now on the contrary want to dignify life, the opposite of their education. The child is of the same process. This task depends on us, on our pre-occupation to do it.

The children have to see that reason determines the behaviour of the life and family relations. It is not true that there is a contradiction between objective interests and psychology. It is a lie. Socially it is incorrect, and psychologically it is incorrect. There is no such duality. It is the mentality of the bourgeoisie which makes it so. For example, socially there is an attitude of repudiation over the child sleeping with the parents. Why separate him? Is it not so that the child comes from the mother? Why hide the fact that he comes from there? Why do we hide it? And why hide the sexual relations of parents? If they are loving organic relations, why hide them? If they are impure and libidinous, that is corruption. That is not then a normal sexual relation. It is vice translated into sexual relations. It is the social relations determined by the capitalist regime which

impels, which hands over the parents to all these relations and makes them fear and be inhibited over showing such relations in front of their children; otherwise, why be afraid of this? Is it that the child should not know earlier? Why give a stage of years of ignorance, which is finally not ignorance because he will find it out himself? These are the insane customs which come from the capitalist regime which prevent the conscious elevation of the child to the maximum that he can achieve.

The fundamental thing in relationships with the children is to reason. In reasoning, there is nothing to fear, nothing to be concealed by any sensation distant from reason. All the other sensations which are not from reason exist from the social relations. Robbery exists, and lying exists, and they are not necessary. They exist, we take that into account; we know that it is necessary to co-exist with them, but we do not have them as methods or as norms. We try to elevate and eradicate them,

impelling our comrades to tell the truth, not only that they say it but that they live with the truth and that they do not do anything against reason.

When parents do not educate their children in truth, inevitably a duality is established between children and parents, a very great historic separation, in which the child develops a great sentiment of suspicion with the parents about everything. Then the capacity to reason is diminished and the parents, in their turn, living a thousand problems, are incapable of seeing what has to be done with the child.

Normally the parents cannot do all this, but the social relations, the class struggle, have advanced enormously. Hence, the children of the workers families, wherever they are, are more and more integrated in the Communist life. We, who have consciousness and capacity and resolution to do it, must educate out children in this path.

J. POSADAS 6th October, 1974.

## THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE SHOWS THE EXISTENCE OF A REVOLUTIONARY LEFT WHICH WILL ELEVATE ITS POLITICAL CAPACITY TO CONSTRUCT THE NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The discussions prior to the Congress and the Congress itself, despite the inadequate reporting of the level of discussions and the opposition amendments, confirm the maturing of a wing directly influenced by the ideas of the Posadist IV International and the continued breakdown of the policies and attitudes shown in the British Road to Socialism.

The pre-Congress discussions showed an ambience of outright rejection of many of the official positions of the Party and also much confusion and disarray resulting from the manifest failure of the line of the Party showing falling membership, the debacle of the parliamentary electoralist conceptions, and the total obscurity of the Party in relation to the problem of the Labour Party and relations with the Soviet Union. The crisis of the Communist Party will only find its solution in an honest and dispassionate theoretical clarification in which Marxism of today, Posadism, is allowed to make its contribution without obstacles to the strengthening, cleansing and elevation of the world Communist movement.

The crisis of the British CP exists and deepens because the world is advancing towards Communism and, under the process of Partial Regeneration, the leadership of the Soviet Union - stimulated by the need to prepare for the war and the need to return to Marxism in order for the Workers States to advance - has been obliged to open a discussion in the world Communist movement which poses the return to Leninist norms. The most striking aspect of this has been the re-assertion of the violent road to power and the perspective that the strikes in western Europe, for example, have a political character - i.e. the objective overthrow of capitalist society. At the last meeting of the CC of the CPSU, commemorating the October Revolution, Peishe - at the same time as showing the unprecedented advance of the Soviet economy - reiterated the significance of the Havana Conference which had re-asserted (without prior rectifications of discussions) the need for the defence of the acquisitions of the revolution by armed force, in practice asserting the road of violent revolution. The Soviet Union has, over a whole period now, asserted the superiority of life in the USSR to all the phoney rubbish about democracy in the capitalist societies. All the Communist parties of the world have been drawn into this controversy which passes totally outside the control of the leadership. The preparations of the Conference of European Communist parties shows the magnitude of the discussions and the efforts of the various apparatuses of the CPs to defend themselves from the Soviet Union. But

the latest agreement between the FCP and the ICP is purely transitory. It maintains the anti-Marxist believes about the plurality of the Communist parties and bourgeois political democracy but, no sooner is it decided than Leroy of the French CP declares that the French CP position has nothing in common with the 'historic compromise' of the Italian Communist Party, and Berlinguer has to admit that not all has been settled. Certainly not all has been settled and nothing will be settled in favour of conciliating with the bourgeoisie. The existence of the Soviet Union and the attitude of the proletariat precludes this. The Party apparatuses may indulge their camarilla life for a little time more, but the rapid advance to the final settlement is not going to sustain their positions. The resistance to the conciliatory positions of the leadership was shown in the fact that 25% of the delegates (and this is a hand picked conference), rejected the resolution criticising the attitude of the Soviet Union to the dissidents. Most of the old wind on the part of the leadership continued, but the fact that nationalisations now was asserted more forcibly than in the past, and even the term 'class struggle' appeared in relation to Northern Ireland, shows that the apparatus was obliged to make little verbal turns to accommodate the new situation in the Party. One delegate affirmed the need for a Socialist solution for both Britain and Ireland and less pre-occupation with the 'national' problem. Most striking of all, Gollan made a speech in which he posed that the solution of the Sino-Soviet dispute was central. He went on, in terms recalling the positions of the Posadist IV International, that the crisis of capitalism was not purely economic but one of the institutions of capitalism (i.e. the total crisis analysed by Posadas), and that it was a struggle of system against system. All this is out of step with the line and application of the CP, but it is the mark of an internal process in the CP which cannot be contained within the line of the British Road to Socialism.

The Congress has illustrated all the dissension in the CP, the existence of defined left and right factions. The open attack in the last 'Marxism Today' on the Posadist conceptions of the need to return to the functioning of the Communist International and the first seven years of the Soviet Workers State, is a reflection of the turmoil of ideas in the British Communist Party which does not have the means to resist the onslaught of the world process and the more elevated intervention of the Soviet Union.

Our section intervened very successfully in the Congress of the CP and sustained its intervention

## Full support for mobilisations of the Australian masses, for the advance to a Socialist Republic!

The removal of the Labour government in Australia is a coup essentially organised with the support of American and British imperialism. All Social Democratic parties are being made by the proletariat to change into Socialist parties and the Australian Labour Party is no exception. The right wing were no longer able to dominate and the Whitlam government was taking measures which were no longer in the interests of capitalism. Imperialism was faced with a situation which was going out of their control and this coup was their response. They have attempted coups in other countries, such as Portugal, India and Bangladesh, and in each case it has not produced the result they wanted; in Australia, as well, their action will rebound against them. They are very pessimistic about the outcome because they feel that the population is opposed to their system.

The outrageous act of removing the government shows the total hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie. They removed the Labour government and put in its place the minority right wing party, all in the name of 'defending democracy'. It has been clear throughout history, and it is clear today, that phrases like 'democracy' and 'freedom' are used by the bourgeoisie as camouflage for their real intentions. They use it to try and confuse the petit bourgeoisie. They demand that the left respect 'parliamentary democracy', whereas the ruling class cast it aside whenever a more openly repressive policy suits their interests. The Labour left in Britain has been hindered by its lack of confidence in breaking from this ideology and of the bourgeoisie. To progress it must do this and, by studying Marxism, develop an independent class position.

The Labour left can have every confidence that the whole world - except for the isolated assassins, the bourgeoisie - wants to change society. There have been massive mobilisations of petit bourgeois sectors in support of the Australian Labour Party. This shows the conditions are mature to construct a Workers State in Australia. The most important mobilisations have been made by the proletariat. It is this force that has stopped the bourgeoisie from going from the coup against the government to a military take-over. The removal of the government has unleashed an open intervention of the population against capitalism, and the coup has not solved the bourgeoisie's central problem. To be successful they would have had to use the army to crush the resistance; however, they do not have the force on a world scale to succeed in this, and their coup is met with an open opposition of the masses.

The Labour Party had a majority in parliament but still did not control events. This is because the state apparatus cannot be controlled by parliament. The bourgeois state is there to defend capitalism. The Labour Party could win an overwhelming majority at the next election, but the state will not be under its control. The Social Democratic ideology was built on respect for the state, seeing it as an impartial organism for the benefit of the 'country'. There is no progress to Socialism unless this conception is clarified. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is in a process of rectifying its position and beginning to start a discussion in the world Communist movement on the need to smash the state apparatus. The Labour left needs to join in this discussion, asking whether when they push ahead with expropriating capitalism, if the capitalists will refrain from using the state against the forces that threaten them? Will they just say, 'O.K., you won the votes so you can have our property?' Nowhere in history has a class given up in this way. They will use the state to protect their interests. The Posadists put these questions to the Labour left, not to make them fear that capitalism has great strength, but so they see the correct tactic to construct capitalism.

Capitalism used the British and Australian state to carry out their reactionary policy. The Governor General was a representative of the Queen. The monarchy and the House of Lords (as was seen over the press bill) are tools to stop progress. The House of Commons can be used partially to pass certain measures for the benefit of the working class, but it can never be a complete organ to construct Socialism. It is an organisation constructed by the proletariat that will impose and bring Socialism, not a degenerated organ of capitalism. The Australian proletariat shows by its actions that it instinctively understands this. It mobilised as soon as the government was overthrown. There have been continuous meetings in the cities, organised by the central proletarian sectors. Engineering workers broke through the police cordons into the stock exchange, showing they saw very well that it was high finance which organised the overthrow of the Whitlam government. The trade union leaders are trying to stop the proletariat intervening and Hawke calls for 'calm', but the trade union apparatus does not now have the power to hold back the proletariat. The workers came out immediately the government was thrown out and this means they were well prepared. What prepared the Australian proletariat was the world revolution, the defeat of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, a defeat in which the Australian proletariat played a role.

In their mobilisations against the war in Vietnam, in support of the Vietnamese masses, this proletariat effectively robbed imperialism of a base in South East Asia. At the same time they have imposed considerable measures of dual power in the 'Green Banns' originated by the construction workers in which they determined what should be built, for what purpose, and where. What is required is the organs of the proletariat: committees in the factories to have a political functioning, and also area committees to incorporate the rest of the population, taking the example of Portugal.

The situation in Australia, as in the rest of the world, is mature and it requires a consistent left in the Labour Party to facilitate the taking of power. This left needs to base itself on the proletariat's mobilisations to overthrow the Fraser government and assist in the development of independent organs of the masses. The bourgeoisie will use their state, but they have no base of support in the population. There have been demonstrations even by civil servants who are part of the state, and also sectors of the senior civil servants have refused to give information to the Fraser government. The state apparatus has whole sectors in it already won over to the side of the proletariat, the Australian army - like the Portuguese or Ethiopian armies - will have whole left wing currents. The bourgeoisie have little support and their state and army are in complete crisis. It is now, therefore, time for the Labour left to go forward on a programme of nationalisations imposed by the force of the independent organisation of the proletariat to construct a government of the left. The Labour left in Britain needs to make a campaign in support of the Australian Labour Party and to draw the conclusion that the bourgeoisie have shown again that their 'parliamentary democracy' is a cover for their assassin measures. The left can certainly use parliament as a platform to discuss and to demand certain measures, but basically parliament will not be the instrument to confront the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to campaign to abolish the monarchy, denouncing its reactionary role in the Australian coup and to call for a Socialist Republic in Britain. The support to impose this will not be the bourgeois parliament and bourgeois opinion, but the immense power of the British proletariat which is the only class capable of incorporating all sectors of the population to finish with capitalism. The Labour left can start by holding meetings in the cities in support of the Australian Labour Party, and use the meetings to call for the abolition of the House of Lords and the monarchy.

## The world crisis of capitalism, the Socialist Communist Front, and the Posadist IV. INTERNATIONAL

J POSADAS 26th January, 1975

We are living through a very favourable revolutionary stage. Nowhere previously have events appeared in history such as Ethiopia, Portugal, Algeria, Dahomey, Madagascar and the process in Latin America. And also a process in Europe in which there is an advancing tendency, a more and more vigorous struggle of Communist and Socialist parties, to go to the government, to go to power. But it is not possible to go to government in this stage of history - through the conditions which exist, the structure of the total crisis of the capitalist system - without resolving the question of the liquidation of the capitalist system. Although it might be in stages, with penetration, they have to go to power.

There is a change in the historic nature of Communist and Socialist policy from the previous stage. Before, it was a question of collaboration, of integration with capitalism without knowing afterwards what to do. Now, they pose concretely, statifications and nationalisations, to give participation to workers organisations of leadership. They pose a series of principles which promote civil war. Capitalism is going to see that it cannot, as before, believe that it is going to utilise the Communists and the Socialists, that it is going to interpenetrate with and dominate them. Conditions are created, which are revolutionary from every point of view. The leaderships no, but the conditions yes; they are revolutionary. The desire of the petit bourgeois masses, of the Communist and Socialist masses are revolutionary.

An image of this condition of history is given by the big bourgeois parties, in France, Germany, Italy, Japan and Britain. The leaderships of bourgeois parties have to utilise measures, conclusions which tend to show that they are not partisans in support of the war policy of imperialism. They have to differentiate themselves from the Yankee imperialism. Although they are going to sustain it, it is not certain that they are going to sustain it in everything. Before, one of the fundamental conclusions, so that imperialism could launch war against another country, was the preparation of petit bourgeois opinion. By means of the Socialist sectors, left radicals, democratic movements, above all, making petit bourgeois opinion, Socialists, and part of the Communists of the workers movement, accept the war solution, as they did in 1939. In Latin America, the Communist parties resolved not to attack Nazi Germany because it was an ally of the Soviet Union. But now, the opposite is the case.

All the preparations of the Communists, and in part the Socialists, are aimed at the capitalist system. Capitalism cannot declare itself openly. It cannot count upon these parties and the trade unions for the preparation of the war. It is a condition which has occurred because now the proletarian vanguard is mature, it attracts, organises, educates, and has authority over the whole population. It is a process which is advancing and imperialism is preparing the war. The atomic encounter is inevitable and the stages for this is more and more abbreviated. The conditions for its outbreak have been created, and there could be a rapid launching of the nuclear war.

The rations which the government of Ford has, amounts to dividing the work with Kissinger, which is not distribution but the presence of tendencies showing the instability, the insecurity of Yankee imperialism to be able to dominate and to provide a solution in accordance with its interests, and the interests of the survival of capitalism. Hence the essential basis of the insecurity, of the instability of the positions of imperialism in these conditions.

What the Revolutionary States of Africa, Asia and Latin America are doing, involves the road of the defence of raw materials and the utilisation of these for industrial development. It means that these countries feel a point of support to negotiate and to utilise for themselves the raw materials in the most convenient form.

The essential basis for this process - taking into account the weakness of imperialism - is the existence and the policy of the Workers States. The interest of capitalism is to unify bourgeois Europe and explain 'It is necessary to launch the war against the Workers States; human civilisation is in danger; all the nature of life is in danger'. But they cannot utilise any argument like this. They cannot resort to reason or to intelligence. They have to resort directly to the interest of each country. There is a vital, direct confrontation between the capitalist system and the Workers States, the struggle for Socialism, in which a very important part is played by the incessant, constant activity born in the intensity and extent of the masses, which has an anti-capitalist, historical depth, seeking to overthrow the capitalist system.

We are developing our authority in the world, not because this process allows it, but because we have foreseen this course and we have developed our activity in the development of this process. We have authority because previously we have succeeded in influencing the Revolutionary States, the Communist countries and movements, and the nationalist bourgeois leaderships, the Catholics, the military sectors, orientating them with texts, with policy, with programmes, not simply recording events but analysing them. And in this we have made the analysis showing the superiority of the Workers State, and the progress of the class struggle, combined with the development of science and technology, which rebel against the capitalist system. They rebel in the most clear form: the rebellion of the technicians, the manager, the representatives of the layer, which substitutes for the proletariat in production. These are the ones who control the machines, IBM, the computers. More and more, there is an increase in managers, technicians and fewer workers. These technicians, also, rebel.

This process has a very great influence throughout the capitalist countries and in the Workers States; in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It elevates the capacity to think and to reason. This orientates immediately to the conclusion that the capitalist regime is finished, that the capitalist system is ephemeral and is approaching its end. These are conclusions expressed throughout the world, in the parties of the bourgeoisie, or the petit bourgeoisie which represent bourgeois interests, with very profound internal crises which differentiate them from central capitalist power. When these sectors reach such a crisis as in Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, it is through the effect of the dissolution of the capitalist system, of the construction of the Workers States, and through the struggles of the masses. This combines to impel these tendencies to make them feel that the capitalist regime has no more power and they do not believe in it. On the other hand, they believe in the Workers State. It is on the basis of this situation, on this course, that we develop ourselves. We develop because we foresaw this process, we have educated and organised our leaderships, to intervene in this process.

It is not by chance, nor a fortuitous fact, but it is a fundamental conclusion, a process whose course we have foreseen and we prepare the International to intervene in it.

J. POSADAS 26th January 1975.

### THE COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS SHOWS THE EXISTENCE OF A REVOLUTIONARY LEFT WHICH WILL ELEVATE ITS POLITICAL CAPACITY TO CONSTRUCT THE NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE LABOUR PARTY

Continued from page 2

for some time on the basis of the support of the left sectors, who offered financial aid, bought papers and discussed, despite the constant mournful boom of 'credentials' and the vindictive attitude of a sector or the apparatus whose substitute for ideas and brains is the boot. History is on the side of reason and intelligence, not the boot and the trivia of the apparatus.

As a result of this Congress, we appeal for discussion throughout the Communist Party, based on the need to raise the quality of Marxist understanding, to assimilate all the

experience of the Partial Regeneration and the world Socialist revolution, to continue with maximum security and confidence to orientate towards the Labour Party and the trade unions. All the interventions of the Soviet Union have to be discussed and evolved in the light of Marxist method. The Soviet Union has to be brought within the heart of the British Communist Party because the decisions of this epoch come from Moscow. The development of the left in the CP means an elevated political intervention towards the Labour Party, acting as an objective instrument of history.

More and more the proletariat is going to intervene independently and this is going to open the way for drastic changes in the Labour Party and the trade unions.

The cadres of the CP have to prepare for this on the basis of a deeper understanding of Marxism, resorting to the texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Posadas. The way for the militants of the CP to play a role is through the dissemination and deepening of Marxist method and understanding, with the concrete objective of transforming the Labour Party.

A MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATION

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- For the Government of the Left!  
- For a Socialist Republic!

# SAKHAROV, THE SOVIET UNION, AND SOCIALISM. J. POSADAS

12th OCTOBER, 1975

The Nobel prize given to Sakharov is against the Soviet Union. The attitude of the Soviets is not the same as with Solshenitsyn — they are more cautious, less incisive. Also the declarations of the Italian Communist Party have importance when they say that it is a prize given politically, not for scientific merit. This obliges them to make rectifications in which they are going to find also that they cannot defend 'freedom' without seeing liberty for whom and for what. The assassins also want liberty to kill. And Sakharov demands individual liberty, for what?

What is 'liberty'? Is liberty the individual's resolution to do what he wants, or the necessity to do what impels the most useful — the well-being and the interests of the majority of the population? Sakharov demands freedom of opinion and of speech, and has not made any condemnation of the war in Lebanon, any condemnation of Yankee intervention which assassinate, kills and tortures in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Then what liberty does Sakharov demand? Freedom of opinion. Opinion for what? When freedom of opinion is demanded, it is necessary to begin by analysing that the USSR is a Workers State, it has nationalised property and originated from a life which was enormously backward and 80% illiterate. 80% did not know anything more than the most elementary knowledge of life. Today, in the USSR there are no illiterates, no unemployed, accidents at work are minimal; there is a cultural development more elevated than all the capitalist countries put together, although still they do not have the necessary standard of life. There is not a single Soviet worker who has opposed supporting Vietnam. There is not a single citizen or comrade in the Soviet Union who has protested, saying, 'I want them to negotiate over Vietnam so that I don't lose any wages'. The help to Vietnam, to Peru and other countries, like Cuba, means something like \$1,000,000,000 a year. All this comes from the wages of the Soviet workers and masses. And the Soviet workers do not protest, nor do the Soviet peasants. Is this liberty, yes or no? Is this suppression?

The Soviet Union supports the struggle of all the peoples of the world: Peru, Mexico, Argentina, Africa and Asia. It supports them, bureaucratically, yes; but with arms, and economic and material aid. This is practically and materially decisive. And what does Sakharov say of all this?

His freedom is the same as fatso Soares, calling for 'democracy, democracy, democracy!', 'Plurality and Socialism'. What is plurality? Freedom of opinion, yes, but for whom? If they want freedom of orientation in the economy, no; because we want the economy nationalised, planned production, external trade monopolised by the state. That permits complete liberty. Then it is necessary to pose the basis of progress for all the population, that is the basis of liberty, as we the Trotskyists have posed and the proletarian vanguard throughout the world which, without being Trotskyist, has not made a single attack on the

Soviet Union. When the nazis invaded the Soviet Union, the Trotskyists defended it intransigently, as much as the workers vanguard, because it understood the enormous progress which the Soviet Union meant in relation to the capitalist system. This Sakharov, of what progress does he speak?

In his demanding freedom of opinion why did he not speak of the freedom of the assassins of the United States who massacred in Vietnam? Why did he not speak of the freedom of oppression which there is in the United States, and money which is the cause of oppression? There is the bureaucracy also, but as it is linked to the interest of development and in competition with the capitalist system, it must give greater freedom, it must develop itself with the greater freedom of necessary historical opinion, against the capitalist system.

It is a stupid and abstract discussion by the Sakharovs and the Solshenitsyns, because they do not refer to anything but themselves as individuals. The world process does not interest them. Hence, they do not condemn the Yanks and they do not speak of the progress which exists in the USSR. It is the same as if they lived under Tsarism as they live now. In the USSR there are no peasants who have to sell their daughters in order to live. This no longer exists. After 1905 they shot the peasants. Now they shoot managers who swindle and deceive the workers and the state; and even if this is not the correct method — to shoot — they are not wasted bullets.

We propose a public discussion throughout the Soviet Union. When a Sakharov appears together with Solshenitsyn and the others, it shows the authority, the very profound power which the bureaucratic layers in the Soviet Union have which, until now, had representatives in art and literature, among whom were included those who painted Cubism and surrealism. Life is diaphanous. Vietnam, the struggle of the masses of the world, show that the painters have motives for diaphanous inspiration; on the other hand, the lucubrations of surrealism and Cubism indicate a form of thinking far from the life which they lived. All the human relations do not show, do not orientate towards surrealism or Cubism. These are a disintegration, a dehumanisation, a partialisation of the human being. Painting, on the contrary, has to show the unity which there is between human progress, ideas, and the whole of the population. When these painters abstract themselves, it is because they represent layers abstract from history, who represent the power of small groups who aspire to a form of power.

They are not the consequences of Stalinism only, but an absence of world political leadership which, first of all, Stalinism led to through historic conditions which cannot repeat themselves. When there is a layer of interpreters in literature like this, it is because the decomposition, the depth, and the number, of these people is very considerable in the leading apparatus.

They do not represent secondary people, but leading apparatuses who have the pretensions to utilise the Workers State and nationalised property for private ends, to function as a new class. They feel closer to capitalism than to the Workers State. They are united around the private sentiment of the person, and this is the concept of their relations. As they are writers who do not depend on commerce or on productive capacity, as they are intellectuals who have an audience, then they can have a certain independence, including the interests of private property. They speak of discussing the regime of private property, of liberty, and they make a comparison of which is best.

People looking at the Soviet Union do not see the bureaucracy. More and more in a preponderant way, they see the function of the Soviet Union. Then they see that the bureaucracy is not a historic impediment, but a transitory obstacle which can be overcome. They see the immense power of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States, but these types do not discuss and do not compare historical importances of regimes or states. They want another society, if it is necessary to correct, then it is necessary to say what has to be corrected: Workers State, nationalised property, or the political leadership, or the government of a Workers State. They do not discuss this.

These are the consequences of a previous stage. Does humanity live thinking about Sakharov? They throw them out and go forward, as in Vietnam and Latin America. As Morales Bermudez in Peru has just said to a question: 'The revolution is Socialist and humanist'. Even Anthunes has had to declare the Socialist objectives of the Portuguese revolution. This is, of course, a fraud because fatso Soares has also said, 'Socialism and plurality'. And plurality means that imperialism comes to invest, and NATO.

We are against plurality. We are for plurality of opinion for the progress of the Socialist revolution, of Socialist ideas. The plurality which comes from capitalism with them having the power, this is not plurality. It is to make capitalism participate to avoid the advance to Socialism, and the development of society can only take place against capitalism. When they demand plurality in this way, it is because they want to give capitalism an opportunity. Sakharov also demands this. They are all backward representatives of history.

If the Soviets do not combat them with more important measures and with ideas, it is because they are bureaucrats. They have advanced, but in a very limited way. On the other hand, we propose that they discuss publicly, why Sakharov? What does he want? What freedom does he demand? What plurality does he demand? This plurality, does it affirm the economy to advance society? No, but it affirms private property. Private interest, as a consequence, reanimates capitalist power and leads to war.

Capitalism is war and Socialism is peace, said Lenin. We repeat what Lenin said. Capitalism is war, and Socialism is peace. If the Soviet Union has to prepare itself militarily, it is because imperialism has arms. Otherwise, there would be no place for arms in the Soviet Union and the Workers States. The decisive and constant proof is that the Workers State did not make any invasion. Czecho-

slovakia was no invasion. Invasion means to subdue the country. And where is the reason to subjugate and exploit? What exploitation does the USSR make of Czechoslovakia? There is no exploitation, and economically it loses money. Where is the invasion of Czechoslovakia? It is a bureaucratic defence of the Workers Soviet power, but a bureaucratic defence, not a reactionary one. The method is reactionary, but not the objective. Hence, we defined it as a reactionary method, but not with a counter-revolutionary objective.

It is not a comparison between who can do more. Capitalism has already shown all that it can do. Socialism needs the possibility without interferences to be able to show the capacity, as the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and all the Workers States show, that even with the bureaucrats, nationalised property, centralised planning of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, showed the historic superiority, the crushing superiority against the capitalist system. The proof is that Stalin was liquidated and that all the Workers States developed. On the other hand, in the capitalist states a President is liquidated, another takes over and the same crisis of the capitalist regime continues. All this has a very great repercussion.

We propose to make a public open discussion to liquidate the bureau-

cracy. This is plurality. The plurality of fatso Soares, as that of Sakharov, as of the Italian Communists, is not the plurality to advance in Communist measures, but to permit the existence of ideas, of thought, of capitalist programme. Society to advance has to eliminate capitalism, otherwise it cannot advance. The bourgeoisie is going, as a means of propaganda, to excite, to stimulate discussion over Sakharov, as before with Solshenitsyn, but this is going to last one or two months, then it will finish. Solshenitsyn lasted six months. He stuffed himself with money and left. This one is going to do the same. To write now of concentration camps is stupid. There are no longer concentration camps in the Soviet Union. On the other hand, there is the freedom shown in the economic and scientific development of the Soviet Union. The punishments, the prisons, the tortures, these belong to the capitalist countries. Imperialism advances with tanks, planes, bombs, poisonous bases, destruction of the oxygen to impede progress because the regime of private property allows it. The Workers State clashed with Stalin. Nationalised property liquidated Stalin, and nationalised property advanced and developed the Soviet Union. This is going to be, and must be, discussed in the world Communist movement.

J. POSADAS 12th October, 1975.

## Editorial

continued from page 1

**peting electorally with the Labour Party has brought about the expected failure, as Posadas foresaw. Today, the struggle demands a programme for the construction of the left in the Labour Party, nationalisations under workers control, the organs of the class, the necessary programme for power, and the construction of the Socialist Republic and the CP does not have it. This is the crisis in the Communist Party, related to the crisis in the Labour Party, where better militants and leaders are arising than the Communists. The rejection of the so-called left in the AUEW is the expression of the process in Portugal, from the electoral road, the parliamentary road, to the road of mobilisation and advance of dual power.**

**The workers aristocracy in the Labour Party is trying to play an impossible function. Barbara Castle, after having made concessions to the hospital workers by means of abolition of the pay beds, now confronts the junior doctors.**

**Wilson sends a Lord to represent the government at the Franco funerals whilst previously having sent a message of protest to him at the time of the executions, workers control. This is a process of continuous confrontation, this present government. It can't**

**save capitalism and it cannot contain the masses. Capitalism has no force and its efforts to deliver blows, as shown by the editors 'freedom' campaign, and the continuous attack on the proletariat by means of sackings which always start with the most militant men, do not give the means for its recovery. The proletariat will bring about the showdown. It has the initiative. It has broken the Tory government and will intervene in its own organisms to clear out the right.**

**The coming stage is going to be one of cleansing and selection in the workers organisations on the basis of ideas, discussion and intervention. We call for this to be discussed in the Labour Party and the trade unions, and for the left to accelerate consciously this process, by drawing the conclusion that there is no electoral road, parliament can be of help but is not the organ to go to power. The logical conclusion is a Government of the Left based on mass mobilisations and on the trade unions. This means throwing out all the pro-capitalist sectors in the Labour government and replacing them with a team, which will continue a process of rationalisations, planning, and at the time of the executions, workers control. This is a process of continuous confrontation, the end of electoralism.**

22.11.1975

OBTAINABLE NOW FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS:  
EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW 60p NOVEMBER 1975  
(PRICE EXCLUDES POSTAGE)

## The rebellion in the barracks..

of experiences, of capacity, of links with the working class so that this may intervene in the country. It is necessary to mobilise the working class so that it weighs, but to mobilise alone does not have any sense. It is necessary to mobilise and have posts of leadership, so that the working class has positions of the leadership, in planning the economy, in leading, in distributing, in finances, in general in the state apparatus; and these in their turn controlled by the trade unions. This is democracy, this is plurality, but not the bestiality of plurality which they demand, which is for the bourgeoisie. The proletariat still hasn't weighed as a class, it still weighs in a superficial form.

The rebellion is not retreating; it is already showing what is the method. Part of the judiciary is against them. The experience of Portugal and Italy is already recognised by quite a few generals and admirals who pose that military discipline doesn't function any more. As we have already shown

there is the crisis of the capitalist system in the economy, but this is not fundamental. The disintegration is the disintegration of the capitalist system, not only economically but in the structure of its power. For this reason, it is disintegrating. If it was only the economy there wouldn't be a disintegration, there would only be a crisis. If it was simply economic there would be economic crises. But half the Church is going against its own structure, and they are discussing the Pope. The bishops want to elect the Pope and the people in the workers areas want to elect the bishops. They distrust the Pope. Half the police are with the masses. The Portuguese army rebels and they recapture rebels who have been arrested. This shows the method and complete armies go in reverse. This is not a crisis; it is the disintegration of the capitalist system and hence we define this process as one of the permanent revolution, the political revolution, the Partial Re-generation, and the historic re-encounter. The Chinese and the

Soviets have already adopted this definition of disintegration.

In Portugal a regiment rebelled and attracted the support of other regiments and of the population and the government could not do anything about it. It had to let them go although it tried to disintegrate them. The soldiers leant on the support of the population, they made public assembly to discuss the question of the government completing the agrarian reform and the programme of the revolution. That is to say, they were questioning the power, even the revolutionary power of the revolutionary state and introducing new norms, Soviet norms more profound than the Soviet. The soldiers went to the population to make a movement in which they are already a power. It is a Soviet system, but with more profundity in action than the original Soviets. They are creations of the revolution and Trotsky said that 'the Soviet showed that it was the most complete instrument of history. Possibly with a progress in the revolutionary struggle, the masses will create superior organs, although

it is difficult to surpass the Soviet which is very complete'. That is to say, he didn't say that something superior could not be produced. This intervention is superior to the Soviets, it is not against, nor does it negate them, but it exercises superior functions because it exercises superior methods of functioning and decisions. It is dual power. It is not simply one soldier who represents the others. These are their own organisation, the most complete. Hence they have a most complete function.

Also the Bolsheviks had these; it is not a new phenomenon, but they did this after they took power when the Party already existed. Here there is no Party. The Communist Party is very small, it doesn't have power; nevertheless the workers, the soldiers, the peasants, do what would correspond to the Communist Party or the party in power. And they discuss everything. It is a power which confronts orders from above and it obliges them to surrender the people they had arrested, and they call upon the population for a discussion to judge if the

resolution is going to be applied or not. Without the Party, they are fulfilling a function which is superior even to the epoch of the Soviets. Although it is in a form with a Soviet base, it is superior; because the Soviets did not have this function as they had the Party. And there, without a party, the workers on their own account, put forward these positions. This shows the world climate of dual power which exists. This is the result. These are Soviets but have a more extended function because they have discussed what the army should be. In the Soviet Union, it was the Party which did this, in the factories and in the barracks. They won the barracks in the stage of the outbreak of the revolution. All this is the defeat of the right, of the centre, and of the Portuguese government — for they have to admit that a barracks make an insurrection and they haven't got the strength to repress it. They just haven't got the soldiers to repress, and besides the others would make an insurrection.

J. POSADAS 16th October, 1975.

Registered with the GPO as a newspaper.

# ANSWER THE COLLAPSE OF CHRYSLER WITH FACTORY OCCUPATIONS

TO IMPOSE THE NATIONALISATION OF THE CAR INDUSTRY AS PART OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PLANNED ECONOMY.

The fact that the Labour Government has finally committed itself — after a great deal of procrastination — to the nationalisation of the Shipbuilding and Aircraft industries is another proof that there is no other perspective in this stage of the total world crisis of capitalism. This decision results from the pressure of the working class which uses every means to impel the leaderships of its own movement into measures which confront capitalism. The demonstration of November 26th — even if it did not mobilise the fundamental centres of the proletariat — was one means, and the abstentions in the AUEW elections was another. The result of this latter method is that Bob Wright now has to talk — in a meeting of Chrysler Shop Stewards — of the 'crisis of capitalism' and the necessity of nationalising Chryslers. The engineering workers have demonstrated to 'left' union leaders like Wright that a policy of conciliation with capitalism is not acceptable. Even Murray, who opposed the November 26th demonstration, now has to warn the government that 'there will be lobbies of Parliament and demonstrations' if the Labour government doesn't take measures to solve the problem of rising unemployment. This is not the voice of the TUC leadership but an expression of the profound process of preparation which the working class is making for mobilisations to confront the total crisis of capitalism and to make changes in the leadership and structure of the trade unions and the Labour Party. This process, which advances towards a Government of the Left in this country, in Italy, France and Portugal, is stimulated and fed — is an integral part of — a world process of permanent revolution, of a world balance of social forces which is entirely favourable to the Workers States and the revolutionary masses of the world.

THE CONCRETE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIETS IS A LONG WAY FROM 'DETENTE'.

This world balance of social forces is shown in the resolutions of the United Nations condemning Israel. In an organism which was created by Yankee imperialism originally, the Yanks have to accept a resolution condemning a country which was created by it as an imperialist base in the Middle East. This is the world balance of social forces and the fact that Yankee imperialism prepares for the war, for the final confrontation with the Workers States and the world revolution, does not detract from the importance of this resolution. Social systems do not rest primarily on arms, neither is history determined by armed force. What determines are the social, the class forces; and this resolution of the United Nations emphasises exactly what those class forces are on a world scale. That Yankee imperialism prepares for the war cannot be doubted but, such is the feebleness of the system, that it has to do it clandestinely. The bombing by Israeli imperialism of Lebanon was not the action of the Israeli bourgeoisie, which feels it is being abandoned by Yankee imperialism, but it was an action of war against the masses of Lebanon stimulated by Yankee imperialism. It is a preparation for the final confrontation. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the Workers States intervene in this process with confidence and openly. In Angola, it has been the support of the Soviet Union — both socially and with arms — which has determined the victories in the last period of the MPLA against the FLNA and UNITA, which are agents of imperialism.

The Soviet Union continues a great deal of the outward appearance of the policy of 'detente', of diplomatic manoeuvres, but it is the direct intervention of the Soviet Union in support of revolutionary forces on a world scale and the discussion that it stimulates in the world Communist movement on the necessity for the overthrow of capitalism, which characterises and determines the policy of the system of the Workers States.

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## THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST. POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL

### J. POSADAS

OPENING SPEECH BY COMRADE J. POSADAS: 19TH JULY, 1975

We open the sessions of the Xth World Congress of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International. Prior to the beginning of the sessions, we propose, in the name of the International Secretariat of the IV International, to sing the International, to sing it in commemoration of, and homage to Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks; in homage to the most beautiful, most noble sectors of humanity, from whom we learn to impel human civilisation, and to eliminate every form of oppression and violence.

WHO REPRESENT THE MOST BEAUTIFUL, THE MOST DECIDED AND THE MOST CLEAR SIGHTED OF HUMANITY!  
VIVA!  
VIVA THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL!

In the name of the struggle for Communism and Socialism, in the name of this team of delegates

Comrades, the session begins! (Applause).....

### The following is from the 22nd. JULY 1975 Session

It is necessary to consider that we are holding this Xth World Congress of the IV International Trotskyist Posadist to discuss essential problems. Although, at this moment, they are not generally accepted or developed by the Communist parties, we are discussing analyses and conclusions which are necessary for the progress of humanity to Socialism. What it is necessary to write and discuss is how to advance the revolution and what importance the economy has in the history of humanity in this stage. The capitalist economy has little importance. It is powerful, but it is not the economy which determines the course of history. That is achieved by the revolution, the Workers States, together with the revolutionary countries. Hence, we touch upon these problems, we develop them, we orientate and educate our International in the most elevated and severe seriousness, the most elevated and severe pre-occupation.

Severity does not mean an attitude of vexation, of ignoring other problems, but the concentration of the pre-occupation in which it is necessary to feel that the problem is fundamental and has to be treated fundamentally. It is not possible to treat it with general consideration. It has to be precise, very precise. Hence we try to be, and always succeed in being, very precise in definition and in analysis. Humanity does not live a stage of uncertainty or sadness. It is not the stage of sad poets. Do not they see that the sad songs either no longer exist or do not have any transcendental quality? Humanity is no longer sad; it is joyful. The whole world is joyful, including the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the top sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, to be able to feel and live included in the revolution. They live in the revolution, with ideas, sentiments, with positions and activity.

Humanity is joyful not because the human being is resolving to annual

sadness, but because the human relations of society are joyful; and this shows that humanity has confidence that it can resolve all the problems which it is necessary to resolve. It is with this optimism that we are making the Congress with this resolution, and with this optimism extended within the Workers States. If the process succeeds in influencing the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie and humanity remains joyful, how not to conceive that the masses of the Workers States are not, themselves, joyful? Their leaders are not; but the masses of the Workers States are the most joyful! The masses of the Workers States have the plenitude of joy in problems without complication. Joy means the joy of intelligence which is preparing to resolve all the problems which it is necessary to resolve. They do not allow the masses to intervene, to participate; they contain their participation, but they cannot impede it. But this is not the essential problem of history. This is a characterisation of the state of human relations, to determine the stages, the tasks to carry out.

Humanity has problems which arise from economic relations; from scientific relations, from the existing social relations. These are the forces which impose these problems, not one or other tendency. Marx did not propose Communism because he conceived or made a programme for Communism, like an architect with a project, who then presents it. Marx made an interpretation of history, based on the economy, society and the classes. And the result is that all the previous classes up to the proletariat had a function in history which impeded the inexhaustible development of progress. Progress was limited to the development of their own class interests, and their own class interest went against the interest of the life of the rest of the population. Their advance, their accumulation, was against the rest.

And their advance and progress

meant war, destruction, killing, the class struggle; but the proletariat is the opposite.

The modern proletariat develops through conditions of history, through the development of concentration of capital. The modern proletariat of this stage of history is exploited, and to advance in their struggles with class interests, against the interests of the exploiters and capitalism, it has no other solution in history than to overthrow capitalism and get rid of itself. It cannot develop itself as a new class. This gives it a conscious formation, a formation of the conception of the world of egalitarian sentiments. From there comes the Communist sentiment; from there comes Marx.

Before Marx there were others who wrote the same thing, but not with the historic transcendence and depth of Marx. They were mediatory, limited, in the levels of history. This is to say that Socialism is a necessity of history and it is the proletariat, through its function in the economy and in society, which has the role of leadership. To carry out its function, the mind of the proletariat, its conceptions, are egalitarian, just, collective, arising from its function in the economy and in society which elevates it to consciousness. The consciousness of all human beings is determined by their function in society, and hence in the economy. There cannot be a consciousness apart from the economy. Now, when the function of ideas develop then, in spite of the economy, the idea prevails. The idea is the profound reasoning of the interlinked process of the economic and social relations which determine the possible course or the intimate relations of this process which is not seen on the surface, which is not seen in daily relations. This is what Marx did in the study of capital, and drew the conclusion of the inevitability of Communism through the function of the proletariat, turn to page 2

Workers of the world, unite!

## EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW

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J. POSADAS

NOVEMBER 1975.

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# THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE TROSKYIST-POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL

Continued from page 1

through the exhaustion of the system of private property which concentrated the forces of production, machines and workers. To progress, this economic form develops private property, which leads to an obstacle for development. A new form of economy was needed, of social relations and society. To do this, the proletariat which was the exploited class, which was going to tend to take power, proposed to develop the economy, a new form of property. The concentration of production, product of the concentration of factories, of the concentration of capital, led to the concentration of all the forms of production and, as a consequence, of thought. Thought is the reflection of social relations.

It is a reflection from which ideas emerge, and Marx reached the conclusion that the modern proletariat, the proletariat of this epoch of history which frees itself from capitalist exploitation, had to free society from every form of class exploitation. Then it gave an egalitarian, objective consciousness that it could weigh in the objectives without obstacles of interests of plunder and family. Capitalism cannot do this and neither could the bureaucracy.

## BUREAUCRACY CANNOT BE OBJECTIVE.

The bureaucracy does not have this quality in history; it is not a necessity for the development of the economy and of society. It is an excrescence of history. It is a smelly excrescence, very harmful, but different from the material excrescence. The smell of the bureaucracy is the crimes that they have committed, the crimes and the containing of the process of history. The bureaucracy, as it has a function of a usurper, cannot have the objective thought of justice, equality, the objective to produce, to plan and to develop. As a consequence, it does not have any value, decision or historic homogeneity. The bureaucracy does not have a past; where does it come from? It comes from plunder, from the usurpation of the revolution. It does not have a past; as a consequence, as it is not a necessary factor in production, it does not have a present. In not having a present, it does not have a future. The proof that it does not have a future is that all the layers of the bureaucracy are collapsing. All the structure of the bureaucracy is compromised, it is reduced and compromised. It does not extend, it does not create a new bureaucratic society. It cannot exist because what determines the class formation of a social strata is the economy, not the mind of humanity. All these conceited fools who believe that Marx invented Communism, look at history from under the earth. Marx believed the conception of scientific Communism, based on scientific reality, and the essential basis is that capitalism is going to lead to the concentration of capital, of society, and the creation of the proletariat - a concentrated proletariat which had to eliminate capital. To eliminate it, it has to eliminate itself, not to substitute itself as a proprietor, but to eliminate every form of property. Thus, it does not lead to a new ruling proprietor class.

In the Soviet Union, they do not discuss all this which is the essential base of Communism. If, now, Breznev went and gave a major course on these problems, they would throw him out, saying, 'You are an ultra-left.' In the USSR they do not discuss these problems. The proletariat has to be considered as the most pure, the most sacrificing, the most disinterested class, the most honest, which supports and sustains the struggles. They regard it as an instrument of support like a truck with powerful wheels, which carries history about. The proletariat is not like this; it is a lie. It is true that it is responsible for history. It showed that it was capable of putting up with Stalin: this is to put up with history! To put up with Stalin, it put up with the assassins of all the Bolsheviks. And afterwards, it threw out Hitler and Stalin. But, the bureaucracy sought and seeks - and the Communist Party also - that the proletariat should be a

support, believing that it is not capable of reasoning, of thinking, of developing political thought as a function of the necessity of history. The proletariat is not indifferent to history; it has the most direct and objective interest in history, and it has it because it represents progress, because it does not think for itself alone. To think for itself, it must think about progress, which is not for itself now but for the population.

The proletariat in the Workers States, as outside the Workers States, thinks and reasons objectively. It seeks and develops the truth, because its condition in history imposes this and, at the same time, in forming the Communist consciousness, the base is provided to form the Communist programme. It can think, reason, deduce and determine programme, policy, economy, plans, tactics, objectively. This means that it does not think as a function of a group, of a camarilla, of a caste, or of a class for itself, but as a class which thinks as a function of humanity. To advance, the class thinks of humanity and not of itself. It feels that it is responsible, not because it thinks that it is responsible in itself, but because to advance history it has to advance in such a way that it eliminates every form of repression, oppression and human indignity. This is the function of the proletariat, and it is determined by its role in the economy and in society.

This is the basis, the ABC of Communism, of 'Capital', and of history which is ignored by the Communist parties and by the trade unions also. Hence in this monstrous crisis of the capitalist system, the trade unions are discussing how capitalism can come out of this crisis. In Italy the trade unions say to the government: 'Invest here, invest there, invest in this place'. And they demand a greater increase in wages, better conditions of work, increase of trade union power; but they do not propose the programme for the crisis of the capitalist system - a programme of transformation of society. On the contrary, they are opposed to it, and they are opposed because they do not know what to propose. They are disconcerted, and they do not have a notion of history. The comrades of the Communist and Socialist parties do not have a notion of history and they have an individual conception of the group, of being themselves the leadership. But history is not like this -

There are leaderships in history, but it is not them who determine the course of history but what programme, what policy. Then, with this, yes, they are leaderships. The Communist and Socialist parties do not discuss either programme or policy. For the capitalist system in crisis, they propose that it invests, that it produces omnibuses and other vehicles instead of Fiat cars. But this is totally insufficient. It is a limitation in the reply to the crisis of capitalism in society.

Capitalist society is in total crisis. Then it is necessary to answer with the programme for this total crisis of the capitalist system. Neither the Communists or the Socialists or the trade unions propose an historic alternative. An historic alternative, for example, is the programme of nationalisations without taking power. An historic solution is to take power, but they do not propose this. They propose to leave the capitalist system and enforce upon it a government which invests, which does better, which administers better. No sir, this cannot be done. Undoubtedly, in the depth of this policy there is the intention of showing that capitalism cannot come out of the crisis, then the Communists are necessary. They do not propose to defend or to sustain or to be a servant of the capitalist system.

All the forces exist for the solution for the changes of the capitalist system. There are all the forces so that in the workers movement, in the Communist parties, they could discuss the replacement of the capitalist system, transforming society, changing the capitalist system and overthrowing capitalism. There are all the conditions, hence

they avoid discussing the proletariat and its function. And they take it as an instrument, a support of which they are the head. They determine the policy, the objective, the perspective, in accordance with what that leadership wants, not in accordance with what the masses want. This is not in accordance with what the masses are ready to do, and show that they are capable of doing. How are the objectives of the masses ascertained? What can capitalism do and how far can it put up with the process? What are the existing forces?

The masses have shown in Bologna (in Italy), in the occupations of the factories in France, in the trade union elections in Germany, in the endless procession of factory occupations throughout Europe and the world, that the proletariat feels that it is responsible and capable of maintaining production, that it does not feel intimidated, it has the confidence to do this with the support of society. The incessant, continuous wave advancing more and more of factory occupations, of functioning with women, old people and children - three sectors of society pushed to the margin by capitalism - shows the essential part of this vanguard is carrying out the essential tasks throughout the world. And how is it possible to believe that the Soviet proletariat, the Chinese proletariat, the proletariats of the Workers States, are not observing and seeing this? It is a lie when the capitalists say that in the USSR they do not report things. Everybody has a radio in the USSR, and, besides, the news cannot be hidden. The leaderships of the Communist Party and of the USSR have to inform what is happening in the world in order to organise, which is transcendent. The Communist parties do not pose that the masses are ready; but pose 'there is a danger of civil war, we do not want to be the cause of massacres between fellow citizens'. These are the arguments which they use. 'The conditions do not exist to achieve what we want; we want democracy so that everybody can participate'. How can all the world participate? The progress of history goes against something. If it could advance without obstacles, the class struggle would not exist. If it is necessary to advance and propose economic measures of transformation, then against whom? Against capitalism! And capitalism, is it going to accept and yield? What does history show? That capitalism does not accept. Secondly, what forces has capitalism to oppose? It has quite a lot of forces, but less than is necessary to sustain itself. Half of the armies of the world are won by the progress of humanity. The police also, and the Church likewise, and the administrative apparatuses. If these apparatuses do not play a role, it is because the Communist parties do not appeal to them for the transformation of society.

The Communists avoid all this discussion but Europe is nearing the definition of the process. The European Common Market is the reply of capitalism. It is necessary to consider that response should be given by the workers movement, the trade unions, the workers parties, the united front of the workers parties. How to intervene in the internal struggle of the Communist and the Socialist parties and the trade unions to encourage the workers movement to develop layers, tendencies, currents, which go forward seeking for a class solution? What is the perspective that we see? If there is no perspective, there is no policy. The policy can be just for today or for tomorrow. The policy has to have a perspective; and the perspective means to consider the balance of forces that is developing and then to foresee their possible course, and in the possible course, the internal struggles of the parties for us to intervene. The internal struggle has been expressed in a notorious and decisive way, in the conflict between the Spanish and Italian Communist parties - which is a struggle around the road, the tactic of the progress of the struggle in Europe and in the rest of the world. It is not an open and declared struggle, it is not a

turn to page 3

## THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IS TO BE LEADER OF SOCIETY

In his analysis of the course of human history and its inevitable conclusion in Communism, Marx based himself on the will and capacity of the proletariat, the proletariat of wage labour, brought into the world with the emergence of the capitalist system. Marxism, as a method of thought, is the most complete conclusion and the highest synthesis of the profoundest discoveries of human thought in class society. And the best in human thought has always transcended the limitations imposed by class society and private property. But human thought has always arisen as a concentrated expression of the experience of social relations.

Thus, the activity of Marx was not only an expression of his superlative gifts of synthesis and capacity for prediction, but also the expression of the growing concentration of the proletariat in preparation for its overthrow of capitalist society. Marx gave the most conscious expression to this activity and the historic objective of the proletariats. The great revolutionary events of 1848 and the Paris Commune of 1870 together with the great force of the Chartist movement in Britain in the 1840s, were the living expression of the historic role of the proletariat, its tendency to lead the whole of society. The Communist Manifesto appeared just prior to the experiences of 1848 - finding immediate proof there - and the experience of the Paris Commune was fundamental for the analysis of Marx on the necessity of the proletariat to smash the apparatus of the bourgeois state. Since that time the process of the concentration of the proletariat and of world history as a whole has intensified enormously, receiving a definitive expression in the October Revolution of 1917, with the resulting establishment of the first Workers State. What we are seeing now are two opposing concentrations on a world scale: the concentration of the world masses around the Workers State, the expression on the state dimension of the power of the proletariat and, on the other, the concentration of the forces of capitalism under the leadership of Yankee imperialism. Thus, there is system against system, class against class. The role of the Workers States is the historic proof of the role of the proletariat as the leader of society on a world scale, and this experience, which is a fundamental proof of the basis of Marx's thought, has to be assimilated in depth by both the Socialist and Communist movements. The latter pays lip service to the idea without, in practice, basing itself on this conception as the basis for action.

## THE EXPROPRIATION OF CAPITALISM IS A NECESSITY OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The basis for the social and political role of the proletariat is to be found in the economy. The proletariat is expropriated. It is submitted to the life of the factory under the eye of a management whose objective is to reduce the human being to the level of a machine, and the worker has no control over any aspect of the organisation, sale or function of production. There is no other solution to this brutalised system of exploitation but, as Marx put it, 'the expropriation of the expropriators', that is, nationalisation under workers control without compensation. There is no way for the proletariat to free itself from the dead weight of the capitalist oppressor, save by the fight to the finish. The proletariat has no independent interest. The organisation of production is on a factory, collective basis, there cannot exist the mentality of the small scale producer dominated by the needs of purely individual survival or indeed the possibility of becoming an employer of others. The collectivised functioning of the proletariat imposes a class discipline, and the development of collective relations imposing forms of collective sentiment, lays the basis for an objective as opposed to a subjective vision of society. This proletarian functioning is markedly different from the mentality generated in other sectors of society. Thus, the independent artisan or self-employed or professional petit bourgeois sectors work inevitably in the sphere of atomised,

independent and separated relations, leading to all manner of individual solutions and impressions, dictated by the life style of individual relations and decisions.

But the proletariat does not live for itself, it cannot have any solution independent from the release of the whole of humanity from the exploitation and torpor of class society. It is the source of production and the wealth of society, but it has no individual solution. It has no means of imposing a new class society because its only logical solution to the exploitation of capitalism has to be the collective ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Automatically it tends towards the most democratic and the most centralised forms of organisation: the Soviets. This form of organisation was not invented by Marx or Lenin, it came from the heart of the proletariat and, in part the peasantry, expressing collective aspects of their life. Similarly, the Commune - with its emphasis on the right of immediate recall of delegates - was an expression of the automatic tendency of the proletariat to remove all elements of oppression and arrogance and careerism in relation to social and political life. As there can be no private solution for the proletariat, as in order to free itself it has to get rid of itself, this means objectively it can rally around itself all the anti-capitalist forces, the peasants, the urban petit bourgeoisie, quite apart from disintegrating the organs of the bourgeoisie through its superiority as shown in the triumphs of the Workers States.

## THE WORLD PROCESS HAS ENTIRELY CONFIRMED THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT

This role of the proletariat comes from its function in the economy, but this does not mean an idealisation of the proletariat. It did not come into the world flawless nor fully conscious of its role. Before the appearance of Marx, and during the time of Marx, there had to be a whole series of experiences necessary for the maturing of the proletariat. In the youth of the proletariat all sorts of utopian fantasies flourished, conceptions of convincing the ruling class, anarchism, relics of Jacobinism. Marx and Trotsky later noted marked traits of conservatism in the British working class of their time, the tendency towards insularity, respect for capitalism, absence of revolutionary passion etc. Immense complications, particularly after the high point of the Chartist movement, were caused by the emergence of a labour aristocracy bought over by the capitalist class which, in part, operated on the basis of limitations in the maturity of the working class. Trotsky noted elements of this in his estimate of the proletariat in his text on the 'Communist Manifesto', but the inevitable need of the proletariat to dispense with capitalism in order to use all the massive resources of production for the elevation of the whole quality of life inevitably asserts itself. This was the conviction of all the great Marxists, whatever the circumstances, and this conviction in the iron necessity for the proletariat to overthrow capitalism has been proved a hundred-fold by the victory of 1917 and all that has resulted from it. The annihilation of all the weight of the nazis was the achievement of the Soviet proletariat and the Workers State. It rallied around it all the best forces to crush the expression of a demented system of private property whose logic is to try to crush humanity into slavery. Private property equals the concentration camps, atomic bombs the massive destruction of human beings. The proletariat concentrated in the Workers State means human progress, Communist love and fraternity and the infinite capacity of the human brain. Capitalism means stupidity and inertia. The proletariat means intelligence and movement. It is not a question of idealising a class or individuals. Marx drew his historic conclusions on the basis of the logical development of the capitalist economy and his observation of the behaviour of the proletariat. In the decision of the proletariat of 1848, its readiness to defy the capitalist class,

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division in the world Communist movement. It is the expression of the fact of the separation of the Communist parties and of the absence of a centralised, concentrated leadership transmitting experience, security and objectivity. This is because neither the Communist party of the USSR, nor the Chinese, nor any Workers State possess these necessities. Then there is an absence of world experience, to develop and apply in Europe. Hence the crisis of these Communist parties and their meandering. Carillo passes from a declaration that 'the Trotskyists are Marxists and must belong to the world Marxist movement', which is a form of substitution for saying 'world Communist movement' (he said this in a film); to saying a short time afterwards that they, the Communists, were against Portugal and that, in Spain, the government of Franco would cause a great deal of harm if, before departing, he would not hand over the government to a democratic junta - because, otherwise, worse things would happen! They invited Franco to make a democratic testament and, besides, they were going to make in Spain a 'Western democracy' and the Italians also.

There is no objective class reply which concentrates the experience of the workers movement, which the Communist parties already have gone through. This crisis among them is going to intensify. There is the necessary historic tendency for the formation of a leadership of the left, but still, there are not all the elements for it. There are considerable forces which resist and which the bourgeoisie, in the final instance, is going to grab hold of to survive trying to advance to war in this form. This is the final resort and, at the same time, the final agony of the capitalist system. It is the last resort of the patient who wants to breathe. They are seeking this in a conscious and objective form.

## CLASS CONCILIATION IS ABSURD

At the same time, this characterises how we must intervene in a process which is not only a problem of theoretical characterisations, analyses and examples, programmatic analyses, but of concrete, daily, permanent conflicts. That is to say, history concentrates and summarises all the tasks in the same sphere, not in the same plane - because they are not all on the same plane - but yes, at the same level, which requires leaderships and parties with a superior leadership than before. And all the tasks are joined, there is no priority for one over the other. All are 'ensemble', 'lutti insieme', 'todas juntas'. All show that they are necessary and develop on the way. It is not empirical, it is not abstract, but the relationships of forces determine such a situation. Then this requires a political and theoretical preparation which is more elevated. It is not an impossible thing but more elevated, and it is necessary to foresee the course to be able to intervene in a discussion which is already developing in the Communist Party, but they avoid the depth of the problem because the discussion is made in abstraction from history.

It is necessary to consider that the Communists are intimidated by history, it is not necessary to consider that they are cowards or fearful, they are intimidated by the process of history; they are afraid. Fear makes them withdraw and retreat. It is not necessary to take this as a problem of cowardice of the Party or of comrades, but it is a problem of lack of theoretical and political preparation. It is the development of bureaucratic layers who have a bureaucratic conception of history, who cannot learn from the experiences of history, because they are no use to them.

It is not possible to advance without taking account of history, because that shows how the class struggle develops through the owners, marriage or production, all forms of existence. They do not resort to history. They simply say, 'We are against'. We want to make an agreement with the bourgeoisie and, afterwards, we launch the class struggle. And they substitute a banal desire for the class struggle, the

experiences of history, because it is not a desire founded on examples. You cannot bang in a nail in history with a thumb. It is absurd.

The policy of class conciliation cannot have any transcendence. It impedes the process of history; it is an obstacle, a trap; it delivers a blow; it does all this; it retards the process, delays, confuses, intimidates in part, but nothing more. History cannot be made with confusion and lies. History is made from necessity which comes from economic relations, from human relations, from the experiences of human relations. It has never happened in history that an apparatus has determined the struggle of revolutionary classes. It determines it in the bourgeois life, in the bourgeois apparatuses, in the castles and the courts, but not in history. History, the process of history is determined now, imposed and exposed in economic relations. Political relations, war, in the final instance, is a concentrated form of economic interest. Politics is a concentrated form of economic necessity.

The ruling apparatuses could advance, put difficulties in history, but nothing more. Franco represented the world reaction of the capitalist system, he conquered Spain but not the Spanish revolution. Well, and what remains of Franco? Spain, the capitalist system, Chiang Kai Shek, Mussolini, Hitler, all the apparatuses undoubtedly without mass, but with enormous power? The Communist Party have the masses and more power than Hitler and Stalin, because they represent the necessity of history, objectively necessary, but not the intelligence of the masses, the experience of history.

It is necessary to consider that, in perspective, all these movements which begin to discuss in a very, very untranscendent form like Elleinstein (member of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party), are the expressions of the sounds of history which they receive, but only let a note through. They are the expressions of very profound sounds which come from the need of the development of humanity. When Elleinstein writes the books that he does, when he must take as the centre, the essential enemy of all the bureaucracy and has to discuss it as well (although he puts it in a protective sheeting, in a bag, and leaves it all closed up - Trotsky will find the way to open the bag, come out of the sack, and say, 'The permanent revolution'), it is necessary to decide to intervene in the struggle as it is. We do not expect that they can resolve the problem among themselves because they do not have either Marxist tactics or capacity, nor the theoretical and political experience, because they do not represent the objective necessity of history. They are teams with a bureaucratic conception of life, of power, of the Party, and of the programme and the tactic. They have bureaucratic conceptions which, for a time, they are going to continue, but they do not represent the necessity which comes from the necessity of history, which is that the economy needs, inevitably, the conscious representative leadership to plan and to be able to progress. If capitalism falls, it is because it can no longer dominate the development of science and technology. They surpass it because the development of the proletariat shows that it can utilise science and technology, that capitalism cannot; and that the proletariat can plan without any obstacles because it does not have any interests for itself, only the objective interest of development without limits. The bureaucracy cannot do this.

## THE BALANCE OF FORCES HAS CHANGED TOTALLY.

It is necessary to consider with full consciousness and confidence, that it is necessary to intervene in this struggle which has thousands phases; there are three essential aspects which are joined together: Permanent Revolution, political revolution and Partial Regeneration, which are all inter-linked. It is necessary to consider, together with this, the struggle to overthrow capitalism or going to the government electorally and there to impel

the elimination of the capitalist system. Many years have passed from Marx to now. The class struggle has not changed, but the relations of forces have changed totally. And, in changing the relations of forces, the characterisation of the process has changed in consequence. It has led to an aspect of the process where consciousness determines existence. The class relations and, in consequence, existence determine consciousness, but this is for the capitalist system. But capitalism cannot exist without the super-structure which means technicians, functionaries, police, soldiers, Church. It cannot exist without all this cacophony. Capital, the owner, determine their consciousness by their existence. But the servants, all these layers without which capitalism does not exist, are influenced by history; it is in this layer that develops the process of consciousness determining existence, because the influence of the relations of forces are superior to the epoch of Marx and Trotsky. In the period of Trotsky, there was a single Workers State; today there are 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States. The main capitalist countries are checkmated. Already the relations of forces, which gave rise to the omnipotence of capitalism, have disappeared. And all these sectors are won.

Part of the Church is won over, part of the police, part of the bourgeois administration, part of the army, are won to the revolution. How to define this process then? They are intelligent people, won to the revolution. They are sectors, globally very numerous, who come to the revolution, reversing the function which they had before, and with which their consciousness was formed. Influenced by the revolution they elevate their consciousness and determine their existence through revolutionary influence. This is the characterisation to determine programme, policy, objectives and points of support, to foresee points of support, to foresee the development of forces which do not arise from the working class, to foresee the influence of the process of the revolution, of the working class, on the rest of the population, without which there is no programme and no revolutionary objective.

The relation of forces are determined by the total unity, the total harmony of the class struggle. We have to be based on this, and the Communists are not. They believe it is the result of manoeuvres, of parliamentary or trade union politics, which win over the church and the soldiers. They believe that it was the historic compromise that did this. No, sir. It is not like this. We do not have any fear of making any historic compromise, but it is much more convenient to make a compromise with history, and then it is no longer a question of promises and swearing oaths. It is a question of programme, policy, tactics and organisms - Otherwise there is no compromise with history; The compromise with history is that it is necessary to respond to the necessity to change society. This is an aspect.

The other aspect is that, in the world Communist movement, the concern for experience does not exist. Hence, they discuss in abstraction. For example, they discuss that Vietnam is winning. 'Viva Vietnam; what heroism!', 'El Picollo An'!... They sing. Then, in four days, it is all over. In their analysis there is no consideration that it is the relation of world forces which led to the victory of Vietnam - otherwise, they would communicate the heroism of Vietnam and of Soviet help. They obscure the reports of Soviet and Chinese help, because they think in terms of bureaucratic interest and fear that tomorrow they will have to depend on the Soviets. The resistance to the Soviets of all these parties which are apparatuses is because they defend national interests, not because they educated them in this way, but because they are not educated in a Marxist conception, and they remain mediating bourgeois, national thoughts. Hence, they have so many complications in policy, in the economy,

in philosophy, in the normal considerations of Marxism, which they do not understand,

How can you demand the 'historic compromise' in the class struggle? A certain Karl Marx said that the capitalist bandits sign all sorts of documents and compromises and treaties. At the same time as signing the compromise, if they had a stronger relation of forces instead of signing with the pen, they would sign with the cannon. And then bang! that's it! The bourgeoisie does not make any historic compromise. It signs all the compromises that it wants and which are convenient to them, to win time, to lie, to slander. All the bourgeoisie can sign all manner of compromises which, on the following day, they tear up - because their class interest determines their behaviour. On the other hand, the Communist parties in signing the historic compromise deceives the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie, stimulating them towards a perspective which does not exist. Then this leads to desertion and gives historic time to capitalism. This 'historic compromise' is a vacuous compromise, a compromise with the void and, at the same time, an impulse to capitalism to continue maintaining itself.

What are the organs which are developing in this process in Europe and the world? The workers councils.

## WILL AND CAPACITY OF THE PROLETARIAT.

Is it not something very beautiful and source of human joy, the workers councils in Italy? France has its factory occupations; Italy, its workers councils. How beautiful to make a Soviet of the two! Well, the Communists' leaderships have these experiences of France on one hand, of Italy on the other; and in Germany, and in Britain also. What is transcendent and what arises in a transcendent form in Italy is that the will and capacity of the masses is inexhaustible. It creates organisms, organisms, organisms, creates creates, creates, on all sides. It creates and develops leaders, leaders, leaders. The factory councils and the workers councils of the workers areas are creations from the base, from people. They arise from the base of the activity of the proletariat. The proletariat seeks contacts not ramifications, but contacts with the population. It seeks to extend the arm of the factory with the rest of the population through organs. They are organs which show to the class that they are ready to lead, not to defend wages but to lead society.

All the comrades have given an infinity of examples, showing the progress of the creation of organs of the proletariat. These are organs of Italy, France, Germany, even if less in Britain, Germany, and in part also in Belgium, but they are examples that the initiative of the class leads in a concentrated form, in a homogeneous form, seeking to unify all the class, seeking to create organs of leadership against the existing leaders. If this process does not advance more, it is because it does not have another historic example. The Soviets do not stimulate and impel, nor do they give examples. Nor do the Communist parties. Then how to demand of the British or the German proletariat, 'Well, how do you allow yourselves to be deceived by your leaderships?' How to expect the formation of a revolutionary current in Germany, in Britain, if there is not the stimulus, the leadership, nor the experiences, nor the support of the USSR and of the Communist parties? What is the world atmosphere? In humanity there is joy. Among the bureaucratic workers leadership, there is the stupor of the bureaucracy. How to expect and believe that the proletariat can have the way to organise leaderships and currents? It is necessary to draw the conclusions from this. There is a great deal of rubble which prevents finding the exit.

And the proletariat is pushing aside the rubble. It is creating organs, organs, organs. It is necessary to unite the construction of the organs of the proletariat in Europe. The

developments in Argentina, which are very transcendent, have already affirmed the role of the trade unions in Latin America. This is not new. It arises from the trade unions beginning with Argentina and with Bolivia. In 1963 there was the alliance of the trade unions and the POR (Trotskyist), the Peruvian section, which won almost as many votes as the Socialist Party of Tumbse in Peru. Thus, this is not new. In 1962, the Trotskyists in Argentina got 55,000 votes, standing in only five provinces, which is not an unimportant thing. We are not distant from this process.

It is necessary to consider that the class does not have experiences, there are not trade union and political development, structure, relations, theoretical life, policy and experience. There are apparatuses which prevent thought. For example, there is a fact which they have not discussed today - it has to be discussed in all the Communist parties - such as the occupation of 77 factories, i.e. 77 triumphs in France. There is a transcendent element in some and they last almost a year. There are various countries like this. It is a question of discussing and interpreting what social situation is reflected in such an action. But they write: 'Poniatowski (the French Minister of the Interior) has attacked a Communist MP in France! He came out of the aeroplane and they arrested him'. The Communists act as though they are very annoyed. But they are not annoyed at seeing that the very rich experience of the factory occupations do not lead them to draw the conclusion that they could propose to win all the French Socialist Party and take power in less than a year. If they proposed and developed an action in which they say: 'Yes, we want to nationalise this and this under workers control', 'We want to nationalise these factories and plan in accordance with the needs of the population', the bourgeoisie is going to scream out; it is going to launch atomic bombs. Certainly, it is going to do that! Today, tomorrow, or the day after. But is it going to triumph, is it going to impede this process? Why do not the Communist Party discuss this? They do not discuss it.

Neither do they discuss the experiences in Italy. In this stage of the class struggle one of the most important things is the workers councils experience in Italy. There are two important conclusions from this process, the Popular Union in France and the Factory Councils in Italy. It is necessary to realise that the factory councils are organs of dual power and that they confronted the Italian Communist Party and the Socialist Party, winning both, and that the trade union leaders of the Engineering Federation, which is the essential basis of the factory councils have a base of support, a firm and solid basis in the proletarian vanguard, which is linked with the class and the population. This is what attracts, and what the rest of the population aspires to. Without this sector the Communists would lose half the votes and the Socialists also. It is not possible to make any calculation, to make any programme, without taking the engineers into account. The experience, the confrontation of this sector of the proletariat and its political maturing, allow it to exercise this function.

Then it is necessary to foresee how we are going to intervene in this process - it is through the crisis of the Communist and Socialist parties but also through this process which develops in these struggles. We have to intervene on the trade union plane, but politically for the struggle for power. It is necessary to discuss Portugal in this process. Without anything, Portugal has been animated to establish a Socialist programme, much more from aspiration than from possibility. This shows that, when they pass directly to the Socialist programme, they do not express the particular quality of Portugal. They go directly to Cuba, to see what the Cubans are doing. 'We realise that here they did not eat eggs, but only the hens, and the rich knew about eggs but now every one has eggs.' Everybody now has eggs, meat and milk; not a great deal, but every one has some. Before, they had nothing. And the soldiers in Portugal go to Cuba to learn. Take into account what it means to go to Cuba. It means

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to go to a Workers State, but also to a Workers State which is linked directly to the great Workers States. To go to Cuba is to go to the Soviet Union. Cuba would not exist without the USSR. In Cuba, they have just finished holding a meeting of the Communist parties of Latin America, where they condemned the Communist parties, referring to the fact that the Communist parties did not draw the conclusions of Chile. Carvalho went to Cuba; realise what it means that one of the most backward countries of Europe resolves to pass directly to the Socialist movement. This produces the discussion, the confrontation, the public polemic in the Socialist movement. When this produces such a polemic, it is because already all the conditions are mature. It just needs someone to pull out the cork for the wine to flow. This is the crisis which exists among them, which is very profound.

This is going to develop together with the other struggles. Then it is necessary to plan our intervention. The Communist leaderships are mistaken because they are not capable of thinking. For example, the workers can be mistaken in aspects but their class position corrects them. They can never make a mistake in that respect. On the other hand, the bureaucracy does not take experiences from, does not base itself on the proletariat. They have bureaucratic interests and conceptions. It is the same with the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It is not that they are mistaken, they do not know, they are afraid, and hence the policies which they follow are policies of limited conciliation. This is expressed, but it is their conception of history. They lack the objectivity of the proletariat. Then, we do not expect that the bureaucracy will transform itself. And hence the process is slow, because they do not discuss Marxism. We give one example. In the USSR, Marxism is read as just one more book. When in the Workers State the essential condition on the birth of a child should be Marxism, they say, 'No, it is going to frighten the poor child'. Marxism does not terrorise anyone. It is the source of human joy, because it means human intelligence, the product of human society, not the product of the qualities of Marx. Marx is the consequence of human society, and it is human intelligence which develops humanity to equal the intelligence of Marx. We propose that they should teach Marxism from birth. And what we have been saying about maternity and preparing a child in gestation should be done in the Workers States.

Human relations determine the character of the child, they determine the security and the formation. The embryo does not just begin with gestation, it begins in the mother, in the society, in the ideas. The Party for this is the most elevated representation, the most elevated consciousness of humanity. It is necessary to consider that it is necessary to prepare to intervene, elevating the theoretical and political capacity.

There are various problems: the crisis of the Communists and of the Socialists, the crisis of the trade union leaderships. There is a struggle between the trade union leaderships, and the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties of France, and Germany also. Then we plan our intervention in Europe, drawing the conclusion of the transcendent character of the world process, to apply now in Europe with, as a part of this, the publications. The publications are the vital centre, not exclusive but, yes, essential. It is necessary to publish newspapers and Marxist Reviews, but it is necessary also to create organs, currents, and tendencies, in the Socialist and Communist movements, in the trade union movements.

All the references made to the historic function of the proletariat do not correspond to this point. But there were references, because it is necessary in the analysis when we analyse, or you analyse, in writing, that the historic function of the proletariat appears clearly and the point of historic support which is the proletariat appears clearly. It has to be considered in the discussion with the Communists to write on this, because it is necessary to find sup-

port in the worker base, in the proletariat, which lies not in its will to combat, but in the objectivity which is its way of thinking and seeing, which makes it represent the legitimate interest of humanity. Hence, in Ethiopia, the soldiers went over from being assassins of workers, to planning, expropriating and making the monopoly of foreign trade. This is not a political, economic and social thought from the military. It comes from the proletariat, which does not exist in Ethiopia, but does exist in the Soviet Union. And when human intelligence, as in Ethiopia, assimilates it, it is because there are the conditions for it to be assimilated anywhere. Even the goats in Ethiopia have assimilated this, and it is necessary to intervene.

Socialism is not constructed by apparatuses and lies, it is constructed with truth, with a Party which is alive and intelligent. And this is an intelligent Party because it thinks and reasons on the basis of experience and method. It cannot reason without method. Method is Marxism. The people who interpret by means of empiricism are inevitably led by empiricism, to be dominated by empiricism. Hence, the method of Marxism is irreplaceable, and Marxism is based on the experience that history is the class struggle. Outside the class struggle there is caprice, pre-occupation, interest, the will of caste, camarilla and bureaucracy, which can last for a period - Stalin lasted thirty years - but they have no historic reason and they perish. But this is not their stage. There is no reason, nor means, nor historic conditions for a stage of Stalin.

History has been structured for a whole period in this way, with the apparatus of the Communist parties. Before it was Stalin; now it is the apparatuses of the Communist Party. Stalin could maintain himself for thirty years, but history developed in spite of Stalin, in spite of the Soviet bureaucracy, in spite of the Communist parties who had the same penetrative position as they have today. They did not have the levels of today, because today they have anti-capitalist objectives whereas, in the earlier stage, they were penetrative within the system. Today they are penetrative, tending to replace the capitalist system. But all this develops as a function of objective fact. There are no ideas and no life. The Communist parties do not have perspective. They do not develop a line, they do not develop an analysis, because they do not have a Marxist method and they do not defend the interests of history. They are obliged to advance because, between them and the masses who compose the Communist parties, it is the masses which oblige the Communist parties to advance. Moreover, outside France and Italy and Europe, the Communist parties are stunted. Then it is not the problem of the Communist parties but of the Socialist parties and independent movements, which are not structured.

The crisis of capitalism is immense, it is total. Capitalism does not sustain itself because it has strength and capacity to do this. It is totally false, this. It is absurd to suppose that it is the atomic weapons which maintain capitalist power. Capitalist power is maintained because the Workers States, the Socialist and Communist parties do not overthrow them. This is the situation. Then, it is true atomic arms weigh because, with these arms, capitalism defends itself. But, in not having a historic justification, we reiterate this dialectical, historic appreciation. The lack of historic justification means that the economy now cannot advance in the capitalist structure. Nor in a combined way - capitalist and Socialist. It cannot advance. Science has acquired such a level, such a generalisation, that it requires the direct leadership and planning of the working class. It is neither capitalism nor self-management, nor the teams of administrators and planners who can direct the economy. Today, there are all the historic conditions so that, through the means of IBM, it is possible to find the substitute for a 100,000 workers. The concrete conditions exist throughout the world to achieve this.

But capitalism is impotent to do this. As the proletariat does not

express itself directly for the struggle for power, because it does not have a leadership, it is expressed for example in Dahomey. If capitalism had strength, historic justification, it would have the material and military conditions to obstruct Dahomey. When it cannot prevent changes there, it is because it does not have the historic conditions to survive. When a country like Portugal comes out of the obscure void of history and is filled with the clarity of Socialism, when it passes from one plane to another plane, which is opposed and antagonistic to capitalism which cannot prevent it, these are not the consequences of the forces of Portugal, the decision of the Soviets, or the decisions of the soldiers. They are the structured relations of history which prevent the intervention of capitalism. When there is an intervention, it is the whole structure which is mobilised, confronts capitalism, which has to finish the war. And capitalism is afraid. In itself its structure is solid; but it is not united. There is hardly any agreement between any of them, and the system disintegrates constantly in all countries. It is necessary to discuss this, to draw conclusions, examine experiences, slogans, to push forward these discussions in the Communist movement, in the workers movement, in the Socialist Party, in the nationalist and military movements.

The world structure determines the national course of every country. But, in its turn, in accordance with the importance, the structure, the national process of the country, every country contributes to the world process and, at times, determines its course for a period. Portugal has done this for a period, particularly in Europe. It is a small country with soldiers who cannot march because they do not have enough boots, so they have to borrow them. But they have a resolution which enables them to express in the world the Socialist will for progress. Imperialism clashes with this; not with the lack of shoes and lack of arms, but the will which succeeds in finding arms. The Communist movement does not discuss in this way, but it is necessary to be armed with these considerations to discuss, and to discuss and deepen the knowledge, the will, the cultural preparation of the class analysis. The Communists have abandoned class analysis. They have not thrown it out of the window, but they have their own base which constantly resorts to a class analysis. Temporarily, they are obliged to resort to a class analysis, but it is necessary to return to a harmonious and consistent class analysis - harmonious meaning there are no antagonisms or contradiction, but continuity. Continuity and consistency are necessary because they have an immediate effect on the whole of the class struggle, and the Communists do not use this struggle but let it go on by itself. For example, the crisis of capitalism in France and in Italy.

## THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY LEADERSHIP IS AFRAID

The Communists let the crisis exhaust itself. If there was a correct policy, we would support it. But it is not correct. The crisis of the Christian Democracy in Italy is the consequence of the will of the masses to overthrow capitalism; and, in its turn, at the same time it is the consequence of the total crisis of the Italian and world capitalist system. In Italy, France and Britain, capitalism cannot resort to fascism to sustain itself. It wants to do this; it has material means, money and arms; but it does not have the capacity, the strength and the historic conditions. It has whole groups of people, thousands, who can throw bombs, kill and assassinate. But fascism is not this. Fascism is a structure of the dominion of society. Bombs do not dominate society. What does dominate is the will of the masses to develop the economy.

It is necessary that the Communist parties return to the class analysis, the class experience, the generalisation of the class experiences, which cannot be exhausted, nor substituted for. All the agreements of the Communists trying not to make a great deal of noise in Italy, so that the crisis of the Christian Democracy simply develops, are erroneous. This crisis of the Christian Democracy

does not exist because the Communists remain quiet and do not make a noise. It does not originate from this, it comes from the crisis of capitalism, and part of the crisis of capitalism is the will of the masses to overthrow it. An essential basis of the Christian Democratic masses has already been won. In the trade union struggles, 40% to 60% of the Christian Democratic base is at the side of the Communist and Socialist proletariats. Electorally, no. There the proportion is less. But of the two, which one decides? Trade unions or electoral action? Electoral action is not political, it is electoral. The Christian Democratic masses unite themselves and centralise themselves with the rest of the proletariat and accept the Communist and Socialist leadership, the Communist and Socialist class resolution, but do not do it fully in the same proportions electorally. In the trade union struggles they see that they can decide, that their problems can be resolved, and that their participation can help to resolve. It sees that the Communist and Socialist leaderships are resolved - at least in a limited way - in a trade union way, even if not politically. They do not see the Socialists and Communists proposing a programme opposed to the capitalist system, not only to Christian Democracy but the capitalist system. They do not see the Communists making an analysis showing that the capitalist system is responsible for all these conclusions, and that the solution is the opposite: the planning of production. They see that the Communists have a whole programme which tends to modify and correct capitalism. How are the Christian Democratic masses going to be won within the capitalist framework? The Christian Democratic masses elevate their consciousness, thanks to what happens in the world, and advance in accordance with what they learn. But the Socialists and Communists believe that the Christian Democratic masses still do not think. They still think that they have God behind them. And they do not see that they are now in front of God. And he turns round and says to the Christian Democratic left: 'Where am I going?' It is no longer God who leads, but God who follows.

They do not analyse in this way and they take as a success for the Communist and Socialist policy the increase in their votes. No, comrades, it is not like this. The Communists should have increased as a minimum their vote by 3%. And now, if there are elections and there was a united front of the CGIL/CSIL/UIIL - even if the Storties and the Sartories (name of some right wing trade union leaders) and all the others split - if they made the United Front with a programme of nationalisations, planning, workers councils - in six months they would be in power! And the Yanks would bring down their marines, running hard; and half the Yanks would say, 'Where are the factory councils?', and they would join them.

It is not the backwardness of the Christian Democratic base, it is the fear of the Communists. And why do they fear? Communists and Socialists have a conception of class conciliation. They do not have confidence in the programme. They have experiences of the USSR, of the Workers States, on which they base themselves and develop the fear of Stalinism, of being submitted to Stalinism. Well, we understand that this fear can exist. But with their fear of being submitted to Stalinism, to defend themselves from it, they submit to Italian capitalism. They avoid Stalin and the USSR, and fall into the arms of Italian capitalism.

Do not believe that, because the leadership of the Communist Party contains the function of the Party, the development of the Party, the tactic, the policy of the Party in the margins of conciliation, this is going to determine. They have to analyse two things which we have reiterated in two articles: the disproportion, the contradiction between the trade union base, the trade union struggle, the profundity of the trade unions struggles, the objective trade union unity, and leaderships which do not see and do not support themselves on this. It is necessary to consider that the process of the class struggle is not immobile, there is constantly a pro-

cess of changes and transformations. The basis of these changes and transformation is that the base stimulates them. If the Party were led intelligently with a revolutionary policy, with revolutionary objectives, capitalism would have ceased to exist 15 or 20 years ago throughout the world. As capitalism could survive, it prepares the next war, makes the massacres in Indo-China of millions, and in the Middle East also; it caused the droughts, floodings, epidemics and pollution. How can they say that they made concessions but they have impeded the war? All these consequences which are millions and millions of murdered people, the bureaucrats and the leaders do not take into account. They say, 'We have impeded the war'; and continue, 'They have not liquidated us'. But millions and millions have been killed and imperialism is preparing with atomic weapons, with pocket size atomic weapons. They are very small devices which they can throw and destroy the oxygen within a whole area.

## THE PROGRESS IN HUMAN RELATIONS IS FUNDAMENTAL

There is a state of social relations, of world human fraternity. It can circulate with such rapidity, with dynamism, that there is no IBM that can equal it, nor the laser beams nor the sun. The process in the most backward countries communicates rapidly with the most advanced, and the social progress of the revolution is quickly communicated. The most backward country of the world, Ethiopia, in which the land was all divided up, resolves to collectivise the land, nationalise, plan, make workers councils. Ethiopia places itself in the centre of the world; this is progress! How is it possible not to feel that this is the level of human relations? They take into account the relation with the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie, the individual characteristics, or the characteristics of the camarillas which they understand through human relations; but no, it is a question of historic, class relations, and they are transmitted and circulated, they develop the influence of the progress of humanity. There is an evident progress, from every point of view - from the way of dressing, of wearing shoes, of greeting people. Throughout humanity there is a progress, but the greatest one which human intelligence achieves is that the very backward people who do not have any idea of how to progress in the economy, accept the most advanced principles of the economy and pass through and leap over (with the permanent revolution), private property, and go directly to Socialist property. How not to feel then, an immense joy? That is to say, to live with joy, to develop joy in front of such a process. This must be a determining basis for the interpretation of the state of the world.

The state of the world; how do they look at it? 'There is the capitalist economy. It is still powerful. Look at the US, Britain and Germany!' They look at it as very powerful. Certainly it is powerful, they have dollars and a great quantity of machinery; but there is a more important process than the weight of dollars and machinery, and they cannot control the process any more. The world crisis of the capitalist system originates essentially, not exclusively, but yes, essentially, through the world process of the revolution which impedes stability and capitalist equilibrium. This has been in retreat for years, retreating, falling back, concentrating the effects of the crisis in the effort to contain it. All the monetary changes, the monetary reforms, monetary agreements, the European Common Market, were, are, and will be, all measures to try to hold back and control the effects of the crisis in the most concentrated way. But they do not negate it, they retreat and contain it, but the crisis accumulates. Now it has broken out, and not completely. They can still find intermediate solutions, through means of the state apparatus which, without nationalisations, they can use to intervene for planning, giving loans and subsidies as they are now doing in great quantity, to contain the crisis. But this is simply accumulating it at a higher level. They

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# THE TENTH WORLD CONGRESS OF THE TROTSKYIST-POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL

themselves say it. We posed this two years ago. Now they themselves say it. The Germans say, 'This is possible, but afterwards it will be worse than now'. And the German bourgeoisie, which sees that it is getting richer and fatter and sees that all the others are weak - because they have to carry the same burden, otherwise they would collapse - sees that the rest of capitalism does not accompany it and resolves, as a class, to help the world capitalist system to survive, to defend itself from the revolution; but, at the same time, it has to defend itself from the competition of the world capitalist system. There lies the tragedy of Schmidt and Brandt. This is their tragedy.

They realise that the capitalist world is collapsing and they have to try to sustain it; but to sustain it goes against their necessity of development and the proletariat exerts much pressure on them. Now the fissures appear. And this is going to be expressed in the Communist parties and the Socialist parties. They do not discuss in this way, but we, yes.

The Communist cadres who, in the trade union field maintain such a combative class passion, how to believe that this is a particular quality of one layer of the Italian proletariat? It is absurd. This is a social ambience in which the decision of the Italian, French, British, German proletariats develop. This is the level of their actions, the level of sensibility, of social relations, of elevation of revolutionary decision. This has to be expressed in the Communist and Socialist parties.

We must consider that this is the process of development. This is not a rigid process, determined by stages. They deliver blows, they are a leadership and they determine that there is no discussion and that it is necessary to retreat. This is absurd. In spite of the conciliatory policy of the Communist Party, the masses and the trade union sectors develop to impel the Communist Party, and to impel the Communist and Socialist parties. In the rest of Europe, where there is no important Communist Party, although some have some significance as in Sweden and in Norway, which are nevertheless quite small, these Communist parties are generating left wings which discuss the policy, to replace capitalism. At the same time, Czechoslovak tendencies - of adaptation to the capitalist system, of opposing the Workers States - have appeared

They seek conciliation, negating the class struggle, to try to utilise the world situation, of the immense weakness of the capitalist system, of the disintegration of the capitalist system, to advance without the need for revolutionary struggle, without great mobilisations, without big strikes, without a major anti-capitalist activity. It is a conception which arose and developed in the world Communist movement, which does not come from now but comes from the epoch of Stalin. Now it is being re-taken, but at the same time, what are the historic circumstances in which this conception finds support? It is in the most acute class struggle, more virulent than ever before, which clashes with the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet bureaucracy does not want the class war, nor the civil war, but feels that imperialism is preparing war and, in defence of its bureaucratic interests, needs the Communist parties to progress and eliminate capitalism, which is to eliminate the war. If the Soviet bureaucracy and the Communist parties were able to eliminate war, they would do it. And they are ready to change at any moment; the bureaucracy itself is ready to change to conciliate.

The embrace in space of the two astronauts, is the representation of the Soviet bureaucracy. But at the same time, there is the support for the revolutionary movements, even partially. The French Communist Party also is in polemic with the USSR, showing now that they cannot have a rigid line as Stalin had. It is a line constantly oscillating, which shows the stage of history we are in. In this oscillating process, the force which is going to triumph is neither the Czechoslovak nor the right wing, because they do not have the historical conditions to prevail, because they cannot advance the economy without nationalised property, without planning, and without workers control and workers councils. These cannot function, the economy cannot find the nutrition of thought and analysis without Soviet democracy.

## PERSUASION AND REASON ARE OUR INSTRUMENTS

The military apparatus is powerful, but it is not omnipotent in front of the process of history. We have to consider that all this is going to be discussed in the Communist parties: the forms, the levels, the limits, the stages, are determined by the class struggle. It is necessary to be pre-

pared for a superior Marxist level to give analysis, analysis, analysis. We do not substitute this for criticism of the crisis, of the process of Partial Regeneration; Our criticisms of the Communist parties are developed in the form of persuasion. This does not lose either respect or strength, or historical level for ourselves. These are the instruments of history, there are no others. Although there are only two Communist parties in Europe which have importance - Italy and France - there are 14 Workers States which have already the experience, the acquisition of history, which show that in order to progress it is necessary to do this. As a consequence of the process of history, bureaucratic camarillas were formed in the USSR. The conditions of the revolution, in the backwardness, the weakness, the lack of means, allows the growth and the development of the bureaucracy. This generated throughout the world the same effect, and created, developed throughout the world the bureaucratic layers which substituted their own interest for reasoning, analysis, programme. They developed throughout all the Workers States and, as a consequence of this, in the Communist parties; They think, reason and reflect in accordance with the interests of groups, sectors and camarillas. The bureaucracy does not correspond to a caste. Trotsky himself said this; but caste gives a more approximate idea. As this is no longer the epoch of Trotsky there have been important changes in the bureaucracy, and there are sectors which have a conception of private property. They do not have the conceptions which Communism originates, fraternity, the sentiment of equality, of justice and reasoning, to reason and reason.

Lenin is reasoning. All of Lenin is reasoning and reasoning. Hence, when Lenin was partially mistaken in 1905, he said: 'We made a mistake, and we are going to do better next time'. He did not say, 'I made a mistake, what a barbarity', but 'We made a mistake, next time we will do better; we have learnt from history'. He felt that he was a constructor of history.

This Congress teaches. It is on the most elevated plane of history. Hence I spoke of the academy of the Greek philosophers, and it is not by chance. We are not the philosophers of Greece, but not because we do not feel that we are not by their side. They exercised an important function in history which Marx continued, and we ourselves, also. But this function which we have is preparing, develo-

ping and applying, not preparing and developing and waiting for the effects, but applying. What is the effect, the necessary process of the class struggle? The Communists put the class struggle into their pockets, they do not throw it out, but they put it in their pockets. They continue speaking and suddenly the pocket grows. And it is going to burst out, because it is the class struggle which decides the process of history. It is the class experience, the class necessity, which determines the course of history. And the proletariat which has been taken simply as a point of support, as a horse to advance history, shows that it is not a horse and that history does not advance on a horse. History advances through the historic experiences of humanity. Then the point of support which they seek in the proletariat as a base, strength and bulwark of history is already slipping away from them. Hence the crisis in the world Communist movement is expressed in the Carillo/Marchais disagreement. But, in their turn, between Carillo, Marchais and Moscow there isn't such a difference as there appears to be; and between Marchais and Moscow there is not such an identity. They are all shaken up because they have to interpret history, which is not made on the basis of apparatuses nor the predictions nor the proposals which they made - of detente, of agreements, of progressive advance. All this is by-passed by the class struggle.

When Indira Gandhi has to introduce a law which sends democracy to hell, which is the bourgeois democracy, when she has to break the inter-bourgeois state of relations and show 'All these are counter-revolutionaries, they are preparing the counter-revolution', and applies the democratic rights to eliminate the people who are going to attack democracy, this gives an example quite opposed to what the Italian and Spanish Communists are asking for, and this comes from the bourgeois camp! Hence, the Italians and Carrillo do not speak of Indira Gandhi and they look at what is happening in Portugal. Neither does Cunhal base himself on India. How not support oneself on India? They are measures in the camp of the bourgeoisie, but to defend nationalisations and agreements with the USSR. They are not measures to affirm the structure of the capitalist system; they are measures to affirm a capitalist government which weakens the structure of the capitalist system.

They do not discuss this, but we do, and we base and support our-

selves on this. The left groups in India also support the democratic rights of reaction: to overthrow Indira Gandhi, which is to overthrow the measures of nationalisations. So much for the result of this 'leftism'.

The experiences of the masses who are organised in the trade unions, seeking to exert a pressure there on the Party, are among the most important events in the whole history of the class struggle, of the masses of Italy, of France also, but particularly of Italy in this stage. They are centralised in the trade unions in a daily form, to impel the creation of organs of dual power, of the leadership of society, to generalise and develop the common experience of the class to lead society. They are advancing as leaders of society. The workers councils of Italy are true organs of the leadership of society. They have been posed against the leadership of the Italian Communist Party, whose opinion was against and yet they were imposed. This indicates that the class does not accept passively or submissively, or in any other way the leadership of the Party, which wants to arrange the alliance with the Christian Democracy or wants to extend or prolong the agony of capitalism. It is not a conflict which means a break, it is an elevated maturity of the class organised in the trade unions, creating organs of dual power, creating a pressure on their Party, and they do not enter in conflict with their Party in order not to benefit the class enemy. This is an attitude of maturity of the working class.

In Argentina, there is the same process in the first rungs of the very elevated bridge which the masses are making in Italy. It is not only a question of Argentina or of Italy, but throughout the world. And, in Spain, the recent elections of the delegates of the factories, of the workers commissions, has the same sense. The class seeks to centralise itself in organs which allow it to show its power and extend it, and to develop its authority. Pay attention to this process comrades! Live it! It is one of the most beautiful events from Marx until now in all the history of the class struggle. It shows the maturity of the class to try to resolve the problems of society. In these conditions the Communist Party responds with a policy of the right. For a time, this can last. But, when the proletariat arrives at a decision, it has 14 Workers States, 18 Revolutionary States, and such Communist parties. How believe that the right is going to sustain itself? The process is going to teach that the road for Czechoslovakia is neither the road of Dubcek or of Ota Sik. The road for Czechoslovakia is the one of Lenin. This is the road, and thus it is necessary to study this process.

## THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT IS TO BE LEADER OF SOCIETY

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then, at the edge of a phenomenal expansion, its courage, its resolution to fight to the finish, Marx could see that capitalism was industriously and blindly - consumed as it is by greed for more and more capital - developing and maturing all the gigantic forces that would bury it forever.

All the experience of today confirms the fundamental role of the proletariat. World conditions show its maturity for the reconstruction of society. Its leaderships are another matter, but everywhere the proletariat shows its maturity to reorganise society. The interventions of the Argentinian proletariat, with massive strikes and occupations extended over a whole period since the second world war, the independent interventions of the Japanese proletariat, the recent eruptions of the Portuguese workers to break up the attempts to stop the revolution, the smashing of the Tory government by the struggles of the British proletariat, the massive concentrations around the Communist and Socialist parties in Italy and France, the force of the proletariat even in countries such as Egypt, where it has lesser weight, and Greece, is outstanding. All this is

concentrated and encouraged by the advance and decision of the Workers States which, even with the weight of the bureaucracy, constantly progresses and acts as a means of uniting all the oppressed forces of the world: the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie: against what remains of world capitalism. This is the historic achievement of the proletariat combined with the Marxist intelligence of the Party, the expression of the interests of the proletariat.

In Britain, the proletariat is preparing for new steps. Decisively it demands nationalisation of Chrysler's, in the same way as it demands nationalisation of Leylands. This is the path. The progress of society does not relate to the organs of the bourgeoisie; parliament, monarchy, civil service; but to the independent organs of the proletariat always thrown up in the course of the revolutionary process, i.e. factory councils (as now in Italy) and committees in the workers areas (as in Portugal), which tend to supplant all the old bourgeois organs of local government and to begin to discuss all the problems of society. This

has always been the will of the class when history has provided the opportunities.

This historical nature and capacity of the proletariat has to be assimilated by the cadres in the unions, the Labour Party and the committees which appear in factory occupations, the shop stewards committees etc. The proletariat is not a class which depends on paternalism. It has its own will and decision. The left in the Labour Party and the trade unions, and in the Communist Party, have to comprehend this basic Marxist conception. It is the proletariat which decides. It is imposing changes in the Workers States and through the Workers States, in the process analysed by Cde Posadas as Partial Regeneration, and it is imposing changes in the Communist and Socialist parties. To understand the function of the proletariat is a fundamental quality of Marxism. This is required in the Labour Party. The activity of the Workers States, the intervention of the British proletariat and the Posadist IV International is going to lead to the discussion of this conception and the programme and the policy to accompany it.

## FRAGMENTS OF A LETTER OF COMRADE POSADAS ON LOVE AND SOCIALISM. 12 January 1975

There are melancholic songs which correspond to a stage of humanity in history. They were a creation of humanity to be able to communicate the sentiments which that stage of history created.

In Socialism, there will not be anything of this. Anguish, frustration and sadness are going to disappear. Crying is going to disappear. But the smile is going to increase and develop in many ways, including the form of laughter. The smile is an essential part of human communication. The reaction of the guffaw is of less importance. The guffaw is a type of explosion which is logical in this stage of history, because it gives a sensation of liberation. The guffaw is a type of liberation. In Socialism there will no longer be any need for this. There will be a constant, harmonious functioning. The guffaw is not going to influence; but the smile, yes; the constant smile, the constant joy. The children will be formed with a smile. They are going to receive in every way with the form including the embryonic, the security of humanity which communicates a socially superior functioning.

Everything which exists is the result of human relations determined by the economy and by submission to nature, a dispute with nature which is a violent behaviour with nature. When all this is eliminated, the cordial and fraternal attitude with nature is going to create and develop and identify with it.

All the human reactions are determined in principle by economic relations; afterwards, through social relations which, at times, surpass economic relations. Still submission to nature is expressed in the form of class society. When this is eliminated and humanity thinks in a unified way, in a unified form, how to be human, all these pre-occupations will disappear and the homogeneous thought will be unified in love. Human love will be the constant and permanent form of human communication. Theory will be the most elevated form of love, because it is the love of progress.

## MAJOR TEXTS OF CDE POSADAS ON THE ROLE OF THE PROLETARIAT AND THE TRADE UNIONS!

'TRADE UNION/ARMY ALLIANCE IN ARGENTINA', POSADAS, 14th AUGUST, 1975  
'THE FUNCTION OF THE WORKING CLASS, MARXISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATES', FROM THE 5th WORLD CADRES SCHOOL SOON TO BE TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH.

Available from the Party's address: 6 pages, 5p (excluding postage). Bulletin by the British Section of the IV International 'For the organisation of the left as a tendency in the Labour Party, on the basis of the mass mobilisation of the proletariat and Marxism!'

- For the Government of the Left!
- For a Socialist Republic!

# Editorial

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kers State led by the Soviets. The immediate and absolute refusal of the Soviets to discuss the Middle East with Yankee imperialism unless the Palestinians are represented, also has the effect of a slap in the face for Yankee imperialism and is a long way from 'detente'.

When Wright or Murray — or the Soviet leadership for that matter — have to speak in one form or another in a way which tends towards confronting capitalism, this is not determined by their own desires or consciousness but by the nature and consciousness of the proletariat and the masses which the proletariat attracts. Nowhere is this more obvious than in Portugal where the proletariat and the soldiers have, through mobilisations and the construction of Soviets, transcended the limitations, timidity and lack of confidence of the leadership of the workers movement. Even when — precisely because of the lack of understanding of the leadership of the workers movement — the government of Azevedo is able to make attacks on the workers and the soldiers organisations, it is forced to continue a policy which is anti-capitalist. In order to try to contain the advance towards the complete elimination of capitalism in Portugal, to limit the control imposed by the Workers and Soldiers Committees — the Soviets — they nationalise the newspapers and radio stations. And nationalisation is not a method to contain or eliminate workers control. As Comrade Posadas analyses, to retreat on the gains already made by the Portuguese masses, it would be necessary to use armed force and the army is already won, in great part to the revolution, and the soldiers play a role of leadership. The SUV (Soldiers United Will Win), has a Soviet functioning and transcends the limitations of the existing leaderships. In the absence of a sufficiently conscious and confident leadership in the workers movement, these organisms of the class take on this function also. Thus, the SUV not only intervenes inside Portugal, linking with the masses to pose a programme for the advance of the revolution, but they intervene outside the country also. It is the SUV which has weighed directly in the crisis of the French army, in the process of the construction of committees of soldiers, in the development towards a trade union in the army. This should be the function of the political parties of the working class — the Portuguese Communist Party in particular — but the soldiers who rest on and are stimulated by the consciousness of the Portuguese proletariat fulfil this function.

## IT IS THE PROLETARIAT WHICH DETERMINES.

The crisis in the French army is a product of the disintegration of world capitalism, of all its organisms. The Portuguese revolution stimulates it directly, organically, but the world process determines it. Now the leadership of the workers movement in France intervene to base themselves directly on this process. In the last days militants of the Socialist Party and the CFDT (the Socialist Trade Union Centre) have been arrested for political activity towards the soldiers, and the Popular Union — the united front of the Communist and Socialist parties and the left radicals — has organised a demonstration in support of the political and trade union rights of the soldiers and against the repression of French imperialism. Thus in a very concrete form, the Popular Union has gone beyond an electoral alliance — on a programme of nationalisations — to act as a workers centre to confront capitalism directly. To impose trade union and political rights in an imperialist army means to disintegrate it and to advance towards the overthrow of the system altogether.

The Labour and trade union left has to take notice of what is happening in the French Socialist Party. It has to recognise that there can be no advance to Socialism, to the expropriation of capitalism without the civil war. The working class is prepared for this, and it is this preparation which gives the confidence for 6,000 workers to face the assassination and terrorism directed against them by British imperialism, to strike and demonstrate against these actions. When the workers of Chrysler propose the nationalisation of the enterprise, they are conscious that this goes towards a confrontation with the bourgeoisie, with the forces of the bourgeois state; but they have been well fore-warned by Ireland and have the confidence of the world balance of forces.

The collapse of the car industry — including Chrysler — demands a programme of nationalisation, but it also poses the necessity to plan the economy, since nationalisation in itself does not solve the problem of an industry which is producing a commodity which is socially unnecessary. The partial nationalisation of British Leyland solves no problems whatsoever, and the nationalisation of aircraft and shipbuilding, whilst not being in the interests of capitalism, does not solve the problem of developing the economy in the interests of the population either. Equally, the proposals which are being made by the government itself for cuts in arms expenditure are damaging to the interests of British imperialism, but they are also an attempt to solve the problems of the total crisis of capitalism by taking finance from one sector in order to prop up another. Since the aircraft industry which is to be nationalised, is very much supported by arms production, a cut in arms expenditure raises the question of how the industry is to be developed. Also the demands being made by some trade union leaderships — the T&GWU and the AUEW in particular — for 'selective import control' and the measures by the government in this direction, can only protect some sectors of capitalism against the vicious level of inter-capitalist competition. What needs to be proposed is the state monopoly of foreign trade as part of the overall planning of the economy. At the same time, if the finance centres remain in the hands of the bourgeoisie, no kind of planning is possible and the nationalisation of the banks and insurance companies is a necessity. Nevertheless every measure of nationalisation — however limited — does pose the question of who runs these enterprises and for whose interest. To plan the economy in this way means workers control and the intervention of the population.

## LOCAL CONFERENCES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

It is clear that the Chrysler workers are prepared to occupy the factories in order to impose workers control; this was being

## Devolution is of no interest to the proletariat whose struggle transcends national interests and boundaries

After a deal of procrastination, the Labour Government has finally produced some concrete proposals for the organisation of local 'assemblies' in Scotland and Wales, for so-called devolution. These proposals are very typical of the sectors of the Labour leadership which lack a Socialist perspective and can only manoeuvre for some little electoral advantage in the context of the inter-bourgeois disputes which are the product of the disintegration of capitalism. It is a measure which has no perspective but to give Wilson and his team a little more time. The pressure for 'devolution' comes from local bourgeois sectors which, at this stage of the disintegration of capitalism, seek to look after themselves and to hell with the centralisation of the bourgeois state, of the capitalist system. It is no accident that the greatest pressure comes from the Scottish Nationalist Party (SNP) which represents the local interests of the Scottish bourgeoisie. They have a perspective of profit from North Sea oil and see a Scottish Assembly as a step towards complete separation and a chance to exploit North Sea oil. It is a false perspective and this is shown by the fact that, whilst the Labour Government talks about 'devolution', it proposes at the same time measures of nationalisation for North Sea oil and for the Shipbuilding and Aircraft industry.

In other words, it has to react to the pressure of the working class and the necessity of the development of the economy by taking measures which go in the direction of the nationalisation and planning of the whole economy.

We shed no tears over the disintegration of the capitalist system, of all its organisms — the police, army, the Church etc. — which is apparent on a world scale, but 'independence' in abstract gives no perspective for either the working class nor society. 'Devolution' is put forward as being an advance in democracy, as giving the masses greater power and this illusion receives the support of some sectors of the left, in particular the Communist Party leadership. This is nonsense. The basis of power is the ownership of the means of production and these local assemblies do nothing in this direction; they are nothing but a decentralisation of the bourgeois state. Those who want more power in the hands of the working masses have to propose nationalisation under workers control. The disgusted reaction of the SNP to the 'devolution' proposals is that, from their point of view, the 'Scottish Assembly' would have no power over the economy. The Tories react against these measures because they represent the centres of big capital and the interests of British imperialism which are against these measures precisely because they do represent the disintegration and the decentralisation of British imperialism. The Scottish bourgeoisie accepted union with British imperialism in the early nineteenth Century because they wanted a share of the plunder of the empire. Now this has disappeared and, with it, any advantage for these local bourgeois sectors.

The fact that 'devolution' or independence does not serve the interests of the working class and

the mass of the population is amply demonstrated by Ulster — the six counties of Northern Ireland. This province had almost complete independence in the first fifty years of its existence, and what it meant was the oppression and repression of the working class and the masses by the local bourgeoisie and big landowners. Yes, the six counties of Northern Ireland had a 'devolved' government, a local Assembly — Stormont — and a certain local control which was more elevated than is being proposed for the Scottish and Welsh Assemblies, but the Unionists were completely integrated with British imperialism and with the Tory Party. It was an arrangement between bourgeois sectors which allowed British imperialism to give an impression of 'democracy' in Britain whilst maintaining a repressive, fascist policy in Ireland. It is another aspect of the disintegration of the capitalist system, of course, that this can only be maintained now by the army of British imperialism. In itself Ireland demonstrates how much the class struggle, the struggle of the masses, impels this process of disintegration. It would do well for those in the Labour Party and Government who support 'devolution' to consider why, then, they support or do not oppose the use of the British army in Ireland, the continuation by the Labour Government of the repressive policies of British imperialism. In regard to Ireland, it is clear that we do not oppose the right of the Irish masses for self-determination. It is a struggle which has existed for a long time. However, there is no 'self-determination' without the control of the means of production, of the land, industry, the banks, etc. being nationalised. This being so, there is no solution for the problems of the Irish masses in Ireland. The solution lies in the unified struggle with the rest of the working class in the whole of Britain for a Socialist Britain. The Socialist British Isles in which, if they wanted it, the Irish masses could have independence within a Socialist Federation. It is the same programme as the Posadist IV International puts forward for the Israeli masses in the Middle East. There is some basis for the struggle for self-determination in Ireland, but there is none in either Wales or Scotland. An 'opinion poll' taken in Wales recently showed that a majority of the population was against 'devolution' and, if the SNP gains votes in elections in Scotland, it is from bourgeois sectors and some petit bourgeois sectors, which only see the proletariat through the Labour leadership and, therefore, see no real policy or programme for the solution of the problems created by the total world crisis of capitalism which they face. In a previous period of history the perspective for the struggle against the domination of imperialism was less clear. Now humanity has before it the experience of the Workers States. The Soviet Union and China, for example, on the basis of nationalisations, of the destruction of private property, have unified within the boundaries of the Workers States a multitude of different races with vastly different languages and cultures. It is an experience and a consciousness already acquired by humanity.

As with the Workers States, so

with the proletariat, since one is the expression — raised to the level of a state — of the collective Communist nature of the other. In this country, the actions of the working class, the strikes and factory occupations, are not launched on a 'Welsh' or 'Scottish' basis, but are national. UCS was a centre of struggle for the whole proletariat, the miners strike was national, the struggles in the steel industry, are examples. More than this, the consciousness and struggle of the working class transcends national boundaries, and this can be seen in the miners strike, the dockers — who received world support — in the Dunlop/Perelli strike, in the Shop Stewards Committee organised with workers in this country, France and Italy; in the organisation which exists between the Ford workers in Belgium, Germany and Britain, in the developments towards the unification — impelled by the Soviet Union — of the two world trade union centres.

## THE KEY IS WORKERS CONTROL IN A CENTRALISED AND PLANNED ECONOMY.

The wave of demonstrations against the assassination of the Basque revolutionaries in the whole of

Europe, in the support given to the Vietnamese masses, to the Chilean masses, we can see the fact demonstrated that the struggle of the proletariat, the class struggle transcends national boundaries. The European bourgeoisie, forced by weakness to huddle together in the EEC, can agree on nothing, make no common decisions with British imperialism trying to impose its own interests regarding oil prices against the interests of the rest. The masses, on the other hand, live a world experience, centralise themselves in the advance of the world revolution and the Workers States.

If decentralisation is to be discussed, it has to be on the basis of a programme of nationalisations under workers control and the planning of the economy on this basis. The key to decentralisation is workers control in the discussion, formulation and application of the centralised planning of the economy, in the factory, in the workers areas. This is what it is necessary to discuss. It has to be seen that it is the mobilisations, the independent actions of the working class that are going to impose nationalisations. The miners strike produced a new form of organism, 'the flying picket', which represented the role and aspiration of the proletariat to act as a leadership of society and to create organisms of control. It was a development which went towards the creation of a Soviet form of functioning and it is going to appear again, particularly with the stimulation of the experience in the last months of Portugal. 'Devolution' serves nothing for the progress of humanity, for the advance of the struggle for workers power, the overthrow of capitalism, and the construction of Socialism. What is necessary to the creation of the organisms of power of the working class, the factory committees, the workers area committees, and the committees which link the two. This is what has to be discussed in the workers movement, in the Labour Party, trade unions and Shop Stewards

proposed in the factory before the 'lay-off' at the beginning of the month. What is necessary now is discussions in the factories and workers areas on the imposition of a programme of nationalisations, workers control and the planning of the economy in the interest of the population. The action of the three rail unions in organising a demonstration, a mass meeting in London, and making appeals to the population which uses public transport, is a step in the right direction. It has to be taken further now with local conferences of the Labour movement at which all tendencies of the workers movement can intervene. Conferences which have the perspective of the creation of organisms of dual power, of the factory and workers area committees, and committees which link both. A perspective for the creation of the means by which the working class mobilises to impel the advance from the Labour Government to the Government of the Left, for the extension of the programme of nationalisations, and to impose its control over the economy. 8th December, 1975.

© 'The crisis of Portugal is the absence of the revolutionary leadership: for a Government of the Left, with an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme', J. Posadas, 13.11.75

TO BE PUBLISHED IN RED FLAG 256

## ERRATUM

In Red Flag No. 254, the article on Australia, 4th para, where it says: "...that so they see the correct tactic 'to construct capitalism', should say clearly: 'to construct Communism'.

REGISTERED WITH  
THE POST OFFICE  
AS A NEWSPAPER

Printed by The Russell Press Ltd.,

Nottingham (TU)

## THERE IS ONLY ONE SOLUTION!

### THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS OF ALL KEY INDUSTRIES AND BANKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The split between Labour Party and Labour government which has still not found its complete programmatic expression, and where the party is still not based on superior relations with the masses in the form of mass mobilisations and discussions, coincides with the immense scope of discussion in the world Communist movement. This is dominated by the polemic over the electoral road to power. The move by Marchais of the French CP to abandon the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat is going to stimulate an immense discussion and resistance in the Communist vanguard and will oblige the Soviet Union to persist in its line of posing the problem of taking power in Western Europe and not waiting on purely electoral gains.

On the one hand Wilson says that bank nationalisations is not the policy of the Labour Party, while the NEC brings out a text proposing bank nationalisation as a conference decision of the Labour Party and, at the same time, a text presented to the NEC giving support to the line of Healey is ignored. The leadership of the Unions have connived at the reduction in the standard of living of the masses, but what they have not been able to do and cannot do in the present situation is contain the masses and guarantee a recovery for capitalism. Under an enormous pressure they are obliged to propose a policy alternative to the government, but this is totally superficial and merely draws attention to the fact that the leadership is incapable, and what is required is a complete anti-capitalist programmatic alternative to the policy of the government.

The complete ineffectiveness of the traditional leaderships in the Unions, the Labour Party and the shop stewards movement is a sign of a wholly new process in this country. Reformist leaderships can only determine a process when capitalism can make concessions, but when all they offer are a series of defeats and abject failures, it means that their authority as a leadership is going. The refusal to link struggles effectively in the car industry against the policy of redundancies, the prevarications in the steel industry — in face of a management which has shown itself to be weak — the refusal to discuss solutions directly with the workers clears the way for new leaders, new discussions where revolutionary ideas count and not the placid stream of endless negotiations appropriate to the conservatism of the labour aristocrats.

#### THE NEED FOR THE PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONALISED ECONOMY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

The fundamental weakness in the workers movement at this moment in this country is the lack of a complete programmatic response to the crisis of capitalism. At the last Labour Party conference, Benn spoke of the need to advance to Socialism and not have another Labour government simply propping up capitalism. But this generality has not been accompanied by the deepening of the public discussion on the need for the programme. Even in the text on the nationalisation of the banks there is no suggestion of the need for nationalisation of all the key industries, workers control, and nationalisation of the banks as part of the total planning of the economy. On the contrary, it is posed that 'public ownership of banking can hardly be said to be an extremist course action when it is so long-standing in France, Belgium and Italy!! In other words, the nationalisation of the banks is seen as a prop for the rest of private industry. This is all part of the illusion in the summits of the Unions and the Labour Party that somehow capitalism can be ameliorated and obliged to invest. This is a profoundly non-Socialist attitude and also utopian. It is an aspect of the same outlook that looked to workers co-operatives as a way out, a means of avoiding direct confrontations with the system. But the workers co-operatives collapse and show that there is no way out but the solution of nationalisation under workers control, as the basis for the Socialist planning of the economy. Talk of conversion of an industry to new areas of production, while private management is retained (as at Lucas Aerospace), is another hoodwink because the bosses still retain the profit, and why should they?

These alternatives are accompanied by other proposals, particularly emanating from the trade unions. Thus import controls are suggested, compulsory deposits of funds by firms for investment, Euro loans for the public sector, two-tier interest rate schemes etc. But why, in any case, should the system be propped up in such a way, supervised by the economists of the trade unions? All such conceptions are based on a delusion. In the first place capitalism will not tolerate, cannot tolerate a situation where its resources are not yielding the highest level of profit and what do the leaderships propose to do in face of the infinite capitalist capacity to sabotage? Why sustain an incompetent system and oblige the workers to produce, for the bosses to invest and draw profit. It is an absurd perspective. The only claim to fame capitalism once had, was that it was dynamic, could develop markets, find the funds for more investment for technological improvement. To seek to obscure the fundamental need for the expropriation of all the key industries, and banks under workers control, in order to plan the economy for the benefit of all, arises from interested conceptions, i.e. fear of mobilising the masses, fear of the disappearance of special group interest. When Marchais proposes to abandon the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, as Cde Posadas has analysed, it is not just because of conciliation with capitalism; it is because he and the sector around him feel hurt, reduced by the role of the proletariat. Similarly those who constantly seek ways of avoiding the programme of nationalisations, workers control, no compensation,

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VIVA THE DIRECT INVOLVEMENT OF THE USSR AND CUBA IN ANGOLA!  
VIVA THE VICTORIES OF THE MPLA IN ANGOLA!  
VIVA THE INTERVENTION OF CUBA, VIETNAM AND USSR IN SUPPORT OF POLISARIO  
AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS BASES IN MOROCCO!

Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

organ of the

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

No. 257

30TH JANUARY 1975

PRICE 8p

## THE MILITARY UPRISING OF THE 25TH NOVEMBER AND THE PROCESS OF REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL.

J. POSADAS

30th November, 1975

To discuss the events in Portugal is of fundamental importance. It serves to analyse, judge and foresee the course of the process and, as a consequence, to take positions. At the same time, it serves to acquire confidence in the analysis, in the method, that the revolution in its advance can retreat partially or profoundly, as in Chile, but that in the world as a whole it advances and progresses, and is a point of support for the place which was subdued or contained or sabotaged. This process in Portugal is of very great richness to understand, because it allows one to analyse how the process of history develops, how the forces of the revolution, in whatever way, advances, how in a process of a lack of leadership, what detains is not the masses but the leadership. The masses seek, influence and impel in order to advance. The process is delayed. But the masses are not intimidated; they continue advancing. They show the advance with the proposals which they make, the measures which they take, the initiatives which they develop. Nationalisations, occupations of barracks, making the army function as an instrument of political organisation, making democratic assemblies in the barracks, and extending Soviet functioning. When events like this happen, as in Portugal, it is necessary to discuss them without delay.

The events in Portugal, being a blow or a defeat, do not mark the course of the re-animation of the capitalist system. But they are circumstantial events, determined by concrete relations of courses which are local and unfavourable. It is not a blow in decision or quality, but a blow from the apparatuses.

#### THE INSURRECTION IN THE BARRACKS WAS AN EXPRESSION OF FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS

This blow in Portugal is not the triumph of the counter-revolution, nor of the right, nor of fascism. It is an attack by the conciliatory sectors of the revolution combined with the right, and also a sector which wants to maintain the conquests already achieved. It is not a blow given by a leadership which dominates, but by a leadership which uses the weakness of others. It is not strength which impels them to deliver this blow, but the weakness of the opposing camp. And they counted essentially on the lack of position and of intervention of the Communist Party of Portugal and of the Intersyndical. It is not the result of the forces of the right or of the centre, or some sectors towards the left, but comes from the fears of the military leadership. They took the initiative of delivering the blow because there is a limitation in the programme and the objectives of the revolution. It is not the right against the left. The leadership which gave the coup which organised it in the barracks, does not have the conception of going backwards or retreating in economic measures, but of containing the progress and the

advance.

What has to be judged is that the relation of forces does not allow an important retreat of the revolution. It is a retreat, but not an important one. An important one would be to return to private property the nationalisations already made, which are considerable and important, or to hand the land back to the landowners. This would be to enter into acute and serious conflict with the population and, besides this, with a very important sector of the army which is still there and cannot be eliminated.

What has to be seen is how the process of the revolution develops and how it finds a will of progress which the masses, the peasants, the workers, the petit bourgeoisie express. The masses took the initiative to seize the land, to nationalise, surrounding the centre of the government, which is a profound initiative and political resolution.

The people who did this are ready to do it again tomorrow and not to be intimidated. When the process reaches this level, it is because the revolution demands a political, economic and social progress, much more elevated than now. When 150,000 besiege the central government, followed by 200,000 afterwards, when there are demonstrations of 100,000 to 200,000 workers, petit bourgeois and peasants, coming from everywhere, it is because the conditions are mature to go much further. Socially the forces exist. But the leadership is absent. It is necessary to unite the soldiers, the peasants, the workers, those movements with the soldiers who are stimulating the same conclusions, to make the situation advance. Without there being a programmatic agreement, there was a concentration and harmony in the objective to make the revolution advance.

It is fundamental to make the revolution advance with organs of very great importance, such as the organs of 'direct democracy'. Why should there be disorder? There is a disorder because there is a lack of organisation, and not everyone intervenes. If all did intervene, why should there be disorder? Everyone would give his opinion, analyse and resolve. And what are the Soviets but direct democracy? It is not the empirical attitude of any one taking a decision and afterwards fulfilling it, but making the masses intervene to judge, analyse and determine in organs based on the streets, the workers areas, the barracks, the factories and the offices. This is no disorder or alteration in social relations which impede the advance of the economy. On the contrary, they are the principles of organs where all the population has to intervene. It is necessary to organise their functioning, this is all. And to co-ordinate them with soldiers-workers-peasants: to co-ordinate them. There are Soviets, organs of a

Soviet type, infinitely more important than any parliament, even the most democratic from the bourgeois point of view. The parliaments limit the discussion within the framework of the interests of private property. The factors which intervene there to decide are the organised interest, the camarillas, the apparatuses. They do not discuss what is right, what is the most suitable and reasonable, but they discuss in relation to the interests of groups, apparatuses and organised interests. Direct democracy discusses directly what is in the interests of the population.

Direct democracy does not mean that they meet among themselves to discuss and resolve. It means the participation from below of all the population, of a Soviet type. It is necessary to organise this so that it functions efficiently, in which the soldiers, workers, peasants intervene, so that everyone intervenes!

When, in Portugal, it has reached the level of besieging the government and this lasts 24 hours, without there being the strength to repress — it is because the conditions exist for enormous advances in the revolution. This influences the left groups, stimulates them to intervene. This solution which they sought was not an invention of the left groups. It was not a putsch remote from objective conditions or outside conditions in the rest of the country, or related only to conditions existing in some barracks. There were similar conditions throughout the country! This was shown in the demonstrations, in the siege of the government centre, in the Communist demonstrations and those of the Intersyndical. These are all organs! These mobilisations were made after they assassinated the Communists, attacked the Communists' locales, with the connivance and support of the army. This shows that the masses did not allow themselves to be intimidated.

These were the conditions for the uprising in the barracks. All the process indicated the possibility of advancing, and this was the will of the masses to want to advance and to progress, socially, economically and politically.

They showed it in putting up with the assassinations organised by the right, the attacks of the right on the Communist locales, on the allies of the Communists, on the Intersyndical, the assassination of the Communists. The attitude of the masses was to seek the political response by besieging the government centre, with 150,000 to 200,000 people involved and the soldiers demonstrating by the side of the population! These were the conditions! The duty of the Communist Party, of the MDP and of the revolutionary soldiers was to see that the conditions were ripe for the Government of the Left. And, when they did not do so, the left groups came out. This was not a leftist initiative

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## THE MILITARY UPRISING OF THE 25TH OF NOVEMBER, ...

remote from a favourable objective situation. No! It took place within these favourable conditions.

The left groups and the revolutionary soldiers came out hoping that the people would accompany them to impel, to stimulate and push forward the Communists to intervene. This is what happened. And the conditions were already prepared! Days before, there were all the mobilisations. When the Communists did not move and the Intersyndical did not move, the movement remained in the barracks. It was not counter-revolutionary seditiousness, nor was it insurrectional. It continued on the same road as the army in throwing out those who were there, and they were demanding the Government of the Left. It was a military-social and trade union pressure for the Government of the Left, and there were the conditions to do it! The proof is that, days before, the government had had to yield. It had to put up with the siege of 24 hours, and to yield to the demands of the construction workers.

In not finding a response to the United Front, between soldiers, Communists, left groups, Intersyndical, the movement weakened. It lacked political leadership to understand the situation and to develop the United Front. It lacked the previous political preparation. It was necessary to show that, with pressure and force, it could be done. A Government of the Left could be achieved.

The Socialists of the right led by Soares and the PPD attempted uprisings, with assassinations, bombs, crimes; and they failed. They did not succeed in doing what they wanted. On the other hand, the left achieved the progress of the revolution with concentration and demonstrations, and with the army. That is to say, there were the conditions for a very great progress of the revolution.

The Communist Party should have come out and proclaimed: The forces exist for the Government of the Left; and appealed to the soldiers for a general strike for the Government of the Left. Not to kill, to assassinate, throw bombs, but for the Government of the Left. There were the conditions for this.

The leftist groups did not demand the assassination or the killing of anyone. They asked for a Government of the Left, for a Revolutionary Government. They did this empirically, in a disordered way, individually, without consistency; but they demanded this. If they had appealed to the workers in the struggle for a programme, if they had taken this initiative, the workers would have intervened and animated the Communist Party to intervene. This shows the limitation of the revolutionary soldiers and of the left groups, that is to say, the lack of leadership.

In Portugal the revolutionary process matured infinitely more than the leadership. It matured because people, the workers, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie mature, and are ready for progress. They were not content with small progress, with a better economy, but they wanted more and more.

The disorder of the movement was expressed also in the attitude of Carvalho, who collaborated in the fall of the government of Velasco Goncalves. That is to say, there is the insecurity, the indecision of the soldiers who are progressive, want to advance, make the revolution advance, but do not have the political capacity to lead. They are full of competition, of contradictions, and they fear to rely on the organs of audacity, of advance. Among other reasons, they do this because they do not have more historic experience, and they do not have contact with the working class. They remain in the apparatuses and they do not see the will of the class which can decide.

However, it is clear that the right saw that it was going to lose. Hence, it threw bombs, many bombs, and assassinated Communists and attacked Communists' locales.

The military team which made this uprising was well orientated for revolution, but it did not have the experience, the consciousness, and could not play the role of the working class. They never saw the historic function of the working

class. They saw it as a weight, as an important support, but they did not see that it is what gave stimulus, impulse and ideas. The working class originates ideas for the programme of nationalisations, workers control and planning of production. Hence arose the disorientation of this team, the doubts and the changes. They are not soldiers who seek individual interests, but they are insecure, indecisive, because they do not have the previous political preparation. Of them, the most secure was Goncalves. He posed: 'The working class has to lead'.

### THE MASSES ARE FAR IN FRONT OF THE LEADERSHIPS.

This was the course over two years which showed that the process matured in the proletariat, the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie, infinitely more than in the leaderships, infinitely more. The population was ready to do all this! The leadership was not disposed to understand, to have the audacity, to appeal for a united front, for a programme of expropriations and nationalisations. All spoke of Socialism, but Socialism has an unavoidable base, the economy! And so, for the Socialist base of production to exist, it is necessary to eliminate private property, otherwise it is not Socialism! Socialism is not the right for every one to speak whilst maintaining private property. For then, the one who maintains power is the one who has private property. If those who have the power do not have private property, the first thing which they do is to eliminate private property, to develop the economy for the benefit of all. Private property limits the capacity of production, of the development of the economy, and the relation between consumption, production and prices. Private property is profits and the accumulation of capital. Thus the first elementary notion of democracy is to eliminate the factors that impede the development of democracy. Soviet democracy is the next stage beyond bourgeois democracy. It is necessary to eliminate private property, otherwise what sort of democracy exists? Those who have economic power command, because they have the apparatuses and the structure.

In Portugal, within two years, there was no time to form a new structured movement, for an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme. There have been very profound measures taken in which the depth of the revolution is shown, for example, giving freedom to the colonies and Antunes and Costa Gomez proposed to recognise the MPLA against Soares. The revolution was and is very profound, but it lacked time because there was no leadership to co-ordinate the distinct forces for the United Front for this objective.

This experience has to be discussed politically, not with abstract accusations. It is necessary to make economic discussions, i.e. there has to be nationalisations, for this reason.

There has to be workers control, for this reason, and the planning of the economy for this reason. The accusation of the Soares' Socialists to the Communists, 'You want to monopolise, you are dictators', does not demonstrate anything. The Communists accuse the Socialists of being with the PPD, but they make no theoretical, political, practical or economic or social discussion. Thus, the soldiers cannot learn and neither do the Soviets intervene. No Communist Party intervenes. The Italian Communists took a criminal attitude against the objective process of the revolution, supporting and sustaining Soares, and the result is this. 'Pluralism' in the economy is completely false, it does not exist in history. It exists in the interests of the caste, of the groups, and of the bourgeois class. The interests of democracy means to develop the economy so that there can be democracy. Otherwise there is no democracy. In a capitalist country, so that there can be democracy, it is necessary to nationalise private property as a step towards the elimination of every form of property. They have not discussed in this way in Portugal. And the

Italian Communist Party supported Soares openly against the Portuguese Communist Party in the name of the abstraction of 'pluralist democracy'.

Real democracy develops in Socialism, in the dictatorship of the proletariat, and in the Workers State because it allows the discussion of everything which is necessary for the progress of society, of reason, culture and science, not for the benefit of private property. Real democracy, science, technology, culture, are not the result of the competition of private property, but are the result of the concentration of all the energy, the capacity, and the intelligence of society. The 'democracy' which is the result of inter-capitalist competition only expresses 1% of what can be achieved.

On the other hand with nationalised property, there is no competition, the economy is centralised in the state organ. In order to ensure that the organs of the state do not degenerate and do not lead to a Stalin nor to the usufruct for those who have the state and the Party of the state, workers control is necessary, trade union independence, the pluralist right of all the parties of the working class to exist, all of them! All the tendencies and the left groups also! This has not been discussed in Portugal and this is what has to be discussed.

The soldiers cannot explain this because they come from another origin. But they were very profound in all their conclusions. This is a rich experience which shows that the revolution advances much more than the leadership. People progress much more and decide to intervene, to propose, to lead and to decide, economically and politically. Hence, in Portugal, the will of the people advances infinitely more than the capacity and the decision of the leadership. This is the strength and the advantage of the right.

The right does not have social, political, economic or military strength. This means that this situation in Portugal is not going to last long. Chile is not going to be repeated. It is not going back to the level of Chile, but not because Azevedo said so but because people are going to say it. The people who, six days ago, came out to besiege the central government did not propose to kill anyone in the government but to win them. People proposed to put pressure to win part of the government for the programme of the Government of the Left. They demanded increases, not only for the Construction Industry workers but also the Government of the Left. They proposed this. All the people who went to do this were excluded from the decision of the uprising in the barracks. This decision for the taking of the barracks was made by a small apparatus. It was a small apparatus that did this. It was not a mobilisation of the masses or of the army, but it was initiated by a small apparatus, nothing more. This was a small apparatus that resolved all this, and the masses did not intervene. Now, the masses are going to come out and say, 'what happened?'

Still the masses have not intervened because they have not been allowed to participate, but they are going to say, 'What happened, what was this?', and they are going to intervene when the right wants, in the process of the revolution, to go against something which has already been achieved - nationalisations, workers control, direct democracy, the organs of the proletariat, the organisms of the peasants, the organs in the workers areas, and the agrarian reforms which the peasants carried out.

They are apparatuses who have triumphed, but not a relation of forces. Undoubtedly, with the return of 300,000 Angolans of the right, this has a weight against the left. This is true, but it is going to stimulate a much bigger intervention of the left. These conquests achieved in Portugal are very profound, in nationalisations, workers control, direct democracy and in agrarian reforms. This situation is not the result of the retreat of the will; the masses have not lost the will to combat, they have not become disinterested, the Communist Party has not retreated in its objectives to want to impel Socialism, nor has the Socialist left. This is not the result of a retreat or of a lack of interest on the part of the parties,

of the majority of the militant Socialists, of the Communist Party, of the peasant masses, of the Socialist left or of the MDP; but the lack of the United Front with an objective programme to mobilise the masses for the objective of the Government of the Left.

This counter-revolution has not just begun; the fall of Goncalves was the preparation for this. The right does not have the strength to impose, and so it utilises the Socialist Party, and Soares is the representative of all this manoeuvre. It is a manoeuvre aimed at eliminating all the sectors of the left in the army, weakening the apparatus of the army, to then impose by force the right and the counter-revolution. This is the objective of this process.

To achieve these objectives they have to return the land to private property, to deprive the peasants of the land. And the peasants have proved that the present exploitation of the land is superior to private property. There is an increase from 30% to 40% in agricultural production, there is an increase in the consumption of the population, and there has been an increase in the standard of living in a short period. The nationalised factories and enterprises - the newspapers, reviews, the banks - would have to return to private property for these counter-revolutionary objectives to triumph. This will clash with the consciousness, the understanding and the will of the masses, now acquired, which is a progress; and it is going also to confront the petit bourgeoisie. This is to say that this is not a simple task of defeating the military left. What they have defeated is the military left which was with the left groups. They have not defeated the workers, the Communist Party, or the MDP. It was a defeat for the left groups, and not all of them either!

It is absurd to believe that the left groups had such a strength, because there were only 60 of them involved in the insurrection. But there were thousands and thousands who have seen that the social relations became superior with this system, superior to the system of hierarchy. They elected generals in a superior form to what they did before, and they discussed in the army politics in the conditions of equality. And this is superior to before. They know this, and the soldiers feel this as much as the left groups. And they are going to use this. That is to say, that it is an experience which is being made, upon which there is no going back, just as the peasants who see that having the land and working it collectively is infinitely superior to property, with the land owned by the landowners. These are experiences of the population, acquisitions of consciousness, vivid examples that cannot be retreated upon. In their consciousness there is no going back. The reaction can undoubtedly deliver blows. Military strength can hit hard, but only transitorily.

This is not a defeat of the progress of the revolution, it is a containing and an effort to limit the progress, to eliminate the left, in order then to open the road for the right. In this interim, the left which does not belong to the army only, is going to draw conclusions. The comrades who organised the uprising - which is only a part of the military left - were not mad. It was a spontaneous movement which came out protesting in part against the passivity of the Communist Party; a partial passivity because the Communist Party organised demonstrations, movements, mobilisations, but on a limited scale. They should have made a more complete, more profound United Front with the army. Openly! Let them accuse the Communist Party, the left groups and the rest! Let them say what they want! The right launches accusations in order to retreat. The right, who assassinated the Communist militants, did this in order to retreat, to return to private property and assassinate. This is going to have repercussions in the world Communist movement, beginning with Portugal. It is going to show that the inactivity and passivity, the conservative attitude, the limitations of the objectives, are what leads to the triumph of the counter-revolution, and to the blows which contain the progress of the revolution and allow the organisation and structuring of the forces of the right. This gives

a platform in a short stage for the apparatuses, so that they can decide and give conscious blows to contain the revolution.

### THE COUNTER REVOLUTION CANNOT TRIUMPH.

Angola shows that the conditions do not exist for the triumph of the counter-revolution, and Spain also. This king, Juan Carlos, the idiot king, to sustain himself has had to liberate Carmacho and various trade unionists. It is not a concession in the air, which has been made; because the situation is going to mature, as we said in an article a few days ago(1). These conditions existed before Franco died. Franco for years had nothing to do with life, not only with Spain, but with life. The conditions for change go back a long while before. The condition that allowed the maintenance of the regime was a lack of policy and a lack of audacity, of a programme on the part of the Communists and the Socialists. This shows, even more that the conditions in Portugal allow no margin for the right to hand back to private property all that has been expropriated. There exists a very extended base of nationalised property, of functioning of organs of the state, which allows a more general functioning for the population and shows the value of nationalisations even in the utilisation of the means of information, and this is so even with the errors of the left groups, which showed that they are closer to necessity even with all their errors and excesses. The left groups respond to the necessity of making the revolution advance. They do not propose to appropriate for themselves. They acted in an empirical form, but objectively they were not in favour of supporting or sustaining private property. They were against private property. They used the means of information as a means of progress, in a mistaken way through lack of plan and programme, without objectives and principles, but with the objective of eliminating private property; and with the more direct intervention of people who intervened in the discussions and the proposals, with more democracy than the whole lot of bourgeois democracy.

All this process is going to lead to a discussion in the world Communist movement, beginning with the Portuguese Communist Party. They are going to discuss how, again in Portugal, five days after having besieged the government with a demonstration of 200,000 people, with the principle barracks in the hands of the left, they lost! Audacity, decision, and the preparation of the Party for this task, were absent. It shows that it is not possible to advance on the basis of waiting for permission; and democratic liberties have to be conquered by force. We advance with the parliamentary basis, electorally to the maximum possible level, but ready to advance by force, as now. Had they foreseen this, which was foreseeable, that a coup was going to be made - with the throwing out of Goncalves, a coup was foreseeable - they should have gone forward and the left should have delivered the necessary blow! And this attempted uprising was not counter-revolutionary, or a dictatorship - as the reaction says - against the country; but an effort to impede the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie against the masses.

This government says (beginning with Antunes and Azevedo) that this is not a 'turn to the right'. This is not a unanimous declaration in principle. Antunes was one of those who organised the coup in 1974, and produced the anti-imperialist programme: freedom to the colonies and an approximation to Socialism of a moderate order. But there are others who seek to use the power of the army to retreat. The right is seeking to contain the left, and disorganise it in order to retreat. But there are not the conditions to retreat. The people, the workers, the petit bourgeoisie will not allow a retreat because they have already made an experience of intervention. This is going to pose a conflict at a superior level. With the social and economic basis of nationalised property, with the development of organs of workers power, of land, work in a collective form, progress is going to be shown superior to that of private property. To go back is impossible. There is already the experience of the masses

and they are going to base themselves on this experience, and they are going to substitute for their own leadership. This is going to increase the critical functioning in the Communist and Socialist parties to impel the revolution.

This process is going to impel more progressive leaderships, showing that it is not possible to expect complacency or agreements from leaderships who seek to maintain private property, and it is not possible to make the revolution without nationalising the economy and developing workers democracy, which is one of the forms of 'direct democracy'. Direct democracy is not to come out in the street and propose that one does what one likes, but to discuss in organs created by the population. This is direct democracy. All this is created in the workers areas, in the schools, in the work places and the factories. There, they can discuss everything. Why cannot they discuss everything? On the other hand, representative democracy is the democracy of those who sustain private property because they have organs of power which, in the last instance, decide through the representative democracy, because they have the power. On the other hand by nationalising property, these have no more power left.

This attitude of the conservative troops of the army is to use the indecision which comes from the lack of the United Front. The duty of the Communist Party is to appeal to the United Front with the left groups, the army, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, the Socialist Party, with the programme. It is necessary to finish with this discussion, whether it is a 'dictatorship or not' and to discuss the programme, the nationalisations of the economy and the planning in the factories and the workers areas; that is to say, a concrete and precise programme. The Communists do not have this programme and in the world Communist movement there is not a discussion, and in Portugal they do not have it either. This is going to have to be discussed.

This is a transitory stage; the right can attack but they cannot go very far; the decision of the soldiers who took the barracks did not come from just 60 officers. It is a whole structure of officers, NCOs, soldiers, linked to the popular areas and the population. It is a whole structure which would have to be broken. Caetano could not do it and neither can these. A transitory triumph of this sector does not mean the downfall of the revolution but is a partial, transitory retreat on the road of the progress of the revolution. This is going to give rise to the intervention of the masses who are going to try to seek to weigh, to intervene and impel their leaders and create new leaders.

#### THERE IS NO HOMOGENEITY IN THE GOVERNMENT

Undoubtedly, the government is ready to take measures impelled by the right, which is going to seek in every way to weaken the class revolutionary tendencies and to try to deliver blows in order, later, to take measures of retreat: to retreat to private property, to break up the workers organs, to limit the right to strike and to make demands for wages etc., as they plan now in proposing to eliminate eight newspapers without any reason. They allow the Socialist newspapers to publish but they stop the Communist ones. This does not mean homogeneity in the government in taking these measures. It is an alliance which has triumphed between the sectors which want to continue the experience with Socialist measures, with measures of nationalisations, of planning, with other sectors who want to use the opportunity to attack the masses. As everything is decided in the apparatus, in the highcommand, they try to make these organs weigh to attack. But a very eloquent fact and unfavourable for the right, is that Antunes, Costa Gomez and Azevedo are allied with people who are evidently, as with Carneiro and others, assassins. They are allied to these and the alliance is not going to last very long.

The government and the forces which support the government are heterogeneous; it is a heterogeneity in which the right is going to try to take the initiative to eliminate posts.

positions, apparatuses, and try to concentrate everything within its own hands. It is necessary to expect that there will be a very profound and important reaction by the working class. The proletariat is going to intervene, the poor and middle petit bourgeoisie, and the army also. Over the last two years in the army a very great depth of revolutionary democratic sentiment has developed. It is the army which gave freedom to Angola, freedom to the colonies. It is an army which, although it threw out old leaders, poses problems for those who replace them, because they have to be accepted and respected. Force, intimidation or shooting does not succeed in this. Now these leaders more to the right will have to create a new staff and a new base in order to be able to intervene. This is their problem.

It is necessary to consider that this process has disconcerted the proletariat a little. It has hit the workers vanguard. The weight of the proletariat is small in Portugal, but it is sufficient. It is necessary to expect a reaction from the proletariat. Much depends on the attitude taken by the Communist Party which, for the moment, has a bad attitude in saying, 'It is a defeat, it is a failure, the left is defeated'. What left is defeated? It was not defeated in its totality, a part of the left was defeated because of its lack of co-ordination.

It is necessary to expect an attitude of reflection by the proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie, which is going to be used by the right to contain the progress of economic and social measures, to regulate the functioning of the working class, to restrict democratic rights. But there are very great conquests. In the army, is it not just a question of the generals and the high command but a whole base influenced by the Congolese revolution, that of Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde. This is the army. There are still fascist officers, but the base of the army has been influenced by the revolution and this is going to make itself felt, and weigh. Hence, the left groups had so much success. They can eliminate and they are going to eliminate evidently, some barracks, some regiments. But the base of the movement continues in the will of the proletariat, and the masses continue to develop the economy. And this is going to influence again in the army. This is to say, conditions are being prepared for a confrontation at a superior level, a very superior level.

At the same time, it is necessary to feel that, in this process, these soldiers, Antunes, Azevedo, Carneiro, have organised a counter-revolutionary coup, a coup to prevent the progress of the revolution. They created the conditions for the new process of Thermidor, as happened after the Russian Revolution. This is to say that the leadership, which is produced to make the revolution advance, contains, limits, defeats those who made the revolution and betray them. But there are no conditions to do this. Hence the character who made this coup, Antunes, has to come out to declare: 'The revolution continues, Socialism continues, there cannot be any advance without the Communist Party'. And Azevedo has to declare that 'There is no doubt that among those who made the uprising, there were genuine revolutionaries, but they favoured the counter-revolution'; and that there will be 'democratic justice with the right for defence'. And that 'all the soldiers will be pardoned'. This shows the relations of fraternity, cordial relations with the population. If it was the right that had triumphed, it would use the situation to smash. When they stammer it is because, within the team which won, there is no security. It is not Carneiro who decides, but neither is it Antunes. This is to say there is an internal struggle. And these differences will have to be expressed in the next stage, particularly with Soares. Soares went immediately accusing the Communist Party, to try to smash and eliminate it. In this way he maintains the link in his party and outside, but with no success. On the contrary the attitude of the government in separating the Communist Party from the responsibility of the uprising, shows this. It is necessary to expect a process of discussion, and reanimation of discussion and reaffirmation, for the

advance of the revolution.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the United Front, to discuss the process of the revolution and to advance towards the measures for Socialism, in a pluralist way, which means all the tendencies to advance who want to impel measures towards Socialism, whose essential basis is nationalisation and elimination of private property. Otherwise, there is no solution. Socialism is not based on the right of everyone to speak, but on the right of everyone to speak linked to the elimination of private property. Otherwise the one who controls is the one who has property and power. The inequality which exists in history in the capitalist regime, is the inequality which exists in the economy. From there, come economic, social and political rights. It is necessary to eliminate this. In Portugal, this is going to be expressed with great acuteness. And this is also going to be expressed in the Communist Party, in the limitation of timidity to intervene. It is true that the Communist Party is not the most important, but all the proletariat is Communist, the great majority of the proletariat is Communist. And it could decide a great deal in a United Front with the left groups, the centrists, the Socialist Party, with the base of the Socialist Party. The Communist Party did not aim at the base of the Socialist Party. It has to do this, and also at the leadership. But fundamentally at the base to appeal for concrete economic measures: nationalisations and planning. That is to say, 'We want to do this, to produce this'.

It is necessary to make a national campaign to support the MPLA. There has not been a political struggle, activity, discussion, but a completely superficial discussion in which the principle problems of the economy, of world policy, of Angola, were absent.

#### THE LEFT WAS NOT DEFEATED.

This is not a triumph of the right, but it can prepare blows which favour the right. The masses have not intervened. It is not a defeat of the masses nor of the left. Comrade Cunhal makes a mistake when he says, 'The defeat of the left'. The left was not defeated, because the left did not enter into the fight. It was a part of the army separated from people. People wanted to intervene, they were not allowed to do so. Thus, it is a partial defeat. Hence the timidity of this leadership which said, 'Socialism continues, there is no turn to the right'. Why does it say this? Because in the team itself of the government there are people who want to go back to the right and what does the 'right' mean? It means to return to private property; the repression to maintain private property, to take the land from the peasants. This is the right. And it means, besides, to support the counter-revolution in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea Bissau. The arrival in Portugal of 300,000 people from Angola is going to strengthen the right. But it strengthens it undoubtedly, if the left - beginning with the Communist Party - does not aim at the masses, appealing for the advance of the revolution, with economic measures: measures of nationalisations, planning, of intervention, of workers control, and in the army also. The right is going to strengthen itself because it is the force which is allowed to intervene, discuss, decide, resolve. On the other hand, if the Communists, the Socialist left, the MDP, appealed to the masses, all could intervene and the right would not be strengthened.

It is necessary to intervene in this process and promote in the world Communist movement a discussion on Portugal. After Chile, this experience in Portugal shows that the revolutionary United Front is necessary, the revolutionary objectives. This is the conclusion. In Chile the right maintains itself with the massacres, and the economy does not advance. There is a destruction of the economy, and in Portugal it will be the same. If, in Portugal, they make a policy of repression the economy will be smashed. Imperialism is undoubtedly going to support and also NATO. But, now, the Soviets are intervening. The Soviets are intervening more directly and very well, very correctly. We support integrally the intervention of the Soviets. They have intervened very well in Angola. The Soviets are now

ready to confront the most direct intervention by Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to see that, whilst the Soviets intervene specifically to help the revolution, the Communist Party exclude themselves from this, among them the Portuguese Communist Party which has not known how to use the situation. We believe that the discussion is going to extend itself to the world Communist movement, and it is necessary to stimulate it. It is necessary to stimulate the discussion on the experiences of the revolution in Portugal. It is not a retreat, but the defeat of a sector of the military left.

Besides Carvalho, Cutinho and the other soldiers of the left were not defeated because the opposing side had the strength, but because they capitulated. For example, Carvalho why did he resign? He did not have to resign. Why did he not confront them? He could have confronted them with COPCON. He did not do so because he respected orders, and felt weak, not because in itself he respected orders but because he felt weak and submitted to the other side. He felt politically weak. Had he been appealed to by the Communist Party, he would have felt strong. Carvalho had COPCON in his hand right to the last. Why did he not mobilise it? Thus, as he was opposed to repression when the government was besieged, why did not he feel he had the necessary political confidence or political preparation; not through fear, because he showed quite a lot of decision, but lack of political orientation. Political orientation is necessary and the programme to achieve the objective of the revolution, which means to nationalise. This is the conclusion. And this is going to have great effect on the world Communist movement. This is going to be discussed and, in this, the Soviets are going to discuss.

Portugal shows again that it is not possible to advance by asking permission to progress. It is also implicit that the left groups, even with empirical positions, are not adventuristic. What they have done is not adventuristic. It was the necessary condition to advance and reflected the ineptitude, the passivity of the Communist Party and of the Socialist left. The left groups expressed this, and they showed a necessity. Hence the Communists did not attack them, they hardly mentioned them; because this was the case. When the left groups do this and have such support, it is because they answer a need and it was possible to triumph immediately. Four days before, the government was besieged by the masses. What was this? There were all the conditions to succeed; they were besieged by the masses, and the government yielded!

The right saw that the process was on the road to liquidate them, so they hastened to take these measures. It is not excluded that in this attitude the right of the army, the sectors linked to imperialism, had stimulated this uprising in order to repress, keeping it separated from the Communist Party. Thus, it was easy to do this and it is not excluded that this happened. The objective was not imperialism, but the decision of the left groups, who felt that they were strong but did not see the necessity to link up with the proletariat. There was not one appeal to the proletariat. If from the barracks they had appealed to the proletariat and the population, the situation would have been changed.

The weakness, the lack of preparation, the lack of understanding of the Communist Party and of the Socialist left, prevented the occupation of the barracks and the occupation of the factories with the occupation of the country, to impose the Government of the Left with the programme of the Left. They did not give the perspective of the Government of the Left with the programme of complete nationalisations, and this meant that the Communists maintained themselves separate from this movement. But, at the same time, the uprising in the barracks made no appeal to the workers. They should have appealed. This is not a complaint for a process, or an accusation; it is not a criticism but it shows that it is not possible to make an isolated movement, because it allows the enemy to intervene and to concentrate. Then it means that the centre-left, like Antunes, united with the right of

the right - because they are all united by the fear of the process. Thus, those who tend to control in the last instance are the right, because it stimulates the containing of the process.

The left groups should have appealed to the workers to mobilise, and appealed to the Communist Party to make appeal, to appeal for the Government of the Left, to appeal to come out in the streets. It is a political function which the army did not fulfil, which it did not feel that it could do in defence to the comrades who occupied the barracks; this shows the weakness, the lack of leadership and conscious objectives and programme. If they appeal, they have the total support of the population.

This defeat, which is the containing of the progress of the revolution is transitory. It is not the triumph of the right, nor the containing of the revolution. It is a containing, but it is going to be decided in the next stage in relation to the world situation. The triumph of the masses of Angola is the sign of this; and the United Front in Angola against imperialism, against the armies which imperialism commands show what they will do in a short time. The world Communist movement must discuss Portugal.

The process in Portugal is not terminated. But it is a phase of the containing of the revolution, of the partial disorganisation of the forces which stimulate the impulse of the revolution, as with the military comrades who occupy the barracks. But this is going to be retaken. It is necessary to discuss, it is necessary to appeal to the United Front and to the world Communist movement to discuss these conclusions. It is not possible to participate passively. It is necessary to make a discussion throughout the world Communist movement, why this stage has been reached which allows the right to contain the revolution, when there were all the conditions to progress.

In this sense it is a very severe criticism of the Italian Communist Party and of 'Unita', which stimulated and impelled the right stimulated by Soares against the progress of the revolution.

In Portugal, with such a progress of nationalisations, of intervention of the masses, with such a development, it is not possible to make a government of the right. If a government of the right can win, it has to denationalise, deprive the masses of the liberties that they have conquered, and it has to confront the whole of the population. Hence, the right does not have perspectives, socially and politically, and neither are the masses going to allow them to act, because they have already acquired the capacity to intervene and they are going to intervene. They have already acquired this security, as when the government centre was besieged, as when they went to the barracks to seek for arms. The right does not have perspective of finding the masses passive, or economic conditions which favour it. The reverse is the case. Hence, our judgement that the right has the initiatives in the apparatuses, but it does not have the possibility to develop, and the apparatus can only go so far because half of the apparatus of the government is against.

In Portugal they formed the SUVs, which were such an important initiative and which was not used by the Communist Party. It was not used for the United Front of all the tendencies. It is necessary to discuss this, and to make the soldiers feel that they were not defeated. Even if some of their leaders were dismissed, they were not defeated.

It is necessary to discuss these conclusions in the world Communist movement, in the workers movement, and a lack of co-ordination and United Front between the trade unions, the workers centres, the peasants, workers, petit bourgeoisie and soldiers. The most conscious leadership must have this consciousness in making this appeal. It should have allowed the stimulus to the government of Goncalves. This is an experience which is not going to die, it is going to continue. It was contained in Portugal, but there are the SUVs, the workers areas committees, which are organs which the population, the soldiers, have already created, the youth, the peasants, the workers, the poor and

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# Editorial

Continued from page 1

planning on the basis of the public discussion of the masses, do so because they would be obliged to resort to the masses, would be obliged to leave the safety of filing cabinet and the company of the apparatus, and actually confront reality as it is. As Marx said, no ruling class will abandon the scene of history without doing everything to remain in power.

A very rich and powerful process is developing in the Labour Party and the trade unions. It is not entirely visible and it finds no adequate representation at this moment, because the functioning of the Labour Party and the Unions does not permit the fullest intercommunication and development of ideas, and there is no life of publications and exchange of opinions in texts which allow the new current to express itself. But when a whole sector in Scotland is on the way out over devolution, when the technocrats in the Labour Party are unable to provide a firm perspective, but when nationalisation of the banks is proposed — whatever the motives of the writers — which means a social weakness for capitalism and, at the same time, the effort to develop a campaign against Marxism in the LP has failed abjectly; then it is clear the bases are constantly maturing for a better life of discussion, ideas, perspectives. Fundamentally, it is necessary to propose a comprehensive anti-capitalist programme with the objective of planning the economy for the masses without the capitalists. At the same time, this has to be linked with the need to develop a dialogue between the LP and the trade unions and the population

## THE WORKERS STATES WILL GIVE CONFIDENCE TO THE LABOUR LEFT.

The world situation is going to perpetually elevate the discussion in the Labour Party and stimulate the confidence and security to propose a comprehensive anti-capitalist programme. One means to elevate this discussion is to see the significance of what has happened in Angola. The Labour Party supports the MPLA but does not discuss the significance of the Soviet intervention (neither do the Italian and French Communist parties draw the conclusions). It is not possible to argue the case for the programme of nationalisations, workers control and planning, without referring to the experience of the Workers States and the role of the Workers States in centralising the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front against what remains of capitalism. Angola goes beyond Vietnam, it anticipates the final conflict with imperialism and is a further proof that the programme of nationalisations and centralised planning is the way forward for humanity, and that the functioning of capitalism nowhere gains support. It is in retreat everywhere. The intervention of the proletariat in Spain is not going to be satisfied with the crumbs of bourgeois democracy. Capitalism evidently does not possess the strength to determine the process there. The attempted Portuguese 'Thermidor' has already failed, the re-animation of the proletariat continues as before, and this is confirmation that the social bases for capitalism on a world scale are being eroded away. When Frei, who stimulated the army to take over in Chile, is now obliged to denounce them, this is a proof that capitalism possesses atomic weapons but no social strength. Without question the sectors in the French and Italian Communist parties trying to conciliate with capitalism, can complicate the process but they do not have the time perspective of Stalinism and, on the other hand, the open polemic in the world Communist movement allows a process of immense clarification tending to elevate the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions.

Capitalism is in crisis not simply economically, although, at this moment in Britain superficially it appears to be uppermost, but in every aspect of its functioning. Thatcher endeavours to develop an anti-Communist campaign which is then rejected by the Young Tories because of its evident crudity. Sectors of capitalism feel that there is no ambience for crude anti-Communism, it tends to boomerang. In fact, it has done so very quickly. The answer of the Soviet government was very fast and, although well confined within diplomatic bounds, it was a form of intervention, reminding capitalism what time of day it was, that the period for anti-Soviet crap was over, and it allowed also an intervention towards the Labour Government and Labour Party to hit at the anti-Soviet tendencies and weaken the social base of capitalism. It was very limited, but it is an aspect of the Soviet Union using pressure to weaken capitalism, to show it up, remind them of Soviet strength. In due course more profound interventions will be made by the Soviet Union as part of the necessary stimulation of the left currents throughout the world to overthrow capitalism.

## IMPOSE THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT.

While a series of conflicts with the working class are developing in Britain with the steel workers, the miners, the car workers, the present leaderships are trying to maintain a passive attitude. At most they make a commentary warning the government that trouble is on the way 'unless something is done', but they try to prevent discussion, call no meetings, do not discuss either the world of national situation in an objective way. As with the leaderships in the French and Italian parties, they try to pretend it is not a crisis of the whole system but recovery is possible, provided certain steps are taken. The calling of an assembly of the labour movement for a discussion on unemployment by a sector of the Confederation of the Engineers and the Co-op is a means to develop a discussion, and the forces of the left and the trade unions should intervene towards it; but this type of meeting should be developed on a much more profound basis, on the basis of appeals to the population so that meetings to discuss all the problems become a norm in the workers areas and factories and discussing not just unemployment in isolation but the need for the alternative programme and policy.

Registered with the GPO as a newspaper

## COMMENTARIES ON THE DISCUSSION IN THE SOVIET UNION

J. POSADAS, 16.9.75

(title of the Editorial Board)

This report has importance because it indicates the level of interior struggle and crisis. This has a very great and fundamental importance because it is not a problem of the manager sentenced to death for expropriating property, but the report refers to one of the essential aspects of the necessity of history, that is to say of political revolution.

These publications are part of the political necessity to effect logical thought. When these people are animated to bring them out — they are all writers of authority of the apparatus — it is because there is a very great impulse coming from below, otherwise they would not appear. This is not happening through their own initiative; in the apparatus of the party they don't have the life to draw the conclusions they have arrived at. This is to say that they emerge independently of the apparatus. They bring it out linked with people of the party and in the rest of the world. They express a necessity, not because they prepare to study it, but because science, the economy, the progress of the class struggle, the world development of Socialism demands it. They represent this: the necessity to discuss. They take all the arguments of our texts on Solzhenitsyn: what they don't say is why Solzhenitsyn, but when they speak of discussion 'in a Marxist form' they leave open the road to discuss why Solzhenitsyn appeared. When this discussion breaks out, it is because the conditions are mature in the Soviet Union and in other Workers States for this necessity. This is linked, and must be linked, with other activities in the Workers States.

For example, the speech of the delegate of the German Workers State in the Festival of Humanity, posed the necessity now to overthrow the capitalist system. He spoke of the class struggle not of the revolution, but he proposed the replacement of the capitalist system and that the conditions were ripe for this. All his appeal was the vehement desire that in Italy they finish with capitalism and advance to Socialism. They are not sporadic conclusions, spontaneous or unforeseen. We have foreseen it. All our capacity was based on this process. All these idiots who live for themselves with guerrilla conceptions, conceptions of the groups, and expect that the USSR is going to be what it always has been, do not see the changes in history and do not know how to adapt themselves or to understand the changes that arise in history and they participate in these changes, changing also. All these groups are stunned. They say: how can this be? Many groups defended Solzhenitsyn. 'Rouge' in France defended him and 'his right to speak'. The idiot Mandel defended Solzhenitsyn with an article in which he said that 'the best writer in Russia has the complete right to speak'. We said that he had no right to speak.

We have shown that a scientist can be as much a means for the progress of humanity as for the killing of humanity. We are in agreement with the scientists to make humanity progress; with the others, no: Demo-

cracy for that is assassination. Democracy for progress is to contribute to the development of humanity. When there is a discussion in the Soviet Union and they take action against the people who want to discuss these themes, it is because the influence of Posadism is mature, and in the USSR there is the necessity to elevate relations. Hence, Brejnev is put to one side. Now, he is no longer the first star nor the second; he appears as the mouthpiece of the orders they give him. He is not the one who has the initiative.

Together with this discussion in the USSR it is necessary to look at these people who bring out this publication, because they can take aspects which are correct with aspects which are not, or are mixed with bureaucratic interests. But on the general line, in accordance with what the article says, they are individuals who propose to return to Marxism-Leninism and they take the case of Solzhenitsyn to show that he does not come from anything. They do not say: 'He arises from nothing', but yes, that it is necessary to study and discuss from the Marxist-Leninist point of view. This is to pose, why does Solzhenitsyn appear? They did not throw him out so that the others who gave him life could remain; but they wanted to discuss with him to break the base which gave existence to Solzhenitsyn. This means that the political revolution is maturing; not in a consistent, vehement form but it is maturing, otherwise this discussion would not arise.

The importance which this discussion has is that there is a crisis in the USSR, because the bureaucracy cannot contain, finish with, divert the discussion or adjust it. It is a process which is based on the economy and the class struggle on a world scale, on the maturity of the class struggle. We have to realise that this is not going to go in an uninterrupted line of advance. They are bureaucrats, and it is in the camp of the bureaucrats in which scientific thought is being introduced. Scientific thought, which does not come from the consciousness of the apparatus, is imposed by necessity. The essential basis is that the harmonious development of the economy, of human relations, advances beyond the economy and the leaderships. This demands the consciousness and the policy which responds to this necessity.

J. POSADAS 16th September, 1975.

\* This refers to the separation of the three leaders of the Konsomol and a member of the review 'Peace and Socialism', for editing a clandestine publication which 'spoke about Marxism, and that Solzhenitsyn should be combated with arguments and not with police methods.

# This refers to reports in the USSR condemning to death the director of a textile factory in Armenia for having 'stolen from Socialist property'.

@ See J. Posadas: 'Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and the struggle for Socialism', 14th February, 1974. Obtainable from the Party's address in a bulletin form, 15p.

The process already shown in the massive abstentions after the Referendum is generating a new selection of cadres in the LP, the Unions and the shop stewards committees. Capitalism feels its days are numbered in Britain. The Tories launch hysterical attacks on Communism and the spreading power of the Workers States. Anxiously they count Soviet tanks and Soviet submarines because ultimately the struggle of system against system will be settled by force and they feel they are nearing the end of their system. The Yanks, a little stronger, increase the military budget; British imperialism, exhausted and with a Labour government, cannot find the means to show a convincing force. Capitalism is socially prostrate. Mass murder by the agents of capitalism in Northern Ireland results in a most important response by the Irish trade unions, who organise meetings and appeal for support to the British trade unions for a better way of life and at least open the way for the discussion of a serious programme to achieve this. So all the terror, the brutal, cynical, predatory policy of imperialism ends in yet another disaster and the intervention of the Irish trade unions and the tendency to unification with the British workers, which requires a common programme.

We appeal to the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions to raise a public discussion on the need for the alternative policy and programme to capitalism, to propose the nationalisation of all the major industries under workers control, the nationalisation of the banks to plan the economy and, with this, to develop a programme of discussions with the Workers States, their parties and trade unions, on the perspectives for Socialism, particularly in Europe, to develop a campaign in favour of the intervention of the Workers States and their achievements. This is the answer to the campaign of anti-Communism. This has to be developed in local conferences and meetings of the LP committed to a rapid extension of nationalisations, planning and the unification of the struggle of the British and Irish masses for Socialism, on the basis of mass popular committees and mobilisations.

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## THE MILITARY UPRISING OF THE 25TH OF NOVEMBER,

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middle petit bourgeoisie have created them and they are not going to retreat.

The effort of this counter-revolutionary sector, basing itself on the centre and on the left of centre, is to contain the revolution. It is the road which they want to take, of Thermidor; but they do not have either a Portuguese or world-wide base to succeed in doing this.

It is different from the French revolution, and distinct from the stage of Stalin who encountered world conditions. Here it is the opposite. The revolutionary process is fed constantly; and, in that, Angola. The world Communist movement must discuss these experiences, draw conclusions and learn. And we, also as a leadership, must discuss constantly and in every instance because it allows a very great enrichment of theoretical and political capacity in the precise, concrete application of the process. This is going to enrich the capacity of analysis and foresight. And, in that, the foresight that Portugal is going to provoke a discussion of, 'Why has this coup triumphed?' It is not a coup to adjust the revolution because there were excesses. This is a lie. There is no excess in a revolution. It is a blow to contain the process, the dynamism, the dynamic rhythm of the revolution in which the SUV was a very great factor in the dynamic rhythm of the revolution.

In Portugal there was no precise programme, but yes, the organisms for an effort and a progress at a very dynamic rhythm. This has to be discussed in the world Communist movement, and it is necessary to propose to discuss, and discuss constantly.

Another aspect is the lack of reaction of the Communist leadership; they are absent, because they feel that in discussing in the Communist Party itself, they would have to develop critical considerations, learning to see that it is not possible to await with complacency, or that the organs of power of the bourgeoisie or the right of the centre are going to allow an advance. It is necessary to advance with force, and there it was possible to see very well that the general strike is a factor, but not the only one. It is a means; that is to say, there is a lack of decision, audacity and decision, to impel the population. Audacity and resolution in Portugal would unite the immense majority, win over the immense majority. It is necessary to take into account that the coup is historically impelled by the sentiment of containing the revolution, of stopping it. Meanwhile, there are other sectors which are counter-revolutionary. There is going to be an internal struggle between them, which is going to facilitate the intervention of the proletariat. To return nationalised property, the distribution of land, the collective work on the land or co-operatives on the land, to go back on this cannot be done without great upheavals and social revolutionary reactions. This is going to allow again unification and to establish a sector more to the left than at present. All the efforts of the government to want to contain and go back to the old passivity of the democratic relations with the bourgeoisie — parliament, law, army — will be rejected because people have shown that there are superior organs to develop the economy, population, culture, overcoming illiteracy, something that capitalism has never achieved.

It is necessary to appeal for a process of reflection and of discussion in the world Communist movement and in Portugal, particularly in Portugal. It is necessary to intervene and we are going to intervene to stimulate the discussion. They are going to try to repress and contain. What they did with the newspapers shows this; they cannot go very far. And, if they go further back, it will not last. Neither the world, nor local conditions, allow them to go any further; neither for Thermidor, nor for an important retreat.

J. POSADAS 30th November, 1975

(1) See J. Posadas: 'The death of Franco, democratic liberties in Spain, and Marxism', 22nd November, 1975. Published in Red Flag, 256.