

# THE DECOMPOSITION OF THE ASSASSIN JUNTA IN CHILE AND THE NEW STAGE OF THE WORKERS AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

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Workers of the World. Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

APPEAL OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE R.W.P. (t)

## FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO SUPPORT ALL SECTORS IN STRUGGLE AND PREPARE THE GENERAL STRIKE

The struggle against the 3 day week and the miners and railwaymen's disputes are part of a whole struggle of the entire working class of the country against the brutality of the capitalist system.

The miner's dispute is moving quickly toward a national strike, and the miners themselves are finding the way to impose certain democratic measures in the union to compensate for the passivity of the official leadership. The fact that the rightwinger, Frank Smith, of the NUM executive was forced to meet a mass pit head meeting at Coalville in Leicestershire in the early morning to explain why he had opposed militant action, and other pits have walked out and declared no confidence in Smith, shows that the miners are not prepared to just wait for their leadership. They use a mass meeting to discuss the organisation of the strike and the struggle against capitalism.

Because in their actions and their decision they show that for them it is not a question of just a wage dispute, but the struggle against capitalism. The overtime ban has this sense. It is for more money, but also a protest against the need to work massive overtime to keep a decent standard of living. The trade union movement gained the 40 hour week a long time ago, but the average working week with overtime in the engineering industry is 60 hours, the same thing in the pits. This is the vicious brutality of capitalism the miners are opposing, and the railwaymen too.

And they have the support of all the workers, the petit bourgeoisie, the students etc. in spite of the fact that the NUM leadership does very little to organise support or make a serious agitation and propaganda on the claim. But there has been no demonstration of any opposition to the miners. Capitalism, on the other hand, has gone to great lengths to make a propaganda exercise against the miners and divide the working class. But it has failed; and at the same time, no sector of the working class is prepared to accept a reduction in its standard of living. Capitalism has to be made to pay for its own crisis - the real crisis, the world economic, social, political, moral crisis of the world capitalist system, not the invented 'energy crisis'. Everyone sees that there is no shortage of coal to the extent that would justify from the capitalist point of view, the 3 day week.

A sector of capitalism wants to make an agreement, but the most decisive centres are moving for a confrontation with the working class, profiting from the weakness of the trade union and

Labour Party leadership, terrorising sectors of these leaderships with the 3 day week; and if in the process some of the smaller firms or financial institutions go bankrupt, then capitalism concentrates itself. This means the elimination of small scale production which is in crisis because the working class does not accept a cut in its standard of living. And if production and the economy are sabotaged by this deliberate action, then this is the lesser evil for capitalism because it hopes to use this as a blow at the working class. The use of the army with full battle equipment and tanks at Heathrow airport is part of the same policy, the same with the searches of 'IRA suspects' in areas of London and searches in the London Underground. It is a policy of intimidation and preparation of the conditions to use the army against the working class. What other meaning is there to the use of tanks and hundreds of troops against hijackers? They have already started patrols in the surrounding countryside, next, they will move them into the cities against the so-called 'bombers'. The bombs are real, but the bombings are organised by British imperialism to create a climate of civil war. Without actually being civil war, these are measures of civil war. The Labour Party has to condemn these actions of imperialism, and the Left in it and in the Trade Unions have to organise support for the miners with this in mind, but seeing that this shows the weakness of capitalism; because capitalism can no longer depend on the leaderships of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party to contain the demands of the base, but it profits from their passivity to deal these blows against the masses. Wilson and the right in the Labour Party keep quiet, Benn denounces the three days week as a political and economic measure not determined by the miners action and after three days delay, Wilson has to support him. When Benn comes out like this, it is because an enormous pressure in the Labour Party exists in support of the industrial actions.

All the forces exist to support the miners, ASLEF, and the coming struggle of the engineers. We call for a Conference of the Trade Unions, the Labour Party, ourselves, the Communist Party, and the Revolutionary groups to make a determined campaign of propaganda and organisation to support all sectors of the workers in struggle, and prepare the General Strike to smash the Tory government and all its repressive laws and actions, and to replace it with a Labour government.

All the forces exist in this country, as they do in the whole of Europe and the world. Part of the basis of confidence of the proletariat is the example and influence of the world struggle. The French General Strike last month the resistance of the Chilean masses the progress of the Workers States.

We are against any ballot of the miners, because this is a form of decision making that allows no discussion of the tactic and the objectives. We propose to the NUM, that it shows the level of decision of the miners by organising mass pithead meetings and rallies to discuss the organisation of the strike and the struggle against the capitalist regime. It is necessary to form joint committees with other trade unions in struggle, elected by mass meetings and recallable at any time, to send delegations of miners to all trade unions and trades councils, forming Action Committees to initiate local actions and develop the discussion of tactics, objectives, the situation and what to do. Making factory committees, pit committees, workers area committees with a constant life involving all the population. The Labour Parties have to involve themselves in all this.

The left in the LP and trade unions has to intervene more decisively, and to do that it has to have a programme. It has to base itself on the world wide fact of the necessity of overthrowing capitalism, the social, economic necessity of expropriating the capitalist system. Because capitalism is backward, it cannot provide a human standard of living and maintain it, it cannot avoid inflation, unemployment, poverty, the necessity of excessive overtime, pollution and the degradation of the human being. The left has to make a public campaign along

these lines, showing the Workers States, the USSR that has made such a progress in the years from the revolution and has no unemployment, inflation or fuel crisis. It is a superior regime of property, in spite of the limitations of its leadership and forms the economic base for the construction of socialism. The LP and trade union left has to make this campaign, accusing and confronting capitalism as a backward way of organising the economy and society.

And intervening with a programme, to organise itself as a socialist tendency through its intervention in the struggles of the class, beginning with all the demands of the miners, the LP programme of nationalisations, but without compensation and under workers control, workers control so that the miners, for example, can determine their own safety measures and the organisation of production, so car workers can determine track speeds and hiring and firing and impose this through workers councils. For a sliding scale of hours to absorb unemployment with no loss of pay. All factories to be closed or only open three days a week to be nationalised under workers control. The preparation of a General Strike to return a Labour government with the left imposing itself with the anti-imperialist programme and the objective of socialism. For the European Conference of workers parties and trade unions to discuss who is to run Europe, with what form of economy, and to organise the European struggle against the Common market and the capitalist system and for a socialist Europe.

The Political Bureau of the R.W.P. (t)

British Section of the  
IV INTERNATIONAL (posadist)

7.1.73

## Mines Nationalised in PERU

WE SALUTE THE NATIONALISATION  
OF THE CERRO DE PASCO MINING CORPORATION,  
STRONGHOLD OF IMPERIALISM IN PERU,  
BY THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT!

WE CALL FOR FULL SUPPORT TO THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST  
AND ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLE OF THE PERUVIAN MASSES

# THE DECOMPOSITION OF THE ASSASSIN JUNTA IN CHILE AND THE NEW STAGE OF THE WORKERS AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

12.11.73

J. POSADAS

One of the most important conclusions from the situation in Chile is the form that the struggle against the junta is acquiring, the movement of the working class and the points of support that they have. From the point of view there is very little political support. There is certainly a very great support in fraternity and solidarity, but there is no discussion on why this happened and what experiences and conclusions are to be drawn. While neither the communists, socialists, christian democrats or nationalists throughout the world are discussing the problems of Chile and the conclusions, the Chilean working class is discussing them. From the first day of the coup we have made a homage to the Chilean working class, its decision to resist was going to disintegrate the enemy and stimulate the struggle later on a great scale. This is what is happening. The resistance of the working class is very profound. It is on this basis that it is necessary to raise the policy to be carried forward in this stage.

It is necessary to begin from the will and the very elevated decision and depth of the united front. One of the greatest conclusions that arises from what even the capitalist newspapers say about Chile is that the attitude of united front of the proletariat has increased, developed and deepened. It is necessary to begin from this

## AGAINST ANY AGREEMENT WITH THE ASSASSIN LEADERS OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY!

It is necessary to fight any attempt to make an agreement with the Christian Democracy. It is necessary to struggle for democratic demands, for democratic rights of organisation, but not together with the Christian Democrats. It is important to appeal to the left to break with them and accuse them of murder, and to deepen their crisis. The tactic tending to believe that circumstances allow one to make a united front with the Christian Democracy means strengthening murderers who have collaborated in all this and who now have to make such a policy because they can do nothing else.

We oppose this policy with all our force. It is a mistaken and suicidal policy. If they seek an agreement now it is because after having murdered and tried to destroy the resistance of the proletariat they are trying to present themselves and be acknowledged as being lesser assassins than the others. This would mean giving them an immense historic stage, while as things are now this junta will not last six months.

It is necessary to bear in mind the very elevated resistance of the masses as a measure of the policy to make. Any attempt at an agreement with the Christian Democracy is to favour and facilitate the reanimation of a sector of the assassins, to give them credit and an authority. It means to extend their stage of existence without any benefit for the masses, and on the contrary to create a crisis within the masses who are going to be against all this. When they still have to shoot and murder after two months and they cannot establish their power without the curfew, it indicates that it is a power that can only establish itself with the massacre. It is a lack of anything else, not decision and strength. They have scarce means; only murder. So it is necessary to organise the armed mobilisation at the same time as the political and trade union mobilisation. There are still not the conditions for any trade union mobilisation, but it is necessary to prepare for this.

Their decomposition goes very, very quickly. If they still have to impose the curfew after two months it is because they have no security in their own ranks. Which is to say, the resistance of the masses and of the world is having a very great effect. Within it the importance of the attitude of the Workers States in breaking diplomatic relations. It is necessary to condemn the Chinese who maintain diplomatic relations, which is a smokescreen for the junta. Making a united front with the Christian Democracy is within the attitude of the Chinese. It is necessary to condemn this as a false and suicidal policy, a basis of political capitulation, such as they are doing by supporting NATO against the Soviet Union. It does not mean a political capitulation in everything. They do not capitulate in Formosa because here they have a direct interest within their own zone. What difference is there between Formosa and NATO? They are two instruments of imperialism!

## THE TACTIC TO ORGANISE THE UNITED FRONT AND GAIN THE BASE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY.

It is a problem of revolutionary tactic, class tactic and class policy. This junta is maintaining itself through terror. It has the arms for terror and it is going to maintain the terror while it can, the way to liquidate them is for the masses to confront them. The Christian Democracy has been shown to be a supporter of the junta, the party through which every assassin junta such as this moves forward and develops. They are the parties of the bourgeoisie that permitted these layers to develop in their interior. It is necessary to break them.

As for all those who say they want to prevent the civil war, the massacre, what about the 40,000 they have killed? All those who were against the civil war and did not prepare for the civil war, the civil war came and

point of view. This uprising that they say there has been may be a manoeuvre made up to justify the murders. But this underlines that in the whole process there is a very great combativity, the lack of fear and restraint, the elevated attitude of united front. It is on this basis that it is necessary to make the policy.

It is necessary to appeal for a public discussion in the workers movement of the present stage. Accepting that the Communist Parties make the festivals that they are making, but also that they make political meetings of discussion. It is necessary to show that the resistance of the Chilean proletariat, the thousands of ways in which the proletariat resists, remains united, cohesive and increases its class unification of what is disintegrating and defeating the junta. Amongst the events that show that it is the force of the proletariat that is disintegrating them, is the fact that the Yanks cannot intervene openly in Chile, while the Soviet Union has intervened openly in the Middle East. This is the relationship of forces favourable to the revolution. And instead of being favourable to the junta, the revolution in Argentina is against it.

The junta has not managed to discourage, smash, disintegrate the resistance of the proletariat and impel each one of them to be occupied just with themselves. Their objective was to frighten, to terrorise the masses so that each one would enclose themselves in their family, their house, their work. And it is just the opposite. The masses have elevated their sentiment, the consciousness, the fraternal, solid organisational resolution of class unification which attracts the small peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie and the Christian Democracy too. Basing oneself on this it is necessary to appeal for democratic demands waiting for later stages. Meanwhile continuing to organise the united front for wage demands according to the cost of living, against the shortage of foodstuffs. Making a campaign, 'We want bread, we want milk, eggs and butter; we had them before, we don't have them now'. At the same time, 'We want democracy, we want democratic liberties, we want the right to discuss, the right to decide, think, complain, to demand better working conditions and wages, we want all the trials and murders to end and all the political prisoners set free'. Certainly all this cannot be done, openly but it is necessary to go forward developing it in a public and clandestine campaign, whether on the walls, leaflets or whatever. Now meetings are made, leaflets appear, the army cleans writing off the walls and they immediately appear again. They go and clean them in the night and next day the writing is there again.

they murdered 40,000 proletarians. What about this? This should make them regret and condemn the consciousness of each one of them who opposed the armed preparation of the proletariat. Here is the proof. The 40,000 here, the 80,000

throughout Indo-China, the 40,000 in the Middle East. What about this? Isn't this equivalent to an atomic war? To all those who say that they do not want the atomic war, we do not want the atomic war either, it's them who want it! And they can make it because they have the arms. All this about preventing it, containing it, postponing it is all an invention. It may be postponed but they will make it anyway. And if they postpone it, why aren't we going to prepare ourselves to make it? The Socialist International has officially denounced that there have been 40,000 murdered! It is necessary to make an appeal to draw these conclusions. It is necessary to draw the conclusion that to go to power it is vital to destroy the judicial structure of the capitalist system, to destroy the capitalist state apparatus. This is the clearest and most conclusive experience in which the masses are maturing. This experience was unnecessary, this could have been reached without the need of this defeat. It could have been made through a political discussion in the class, to have discussed the October Revolution, the Chinese Revolution, the Cuban Revolution and all the other revolutions. There is not a single revolution that went to power without the civil war! Even Czechoslovakia, where they had prepared the counter-revolution. There has not been a single revolution by parliamentary means. If it begins by parliamentary means, it is then necessary to use force to sustain it.

We reiterate; we do not want the civil war nor the atomic war, but they are the ones who make them. So we foresee and prepare for them, we prepare the organs to destroy those of capitalism. To go to power destroying the capitalist organs and gaining a part of the army, to gain it! To destroy the political power of the army, this is the first measure and a fundamental conclusion. And to arm the proletariat, to organise the country in the form of territorial militia. This is a class war, not a democratic progression. The proletariat employs democratic norms, but they employ fascism, war, arms like in the Middle East, like in Indo-China, like they did before in Cuba. So draw this conclusion and appeal now for a world movement of support for Chile. The petit bourgeoisie supports all this, capitalism is powerless. A sector of the army sees that it is being used as cannon fodder to defend the privileges of a few. The army is not going to be gained as a structure, but part of the army can be gained, as has been done in every revolution. But how is it to be gained? With demands and persuasion? No respect for bourgeois constitutional norms? No the constitution is bourgeois democratic because it means respect for liberty up to the point of upsetting the bourgeoisie, affecting the capitalist interest, and when it can, it makes a coup. This is why it is bourgeois democracy, and this is why we say socialist democracy. Which is to say, complete democracy to transform society. They are not going to admit this.

It is necessary to emphasise the attitude of the Soviet Union in not going to play football, of breaking diplomatic relations, and to condemn the Chinese. It is necessary to appeal to the Chinese for a public discussion on what communist behaviour must be, which is what we are pointing out in all the Workers States. All the worker, political and trade union movement, all the world proletariat, the Communist Parties of the Workers States and of the capitalist countries, the Socialist Parties, the workers centres have to give priority to a discussion on support to Chile, a discussion of the experiences of Chile and the preparation of the worker, trade union and political movement in these discussions.

The Christian Democratic base can only be gained with decisive action in combat. An important part of the Christian Democratic base is now

certainly against the junta, but politically and electorally its conduct is going to be the same as before. They have to see that they are capable of resolving the problems of society. And if they see that they are going to respect the bourgeois norms, the bourgeois constitution, then they will stay where they are. They have to see a superior attitude and decision to transform society. Otherwise they see it as an electoral problem and stay where they are because they do not feel attracted and gained by a superior attitude. All the influence that can be gained now on the petit bourgeois and Christian Democratic base is not gained through sadness or solidarity because there is murder and deaths. If there is no political conviction and there is no change in political conception, the layer which can be gained in this way is very small. On the other hand, when they see the Popular Unity decided to take power, to destroy the entire structure of the bourgeois apparatus, to gain part of the army directly, to arm the proletariat, which has a right to be armed, to structure the defence to be able to progress against the capitalist regime, then all this petit bourgeois layer is going to be gained, because it sees the decision to change society. Otherwise it sees an attitude of solidarity throughout the murders they are making but they see no political transformation. One cannot expect them to see the Popular Unity as better than the fascists because they do not murder, and they believe that you can go to power in a parliamentary way. It is necessary to show that it has to be done by

force. Force doesn't mean going about killing and murdering in the streets, but for the proletariat to impose by force, by means of resolutions of parliament and the trade unions, and by arms too; to enforce the decisions taken by armed force.

The entire situation in Latin America is favourable. The commission to revise the OAS (organisation of American States) against American imperialism has met. Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay did not go. They are afraid that an anti-imperialist resolution will result. And a resolution against imperialism is going to come out. The entire situation in Latin America is favourable to drawing all the conclusions from Chile. This experience was unnecessary, but it happened. There was no need for a defeat. The fundamental conclusion is this; the only force that remains to them is the army, the structure of the bourgeois apparatus, in which the entire structure of the bureaucratic apparatus came from before. It is necessary to break all this; the police, the army, all of it. This does not mean unemployment, nor condemning any poor petit bourgeois, worker or peasant to hunger. They can all have work. But it does mean breaking the power in the state structure that came from a previous stage. To change all of it, not just one or another boss. All the structure! If they do not do this the result is the 40,000 they have already murdered and those they are going to murder, the thousands they have killed in Argentina and Brazil.

## THE MINERS STRUGGLE AND THE NEED TO CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF THE N.U.M.

The miners overtime ban has been unanimously supported in the pits, causing a considerable reduction in output and running down coal stocks in the country and developing as a factor in the present crisis of the Tory government. All the conditions exist for a national strike to win the present dispute and deal yet another severe blow to the capitalist system. The government is weak, the feeling in the pits is for a strike, even in the generally less militant areas, a strike now in the winter months with coal stocks at their present level could triumph very quickly. So it is necessary to discuss, what is the NUM leadership preparing? Why are there no meetings to discuss and organise a mobilisation? Why hasn't the decision of the NUM in S.Wales to call a series of mass rallies not been copied elsewhere? Isn't it possible to forge links between the NUM, ASLEF and the AUEW as well as rank and file links, to be able to take the action of these sectors much further, to the preparation of the General Strike?

The traditional right wing in the Executive Committee of the NUM is very weak, it only has points of support in the union apparatus and marginal sectors, within COSA for example. The left, on the other hand, exists at the top of a union with a profoundly militant tradition, not least that of the '72 strike, Sallety, the flying pickets etc. Now in a situation that is more mature than '72, this left is still not responding sufficiently to the depth of struggle and sentiment of the miners. The fact that this 'left' is so silent makes such a slight intervention and discussion directly at the pits with the miners, and makes no serious attempt to deepen the discussion with other sectors in struggle, is a reflection of the conservatism of the trade union structure, the rigid bureaucratic structure that paralyses ideas,

discussion or any break with routinism. For the base of the union to really weigh in the leadership this rotten structure has to be broken.

The present crisis of the Tory government and the political, economic and social crisis of the capitalist system mean that it is no longer possible to conduct a wage struggle on the basis of getting more money by making a strike and then being able to wait before having to fight again. Inflation, the rising cost of living, the falling quality of many goods means that it is a constant struggle of the working class to maintain living standards. This poses more clearly than anything else to the trade union leaderships the necessity of carrying the struggle much further. A necessity which they are generally unprepared for because of their previous role and education as a go-between, between the capitalists and workers. Hence their present crisis and paralysis. The middle ground of manoeuvre and collaboration is eliminated, on the one hand by the capitalist economic collapse and on the other by the constantly developing will and consciousness of the trade union base to make a more decisive struggle. It is necessary to make a real mobilisation on every strike issue, with mass assemblies and mass committees linking all sectors in struggle. Within the trade unions themselves there has to be a real life of ideas, discussion, resolution, and this means breaking the grip of the apparatuses by imposing a more elevated trade union democracy; mass assemblies, mandated delegates subject to instant recall, a full discussion of all the problems. Then the trade union is not just a source of instructions to its members but an organism in which the class can weigh and decide.

The government is trying to use the miners dispute and the 'oil crisis' to launch an offensive against the working class by imposing a three

fundamental thing is to see the present moment as it is. It is a moment of defeat but not retreat. The proletariat remains intact. It is not broken up or disorganised internally, nor does it feel internally disintegrated. It stays in defeat, but united. This must mark the tactic to follow and the phases of the tactic which must be accompanied by the world process of the revolution, in which what counts for a great deal and what has to be emphasised, is the attitude of the Workers States, and in particular the USSR, which is a contribution to the struggle against the assassin junta. For the tactic to follow in this stage it is necessary to feel that the class is united, and this facilitates actions, demands and stages because on a world scale the process is in ascent, it does not favour capitalism, it does not

tend to smash, disorganise or disintegrate the masses. On the contrary it tends to impel them.

The Middle East is an example. The Soviet Union has intervened in the Middle East. Sadat and the Americans have made a pact against the progress of the revolution, which also goes against the Soviet Union. In spite of this Heykel declares 'Be careful, don't try to make an agreement with the Americans after using Soviet arms'. He is saying to them that it is a class agreement against the revolution, he is warning them. Heykel - who even if he is changing is not the representative of the revolution - is seeing that it is a sellout, that a sellout is on the way to prevent the development of the Arab countries and he warns that this is going to be challenged by the revolution.

## TO REORGANISE THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES IN CHILE IT IS NECESSARY TO BE BASED ON THE WORLD PROCESS

The struggle of the masses in Latin America, the Middle East, Indo-China, the struggle of the European masses, shows that capitalism has no force on a world scale to stimulate or aid reaction by providing it with points of support. But on the other hand the proletariat feels that it is full of life. Capitalism has Watergate and Nixon's days are certainly numbered. Nixon can stay in power, on condition that he follows a policy which a sector of the CIA want, but it is also evident that all the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie see that the leadership of the most powerful capitalism

is a gang of bandits. They are thieves, pure and simple, liars, common criminals and they conduct their internal struggles just like gangsters. How is it possible to have confidence in them? How to believe that they are going to respect any promise, or negotiation, however unimportant, that they undertake, impel and encourage? They only make treaties in order to break them the day after. The embraces given to Brezhnev have ended with the Middle East. Imperialism has neither the intention, nor the interest nor the means to fulfill its commitments, on the other hand the Workers States tend to fulfill them but it is not a question of that. In Chile Yankee

imperialism would have been able to intervene, it would be able to do it now, but it could not do so because it was stopped by the world revolution. And at the same moment when the junta in Chile carried out its assassinations, 14 countries of Latin America met to draw conclusions that go against the military alliance of the Inter-American defence pact.

It is necessary to be based on this world process. The struggle of the masses progresses in Italy, France, Japan, throughout Latin America. The Chilean masses have been defeated but not smashed or disorganised, and they do not feel conquered. We appeal to the comrades of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, MIR, MAPU to draw these conclusions. There are stages. One cannot call now for a mobilisation, but certain actions they are doing can be stimulated. But it is necessary to unify them with an objective, so that they may have a mass appeal on the problems of food, the cost of living, unemployment, lack of democratic rights in the factories, the absence of all rights. It is necessary to re-establish democratic rights. These campaigns are going to allow a communication of all the population, while the trade unions reanimate their intervention with the workers parties. It is necessary to discuss an action of united front and afterwards the discussion can develop to give a very great perspective to this united front. For the moment it is necessary to pose the objective and organic reactivation of the class with a programme. It is this which is happening at the present moment but still in a very decentralised way. It is necessary to achieve a unification of the leadership and a discussion of all the class, in Chile and outside. It is necessary to find the way to lead this discussion in Chile.

The attitude towards the Christian Democracy is a fundamental problem. There is a left workers and peasants base in the Christian Democracy that can and must be won. To do this it is necessary to appeal to it directly and with examples, to appeal to it to struggle for a programme and policy which shows the resolution to smash the existing power. Even with the influence of the world proletariat, if matters were decided by electoral means or in relation to the bourgeois constitution, this Christian Democratic base does not see a socially superior force. If not it would have been united. They are going to be united now in the trade union struggle because they have the same conditions as the proletariat. In this unity it is necessary to appeal to overthrow this power against its party which is an assassin party. For this a greater internal democracy is needed. Then the base can feel that it is living a better life in which it can intervene, and decide, and in the intervention and with a full discussion, it can see its bourgeois leadership. It understands and sees a perspective. This is not immediate because the proletariat has

received a blow. But we reiterate the following conclusion; they have killed 40,000 people; such a sudden massacre was to smash, to subdue the because people reflect 'they have killed, we pay this price, we have been mistaken politically; but we are going to correct the political errors which were to have confidence in the capitalist structure which is what they are utilising to kill us'.

On this basis, it is necessary to draw in its turn our conclusions. What is apparent is that the capitalist structure cannot be the base to reach a parliamentary or electoral majority, but to take measures which allow the organisation of the forces to destroy the enemy apparatus. One of the greatest errors was not to have smashed the lorry owners strike from the start. To break and destroy the strike of the lorry owners and the shopkeepers! It could have been done, but they stood in awe of the constitution, the bourgeois law of property, distribution and the fear of the army. If help had been asked of the Argentinian government, they would have given it, or the Peruvian, or they could have appealed to the masses. At the same time, why not disintegrate the army, when it was obvious that it was plotting? The conclusion is concrete, there were prior and precise denunciations that the army was plotting and it was clear which ones were going to make the coup. And they made the coup. Well why weren't they thrown out before? They led the coup! It is not a question of majority or minority. The population is the majority. With the votes which they got and the exploited population which did not vote, they are the majority, the absolute majority. To remain confined to the electoral expression is false, it is not historically correct. Why don't they present all the working forces, they only vote from the age of 21. Even electorally, if it was based on the work force we would see who is right. It is necessary to have these discussions in the workers movement. The leaderships of the communist, socialist parties, the nationalists do not discuss this. It is necessary to open a world discussion. Why did we lose Chile, what are the stages, the experiences? Is the support of the Soviet Union - which is very good - sufficient in Chile to go to power? No, it is necessary to destroy the bourgeois power in every country. If it is with the help of the Workers States, it is much better. It is necessary then to count upon the support of the Workers States and it is necessary to appeal to them. Besides, it is possible to go to power throughout the world, proletariat by means of an inexplicable defeat or to destroy the feeling of optimism. This conclusion, at least, has to be drawn from the killing of 40,000 people. Nothing of this has occurred now. Capitalism sustains itself through the indecision of the parties of the working class to take power.

If the Soviet Union had given the arms in the Middle East, why does it not give them in Chile? We appeal so that the Soviet soldiers continue in the Middle East against imperialism. They are quite right, they have a complete historic right because it is for the benefit of humanity. Well, and why don't they do it in Chile? What difference is there? The same attitude of imperialism in the Middle East through Israel as in Chile through ITT, the Christian Democracy, Pinochet, all the generals who said to Allende, 'Yes, yes, Senor President', it is not possible to trust them. It is necessary to discuss all this, without reproaches, judgements or condemnations, but as a critical examination of this experience to progress. This is the purpose of this discussion.

Organs of class power must be made which control the factory, workers area and army. Why not control the army, who says it can't be done? Why remain subjected to their constitutional forms? The army is superior to what? To the Chamber of Deputies, to justice, to the factories? It is inferior! The army can produce nothing, it is an instrument created by the bourgeoisie for its defence. It is very difficult to break up the army because it is the most centralised and structured organ of capitalism, but experience shows that a number of the military can be easily won over. According to the reports they have the family of Prats held as hostages and before the coup they had arrested him and other generals and they killed others.

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# ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE WORKERS PARTIES IN URUGUAY

(from a letter to the Uruguayan Section)

2. 12. 73.

J. POSADAS

The dissolution of the workers parties in Uruguay is a blow that the bourgeoisie is trying to give, but the result is going to be a quick double boomerang. It was necessary to shake up the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Frente Amplio, who were in a state of the most complete passivity. In some of them this blow is going to accentuate the passivity so they go to sleep, but on the other hand it is going to show those who want to impel the struggle, which is the majority, that they are going to find the way to be allied to the powerful nationalist wing of the army. This wing is important and powerful, but it is timid, indecisive and it does not see the relations with the trade unions and the parties, they do not see in them the decision to triumph. So this blow is going to impel them to intervene without waiting for legal, constitutional or parliamentary means.

Less than one year ago there was a general strike in Uruguay that paralysed the country for ten days. The government repressed, but the repression did not discourage or weaken the strike. The strike was not won because the communist and socialist leadership did not combine it with the struggle to overthrow the government and for an alliance with the left wing in the army to form a new leadership and a new government.

In the CNT's general strike there were the revolutionary conditions to go to power, to call for a left military-CNT-socialist-communist government. This stage has already passed, but it cannot go back. It is necessary to organise the mobilisation to have a force against the repression in the trade union movement. To call for a public and clandestine movement, appealing at the same time to the sectors of the left in the military for a struggle for democracy and for a government that responds to the will and democratic needs of the majority of the country, who are against the government. At the same time, it is necessary to appeal for it to have a programme which is not just the

military's points 4 and 7. To extend this, not allowing the military to determine what programmatic points there are going to be and to limit them just to the economy. It is necessary to extend them and show that there is an economic crisis which is a product of the crisis of the capitalist regime and that to come out of it a programme and perspective are needed that surpass points 4 and 7. It is not a question of confronting the nationalist military and accusing them because of the limitations of points 4 and 7 but showing that these are insufficient and that one can go further.

It is necessary to discuss this in the communist movement and show that those who were capable of making the general strike that stopped the country was not the military but the CNT. All the country was behind the CNT. This had authority when it showed that it was confronting them. It had no more consequences because they did nothing more. Neither did the government, apart from the repressive measures it took. It left the strike to die. If the communists, socialists and CNT had made a mobilisation of the people, meetings, demonstrations, appeals to the army, they would have forced a solution and obliged a change with a government much more to the left. This is passed but it is going to be posed again. Now it is necessary above all to include the conquest of democratic rights combined with the conquest of democratic rights combined with the struggles for trade union demands.

The decree of dissolution is not a triumph of the government, it is not a blow given as a result of a retreat or defeat of the workers movement in Uruguay. It is not a blow produced as a result of a retreat of the masses. It is the opposite. On the contrary, it is a measure taken to contain the offensive of the masses. In all the elections in the university in spite of the regime of dictatorship (not very active but it is a dictatorship that imposes a control over what it is permitted to do in the country) the left has won. Including the elections of the rectors. The gov-

ernment formed its trade unions, opened trade union locales with carpets, porters and free cups of coffee..... and they stayed empty. And the old trade unions that they dissolved are more alive than before and actively functioning. The government dissolved the CNT and the trade unions recognise the CNT.

The workers movement is full of decision, it is not frightened, there is persecution, there is repression, there are constant arrests. The workers in the prisons and barracks make a political activity, they meet with the soldiers and organise, talk and make meetings. The dissolution is not a measure taken in the middle of a process of retreat of the workers movement, but in the middle of an ascent of the masses. In spite of its timid leaderships they are trying to impel the mobilisations.

So this measure is not supported on the fear or disintegration of the masses. It is supported on a fact that favours the bourgeoisie quite a lot; there is not a united front that responds. The Frente Amplio has no policy, it does not respond, it does not mobilise, it does not mobilise the masses, it does not call for any activity, it has stayed paralysed. So the government profits from this partial paralysis of the Frente Amplio to take this measure. But the proletariat is alive, full of decision and it is going to reply with mobilisations. It is necessary to appeal for a mobilisation and to the left in the army to make a united front to overthrow this government.

Even so, in this situation in Uruguay there is no benefit to them. Nor has the coup in Chile strengthened or affirmed the right socially. Almost 3 months of constant murder of thousands of worker militants, continuous murders and imprisonments, but the workers movement and the masses of Chile are reanimating their mobilisations. There have been strikes, they make publications and meetings, they do not allow themselves to be

intimidated, they are not restrained. As much in Uruguay as in Chile it is necessary to point out that amongst the consequences that imperialism and the internal fascists are looking for was to impel each Chilean or each Uruguayan to think each one for himself, to settle things alone. Instead, in the masses of Uruguay and Chile each one thinks of the others as well as himself.

The masses are not intimidated. They are looking how to settle things because there is no work, there are not the means of life, and they are trying to live. The unemployment in Chile is very high. Nonetheless, even with the unemployment they have not managed to find blacklegs, they are not finding people who obey the junta because it gives them work or employment. There is a desertion and refusal on the part of the masses to go where the military junta wants to take them or where the Uruguayan government tries to impose; in the trade unions that the government formed or in the work the government gives or in the blacklegs it appeals for. The bourgeoisie is not finding blacklegs in Chile or in Uruguay. It is an example of elevated decision and consciousness.

The masses of Uruguay and Chile already had consciousness. They had shown their decision when they stopped the country for ten days. They have the decision to function as a class so as to be able to attract all the population later. So it is necessary to expect, as much in Uruguay as in Chile, a process of ascent of the action of the masses.

J. Posadas 2.12.1973

#### Note:

Points 4 and 7 are part of the military's programme and contain demands that go against capitalism.

The CNT is the Uruguayan trade union centre

## THE DECOMPOSITION OF...

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It is necessary to be clear that the army is going to intervene in every way, in any country of the world. It is the method of capitalism; there has been no revolution where the army has not intervened. It is important to realise that it will intervene. What has to be done is to break it beforehand, to win a part, to maintain control

over them by way of workers organisations and to arm the people; so that the army feels that the people also have arms. It is necessary to have a strategy to control key posts in the Air Force and the Navy. All this must be discussed. To conceal the discussion is to give them an advantage. In our camp it is also important to discuss all this.

### THE WORKERS STATES MUST INTERVENE WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH AND MEANS AGAINST THE ASSASSIN JUNTA.

This help of the Soviet Union shows that it is necessary to appeal for a much more direct intervention in Latin America. To appeal to the Workers States, the Communist and Socialist parties, left catholic parties, nationalist movements, to the left, to discuss and support Chile on the base of world mobilisations to smash the Chilean junta as happened with fascism. In Italy they have just held a meeting of many thousands of students. Their objective is to smash the fascists in the universities. Thousands and thousands marched through the streets shouting, 'Death to fascism, out with fascism from the university'. Even though it is limited, it is a mobilisation against fascism.

It is necessary to demand that they make a mobilisation against fascism in Chile. All the world sports organisations should protest also against the action of the FIFA which excludes the Soviet Union. To condemn and reject all this and to reorganise the Olympic Games, which have a class interest. It is not possible to play in any stadium in a country where the people are being murdered. Sport is not something remote from civil liberties. In Chile they murdered people in the stadium, in the streets and threw their bodies in the river. Hundreds of bodies have been seen floating in the rivers. One of the generals in the junta admitted it, but said that they could not control it. Which means that if there were hundreds of bodies seen floating in the rivers, what can it be like in other places where they cannot be seen. It is necessary to communicate and circulate in Chile that the Soviet Union is not going to play football in Chile and condemns the military junta, as do all the other Workers States. We must support this and see that all the world knows and applauds such an attitude.

It is important to make a campaign so that all the Communist Parties discuss that this experience shows the need for a united front with these demands, linking them to the armed struggle. The Communist Parties are awaiting the decomposition and the division of the junta, These are assassins who killed at least 40,000 people. This is the CIA, imperialism with the Chilean bourgeoisie. It is not necessary to expect that the Christian Democracy is going to decompose the Junta or is going to take power, or is going to have to make a counter coup against them. A countercoup would be to maintain everything that they did, against the revolutionary movement, against the progress of socialism in Chile. Any-bourgeois leadership which takes power is going to do the same. Only the mobilisation of the masses can break the Christian Democracy which is the axis of all this and to smash the National Party. It is necessary to appeal for a discussion in the world workers movement on these experiences.

It is necessary to pose in the Communist,

Socialist, left Catholic parties and the left nationalists, that they publish all the reports which show the cohesion, the unanimity of the united front of the masses, the resistance and the united struggle of the masses which is disintegrating the Junta. Without such a defence and struggle of the masses, the Junta would not disintegrate, it would maintain itself firm and cohesive, and the sectors of the National Party which are the most reactionary and the Christian Democratic right have also supported all this. What does it matter if they call themselves 'democratic' if they perform the function of the fascists, the policy of the fascists, the objectives of the fascists?

It is not necessary to believe what is being said of the fights or the divisions in the Junta. It may be that they exist. But they are rumours destined to create the expectation of a crisis so as to hinder anything else. If these struggles exist, so much the better - but they will be seen. If there was something real and serious, there would be more important indications. A Junta is not going to say in two months, 'Well, we are losing, lets get out'. On the contrary, imperialism is going to, sustain them, to maintain the repression and a powerful team by means of assassinations. This is going to stimulate a sector of the Christian Democrats to seek an agreement with the Communists, the Socialists and others. But they only do this when they don't know what else to do. One cannot give way to this situation, because the Christian Democracy is trying to show itself as a force which is not going to kill, is going to allow a certain freedom, a certain trade union movement, is going to pose an electoral solution with the elimination of the Communists and Socialists so that these accept it as the lesser evil. Every attempt to give such a solution must be utterly opposed.

The crisis which Chile has opened with this experience has no solution other than that either the proletariat goes to power or imperialism with the fascist massacre; there is no other road. The neighbouring countries have shown that none of them were intimidated. The Brasilians, who appear as the axis which is going to devour all Chile, have to beware their own internal crisis. And Banzer refuses to see Pinochet. ¶

The world situation has to be taken into account. In Argentina there is a very ferocious struggle. The civil war is going to come too because the right is going to be fragmented. This is going to have a lot of influence in Chile. It is necessary to discuss the role which the Cordones Industriales are playing, the Comandos Comunales and the importance of these organs created by the masses which were of a soviet type and which are inevitably going to develop a function of a soviet type - soviet type, not soviet. It is necessary to show that this initiative has to be retaken. And now it is necessary to make restricted Cordones Industriales, very restricted in level and action, very restricted in functioning. But the important objective is to maintain an action which coordinates the activity of the working class and which transmits this coordination to the rest of the population. It is difficult to do this because there is no centralised leadership. So it is necessary to appeal to the Socialists, Communists, left Catholics, the MAPU, to draw out documents, constant appeals, constant evaluations, orientations of struggle for democratic demands, uniting them to the struggles of the world.

The most important aspect is to re-establish a unified functioning of the communists, socialists, MIR, trotskysts and all the left. This is going to have an immense importance against the junta. It is necessary to also ask the Workers States, at the same time that they do not go to play football, make an appeal to the Latin American masses, to the trade unions, to the workers centres to intervene. Not only to condemn but to intervene; mobilisations, strikes, agitation against the military junta and, at the same time, pressure on the Argentinian, Peruvian and Bolivian government so that they allow all the exiles to enter - with the right to control because they can send spies in - and give them political asylum so that they can carry out a political activity against the assassin junta.

J. POSADAS 12. 11. 73.

# The total crisis of capitalism and the programme for a socialist Europe

8.11.73

J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

## RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

### MANIFESTO OF THE IV NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE R.W.P.(t) BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

## ORGANISE THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS! PREPARE THE GENERAL STRIKE!

## FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMENT WITH A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME AND POLICY!

The fundamental feature of the situation in Britain is the constant, concentrated growth of the struggles of the proletariat and the masses, of the strikes and mobilisations that put into question the functioning of capitalism, and that advance in their anti-capitalist, programmatic character. There is, in the British workers movement, a powerful programmatic advance which is still not organised and centralised. This advance in the struggle and programme is impelled, stimulated and finds support in the course of the world revolution and in the structure already reached by history.

The main centres of this structure are on the one hand the existence and the growing intervention in the world revolution of the 14 Workers States and the world united front of the masses against capitalism and imperialism; and on the other hand the total crisis of world capitalism which is symbolised at the highest level by Watergate. On the basis of this combined structure of struggles and mobilisations of the working class and the masses in this country and of the invincible development of the world revolution, the elements for the organic constitution of the anti-capitalist, socialist and marxist left in the Labour Party and trade unions advances and grows constantly more powerful. Its organisation is a fundamental task for the further progress of the revolution and for the struggle for power in this country.

Capitalism and the bourgeoisie defend themselves from this process. Their aggressiveness is defensive. Their crisis expresses the fact that the bourgeoisie can no longer run the country and that capitalism is an outdated and backward system of production, long since superseded by history. It is a total irreversible crisis, and a defensive one. The bourgeoisie has created the phoney oil crisis in order to conceal the real and much deeper crisis which corrodes it. This crisis does not depend on oil but on the complete decay and exhaustion of the system itself: capitalism is no longer capable of guaranteeing work, production and elementary running of the economy. The 3 day week is not just another measure, but the symbol of its impotence and an arbitrary imposition of a brutal form of economic dictatorship against the standard of living and the very life of the working population of the country, in order to extend a little longer the exhausted and paralysed existence of the system. Capitalism, at the same time, is willing to sacrifice by this 'oil crisis' small and medium industries, concentrating itself for its survival in the financial strengthening of a handful of great enterprises.

The 3 day week, industries and cities without power, the repression against the workers movement and prison sentences on the Shrewsbury three building workers, the army and the tanks in the streets are complimentary and inseparable measures and the expression of the attempt of the bourgeoisie to impose on the population a state of war when no war exists and to sacrifice the basic conquests and rights of the masses. In analysing the repression against the people in Northern Ireland, Comrade Posadas insisted on the fact that British imperialism was trying out in Ireland the methods that it was preparing to use

against its own working class. This is what has already begun to happen - Whitelaw is now here. However the bourgeoisie does not have the strength and confidence to go all the way.

It is not just the policy of the government but the exhausted structure of capitalism which reacts with the measures of the Tories. If the government has been able to apply this policy up until now, it is not due to its own strength - a regime that is only able to work three days a week is decrepit in every aspect - but it is due to the passive and conciliatory policy of the leadership of the Labour Party and trade unions which is a part of the decrepitude of the capitalist regime.

The government has failed in its attempt to set the population, and mainly the petit bourgeoisie against the miners. In fact all the population supports the miners, there is not a single protest against their struggle and all the petit bourgeoisie accuse the government as the only ones responsible for the crisis. The great importance of the present strikes and mobilisations lies in the fact

that it is a fight against government policy and to defend the standard of life and conquests of the whole population, including the petit bourgeoisie; and, at the same time they prepare and raise

the conditions for the organisation of the powerful left which already exists in the Labour Party and trade unions, and therefore, for the creation of a revolutionary leadership.

### THE WORLD REVOLUTION AND THE LEFT

'The essential task in Britain' as Comrade Posadas posed 'is to form a left in the Labour Party and trade unions. The struggle for change passes, before and during their development, through the interior of the mass organisations, the Labour Party and trade unions. To struggle for the organisation of the left is to break the apparatus of the right; to break the links and relations between the right and centre with capitalism. It is necessary to break this.

The struggle for the formation of the left passes through the struggle within the Labour Party and the trade unions. The present mobilisations combine this essential task with the struggle to impose a Labour government with a socialist policy. And both tasks find an impulsion and a point of support in the world advance of the revolution. The development of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions is based - and has to base itself - on this perspective. There is a permanent instability of world capitalism and a constant progress of the struggles of the masses. The Soviet Union and the Workers States intervene constantly supporting the world revolution: In Vietnam, the Middle East, against the junta of assassins in Chile. The European Communist Parties progress towards

a policy of global confrontation with capitalism. The process of radicalisation and advance of the left wings in the European Socialist parties, particularly in France, Italy and Germany is constant. It is the same with the development of the left and anti-capitalist tendencies in the trade unions and the trade union federations in Europe, Latin America and Asia. The tendency towards united fronts of communist and socialist parties and the trade unions - which has one of its highest expressions in the Popular Union and the general strike of December 6th in France - are constant, as much in the communist and socialist parties as in the revolutionary nationalist, left christian and nationalist military movements.

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## THE FOURTH CONFERENCE OF THE BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

The R.W.P. (t), British Section of the IV International (posadist) held its Fourth National Conference on the 18th, 19th and 20th of January.

The conference discussed and developed three points:

- 1) The world course of the socialist revolution, the present stage of the partial regeneration within the Workers States and Communist Parties, the struggle of the proletariat and masses in Britain and the role of the IV International.
- 2) The construction of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions and the tasks of the British Section.
- 3) The Organisational Report. The conference discussed the tasks for the growth and strengthening of the party, improvement of its weekly organ Red Flag and the publication of more texts of Comrade Posadas and of the IV International.

This conference was prepared on the basis of the documents of the IV World Conference of the IV International and on the texts of Comrade Posadas on Britain. The conference analysed and discussed the present stage of the partial regeneration in the Workers

States and its influence on Britain and was prepared by study and discussion in all the organisms of the party and by reports on the activity of all the cells and Regional Committees.

The conference unanimously approved all the documents and reports and elected a Central Committee and Political Bureau of the party. The party resolved to publish a manifesto, the text of which appears on this issue, 'Organise the Left in the Labour Party and Trade Unions! Prepare the General Strike! For a Labour Government with a Socialist Programme and Policy!'

The conference sent a warm salute to Comrade Posadas for his role of theoretical and political organiser of the IV International.

The conference sent warm salutes to all the sections of the IV International and in particular to the Chilean and Brazilian Sections. A salute was also made for the nationalisation of the Cerro de Pasco Mining Corporation in Peru.

The conference terminated with a salute for the unification of the world communist movement and the programme of socialist revolution throughout the world, and by the singing of the Internationale.

# THE TOTAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE PROGRAMME FOR A SOCIALIST EUROPE

Text presented by the *Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (Trotskyite) French section of the IV International (Posadist) in the meeting of the Communist parties of Europe to discuss 'The monetary crisis and its consequences for the working class and the peoples of western Europe' on 26th November 1973.*

19 november 1973

J. POSADAS

## Introduction

We salute this document of comrade Posadas as an essential basis for the discussion on the present stage of the world revolution. It is a fundamentally important intervention in the development of the struggle of the European proletariat and, above all, an impulse for the Communist Parties - and through them to the Workers States - for the unity of the world communist movement and the common planning of the Workers States.

The 'monetary crisis' of capitalism is constant and, as comrade Posadas analyses, expresses the necessity of the world capitalist system to constantly make readjustments in face of its own total world crisis. The capitalist economy still continues to develop in the sense of cutting the socially necessary time of production but, in order to develop it has to invest and it has not the confidence to do this. It fears to be expropriated. The recent expropriation by the Peruvian government of Cerro de Pasco and the expropriation of oil installations and wells by Iraq and Libya show that the fear of the bourgeoisie is well justified. British imperialism in particular suffers from this because it has lost an empire and its economy is geared to being able to dominate its colonies. Now it is just a very weak partner in the EEC.

The 'oil crisis' is an expression of the weakness of the capitalist economy and the cutting of a small proportion of its oil supplies throws it into chaos. Previously imperialism would have intervened with armed force to impose a solution, now they cannot because the presence of the Soviet Workers State prevents this.

The loss of colonies increases the inter-capitalist competition but the major factor for capitalism, on a world scale is the existence of the Workers States. On an economic level the Workers States intervene on a world scale and demonstrate the superiority of a system based on a nationalised, planned economy over capitalism. Thus, because it has no other solution, Yankee imperialism and the rest of the world bourgeoisie prepare the war against the Workers States. As Cde. Posadas says, 'It is not to dramatise or add a note of anguish, but simply to see their weakness'.

The European Common Market is primarily, the basis for the intervention of Yankee imperialism to seek a common army which it would lead. It is not, therefore, a question of a Labour government renegotiating the terms of Britain's entry into the EEC, but of uniting the forces of the Communist and Socialist Parties and of the petit bourgeoisie. We are in a stage of the total world crisis of capitalism and the solution can be neither a reform of the capitalist system nor can it be confined to Britain. It is necessary for the Labour Party and the trade unions to intervene and to impel a conference of all the European trade unions and workers parties including those of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States, based on a programme for 'wage demands, sliding scale of wages and working hours, guarantee of work, the expropriation without compensation and under workers control of major industry, the elimination of all arms production'. It is possible to attract also the petit bourgeoisie who see the social collapse of the world capitalist system which is expressed, at the highest level, in 'Watergate'.

We urge the comrades of the Labour left, of the trade unions and the Communist Party to read, study and discuss this document and to apply the conclusion. It is necessary to see that in its final agony the bourgeoisie is not going to disappear without using all its means - including nuclear weapons - in order to survive. In this circumstance the conclusions of the experience of Chile have to be taken. The necessity is for the construction of independent organs of the class, for the factory committees, for the committees in the workers areas and for committees which link the factory with the workers area. This is the discussion which is necessary nationally, on a European scale and beyond that in all the world workers movement. We publish this document as an essential part of this discussion.

With all our communist fraternity we salute the meetings which the Communist Parties of Europe are holding or preparing together for a common confrontation with the capitalist system and to discuss common problems, amongst these meetings is the coming one in France on the international monetary crisis. They are a very important step forward in the struggle against the capitalist system and against the assassin war that imperialism is preparing. At the same time we appeal for a discussion to be carried forward in all the workers and trade union movement, in the factories, to discuss all these problems publicly. For the Communist Party to extend a public discussion in which it is necessary to begin from the fact that the monetary crisis of the capitalist system is an expression of the total crisis of the capitalist system.

Money is the most elevated form in which capitalist relations are expressed. When the monetary crisis is daily and uninterrupted, it is because the capitalist system is looking for interior readjustments and it cannot find them because it has to concentrate its military and financial capacity for the war and at the same time continue with the interior competition of the capitalist system. But this same competition can no longer be made openly by the capitalist countries as they did before the existence of the Workers States. These are a constant pressure, an immense weight against the capitalist system which prevents it dominating the world market. So it is constantly being pushed towards continual devaluations and alterations in monetary exchange rates.

The accumulation of surplus value continues to be the essential basis of the functioning of the capitalist system. So they have no solution, before them are the Workers States, the Middle East, Vietnam, Latin America that escape the capitalist system. If they could invest in the colonies like before there would not be such a monetary crisis, there would only be an economic crisis in one or another country. But when they can no longer invest like before because they are afraid of being expropriated and there is the development of the masses, the Workers States, the Communist Parties which show that we are in the final settlement of accounts, then the inter-capitalist competition is encouraged. And part of the very high competition amongst them has to be the very elevated degree of technology which constantly cuts the time of work socially necessary for production. It means a great accumulation, but also that it cannot do as it did before and repeat the cycle of expansion of the capitalist system.

## IN THE MIDDLE OF ITS CRISIS, CAPITALISM IS PREPARING THE WAR

The Middle East war, the war that Israel is making under the leadership of Yankee imperialism, the Vietnam war, the war which they are making in Latin America and in Africa are fragmented parts of a war that Yankee imperialism and capitalism in Europe are still not animated to make because they feel that they would lose. This discussion on the monetary crisis has to take as its conclusion that they are preparing the war. This is a puzzle that humanity has to pass through to finish with the capitalist regime. It is necessary to be aware of this. Being aware doesn't mean just letting it stay in the consciousness, but to be prepared because imperialism is going to make the war.

It is necessary to profit from all these possible combinations of the capitalist system; France against Germany, Germany against France, Britain against France; all of them in Europe competing commercially with Yankee imperialism. But in spite of these internal divergences the essential divergence of the capitalist system, finance, the economy, the system is against the Workers States. So it is necessary to be unified against capitalism.

The essential objective of the capitalist system is to unite the world competition that exists amongst them against the Workers States, against the revolution. This is why the Middle East is a centre of the capitalist system, and Israel, a small country of 3 million inhabitants, imported, built by Yankee imperialism has such a power, when commercially it has no importance, it does not compete with anybody. It is a base for war, as they tried and are still trying to make in Vietnam. And in Japan, the struggles of the Japanese masses, the trade unions, the Socialist and Communist Parties have been what has prevented this same interest of Yankee imperialism from being successful up till now. This is why they were thrown out of Okinawa.

This financial crisis of the capitalist system is not a passing crisis of sickness of the economy, a normal convulsion. It is a profound crisis in which they cannot make the war against the Workers States and they are afraid to make war and so they constantly break up in this form of financial crisis, which is the form in which the crisis of the capitalist system is presented. But they are

We appeal to the Communist Parties to base themselves on this conclusion to make a programme for Europe, extending it to all the world, for wage demands, sliding scale of wages, sliding scale of working hours, guarantee of work, expropriation without compensation, the elimination of all arms production. And all this money to be put at the disposition of human needs, of equality of economic, political and social rights for foreign workers in any country. Through the very fact that a worker is working in a particular place he must have all the same rights as the others, because he forms part of the essential factor of life, which is production.

It is necessary to show that the European Common Market is one of the bases which allows them to look for a common European army led by Yankee imperialism. But whether it is led by Yankee imperialism or not, and they are going to lead it, it is at the service of capitalism in Europe which is the arm of Yankee imperialism in Europe.

It is necessary to take Europe as an inseparable part of the capitalist system. Its reactions of competition with the Yankees are no more than a competition. But the essential competition is against the Workers States, and this is why there is the military preparation. The logical conclusion that Yankee imperialism is led to by this financial crisis is to pressure the bourgeoisie of Europe to make it see that the solution is war against the Workers States. Independently of any use that the Workers States can and must make of the sharpening intercapitalist competition, all the capitalist states are determined, impelled and organised because they have to unite against the Workers States to make the war.

going to prepare, they are preparing the war against the Workers States in every way.

The weakness of the capitalist system is shown in as much as it has a structure that makes them depend on the small countries to give them oil. To dominate they would need to impose Yankee troops as they tried to do in Santo Domingo, like in Vietnam. They have the intention, they are preparing to do it. If they do not do it is because there is the Soviet Union, there is the struggle of the masses of the world who have shown that the resistance of Vietnam would be the world reaction against the capitalist system. The Soviet Union does not express it in a direct way, but it too expresses the resistance of the masses of the world. Humanity defeated imperialism in Vietnam. It is what contains it, it is what prevents imperialism invading the oil producing countries. This is why this attitude with the oil increases the crisis of the capitalist system and also increases the crisis that is expressed in the form of the monetary crisis.

It is the Soviet intervention in the Middle East that prevents imperialism invading, like it invaded Lebanon and Santo Domingo. If Libya was not invaded it is because the Soviets are there. What we are demanding is that the Communist Party of the USSR and the trade unions intervene more in the world class struggle, with soviet democracy to be able to influence. And that the trade unions and the Communist Party of the USSR appeal to the masses to struggle for power whilst the Soviet army intervenes to support the peoples

that struggle against imperialism. The crisis of the capitalist system has already provoked ten wars between them. But now there is the existence of the Workers States and the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, particularly in Japan, Europe, Latin America that prevents and contains the world capitalist system in seeking a solution to the crisis of the capitalist system in war. This is why the crisis between them is so prolonged and expresses itself more frequently as the monetary crisis. Otherwise they would have already launched themselves against the Workers States

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE WORLD UNITED FRONT OF THE MASSES

This attitude of the Arab countries in restricting oil supplies to the capitalist countries is because they support themselves on the Workers States, on the resolution of struggle of the Arab masses, in the struggle of the proletariat in the capitalist countries and in all the world, in the struggle of the masses of Vietnam which continues to be an essential centre containing imperialism. It is on this that the comrades of the Communist Party have to base themselves in these meetings to organise the perspectives and the programme of action, counting on this world struggle of the proletariat that limits the capacity of action of the capitalist system, partly dissolving its military and economic power and consequently weakening the world action of capitalism as a system.

And on the other hand, the possibility of intervention of the socialist countries and the struggle of the masses of the world are increased.

At the same time it is necessary to bear in mind that this struggle is going to be sharpened. It is not a static struggle against the capitalist system. If war has not already broken out between the capitalist countries of Europe, it is because they are afraid of the consequences of the struggle of the masses, of the revolution. They are afraid of the struggle of the masses in Europe, who are going to profit to take power and they are afraid too that the results would benefit the Workers States. It is on this basis that the Communist Parties of Europe and the world have to consider their programme of action. It means counting on the world force of this revolutionary process, of the struggle of the masses to stimulate them, to impel them and base the conquests in each country in a concrete form.

One of the essential aspects that has to be replied to is the appeal of the Arab masses to struggle for power in the Arab countries. There can be no possibility of a solution in any capitalist country in the world because it no longer has the capacity of force and the cohesion, and a world united front of the masses of all the world increases and develops much more. The masses of the world are increasing their fraternal, communist sentiment, their preoccupation, intervention and the ascent of the struggles. This is an essential basis for any programme for the struggle to co-ordinate the front of the Communist Parties in Europe appealing for a united front with the Socialist Parties of Europe, to the left movements, and appealing also to the left groups to intervene, to participate in this process with a general programme of struggle against the capitalist system opening a broad democratic discussion on all the problems, methods, programme, objectives to be reached. To make a public discussion in all the population that is going to attract all the petit bourgeoisie to the conclusion that it is necessary to finish with the capitalist system, which is the cause of the high cost of living, oppression, lack of culture, the drought and death of millions in Africa. It is necessary for the Communist Parties the masses of the world, the trade unions to be concerned to stop this massacre. The sentiment of dignity must impel them to prevent these millions from dying. They do not die in Europe, but they are dying in Africa and they are part of the human race.

These are the consequences of the capitalist regime. It is necessary to show that the crisis, the devastation, the consequences of the brutality that exists in the capitalist countries do not exist in the Workers States. To show how in no more than 50 years the Soviet Union, and in no more

## FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT! FOR THE SOCIALIST EUROPE!

The world workers and revolutionary movement still does not reply to the financial crisis of capitalism and its consequences in the workers movement and the total crisis of capitalism with all its means because of the Sino-Soviet division, because of the lack of co-ordination and planning together of the Workers States. The co-ordination and planning must be made on the basis of the democratic, socialist, soviet functioning, soviet democracy. The petit bourgeoisie is gained by this conclusion. When the Judges and a sector of the police and army in countries like Italy and France discuss democratic

norms and declare that they are not going to defend the capitalist system, it is because they are already gained to the conception of soviet democracy as a form superior to capitalist democracy.

Soviet democracy means the right to discuss everything, to talk, resolve, discuss and elevate the sentiment of egalitarian distribution. This gives an immense power to the masses of all the world. Amongst them the North American masses who need the support, the co-ordination of the world workers and revolutionary movement and of the Workers States, as we have posed and proposed in our article 'On the Historic Backwardness of the North American Proletariat', of August 1973.

This is why the congresses of the bourgeois parties of Europe, like the last meeting of the UDR in France, try to appear with populist solutions at the same time as they threaten with repressive measures of dictatorship. It shows the weakness of the capitalist system and it means that the bourgeoisie is influenced by the struggle of the masses and they see that the capitalist system is crumbling.

The answer is the socialist Europe! Call for a socialist Europe! It is the call of Lenin! It is no invention, it was Lenin who made this appeal. The petit bourgeoisie is ready for this. The increasingly powerful inclination of the petit bourgeoisie toward the workers parties, the electoral and trade union support, the incorporation of the petit bourgeois masses as in Britain, Germany, France, LIP shows how the petit bourgeoisie is seeking organs that come from the working class to be able to respond to the crisis of the capitalist system. Europe is mature for a socialist solution. Electorally too, this appeal would have a very great success.

It is necessary to unite the struggle of the proletariat of all Europe together with the defence of the proletariat, of the struggle of the masses in Spain, Greece and Portugal. Appealing for the struggle for democratic and trade union rights of the masses of Asia and Africa and appealing for a unification, a general strike in defence of the proletariat of these countries. It is not simply a financial response that it is necessary to give to the financial crisis of the capitalist system, there is a social class response of trade union and political struggle, which is the struggle for power, the struggle to go to the government and from the government to power, or the direct struggle for power with an anti-capitalist programme; nationalisation of the principle sources of production, elimination of atomic arms and their production, using this industry to provide the needs of the masses, unification of the workers movement into a single European centre, unification and joint action of the workers movement of Europe with the trade unions and workers centres of the socialist countries including China, with the workers centres and movements throughout the world. An anti-capitalist programme giving a solution to the economic, financial, social, political crisis of the capitalist system. This is the response that we believe the Communist Parties have to give.

The Posadist IV International appeals to the comrades of the Communist Parties to discuss in this line. We appeal for the unification of the world communist movement, one of whose most essential tasks is the unification of China with the USSR. And the development of soviet democracy in the Workers States, the intervention of the trade unions, of the Communist Parties, making appeals to the North American masses, to the masses of the capitalist countries to struggle against the capitalist system. For a direct communication; Soviet Communist Party and trade unions with the masses of the world. Demonstrations, assemblies, meetings, discussions, the functioning of Soviet democracy in the Workers States. This would have an enormous influence on the North American masses in particular. The single European workers centre, and students centre too, have the same sense.

It is necessary to deepen the united front with the Socialist Parties. And also to seek a front with the nationalist movements, the movements of nationalist origin in the rest of the world to impel the struggle against capitalism. Appealing for the united front with the Socialist Parties in Europe. Making a real united front, with an electoral, trade union and political programme to go to the government and from the government to power or to go directly to power to eliminate the capitalist regime. It is necessary to bear in mind and foresee the reaction of capitalism which is going to intervene with the armies. To prepare and get ready, learning from Chile that one cannot have any confidence in the army, nor in promises or declarations but that it is necessary to make organs that can face such an eventuality, because the crisis of the financial system of capitalism includes all this. The army is going to rise in defence of capitalism. In these meetings of the

Communist Parties it is necessary to extend the preoccupation to organise programmatic organisms and relations with the revolutionary movements of all the world - Appealing for the concrete united front with the Socialist Parties of Europe and with the petit bourgeois parties like the left radicals, with an anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme.

We believe that this must be the strategy that the Communist comrades must consider. The essential point of discussion must be that cap-

italism is going to respond with all the means that it has, including atomic arms, before it disappears. It is not to dramatise or add a note of anguish, but simply to see their weakness. And to see that this is how the world communist and socialist movement has gained and is gaining and progressing in all the world and we are going to win in this too.

J. POSADAS

19. 11. 73.

## MANIFESTO

Continued from Page 1

The nationalist governments and revolutions progress in measures against imperialism which directly affect capitalism, as the nationalisation of the Cerro de Pasco mining corporation in Peru, the progress towards Workers States in Somalia and Algeria, the progress in anti-imperialist measures in Mexico, in Ecuador in Togo, in the Congo, in Iraq; the progress in the organisation and the struggle of the proletariat and the masses in Brazil; the advance of the socialist tendency inside peronism and the trade unions in Argentina. In Latin America the Chilean counter-revolutionary coup has not extended itself: on the contrary the nationalisation of mines in Peru is the most decisive example of the isolation of the Junta of assassins in Chile where the working class is reorganising its forces to resume the advance of the interrupted revolution.

## BRITISH CAPITALISM EXPRESSES THE WORLD CRISIS OF THE REGIME

The total crisis of British capitalism forms part of the world process of the rupturing of capitalism and is, in a certain sense, one of its most acute expressions. For this reason it does not find aid or support to overcome this crisis. Each capitalist country looks after itself, thus increasing the all out character of the crisis. None of them have, however, reached the level of economic paralysis represented by the three day week.

British capitalism which, in the period of the ascent of capitalism, was its most complete and brilliant exponent is, in the period of capitalist decomposition, its most pathetic expression: it runs only half the week and is half paralysed. It is a naked demonstration of the world exhaustion of capitalism, even if it continues to exist due to the fact that the Workers States and the Communist and Socialist Parties do not organise its liquidation.

British capitalism denies democratic rights, lowers living standards, stops production, prevents progress, is incapable of giving anything to the masses because it has nothing more to give. The petit bourgeoisie sees all this and sees, on the other hand, the progress of the Workers States; for this reason they can be attracted and organised by the perspective of a Labour government with a socialist programme and policy. Only an organised left can perform this task and show this perspective however, as the right and centre-right who control the Labour Party apparatus, continue with their policy of negotiating with capitalism and trying to help it to survive.

This is the policy of Wilson and company and they can continue to apply it only in the measure in which the left is not organised. But this policy has no perspective. The base of the Labour Party, the working class in the factories and trade unions oppose it, and this can be seen by every mobilisation. Capitalism can no longer give concessions which would allow the right wing leaders of the Labour Party and the trade unions a justification for their policies. Thus the world and national basis for the co-existence and dependence of the organs of the working class on capitalism disappears. The dependence itself does not disappear because it is a whole structure crystallised and solidified in the Labour Party and trade union apparatus in which the right wing is dominant. But the foundations on which this structure rested and sustained itself is broken. In order to break the structure itself which still has a strength and power and will resist by every means at its disposal, it is necessary to organise the left. All the present struggles improve the conditions for this task. They are not simply demands for higher wages or living conditions under capitalism. The actions and demands of the different sectors of the working class question the functioning of capitalism and the right of the bourgeoisie to rule society. The miners overtime ban is aimed, in the final analysis, against the brutality of the organisation of an industry that is only able to run on the basis of overtime, that is to say on the super exploitation of its workers. The actions of the railwaymen, car workers, building workers, pose the problems of working conditions, track speed, employment, democratic and trade union rights. When capitalism is obliged to run the country on only half a week it is already unable to lead either industry or the country. This is what the workers are saying with their demands. Clay Cross expresses the same thing. It disputes power with the bourgeoisie at a local level, and expresses thus an anti-capitalist state of mind diffused all over the country, as much in the working population as in the proletariat.

All this encourages the left in the Labour Party and in the trade unions. This is a much more profound and powerful left than it appears in the official bodies, Neither 'Tribune' or Tony Benn are the true representatives of this left. Benn acts as a distant and indirect reflection of the pressure from below and as a safety valve for the leadership of the Labour Party. But in order to play this role he has to question the policy of this leadership. And the pressure is such that when it becomes necessary to condemn Phase Three and the anti-working class policy of the government vis a vis the miners, it is Benn who speaks on behalf of the Labour Party and Wilson has to come out supporting him three days later. This pressure has assured that the Labour Party Electoral Manifesto, without actually expressing the policy of the left, has meant a defeat for the right. It is not a right wing document, but a compromise elaborated under the enormous anti-capitalist pressure of the Labour base; therefore it has to ratify the policy and programme of nationalisations, even though in a very general way. In the same sense it ratifies the total opposition of the Labour Party to Phase Three and the Industrial Relations Act, that is to say, to the concentrated expression of the anti-working class policies of the Tories.

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# MANIFESTO

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Under these conditions, the left will be organised through the development and acceptance of an anti capitalist programme, in the great struggles of the workers movement and trade unions.

and through the organisation of mass organs in the factories, workers districts, mines, shipyards, able to defend this programme and be organising centres for every struggle.

## THE STRUGGLE AND PROGRAMME FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMENT WITH A SOCIALIST POLICY

We call on the Labour left, the trade union left, the workers and revolutionary vanguard throughout the country, comrades of the Communist Party and the leftist movements to discuss the need to unify all the present struggles on an anti capitalist programme, and to replace the capitalist leadership with a workers leadership in the country. Capitalism, private property cannot assure either a future for this country or a functioning economy. They lead Britain to disaster.

A programme is needed which contains the nationalisation without compensation of banks and all main industries, workers control, state monopoly of foreign trade, a planned economy which benefits the masses starting with all the sectors already nationalised, a sliding scale of wages and working hours, all profits from automation to go to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours, democratic rights.

The struggle for this programme has to be organised in the factories, mines, shipyards, ports, workers districts, schools and universities all over the country. It is necessary to form mass organisms to defend the living standards and gains of the working class and to push forward this programme; factory councils, mine councils, district councils, action committees. This programme has to be discussed in assemblies and meetings in factories, trade unions, trades councils, Labour Party constituency branches. It is necessary to open up a national discussion on where Britain is going and on a programme to meet the present crisis.

Heath poses the issue of 'Who governs?' So Labour must answer 'We do'. It has to launch a struggle for a Labour government with a socialist programme, socialist policy and socialist methods. The left in the Labour Party has to be organised with this perspective. This left and the future Labour government have to be based on the formation and functioning of these mass organs, workers councils, action committees. The already existing organs have to function as instruments of the working class and not as organs of conciliation with capitalism. The councils, trade unions, local trade union branches, Labour Party constituency branches must act as organs of discussion, decision and application of the socialist programme of the working class. Make socialist local governments, such as Clay Cross, decide which laws they are prepared to implement and which they reject, and to promote local laws and regulations on a socialist basis. Make them discuss and decide on their policy in a national conference, and apply it together, ignoring and rejecting the anti-working class laws of the Tory government.

The future Labour government has to base its policy and its economic plans on an alliance with the Workers States, Revolutionary States such as Peru, Algeria, Iraq, with the European communist and socialist parties, and with a plan for a socialist Europe in a short time.

The Labour left has to base its programme, organisation and perspectives on the struggles of the working class and on the alliance and united front with the European socialist and communist parties and with the Workers States

throughout the world. The Labour left can and must organise its forces as a socialist tendency which links the future of Britain to the development of the world revolution. The discussion and the understanding of the revolutionary character of this epoch, of the structure of history, of the partial regeneration and the revolutionary role of the Workers States in this stage must be its main and firmest theoretical foundation.

The breaking of the organs of the working class from capitalism, the defeat of the Labour right wing which controls and uses the Labour Party apparatus as its own property, cannot be just the result of a congress or of an election, even if any congress and elections can be used to advance the left. But the right wing, allied to the Labour aristocracy defends and will defend to the utmost its hold on the apparatus and leadership. This is the reason for the expulsion of revolutionary militants from the Labour Party, aimed at intimidating and impeding the organisation of the left. The development and victory of the left does not depend on elections, but has to be organised by way of worker and mass struggles, through the formation and functioning of organs of the working class in factories, mines and districts.

The fight for trade union democracy is essential for this task. All the bureaucratic structure and functioning of the trade unions must be shaken and changed. It is necessary to fight for and impose the functioning of democratic assemblies, the election of all leaders whether on a local or national scale by the workers at the base, to be responsible to the assembly, with the right of recall at any moment for any leader who does not carry out the decisions of the base, the permanent and democratic functioning of the shop stewards committees. In this way to fight for the democratic and revolutionary rights of all workers tendencies, for the right of any militant or tendency who fight for the progress of Labour and for socialism, to belong to the Labour Party. The Labour Party is the party of the British working class and masses, and not the private property of a handful of rightist leaders, or of the Labour aristocracy.

It is in these developments that the left affirms its positions and organises its forces, and disputes at the same time, power with the right in the Labour Party and with the bourgeoisie in the country. Both struggles are closely linked to the struggle of organisation of foundations and organs of workers power in Britain. A Labour government with a socialist programme cannot just result from a general election. The electoral victory is only a stage, the application of the socialist programme and policy afterwards requires the intervention of the working class and the whole of the population, through the trade unions,

shop stewards committees, workers councils, district councils, university councils. The organisation, functioning and life of all these organs begin in the struggles, even before any electoral victory. We appeal for the immediate formation of organs of united front, discussion and action of all sectors of the working class and exploited population.

It is necessary to discuss all the experience of Chile, which confirm basically the need to constitute these organs, for the exercise and functioning of power by the masses and breaking the state apparatus of capitalism. Chile has shown that capitalism will everywhere use every means at its disposal to oppose progress towards socialism. Britain is no exception to the rule. This is indicated by mobilisations of the army on a very weak pretext and by the discussion - not totally academic - on the possibility of a military take-over. British imperialism has already shown this in its violent repression against the masses in Northern Ireland.

But at the same time, one of the

factors which has, in the last period, stimulated the class and revolutionary struggle in this country has been the struggle of the masses of Northern Ireland. It is a struggle which has succeeded in disintegrating the Unionist Party and provided an important experience - in the no-go areas of Belfast and Derry - of the creation of organisms which imposed the power of the masses. The left of the Labour Party has to see that there is no separate solution for Northern Ireland. It is, in fact, a struggle completely linked to the struggle in this country and the solution lies in the imposition of a Labour government with a socialist programme in Britain which includes measures for the nationalisation of the banks, land and industry under workers control and without compensation in Northern Ireland. The struggle in Northern Ireland, in all Ireland has the same character as elsewhere, it is a struggle for power with the perspective of a United Socialist Ireland with a United Socialist Britain as part of the United Socialist States of Europe.

## FOR THE PREPARATION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE!

### FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT!

It is necessary to prepare the general strike. Not only in order to unify all the present struggles, but because a general strike, by its character, expresses a much more favourable relationship of forces than is expressed in the sum total of all these struggles. The world balance of forces between the masses and the capitalist class is in favour of the masses and this is equally true of this country.

It is necessary to prepare the general strike as a movement aimed not at overthrowing capitalism immediately, but at imposing on it a full set of social and economic measures which express concretely the favourable balance of forces which already exists. We call on all the Labour movement and organisations to discuss the preparation of a general strike on a programme of measures concerning wages, working conditions, health, employment, housing, workers control over industry and over working conditions (track speed, labour loading, hiring and firing, hours of work and shifts), public transport, trade union and democratic rights, the functioning of factory committees, shop stewards committees, and workers areas committees.

We propose the elaboration of a programme in a national democratic process of discussion throughout the workers movement on these points; for the general strike. In this way to prepare and elect organs in order to organise the strike, for the democratic functioning of the working class in the factories and for the success of this struggle.

We propose the unification of all the present struggles on the basis of a programme of immediate action, which must include:-

- Full support to the miners, railway drivers, ambulance crews and other sectors of workers in struggle, Full support to Clay Cross.

- For the full average wage - calculated over the last six months - irrespective of number of days worked.

- Factory occupations and their full running under workers control.

- The immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, Phase Three, the Housing Finance Act.

- The immediate release of the three Shrewsbury building workers.

- The organisation of Flying Pickets by all sectors of the working class.

- The unification of all the workers and revolutionary movement to impose by way of mobilisations, strikes etc. a Labour government with a socialist programme in the event of a general election.

We propose the holding of a national conference of the Labour Party, trade unions and the whole of the Labour movement to support the miners and all sectors in struggle, to prepare the general strike with this immediate programme of action and to discuss and decide a workers plan of production to meet this present crisis. The three day week means half sacking the entire working class and prepares for further crisis and hardships. The only thing capitalism is capable of planning is the

rationing of basic consumer goods, as has been denounced, and illegal measures of control over power consumption even within the home. Labour has to discuss and counterpose a plan of full production based on the expropriation of the main productive sectors of the economy, on workers control, state monopoly of foreign trade and production with the Workers States, a plan against the huge capitalist enterprises and in favour of the masses; that is to say the exact opposite of Tory policy. Labour has to show to the petit bourgeoisie, the progress of the Workers States where there is no crisis, no unemployment, inflation or fuel crisis, and to base its own plan on all the positive aspects and experiences of their planned economy and on the still powerful British productive apparatus which capitalism is destroying piece by piece. The working class which has built Britain from bottom to top and whose experience and knowledge constitutes its main strength, has to rule the country. This is the socialist solution and way out of the present crisis and this is our appeal to the whole of the labour movement.

We also make a call for a European Conference of Communist, Socialist, and Trotskyist parties and trade unions in order to discuss and elaborate a common programme for a socialist Europe.

With all our communist sentiment, we address the fraternal salutes of our IV Conference to all the exploited masses of this country, to the miners and all sectors in struggle; to the fighting masses in Ireland; to the masses, the Workers State and the Communist Party of Vietnam; to the Arab, Asian and African masses; to the European proletariat and its historic and decisive role in this stage of the world revolution; to the Soviet Union, all the Workers States and their intervention in support of the world revolution; to the revolutionary States and to the nationalisation of the mines in Peru; to the Peruvian miners and all the Latin American working class and masses; to the heroic resistance and struggle of the Chilean proletariat; to the progress of the Communist and Socialist parties towards the struggle for power; to the communist vanguard throughout the world and its struggle for the unification of the world communist movements; to the IV International, to all its sections and to the historic role of the texts and the leadership of Comrade Posadas; to the gigantic united front of the masses of all the world, of all the revolutionary tendencies - communist, socialist, trotskyist, left catholics, leftists, revolutionary military, in order to overthrow what remains of capitalism and to build socialism.

The Fourth Conference of the R.W.P.(t).  
British Section of the IV International.  
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### THE LABOUR LEFT MUST BASE ITS PROGRAMME AND PERSPECTIVES ON THE CLASS STRUGGLE

The present crisis in the country, the 3 day week, the lack of electricity, petrol rationing, the general atmosphere of crisis is part of the whole European and world crisis of the capitalist system. It is not one of the usual periodic crises capitalism has always been subjected to, it is the total political, economic and social crisis of capitalism as a system, generated above all by the complete exhaustion of the capitalist system and the constant, uninterrupted struggle of the masses. The left in the Labour Party and trade unions must base itself on the full scope of this conclusion to formulate its response.

For example, in deciding how to intervene in support of the miners strike and the class offensive against the Tory government, what programme, policy and perspective?

Together with the total crisis of capitalism that continues to find expression in the Watergate scandal for example, there is the constant development of mobilisations and united fronts of the masses and the growing influence of the 14 Workers States in the world, the constant radicalisation and advance of the left wings in the European Socialist Parties together with the advance of the left and anti-capitalist tendencies in the trade unions of Europe, Africa and Latin America, making them intervene more decisively and uncompromisingly. For example now the German Volkswagon company says that if it pays a quarter what the unions are demanding it will be bankrupt. This confirms that what the working class wants is more than simply a defence of its standard of living.

The series of meetings of the European Communist Parties is an attempt still limited, but an attempt to function in a more co-ordinated way with a European policy against capitalism. The left in the Labour Party has to link itself more deeply with this movement and with the Workers States in the perspective of a Socialist Europe. On the basis of all this, the left must intervene now with a campaign showing that capitalism is bankrupt and backward, it is incapable of running the country and it is irreversibly in decline.

But the immediate problem is that it is not possible to advance from the present situation without the downfall of the Tory government. A new Labour government now, even with the existing conservative structure and leadership, would be under an irresistible pressure from the trade unions and the working class to take measures towards the solution of the crisis along the lines of the suppression of capitalism. It could not exist as previous Labour governments have done, to manage and defend capitalism in capitalism's strictest interests. Now its programme contains quite an extensive list of nationalisations and its present Manifesto contains some of the major ones like pharmaceuticals. If the Labour Party is put back in government now, whether by a general election or general strike, it is in the situation of an immense sharpening of the class struggle, in which the Labour Party will be compelled to take a whole series of anti-capitalist measures. This is why Wilson makes only a half hearted attempt to gather support while the Tories discuss a general election, because Wilson is afraid of being a prisoner of the left.

But the working class is not going to wait for a general election nor confine itself to a parliamentary perspective, it is going to struggle for power. It is not necessary to counterpose a general strike to the general election. If Labour is returned at a general election the movement will progress through that, and it

is a step towards the civil war anyway. But the general strike is in discussion and it is a superior weapon of the proletariat, because it allows the proletariat to demonstrate to the rest of society its conviction, force and decision, encourages the independent organisation of the class, and allows it to show its capacity of leadership of society. This is fundamental because a great mass of the petit bourgeoisie that is attracted by the workers strikes still would not support the parties of the working class electorally because of their backward leaderships. Sectors like the students and even the civil servants who adopt the methods of struggle of the proletariat like strikes

and demonstrations are already socially gained by the proletariat. The left in the Labour Party has to link itself with this objective process and gain these sectors politically on the basis of the socialist policy and programme.

It is necessary to call for a Conference of the Labour movement in which the Labour Party, trade unions, Revolutionary Workers Party (trotskyist-posadist), Communist Party and left groups discuss and formulate a policy and programme to support the miners and organise a concerted opposition to the 3 day week, raising a programme for the general strike to overthrow the Tories and impose a Labour government with socialist policies and programme and to impose a whole series of social and economic measures which express concretely the favourable balance of forces that exists.

### Miners Strike

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU OF THE R.W.P. (t).

## Prepare with mass meetings

We salute the militancy, consciousness and decision of the miners which has forced the NUM leadership to call for a national strike. It is true that the leadership does this through the very limited means of the ballot but it does not intervene as if it thinks that the outcome is in any doubt. The leadership of the NUM reacts to the pressure of the workers at the base of the union, certainly, but it also feels the total world crisis of capitalism which expresses itself in the most acute form in this country - in the 3 day week etc. This leadership also feels the pressure of the world advance of the revolution, which itself is largely responsible for the total crisis of capitalism.

They see the world balance of forces which results in the Peruvian military government nationalising the Cerro de Pasco mining corporation which is one of the most important investments which Yankee imperialism has in Latin America. The NUM leadership has finally been made aware of the fact that, in the depth of its final crisis, capitalism has nothing to give to the masses. Indeed capitalism demonstrates that it cannot run industry to its full capacity or use the skill and experience of the working class fully.

The reluctance of the NUM leadership to call for more militant action previously stemmed from an understanding on their part that this is not just a trade union struggle, a struggle for higher wages. The bourgeoisie are aware of this when they pose the question 'who is to rule the country, us or the trade unions?' The struggle may take an economic form due to the absence of a conscious leadership but it goes rapidly to a struggle to overthrow the Tory government. As a Derbyshire miner said recently 'we intend to go all the way, it's us or the government and the government will be on its knees before we will'.

It is in this context that we have to see the importance of the call by Arthur Scargill, Yorkshire NUM president, for the launching of the general strike. At this stage in the workers struggle the general strike is not a method which is proposed in order to win one or another wage demand. No, it is a call for the mobilisation of all the forces of the class in a struggle which leads directly to the overthrow of the Tories and their replacement by a Labour government with socialist policies and methods; and this is the first step on the road to the final overthrow of the capitalist system. The miners demonstrate the spirit of the whole working class which is prepared for this struggle and is confident of the out-

come. What has been lacking is a centre around which to organise this struggle. The national strike of the miners - and we have no doubt that it will take place - can provide this centre.

The bourgeoisie has responded to the advance of the struggle of the miners by attempting to turn public opinion against the miners, particularly petit bourgeois public opinion, and in part, that of the working class by blaming the miners for the 'energy crisis', the 3 day week etc. In this they have failed! Everyone supports the miners! Both the TUC meeting - limited as it was - of trade union secretaries and presidents and the NEC of the Labour Party have pledged full support for the miners, the students have not only pledged full support but also £10,000 per week to the strike fund. Precisely because it lacks any real social support, the Tory government - as agents of big capital - turn to other methods in its attempt to stem the advancing tide of the workers struggle. The Industrial Relations Act - with its massive fines on the unions - is one form of repression and the imprisonment of the Shrewsbury 3 is another. But the organisation of a combined police and army exercise at London Airport - complete with tanks - is the preparation for a more direct and armed intervention against the working class. They do this, not from a position of strength but rather as an expression of weakness, of the total collapse of the capitalist system economically, politically and, above all, socially.

The preparation for the miners strike takes place, then, in conditions of a national and world balance of forces which is favourable to the working class. In these conditions, the ballot being organised by the NUM leadership serve no purpose except to delay action. Indeed why wait for the result of the ballot? However what is necessary is to begin the preparation for the national strike

### Chile:

We denounce the arrest of NELSA GADIA GALAN, Uruguayan refugee disappeared since the 19th december 1973

We denounce, before all the workers organisations, before public and revolutionary opinion, the apparent arrest of Nelsa Gadea Galen, a thirty year old Uruguayan refugee.

She worked for the Ministry of housing in Chile and was arrested at her place of work. She had been resident in Chile for two and a half years. It has been impossible to obtain any information on the reasons for her arrest or where she is being held. Her life is in danger!

We appeal to the Labour Party, Communist Party, trade unions, to the whole of the Labour movement to intervene demanding her release and safe conduct out of the country, as part of a world campaign to end repression in Chile and to set free all the tens of thousands of workers, students and peasants, including Luis Corvalan (secretary of the Communist Party), Clodomiro Almeyda (from the Socialist Party), Bautista Von Schouwen (from the MIR) etc. held by the criminal military junta.

All protests to be sent to the Chilean Embassy Please send copies of all resolutions and protests to:

Red Flag, 24 Cranbourn St. London W.C.2.

RELEASE NELSA GADEA GALEN AND ALL PRISONERS IN CHILE.

- and around that the general strike - immediately. Even if the ballot takes its full course it is essential that mass meetings are held at each pit in order to discuss the strike. Mass meetings in which every miner has the right to speak, to take part in the decisions and the application of those decisions, so that workers democracy is imposed against the passive methods of the trade union leadership which involves no one.

It is clear that the programme and demands of the miners has to be discussed. It is already insufficient to ensure a good standard of living for the miners and their families and many miners are now saying this. The demand must be made for the miners to receive a minimum rate of £45 per 35 hour week, that this rises with the cost of living and that the workers organisations themselves calculate the actual rise in the cost of living. All safety measures to be placed in the hands of the miners themselves, that all rents are kept to the level of no more than 10% of the miners wage and that all those industries - distributors etc. - who live and make their profits on the basis of coal at less than £7 a ton at the pit head are nationalised without compensation and under workers control.

The preparation for national actions has to start from the level already reached in the 1972 strike and this means the immediate reappearance of the 'flying pickets' as a means of putting the miners in contact with other sectors of the class and the population. They are a means of organising the strike nationally in a way which allows all the miners to intervene fully. Using the 'flying pickets' it is possible to go to the major centres of the working class with appeals for factory gate meetings - or better still meetings inside the factories - to discuss the significance of the strike, the programme of demands for it and the means of organising joint action, joint committees. It is possible to go very quickly to 'triple alliance' committees of railway drivers, engineers and miners.

In this the 'flying pickets' can stimulate a national process of discussion and organisation in a way which is not possible given the present structure of the trade unions and Labour Party at

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# ON THE EXTRAORDINARY CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY

(Letter to the French Section of the IV International)

19. 12. 73

Dear Comrades,

Thank you for sending the press cuttings and the letter on the Extraordinary Congress of the French Socialist Party. We are waiting to receive the complete documents and texts of the Congress resolutions which you told us of in your letter.

In general, the most important thing about this Socialist Party Congress is that it shows the inclination to the left which exists in all the working class parties. It is the left line that predominates and impels, that is the anti-capitalist line.

Even with the limitations, generality and superficiality of many of the declarations, they are all anti-capitalist declarations. This is an indication of the state of public opinion among the workers, peasants, middle and poor petit bourgeoisie. There is a mass which is exerting a very great pressure, looking for an anti-capitalist solution.

The Socialist Party Congress is a very important barometer. The Communist Party is not the same, because it already has a politicised, militant, more active and consistent public, which defines, through the Workers States, an anti-capitalist line. Within the Socialist Party, not all the public are decidedly anti-capitalist. The workers vanguard, some of their leaders are, they are openly anti-capitalist and they are looking for the way to co-ordinate an anti-capitalist line. But when there is such a powerful tendency and discussion in which the line of the discussion is that it is necessary to suppress capitalism, and they discuss the form, time, stages and anti-capitalist combinations, it is because it expresses, echoes and represents - the three things - an obvious climate of anti-capitalist public opinion.

This conclusion has to serve as a base to show the need to programmatically define the perspectives in the trade union field and the perspective to respond now, immediately to all the crises breaking out in the capitalist system. Whether oil, unemployment, the cost of living or inflation. To respond with an anti-capitalist programme.

The other very important aspect to discuss is, what are the stages and perspectives to go to government? In Britain, Holland, Italy as much as in France, capitalism is leading very quickly and openly to a chaotic situation. It is not just the oil but the normal crisis of the capitalist system. They are going to work three days a week in Britain. Together with the crisis that the oil chaos is going to provoke, there is the determination of the masses which can be seen in demonstrations, meetings, in everyday actions, united against the capitalist system in a decisive anti-capitalist way.

The discussion in the Congress on the Workers States and their nature is important. The most important historic base for the lack of understanding of these problems is the origin of the Socialist Party. It cannot see the need for nationalisation, planning, centralisation and development from capitalism to the Workers State and from the Workers State to socialism. The Soviet and Chinese Workers States, the two most powerful, and the others, have not given them this ex-

## CAPITALISM USES THE 'OIL CRISIS' IN ORDER TO CONCENTRATE ITS FORCES.

It is important to bear in mind that the bourgeoisie is going to try to use the oil problem to create artificial unemployment with the effect of dealing a blow to the workers, to make a 'purge' of vanguard militants in the factories, to help the right in the Communist and Socialist Parties and in the trade unions. They are doing this even at the cost of their own economic interest. They are putting up with the oil shortage in order to sustain Israel. This is not simply a problem of Israel. World capitalism is much more interested in resolving the oil problem because it is producing interior damage.

before, with competition, would have lasted for years is now done with one blow. Even amongst the greatest capitalist enterprises, some that have no great capital, small reserves or that do not have very solid markets or relations with stable governments are giving way. Then the so-called multi-national capital is taking their place. They are profiting from all this. It is all a preparation of decisive centres, a centralisation in small circles, which does not mean that capitalism will have the time or the means to do it.

perience, they gave only the experience of Stalin. So they have no historic points of reference on which to support themselves. But they are discussing what the Workers State is. It is necessary to appreciate that this is a Socialist Congress which is discussing what the Soviet Union is. There is no rejection, there is no smashing. They don't say 'we are against it'. They are discussing that 'this is the way!' It is an indication that both CERES and ERIS \* are discussing this and that they have an echo. Even Mitterand does not reject all this, because if he did he would be left outside. And Deferre has to try and please everyone. It is the first time that the leaders of a Socialist Party such as this, with a very great importance and weight within the working class and poor petit bourgeoisie, shows 'one cannot compare the capitalist states with the socialist countries.' And they differentiate, saying that 'in the socialist countries there is no unemployment, hunger or poverty, whilst in the capitalist countries there is'. They are making an approximate characterisation of an aspect favourable to the Workers States. This is new in the Socialist Party. They do not do it to win a public, it is because they are obliged to face these problems. It is not simply an electoral manoeuvre. They have to face problems like this because they themselves are seeing that the capitalist system offers no perspective. Mitterand is seeing that the capitalist system gives no solution and he is trying to create an intermediate road.

If France does not go to socialism, to nationalisation and planning, it cannot break out of the impasse, because the economy is determined by the high financial circles, what they call the multi-national companies, which is not a new form of capitalism, but the coalition and concentration of high finance.

The Congress's discussion of Europe, the Nine and socialism is also important. It is a progress to have discussed a socialist solution for Europe. But it is also necessary to discuss that, in fact, there is no such 'Europe of the Nine'. To struggle for the 'Europe of the Nine' and for socialism is a contradiction that is soon going to become apparent. The 'Europe of the Nine' is capitalist, it is one of the indirect forms in which the multi-national firms are presented. Whilst the struggle for a socialist Europe includes the 'nine' and all the other countries of Europe, starting with a unification with the already established Workers States. All this must be accompanied by a discussion that this Congress has not had and which must be made as a fundamental base of understanding; that capitalism is preparing the war.

When world capitalism does not confront the United States to make it settle affairs with Israel, except very indirectly and weakly, it is because Israel has another purpose. It has the role of being a point in the Middle East for launching the atomic war, to prevent revolution in the Arab world. To prevent the problem of the crisis which is accumulating and breaking out, capitalism, at the same time, uses the oil problem to remove the weaker enterprises and eliminate them. It is an interior adjustment of capitalism. So what

But at the same time it is necessary to bear in mind the situation that exists in the world. Countries which before depended upon imperialism now do not give them oil. It is a change in history; it means a new world. There are 14 Workers States which already dominate. And the Yankees, instead of threatening to invade, are having to convince people that Nixon is not a thief. It is in this situation that the crisis of growth of the Communist and Socialist Parties is taking place. The bourgeoisie tries to distort this crisis in order to support itself on the right, but the forces of the revolution are going to support the left wing, the wing which wants to go to the left, but which is still not consciously prepared.

The conclusion of this Extraordinary Congress is a very great progress for the Socialist Party. It has to begin a more open discussion with full internal democracy, to discuss all the problems too, among them the immediate programme to go to the government. This discussion is a very elevated expression of the objective united front between the masses of the Socialist and Com-

munist Parties, the Radical Party and the masses without a party. Because this is the real France, those who produce and develop the country.

We propose that they discuss the army and its function. And through the Socialist Party, to elevate the discussion in the Communist Party and to demonstrate the objective function of the army as representative of the interests of the capitalist system. What is the mentality of the army? What is the mentality of the bourgeoisie? They work as a class, both of them. Part of the army can be won but it cannot be controlled, to dominate the capitalist institution in the service of the revolution. It is not excluded that in some country it may be done. For example in some countries in Latin America or in Africa, like Somalia. But in these places they are not stable institutions, they are institutions in formation which are already won, before they have acquired the capitalist structure, as in Somalia. Above all they are enormously poor countries in which the Generals have to work like everyone else because the economy cannot afford huge salaries.

## introduction

*This document by Comrade Posadas on the extraordinary Congress of the French Socialist Party analyses how all the revolutionary forces in France are exerting a direct pressure on a party which previously was linked to capitalism, but which now feels compelled to respond to the enormous crisis of French capitalism with a socialist solution because they see that the capitalist system can offer no solution to the impasse reached in France.*

*This Congress, like the general strike of December 6th, expresses the anti capitalist climate existing in France among the working class, peasantry, petit bourgeoisie, small traders and all exploited sectors. The masses are using these means not so much to put pressure on the government but rather, to encourage and impel the Popular Union to go to power on the Common Programme. The French bourgeoisie, hopelessly divided and devoid of social support in the country, is launching an offensive against the living standards of the masses and concentrating its forces in order to be able to crush any socialist advances. For this reason the denunciation of the Socialist Party made that the bourgeoisie would be prepared to use the French army as in Chile in similar circumstances, has to be developed and discussed further within the workers movement and a campaign launched to win over a large sector of the army to the revolution and to destroy the army as a capitalist institution.*

*As Comrade Posadas points out, it is a huge step forward for a Socialist Party like this with no marxist traditions to be making comparisons, as it did in this Congress, between the Workers States and the capitalist system, acknowledging the superiority of a planned and centralised economy. Therefore just as the Communist Parties of Europe are holding meetings to discuss a socialist programme for Europe, so the Socialist Parties throughout Europe should do the same, and also to organise a European Conference of all workers parties and trade unions to discuss this objective. To do this, as Cde. Posadas explains, it is not possible to classify Europe within the capitalist terms of the 'Nine' but that a socialist Europe must incorporate the whole of Europe, including the Workers States.*

## oil crisis

# THE NEED FOR A WORKERS PLAN OF PRODUCTION

*The oil crisis provoked by the Arab countries' decision to reduce oil exports has shaken world capitalism. Capitalist Europe, the USA and Japan have seen their supplies being reduced. Twenty years ago this would have been sufficient to cause a new world war. Britain and France invaded Egypt for much less when it nationalised the Suez canal in 1956 although they weren't prevented from using the canal. A few years earlier in 1952, Mossadegh, nationalist prime minister of Iran tried to nationalise the Iranian Oil Company (today British Petroleum), expelled the Shah and declared a republic; he was overthrown by the CIA in alliance with world imperialism and the most reactionary sectors in Persia.*

*Today Europe depends much more on Arab oil and yet they don't even attempt to invade the Middle East. What has changed in the last twenty years? Certainly not the nature of imperialism; Chile, Guinea, Vietnam, Angola are some of the examples that show that the intentions of imperialism have not changed at all. The relationship of forces between imperialism and the revolution on a world scale have changed.*

*The origin of this crisis is the intervention of the masses and their revolutionary decision which finds support in*

*the existence of the Workers States and in the favourable changes in their policy towards the world revolution and against imperialism. The alliance of the Workers States with the colonial revolution stimulates the masses to eliminate the remaining feudal and bourgeois leaderships and these have passed the buck to the rest of the world by attacking Israel and cutting oil supplies, therefore taking measures which don't really touch imperialism's property. This has only happened in the Revolutionary States of Iraq, Lybia and Algeria where the proletariat, though small in number, have forced the nationalisation of the oil companies.*

*This is the reason why American imperialism does not invade the oil producing countries, and not because it is frightened by the threats to blow up the oil wells made by the Arab leaderships. It can extinguish such fires, what it cannot extinguish is the revolutionary explosion this would cause in the Middle East which would soon spread to Africa and Europe. This doesn't give the Arab bourgeoisie much confidence in an alliance with imperialism and obliges them to try to profit from the compensative policy of the Soviet Union such as when Faisal, the feudal king of Saudi Arabia released communist political prisoners and went to Moscow to discuss treaties.*

In the Socialist Party there is a process of formation of tendencies and currents which are coming to light, which feel encouraged to come out, which seek to link up and centralise in order to aim blows at capitalism. It is a very good symptom of objective discipline and elevation. It shows the state of public opinion in France. The rest is only twenty per cent of the population. Although the Congress showed quite a sharp inclination towards the left, it does not have a definite programme. It is necessary to open a discussion in the Socialist Party over the necessity of going to power in France and that the programme of the Popular Union can be extended. Not corrected but advanced to the left. It is necessary to nationalise more, to make workers councils and organs of workers power so that the workers can intervene. And it is also necessary to incorporate democracy in the army in a sharper way. There is no reason for the army to be an institution closed off from democratic rights, it has to be like any other office. If the police have the right to trade union organisation then what about the soldiers? Why should there be a loss of rights through being in the army? Do you stop being French or a citizen?

The progress of the Socialist Party is notable but it could be much more. It is necessary to open a discussion on every problem; power, the programme, the policy and how to bring youth into the leadership of the party. We are not against the old leaders and cadres of the Socialist Party but the younger ones have a will and capacity of synthesis, experience and decision and they do not have a previously acquired relationship with the whole apparatus of the capitalist system. It is necessary to impel this discussion which is going to have a great echo amongst the youth. The youth have to go into the leadership of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party too. The youth have no limitations in thought. They have to learn, certainly, to increase their theoretical and political understanding and advance in the leadership of the party. But the leadership is a simple problem of programme, policy and organisations. Youth have no complicity with the past. They are fully confident to win, to be triumphant and they have no interior weaknesses, no caste, family or personal interests. There is a great mass of young people, of the petit bourgeoisie without party who have to be gained to militancy in the workers parties, amongst them the Socialist Party. Youth have the confidence and strength to avoid being compromised with personal interests. Certainly a part of them are corrupted, or without being corrupted, come to think like the enemy, they are detained or try to restrain. These are few though. In this stage

These are few though. In this stage

youth above all try to think in a generalised way. It has a sentiment of justice, equality, of discussion, hunger for knowledge, audacity, determination and the intelligence to push forward science. Consequently it has all the elements to gain part of society for socialist ideas and to determine policy and programme, everything necessary to destroy the capitalist system.

It is necessary to appeal for a public discussion in the Socialist Party, in the Communist Party, in the Left Radicals, in every current of the workers movement, in the trade union and political field. Where is France going? Where do we want it to go? And deepening the Common Programme, raising a series of problems, from the nationalisation of the main enterprises and their functioning under workers control, the organisation of factory councils, to the planning of aspects of the economy in such a way as to prevent capitalist wastefulness. The lack of planning results in empirical production, part of which is wasted. It is necessary to raise planning in accordance with the needs of the population. And, at the same time, a plan of workers councils, organs that support the government which are going to spring up in the factories, in the areas, everywhere. To prepare campaigns aimed at gaining the army. It is necessary to propose forms of organisation of workers councils, trade union democracy, a united front of all the trade unions of the working class and a discussion in all the factories, in all the trade unions, of the programme of the Union Populaire and of the objectives and the struggle to carry the Union Populaire to power. To discuss the crisis of capitalism now. The oil crisis is not the reason for the crisis, it is the normal crisis of the capitalist system that is accentuated by this. The multi-national firms are the normal forms of capitalism in this stage. It is necessary to nationalise them and put them under workers control.

It is necessary to increase the united front action of the socialists, communists, left radicals and appeal to them to incorporate themselves in all the anti-capitalist movements. To make a public discussion throughout the country, everywhere, together with the workers centres. To make a permanent state of assembly and discussion, linking the daily, permanent struggle of the workers with the struggle for the left to power. In this sense to discuss with the army and with the police too.

It is necessary to appeal for the trade union movement to function together with the parties as an organisation of common defence of the interests of the programme of the Popular Union and of all the important struggles. For courses and discussions to be made in the factories and in the trade unions on the programme of the Popular Union. So it is necessary to foresee that great strikes and actions are going to be accompanied by the struggle for the Popular Union to go to power. The important strikes, even if they are economically motivated, will be points of support for the Popular Union to go very quickly to power.

19. 11. 73.

J. POSADAS

\* Two left tendencies in the Socialist Party.

## FACTORY OCCUPATIONS AND WORKERS' CONTROL

The growing confrontation between the masses and capitalism on a world scale has led to waves of occupations, for example in Argentina in 1964, Italy, France in 1968, and in Chile prior to the coup. Such actions are the expression of a massive world process of dual power in which the apparatus of bourgeois power is challenged. They are measures which anticipate much more fundamental social changes and are therefore transitory in their character. They demonstrate quite clearly that the old order cannot continue to function in the old way and the forces of the proletariat, centralising around it all the most progressive forces of human progress is preparing for the transformation of society.

The development of workers control in the factories in 1917 - 18 was a fundamental stage in the social revolution in Russia preparing the way for the nationalisation of all the key industrial and banking sectors, the expropriation of the capitalists and the construction of the Workers State. Occupations and workers control are revolutionary acts which announce the need for the complete overthrow of capitalist society. They challenge the legal norms of capitalist society, and outline the liquidation of the private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

Britain has not experienced a period like the events of May 1968 in France, with the revolutionary general strike and the proliferation of action committees and various forms of workers control. But the British proletariat has accompanied and been influenced by all the struggles of the world revolution and has gone through a series of important experiences involving forms of occupation and workers control. They have to be seen as part of a whole preparatory process in the class, as experiences from which the class is going to learn and base itself in the coming period. They are partial experiences but an important aspect of the wholesale rebellion of the British masses not only against the capitalist system but against the trade union and Labour Party bureaucracies, established on the basis of the aristocracy of labour. Factory occupations can be short term, even in part symbolic and are not necessarily linked to workers control of hiring and firing and the conditions of work, but occupations are the introduction to the more complete superseding of capitalist power in the factory, represented by workers' control.

In making a balance of these partial experiences, it is necessary to see the significance of the occupation in France of the Lip watch factory. Here, not only was the occupation carried out with the full support of the local population but workers control was exercised over production and marketing of the product. This experience, although it did not take place in the most vital centres of the French proletariat, indicated the spirit of the French and European masses to advance towards the taking of power. It showed that the proletariat was confident to run society, that it felt as a class that capitalism was quite superfluous. Although with this experience, as with Triumphs at Meriden, there is an attempt to find a solution in co-operative ventures, it vastly transcends its immediate outcome. Any balance of the various occupations in Britain also has to see these actions not as belonging to a finished stage but as contributions to the continuous pattern of advance of the proletariat who having gone through these experiences will draw the conclusions for the struggles that are coming.

The extreme depth of the crisis which is now developing in world and British capitalism necessarily prepares the way for the application of the transitional programme. Demands for occupations and workers control which seemed at one time to have only a local significance, now take on a national importance. In the face of the crisis which capitalism attempts to pass on to the workers, in face of closures of factories, dismissals, short time working, inflation, rotten conditions of work, intensification of exploitation in the factories, capitalism has to be confronted by workers initiatives. It is important that the organs of workers control and occupations are incorporated as a norm into the methods of the workers movement to combat the whole strategy of capitalism. And future occupations with workers control must be deepened in all their aspects, both from the point of view of programme and method.

This has to be seen also as part of the strategy of the workers movement, not only to combat the economic policies of capitalism but to assert proletarian objectives against the whole functioning of capitalism. Already the experience of UCS and Lip have shown the important role the direct interventions of the masses have in the transformation of their own political organisations. Thus the Labour Party and the French Communist Party adopt policies which begin to break with accommodating to capitalism. Such interventions are going to multiply in the next stage and further weaken the bases of the right in the unions and the Labour Party.

It is important to deepen the character of future occupations and workers control. The necessity to link occupations and workers control with nationalisation is fundamental because it is not possible to find factory solutions in isolation. The crisis that exists belongs to the whole system, its total incapacity to solve any problem, whether to develop production or meet the needs of the masses. And nationalisations should be linked with the discussion of the programme of the Labour Party, the return of the Labour government and a workers plan of production.

The complete and regular functioning of occupations and workers control demands a continuous life in the factories, a discussion of all the issues of production, the election of delegates

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## THE ROLE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IN THE FORMATION OF A LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The essential task facing the working class in Britain is the organisation of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, which means to break the apparatus of the right and to break the relations between the right and centre with capitalism. The present strikes and mobilisations for concrete demands of the class have to be combined with this task. All the workers and revolutionary movement, including the left groups, have to bear this in mind, so to be able to participate fully in this process.

The Labour Party is the instrument that the working class has created and centralised itself around and which it is not going to abandon. On the contrary it is constantly increasing its struggle for the socialist policy, programme and methods in the Labour Party. Not because it is submitted to a social democratic ideology or because it is deceived by a pro-capitalist leadership, but because it has the security and confidence to transform this party through the construction of a revolutionary leadership. The most decisive sectors of the class absorb all the world influence of the advance of the revolution and progress of the Workers States that promotes this level of confidence to the vanguard that it can make this struggle without in any way detaching itself. In an historic sense there is no time in which to construct a new mass party in opposition to the Labour Party. The same is true on a world scale in the Communist and Socialist parties and in the peronist movement in Argentina. This is the process as it is occurring and there is no doubt that this presents new problems. Apart from the question of leadership, the present structure of the Labour Party makes it incapable of constructing socialism or of withstanding the physical attacks of the bourgeoisie. This is the process and it is not possible to determine another one. It is necessary to assist the organisation of the left, not clashing with the Labour Party or making a purely agitational activity of denunciation or protest against the right wing apparatus but entering in the discussion on the policy, programme and strategy for the taking of power.

This means the perspective of the united front, not with the intention of making an 'entrism' activity or taking militants away from the Labour Party but deepening the united front. At the same time, accepting the Labour Party as central must not lead to opportunist adaptives to social democratic conceptions and methods, otherwise the revolutionary function is negated.

We appeal to the comrades of the revolutionary groups to discuss the positions of the Revolutionary Workers Party and the way we intervene towards the Labour Party. We intervene with the marxist analysis and programme that the left in the Labour Party and trade unions need in order to organise itself as a decisive force. This is based on the accumulated experience of marxism and in particular the experience of Posadism intervening toward the peronist movement in Argentina from before the 2nd world war. At the same time we develop our own party as an independently functioning Trotskyist party with a bolshevik organisation as part of the Posadist IV International. But acting as 'a public good in history', constructing the revolutionary leadership as part of our objective function as the conscious wing of the world communist movement, not seeking to compete or disrupt.

It is necessary to understand that the changes of programme and the discussion in the Labour Party Conference are real changes which come from the fact that the leadership, without being revolutionary is obliged to defend itself by having a programme nearer to class needs

This opens the way to influence and exert a weight from outside and within. To understand this process in Britain it is necessary to understand the world process of the revolution as it occurs now in this stage. It is a stage characterised by the process of confrontation, system against system, class against class in which there is a development of the world united front of the Soviet Union and the Workers States with the revolution against imperialism in Vietnam, the Middle East and in Chile against the junta. Not that the Soviet Union intervenes with the necessary revolutionary policy, but with an 'interpenetrative' policy against capitalism, it is a reformist policy but with the objective of suppression of the capitalist system. This process of partial regeneration in the Workers States is, as Comrade Posadas has analysed, the form of the political revolution in this stage. It is

part of the world alignment of forces in the workers camp on the one hand, and imperialism on the other, in preparation for the final encounter between them in the nuclear war. It is a process favourable to the revolution which has to be used by the workers movement. This is not the same stage of history as when Trotsky lived, it is necessary to live this stage of history.

For example in Chile the workers movement was impelling the sincerely socialist but essentially naive Popular Unity government in a series of anti-capitalist measures and expropriations. Allende was no agent of the capitalist system set on deceiving the working class, no. This is not 1935, the working class understood that the counter-revolution was being prepared and was constructing its independent organisms to confront it, without clashing with the Allende government, but seeking to impel it. It was necessary to intervene understanding the problems. The social-democratic and Stalinist past of this movement, the political naivety of the leadership, but understanding that the defeat in Chile was not inevitable. It is a situation that is going to be repeated, possibly in France with the Popular Union or in Britain with the Labour Party. So what attitude are the left groups going to take? It is necessary to support this experience and all the anti-capitalist measures undertaken, at the same time assisting the base of the working class parties in their efforts to transform these movements internally whilst impelling the independent organisation of the class in its own organisms.

This experience has to be discussed in the groups. For the so-called trotskyist groups to be able to play anything like a marxist role in this stage it is necessary to understand this perspective and this level of consciousness of the working class. To reject this perspective is to stand outside this process of history and in fact, to exist only as a spurious expression of the fact that the Labour Party does not organise all the anti-capitalist sectors of the population with the objective of taking power. The groups express the protest and rejection of capitalism of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie confirming the ripeness of society for

revolutionary change, but not organising to make this change. Some of the groups play a certain role in the agitation and defence they make of certain aspects of marxism like the Leninist theory of the state, for example, but by disregarding or rejecting the Labour Party as the fundamental instrument of the working class they do not serve the British workers mo-

vement. They can have only a perspective of their own crisis and disintegration. This is already quite advanced in many of them and leaves them open to be used by other forces.

We appeal to the comrades of the base of these movements to read and discuss the articles by Posadas and the IV International on the whole structure and development of the world revolution because these texts are the fundamental theoretical and political element to be able to contribute at the most elevated level to the struggle of humanity for socialism in this stage.

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## THE NATIONALISATIONS, DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS, THE ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS IN PERU

26.11.73

J. POSADAS

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RED FLAG

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### Factory Occupations

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who can be immediately recalled. A regular life inside the factory should be accompanied with regular meetings with delegates and other committees from other factories to exchange and develop discussions and co-ordinate future actions. Inevitably the trade union bureaucracy will intervene to control and contain as they have done in Italy in relation to the workers councils there, to limit factory occupations, to confine and diminish workers control. Only a permanent life with full discussion of programme and policy can offset the efforts of the workers leaderships who lack confidence in, or fear the process, to cut short occupations and limit direct workers control over production.

The scope of the world capitalist crisis transcending as it does national frontiers, and weakening the Common Market, stimulates the organisation of the workers forces throughout

Europe. The proposed meetings of trade unions and Communist Parties in the near future reflect in this way the need for a common programme and policy to confront and defeat the policy of capitalism. It is necessary for the occupied factories in Britain to establish links with factories in the rest of Europe and particularly in relation to the marketing of products to appeal directly to the Workers States for help. This is the way to lean upon the support of the world revolution and offset the immediate pressures of the local capitalist financial and economic system.

In the next stage we appeal for a discussion on the question of factory occupations and workers control to be discussed in the Labour Party trade unions and factories as a means of supporting the programme of nationalisations of the Labour Party and the development of a socialist programme and the best way to mobilise the masses against the capitalist organs of power, to make the masses feel their own power, their capacity to impel leaderships in their own organisations, to replace the outmoded functioning of capitalism, to prepare the way for a socialist planning of economic and social advance with the complete participation of the whole of the population.

### Miners

continued from page 1.

this time. It is possible to stimulate, to organise a national discussion on the programme for the general strike which is coming, a programme which should include the demand for the immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, for the overthrow of the Tory government and the imposition of a Labour government with socialist policies.

At the same time appeal must be made to the existing organisms of the class, to the trade union branches, trades councils, and above all, to the shop stewards committees to play a full part in the organisation and development of this struggle. The call must be made for mobilisations locally and for a massive national demonstration

which would be a show of working class strength.

The national strike of the miners and the general strike which it is going to impel poses, in an acute form, the central problem of the working class at this time, the lack of a leadership in the Labour Party and trade unions which is prepared to lead the struggle for the overthrow of the Tory government. The NEC of the Labour Party has pledged its support for the miners and, taking this as a point of support, the demand should be made for all miners MPs, local Labour Councilors, Labour Party representatives and trade union officials to attend the mass meetings of the miners. The actions of the Leicestershire miners in demanding the presence of Frank Smith at a pithead meeting and at a mass miners meeting to answer for his statements in opposition to the miners action is a good example of this type of functioning. It is a measure, and an important

measure of workers democracy. It is also a means of transmitting into the Labour Party the militancy the demands and the aspirations of the working class.

The NEC of the Labour Party will support the miners but in what form? It must be posed to them that they launch, immediately, a full national campaign in support of the miners using 'Labour Weekly' and 'Left' (the Labour Party Young Socialist Paper) and all the technical resources of the Labour Party including radio and television broadcasts for this purpose. It must be posed to the left in the Labour Party that they have a leading role to play in this campaign and, in this way, they can take steps towards structuring themselves as a tendency inside the Labour Party. And this, in itself, is the beginning of the process of transforming the Labour Party into an instrument which answers the needs of the workers struggle at this time.

The miners' struggle, the organisation of the national strike has to advance in the perspective of the general strike for the removal of the Tories who are a block to any improvement in the standard of living of the working population. In this we, the Revolutionary Workers Party (trotskyist), British Section of the IV International (posadist) pledge our full support. It is a struggle which is already advancing in the perspective of the imposition of a Labour government committed to a socialist programme, to socialist policies and socialist methods, a Labour government which is going to be impelled to implement its policies on the basis of the independent organisms of the class, the pit and factory committees, the workers area or action committees which have their beginnings in the 'flying pickets' of the miners and in the strike committees which are going to be organised in the course of the miners' strike.

NEW PUBLICATION OF THE PARTY

## THE NEED FOR WORKERS' CONTROL IN THE MINING INDUSTRY

IV International Publications - 24 Cranbourn St. LONDON WC2

# THE FUNCTION OF FACTORY, AREA AND SCHOOL COUNCILS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

J. Posadas

3. 1. 74

Workers of the World, Unite!



## RED FLAG

No. 203 \* Year XI  
12th February, 1974.

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

### CHILE

A coach load of Luton students all signed a petition which was sent to the Chilean embassy calling for the release and safe conduct out of Chile of Nelsa Gadea Galen, a thirty year old Uruguayan refugee who disappeared from her place of work on the 19th of December 1973. It has been impossible to obtain any information on the reasons for her arrest or where she is being held. We call for the immediate release of her, and all political prisoners in Chile.

## MASS WORKERS ASSEMBLIES TO SUPPORT THE MINERS STRIKE AND FOR THE RETURN OF A LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

The calling of a general election by the Tory government and the decision of the miners to strike and to continue to strike despite the election are severe defeats for capitalism. The Tories have not determined the calling of the election according to their own plans, it has been imposed on them through the invincible will to combat of the British masses who have refused to accept any of the capitalist 'solutions'. It is a snap election because capitalism is only able to improvise and is in a total impasse through the miners strike.

The Tories have failed to rally support from the petit bourgeoisie for their policies and on the student demonstration of the 8th February the massive anti-capitalist sentiment of the student sectors was clear. The petit bourgeoisie are won to the revolution, even if they remain uncertain of the policy and the programme and the party to follow.

Capitalism has launched a series of offensives which have conspicuously failed, the three day week, the trial of the Shrewsbury militants, the bomb provocations. They hoped to intimidate the masses with fears of unemployment, inflation, attacks on militancy and all this has failed. On the contrary the miners have spoken with the decision of the whole of the class. Nothing has budged them. Their continuation of the strike throughout the weeks preceding the elections is a mode of intervention, a blow at the Tories, and a blow at the right in the Labour Party, the trade unions and the right in the Communist Party.

The most important issue in the next three weeks is to take advantage of the electoral campaigns to develop a mass of workers meetings, inviting all sectors of the exploited population to attend, with the left sectors of the Labour Party, trade unions, Communist Party and the groups to discuss the international and national situation with the objective of returning a Labour government on a socialist programme but at the same time to win maximum support for the actions of the miners and continuing the preparation of the general strike. It is vital to see that the election is waged on a serious confrontation of issues, policy and programme. The line of Wilson to attack the record of the Tory government and at the same time to speak of the economic difficulties of the 'nation' is not the way to wage this campaign. It is necessary that all the class organs, the Shop Stewards Committees, Action Committees etc, all the student meetings the Tenants Associations weigh in the struggle and do not allow the purely electoral struggle to be dominant. So far the Tory campaign has placed the accent on the dangers of the subversives and the extremists, to try to gain the most backward sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and centralise their own base against the working class, who are certainly totally subversive of the capitalist system. At the same time this is accompanied by Whitelaw who speaks of their concern not to beat the miners but to beat inflation! These are arguments made by people who feel socially, politically and economically extremely weak. They lack a fighting programme to attract the waverers, and in their own ranks the sudden decision of Powell not to stand in the elections points to a hopelessness and withdrawal of a whole sector. By denouncing the 'fraudulent election' he tries still to act as though representing some force in the midst of chaos, but essentially his action is a collapse of a whole

sector that is impotent.

It is fundamental that the return of a Labour government is linked to the need for the immediate application and extension of the programme of nationalisations, and that the masses have to maintain a constant, unimpeded mobilisation in their own independent committees in the factories, workers districts, the regions. The process of nationalisations has to be accompanied by the imposition of workers' control and calls for nationalisation of all key industries accompanied by occupations. We appeal also to the printing and radio and television workers to intervene in the course of this election and impose on the capitalist media, articles and viewpoints from the workers movement refuting the imbecilities and distortions of capitalism, seeing in fact that the workers secure freedom for their views to be expressed. Imposing articles from the Labour Party, trade unions, the Communist Party, the groups and the IV International (posadist).

We propose beginning now that the campaign for the return of the Labour government is linked with maximum support for the miners strike with the organisation of pickets, mass committees with engineers and railwaymen. The needs of the masses have to be seen as the

central priority of a returned Labour government with state interference in the food monopolies to reduce food prices, with nationalisation of the building industry and the banks to meet the housing needs of the population, and the expropriation of unused and luxury properties. The Labour Party Electoral Manifesto a defeat for the right in the Labour Party - can be used to deepen the discussion on nationalisations and the need to extend them. 9. 2. 74.

ing their life to make sure that a returned Labour government is placed under the constant intervention of the mass workers movement. We propose that these committees are open to all tendencies to discuss the way forward as part of the fundamental need to construct the new, alternative left leadership in the Labour party.

We appeal to the miners in particular to intervene politically proposing the alternative organisation of the mining industry under a Labour government, showing the need for a superior organisation of the mines with miners' involvement and complete control at all levels of the industry, showing the idiocy and callousness of the way capitalism runs the mines. This would make a powerful impact and the miners in this way would act as an organising centre of the class.

Above all the left in the Labour Party and the unions must take the initiative and not allow the right to put forward anti-union and anti-socialist policies under the pretence of unity. The only unity the Labour Party can be interested in is unity around the programme of nationalisation and socialist measures, false unity with the centre and right only weakens the Labour Party. The election gives the opportunity in a very concentrated form to elevate the whole political discussion in the Labour Party and among the masses and break the links of the right and centre of the Labour Party with capitalism, allowing the development of a new leadership based on mass popular support.

### Summary

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THE PARTY'S INTERVENTION  
IN THE MINERS' STRIKE

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THE DEMONSTRATION IN  
SOLIDARITY WITH THE MINERS  
CALLED BY GREENWICH  
LABOUR PARTY

In this campaign it is important that the left in the Labour Party and the unions improves its links with the masses, speaking in factories, workers districts etc. Throughout the country a mass of Action Committees dedicated to campaigning for the Labour Party electoral victory should be quickly established with links in the unions, schools, universities, the housing estates to mobilise mass support for the Labour Party. These should have the objective of prolong-

### n.u.s. grants campaign

## For a Programme which corresponds to the Decision of the Students

The massive student demonstration on February 8th marks a new stage in the unity of the workers and students movement against the Tory government and the policies of capitalism. The demonstration was called in protest against the reduction in grants and the cuts in educational expenditure by the government as part of their whole policy of reducing the standard of living and 'rationalising' the economy. But the students were not seeking to conduct a purely trade union struggle in isolation from the rest of the population. The slogans raised in the demonstration identified the students with the struggle of the miners and the overthrow of the Tory government.

All the line of the NUS over the last period has shown the growing fusion of the student sectors with the struggles of the mass of the population. Hence the offer of financial aid to the miners by the students and the support for the Shrewsbury militants.

All this confirms the profound ties which link together the struggles of the students and those of the workers. What has to be done to raise the level of participation of the students in the struggles that are to come?

The students in themselves carry very little social weight but when such sectors abandon a perspective of advance within the terms of the system this in practice reflects the wholesale disillusionment of the mass of the petit bourgeoisie with the perspectives of capitalism. It means that the prospect of careers no longer acts as a magnet for such sectors because they sense that capitalism is in a total, unceasing crisis and that the Workers States are immensely superior. In the

whole of the last period capitalism has been unable to win back any ground among the students and this means that the opportunities to develop the students sectors and the NUS into a permanent vanguard intervening in all the problems of the masses are considerable.

It is important that the students intervene as they have done on all the struggles of the workers, giving financial support, distributing leaflets etc. but at the same time it is necessary that the students develop a more coherent political life on the basis of a fuller discussion of the most fundamental political issues. The experience of the students, particularly since 1968 has been one of constant upheaval. The fact that there is now a fierce struggle to remove the present president to the NUS shows a constant search on the part of the student vanguard for a leadership that corresponds to this stage. All the most important political issues are constantly being raised by students. What is the perspective for a Labour government? What is the role of the left groups?

What role has the Communist Party to play in this country? What type of programme should the students put forward? What is the significance of changes in the Workers States and Communist Parties? These questions can now be approached with much greater confidence than in the past because the objective course of the world and national process is itself much clearer. The polarisation of forces shown in the student demonstration itself against the Tories and around the Labour Party and the working class introduces order into the discussion.

We propose that the colleges, universities, polytechnics become vital centres of discussion between workers and students, that in all regions workers are invited to speak on their strikes and how they see the process developing in Britain, that Labour Party speakers, representatives of the Communist Party, the IV International (posadist) and the groups are invited to speak on all these issues so that educational establishments become centres of popular discussion. At the same time, this can be linked with the demands for a transformation of the teaching syllabuses so that education functions according to the needs of the masses not according to the educational requirements of capitalism - in other words a popular education based on marxism. This combines

turn to back page

# THE FUNCTION OF FACTORY, AREA AND SCHOOL COUNCILS IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER

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The formation of Factory, Area and Schools Councils in Italy is very important. They are organs of dual power, which dispute power with capitalism. But at present they are bureaucratised, they are not dynamic Councils. The essential quality of Councils in the factories, schools or areas is internal democracy. Without internal democracy the Council is an instrument that is paralysed, it has a body but no life. The essential quality for any Council is a political and dynamic life that allows the class to be represented.

It has to be a living instrument of polemic, discussion and creation, so that every tendency of the workers movement can meet and resolve their differences in a common instrument against capitalism. Not making an instrument of internal dispute. It has to be an instrument where people discuss the most complete and best experiences. Then all the currents which meet and discuss in the Council contribute with their opinions, analysis and experience in order to enrich and decide, with the capacity to think, plan and lead which the proletariat has. If the Councils are not democratically elected and function democratically, then they are paralysed instruments which serve only the bureaucracy. On the other hand, democratically elected Councils in the areas and factories, with every current and tendency functioning within them, discussing in depth every problem, stimulate the proletariat in its capacity of leadership of society, and encourage it to intervene on every problem. Making proposals, discussing, analysing, drawing conclusions and generalising experiences. Then the rest of the population sees that these instruments give possibilities to develop the struggles.

The Councils are a creation of the masses. They are not new. They were already created in the Russian revolution. They correspond to the Councils of 1917 in the USSR and 1915 in Germany. Today they are called Factory Councils. They play a more elevated function because there is a greater experience of the revolution. But they are not new inventions. They are the Factory Committees which were proposed by the Communist International. It shows how the working class never abandons any gain. Because it was not the Italian Communist Party which officially proposed the Councils in 1968. They came from below, they emerged in the struggle.

The bureaucracy in the trade unions and the workers parties had to put up with the formation of the Factory Councils to restrain the initiative of the workers, and at the same time, not to clash, not to produce divergences and splits. But since they did not develop with a programme to take power they were made with the beginning of a degeneration. They are necessary organs but without the necessary function, because the function they have now is not revolutionary. Here is the degeneration. The bureaucracy tries to keep them on this plane as an institution, and not as living, dynamic organs of the class struggle.

It is necessary to propose that the Factory Councils are extended as District Councils, and that they have to represent every current and tendency, and that they have to resolve all problems by democratic discussion. This does not bring them into contradiction with the parties. It is not a dispute with the parties, but an aid. It is necessary to impel and carry forward a campaign in the Communist Party. To find a way to develop the conclusion that the Factory, District, Area or School Councils have to have democratic representation; not bourgeois democratic but proletarian and trade union democracy. To discuss, draw experiences, compare, form plans of action, of struggle, programmes to be reached and developed according to the will to struggle of the population in the areas and districts, the youth, women and children too.

When we have proposed that the children participate, it is not an idealisation of the child but a logical conclusion. We are not guided by Vietnam alone, we are guided by the children of Naples too. Children are seeking the way to intervene in society and live the problems of society. Children's games, which were previously dolls and houses are changed now to overthrow the capitalist system. It is a beautiful game. It is the most complete of all and produces no conflict whatsoever.

It is necessary to take the experiences of the Factory Councils, the Area Councils and take the discussion inside the Communist Party and the trade unions. Raising a campaign for trade union democracy. Discussing every problem. If the workers don't discuss and resolve, if there is no functioning on the basis of trade union democracy, well on what other basis are things to be

resolved? What factor is going to determine the programme of the trade unions? What is it? What does it count on? Is it the will to struggle of the masses? Necessity? Or the situation of the capitalists? The programme of the CGIL\* at present takes account of what is happening with the capitalists but it does not take account of what is happening with the workers. They take account of the losses made by Fiat. They want to impress the workers and frighten them with these discussions.

It is necessary to bear in mind the masses' will to struggle because they are ready to advance, and also to bear in mind the crisis and powerlessness of capitalism because it has no solution. The will of the masses is revolutionary and anti-capitalist. The Councils are anti-capitalist, certainly, this isn't to be denied. But they must be democratically elected and discuss everything. And the parties too.

The Communist Party has to function in cells. But not just cells for the sake of ornamentation, no, no. Cells that have a programme of action, political life and political progress. A programme of action means impelling, planning, agitating, gaining authority with the masses in order to give an anti-capitalist solution to Italy's problems which have no capitalist solution. This is what it is necessary to discuss.

## IT IS NECESSARY TO DISCUSS THE EXPERIENCE OF THE CORDONES INDUSTRIALES IN CHILE.

The masses in Chile made the Cordones Industriales on their own initiative. The Cordones Industriales were not invented by the Chilean masses. There was a soviet basis, but not a soviet functioning or structure. But there was a soviet basis. Organs in which the population of a certain place discusses all problems and resolve them according to the needs of the development of the revolution, of the struggle towards socialism. It is a very rich experience. It is not a soviet, but is an organism of soviet origin.

The soviet is a representative organ of the population, of production in a certain area, in which every problem is discussed in a soviet form, not according to the interests of one or another sector or party, but according to the interests of the development of the revolution, the economy and the country. It is the most complete organ of united front.

The Cordones Industriales\* were close to this. They were insufficient and heterogeneous. It was an initiative of the masses aimed at responding to the insufficient capacity of the leadership of the Popular Unity, to the insufficiency of the political leadership which gave no organs for the intervention of the masses. The Chilean masses intervened in the elections, in the strikes and in the factories. But what about the rest of the country? The masses felt the need to intervene. They saw the counterrevolution being organised and developed, and the proletariat did not have the organs to confront it. The police were insufficient, because this is not a police function. To contain the counterrevolution is a political function of organisation, of intervention of mass organs to prevent the counterrevolution from working and to dissolve it. This is also how to win a part of society away from the bourgeoisie, sectors like the petit bourgeoisie and backward sectors of the proletariat and peasantry, a part of the army, police and administration. The mass organs can win and influence them, living with them day by day and tending to give security and confidence in the future of the Workers State and socialism. The Cordones Industriales are one of the richest and best examples.

The Communist Parties have not discussed this experience. It is necessary to return to this and repeat it. Certainly soviets, which are the best organs, can be made; but the soviet does not go against the existence of other, local, area, circumstantial organs. It does not go against them. It is not decentralisation that makes centralisation and common progress difficult, on the contrary. Every correct soviet policy for the construction of socialism has to be planned in a centralised way and applied in a decentralised way. The greater its decentralisation, the greater the capacity of initiative of the organs that maintain the cohesion within this decentralisation. The initiative of

The communist press, l'Humanite and l'Unita do not discuss this. In the Italian Communist Party and in all the communist parties the cell is just a memory of the past. The communists say, 'The Bolsheviks had a party structured in cells..... but there is no need for cells here'. The Communist Party have no cells. Where they have them, like in the French Communist Party, they do not function. We have written three texts directed to the Communist Parties posing that it is necessary to function in cells. One of the most important activities of the French and Italian Communist Parties, which has not been generalised but has been partly expressed in speeches of Berlinguer, is the need to return to a cell functioning. But not cells of 40 to 100, but cells in areas, factories or streets. Small organs that function in the most vital places in the life of the country and communicate the life of the party, the line, the propaganda, the orientation of the party. Take from these places the determination to fight and carry it to the party. The cells construct and develop militants as leaders. The greater the number of cells, the better the cell functioning, then the more the organs of power of the masses are developed to replace the organs of the capitalist system. The more the cells develop, the more the organs of the proletariat develop in the factory, the trade unions and firms, the more they proliferate, the more class organs are consciously developed to apply and exercise the function of power in society.

This experience has to be discussed in the world communist movement.

The functioning of the Councils in Italy will be very uneven for a period, between those councils that have a permanent political life encouraged by the initiative and dynamism of the vanguard, and the others that do not function on the basis of a pressure from the vanguard or the intervention of the vanguard. What is important in all this period is to see that they are organs of dual power but they do not exercise dual power. Every Factory or Area Council, District Council is an organ of dual power. They do not exercise this function because the people who lead them do not see the objective, or the programme, nor do they see the solution towards dual power. The political parties in the Factory Councils are discussing not having the referendum on divorce, they are negotiating with the government and making a pact. The

## introduction

*This document deals in depth with the emergence of the Factory Councils in Italy and their partial degeneration due to the lack of political life and functioning. However it is not possible to evaluate the Factory Councils by the degenerated functioning they may have, but rather by the objectives they hold. They exist because of the need the masses have to intervene politically and influence other sectors of the population without having to confront the rigid bureaucracy of the trade unions, communist or socialist parties. Organs like the Factory Councils, Area Councils etc. respond to the revolutionary will and maturity of the masses to take power, when their leaderships are still unprepared. They are organs of dual power*

Communist Party and the Socialist Party see the diminished function of the factory Council because they do not feel impelled to carry forward a struggle to supplant capitalism, to defeat it or to impose their conception in the interests of the masses. The same with the plan of production.

## J. POSADAS

It is not necessary to measure the Factory Councils, though, by the decayed functioning they have, but rather by the objective. Not to measure them as a bad conclusion or that the workers are not interested. These present leaders are not interested in them. But the very fact that organisms of dual power have arisen is an indication that the vanguard is disposed to replace capitalism. Otherwise organisms of dual power would not be made. What it is necessary to do is to give these organs of power a political life. They do not have this because the leaderships of the workers parties, particularly the Communist Party which is the one which can and must transmit the class conclusion, does not do it. The vanguard has no bonds with the party programme. So the Factory Council functions in a trade union sort of fashion and this gives it a corporative attitude and emphasis. So the interest wanes; it

*which dispute power with capitalism, help to develop and prepare working class cadres and win over sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. They impel and stimulate the political parties without replacing or competing with them.*

*These organs don't arise in just any conditions, but in pre-revolutionary conditions, such as in this country where the British Working class, the miners, engineers, railwaymen have shown that they are not intimidated by the repressive measures of capitalism and the lack of an organised leadership. For this reason the development of independent organisms of the class is a fundamental part of the preparation of the working class and its leadership for the taking of power.*

has to wane. But what is important is that, in spite of a lack of interest in one place or another, as a whole interest is not lost. The Councils try to exercise the function of dual power.

All this has to be understood in order not

to take the Factory Council just as it is in a factory, but to take the fact that in Fiat the class obliges the management to allow them to hold meetings, discussions, assemblies and internal elections, and the Fiat Factory Councils have rejected the trap the management wanted to make with a superficial contract. This is how it is necessary to see it. They are organs of dual power that need the collaboration of the Party in order to function. This is why the Italian Communist Party tries to cut them short, not providing a political leadership. Power comes from the factory, but not the political leadership. Nonetheless, even so, the incentive to give the political leadership can come from there. Because it is impelling the Communist Party, against its will, in order to show it that the class wants power.

It is necessary to base oneself on the development of the struggles in Britain. Not staying just with Italy. Travel round the world without leaving Italy. Show the struggle of the British masses and the concern with which capitalism is watching the working class and its cadres, 99% of whom are Labour, who are resisting capitalism.

## THE FACTORY COUNCIL IS AN ORGAN OF DUAL POWER WHICH DISPUTES POWER WITH CAPITALISM.

The Factory Councils are not only an Italian experience. One aspect of the experience has occurred in Italy. It is a measure, an initiative of the proletariat which it takes when the conditions for the struggle for power draw close or when the conditions for power are developing. Factory Councils do not appear at any moment. In order for the Factory Councils to mature the proletariat has to be secure, resolute, capable and it has to have proved this. It is not a measure to win a strike. The Factory Council is a measure of dual power in which the proletariat is organising to influence the rest of the class.

It does not arise in just any conditions, but in conditions mature for the taking of power there the class has already seen that it is ready to take power. The vanguard has seen the feeling of the class, it has been proved that it feels as a class in actions, discussions, in small movements, in reactions, in votes, in parliamentary elections, and strikes. The bureaucrat, the trade union leader does not look at it like this. He takes account of his own judgment, his relations with the boss, what the leadership wants, not what the class wants. He does not measure the state of mind and determination of the class. The vanguard does. This is why the Factory Councils appear from the decision of the factory. They are organs of power, in which the vanguard, in direct contact with the class, sees and feels how the class moves, it sees how it works, its disposition, it sees it in the factory, in discussions, strikes, elections, in talks over wage increases, in its disposition to struggle not only for wage increases but for better working conditions, shorter working hours, taking account of the interests of the population, human interests, problems of health. It advances in this understanding and decision. The Factory Council arises in pre-revolutionary co-

ditions mixed with revolutionary conditions. It does not arise at just any moment.

They do not accept any of its plans or discussions. They are going to work a 3 day week, part of their wages are cut and the bourgeois press is scandalised. 'We all expected them to give up, but the strikes continue and they are not worried that they have nothing to eat, there is no light, it is cold, but none of this bothers them'. The bourgeoisie says, 'They are unfeeling' because they do not let themselves be scared or terrorised. They impose themselves through the trade unions.

This has to be discussed to show the meaning of the construction of the organ and the perspectives there are, taking France too. They have to make factory assemblies in France because the workers do not accept the manoeuvres the trade union leadership is trying to make. This is why the trade unions had to suspend their talks with the bosses, because there is no agreement and a very great resistance from below. In Italy, part of the communist leadership wants to use the existence of these organisms of dual power to blackmail the bourgeoisie, like in the question of divorce. Whilst the communist vanguard wants to use them well, with a direct class aim.

It is necessary to discuss all this. The communist masses have to discuss all this. In this discussion a centre to develop is trade union democracy, proletarian democracy, full discussion with everyone, with all the currents, with the ultra left groups and with us. It is necessary to discuss. Capitalism is sustained by the Communist Party right wing; it does not have its own strength. Hence the communist right tries to make a programme of aid, of levelling out, of computing the resources of the capitalist system and to divert the struggle over investments; what capitalism invests, how it invests, whilst the proletarian vanguard with reason says 'what importance do these investments have to me. No investments mean work, development'. The communist vanguard does not have the means to express itself, it thinks through deduction and experience and through the understanding which it has of the world, that to develop the Southern regions of Italy they need the Italian State budget of over seven years. This is the minimum. In the first place thousands of millions of lire and in the second place development for who? The leadership says: we have to await the development of Southern parts of Italy to ask increases in wages, and the vanguard sees 'so we are going to wait for the development of Southern Italy to end Cholera? We are going to wait for the development of the mezzogiorno so that the determination that we have, the understanding and the means which we have to change society are abandoned and we wait for capitalism to develop the country and afterwards intervene?' The vanguard sees this.

The Councils also rise to face the limitation, the sabotage and lack of decision of the leaderships. The leaderships are slow and timid. While the proletariat launches itself to form the organs that correspond to the state of decision and feelings of the class and the world. Because in every Factory Council there is also present the relationship of forces favourable to the proletariat against capitalism.

The present Councils which there are in Italy do not directly represent the will of the masses, because limits and brakes have been applied. They do not represent the determination or the possibility to fight. If they did represent the will of the masses to fight they would have already taken power because the class wants power, it wants to go to the government; they would have already won the Christian Democrat base that the class has already won over and attracted in the factories. The strikes in the factories are complete. The problem of the division is the leadership. It is necessary to prepare new leaderships. Without halting the struggles or the level of the struggles, but preparing new leaderships. The new leaderships can only be prepared through the struggle for gains like the proletariat is doing at present.

The vanguard who want to impel the Factory Councils meet sabotage and resistance from their leaderships. In part because these leaderships are not prepared for these conclusions and in part because they fear to be bypassed, as in Britain. Then they limit the Councils and seek in a variety of ways, an alliance with management. In every limitation in the functioning of the Factory Council, there is implicit an alliance with management because the leadership takes into account not the interest of the workers, the gains they can make, what they are determined to gain, but the difficulties of the enterprise. The difficulties of the factory are of no interest to the worker. If the factory cannot function, then nationalise it! One must not propose various improvements so that the factory continues functioning. The duty of the proletariat, and as a part of this the Factory Council, is that if the factory cannot function it is necessary to propose superior measures to private ownership; nationalisation under workers' control, a programme of improvements for the workers and price reductions for the population.

The leaderships on the other hand limit themselves to what the management can give. They say 'the management cannot give any more!' But what do we care if he cannot give any more! Neither can we live in this way! It is necessary to nationalise, to expropriate and to plan production according to what is convenient to the country. By country we mean the needs of the masses, the petit bourgeoisie, the economic development that can be carried out free of capitalism. The leaderships do not free themselves from capitalism. They say that the masses are not mature or ready. Who is not ready? Capitalism cannot give anything, that's clear. Today, tomorrow it is not going to

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## THE PARTY'S INTERVENTION IN THE MINERS STRIKE

The miners fraction of the Revolutionary Workers Party (trotskyist), British Section of the IV International has participated in all the preparation and organisation of the miners strike from its earliest beginnings with a whole series of leaflets, discussions and sales of Red Flag, and has held the first of a series of public meetings in Doncaster. The intervention of our miner comrades is organising the left as a tendency in the NUM so that it can have a political weight in other unions and from the union much further - to have an influence in the other unions, in the strike movement, in the Labour Party.

This means intervening as a political leadership on the organisation of the strike, the preparation of the general strike and the whole range of tasks in the construction of the revolutionary leadership. The leaflets produced by the fraction since the overtime ban have been headed 'Vote Strike!', 'The miners struggle - is it political?' and 'Tactics for the development of the strike'. Extracts from these are printed below:

*"We salute the result of the ballot, which shows without doubt the massive strength and unity of the miners for strike action. It is clear that with the calling of an election on February 29th, a part of the Labour Party and trade union leadership, as well as the Tories, are going to put enormous pressure for us to call off the strike. The strike must go on at all costs! These are just manoeuvres for the Tories to avert the inevitable confrontation with the miners, as with the relativities proposals, which is merely an attempt to gain time, because on what basis do we measure the relative social importance of one job compared with another? To the capitalist the most important jobs are those which create the most profits. It is vital to get rid of the Tories and to put in a Labour government, but a Labour government on our terms - one which will represent our interests and not those of the capitalist class. This can be assured by the implementation of strike action as soon as possible - before, during and after an election....*

*"The demands of the miners are already insufficient to ensure a good living standard*

*statements against the miners is an example of how to put pressure on those so called miners representatives who do not support the struggle."*

On the 7th February a public meeting of the miners fraction of the RWP(T) was held to discuss 'The struggle of the miners - which way forward?' in which quite a sizeable sector of miners, particularly from Hatfield Main NUM, discussed the introduction made by one of our comrades on the political significance of the miners strike and the course for its future development. The point was emphasised that it is necessary to generalise the strike action against the government and find the forms of organisation (pit strike committees, joint action committees with other unions, mass meetings, area committees, flying pickets etc) so as to advance the strike, deepen the discussion and weigh in the Labour Party. These organisms that are independent of the mass organisations of the working class - though not against them - are fundamental to allow the vanguard to make itself felt in the organisation of the struggle and in the construction of the left in the LP and trade unions. This meeting expressed the deep authority of Trotskyism-Posadism in this sector of the proletariat that has a key role at this moment, it expressed too the political preoccupations here - all the discussion of the Party, how to deal with the right wing in the LP and trade unions? What is Trotskyism and its value here and now? How do we advance? It was a discussion full of ideas and full of the profound decision and militancy of the miners at this stage of preparation of the strike.

The ideas of Posadism are necessary, they correspond to the sentiment and decision of the working class in this stage; this is why the bourgeois press seizes hold of the attacks on our leaflets by some Yorkshire NUM officials, and they

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# THE FUNCTION OF FACTORY AREA AND SCHOOL COUNCILS

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Stewards Committees have bypassed their leaderships.

What it is necessary to pose is how to make the councils function. The bureaucracy has not been able to prevent the formation of the factory Councils, the workers area, school and district Councils. It neutralises them, it deprives them of force, initiative, the function of dual power.

It makes a dead organism with only a managing role. A managing organism that is more representative of the district, the place of work, but with no more power or decision. It manages the factories and districts in the same way as parliament manages the country. This neutralises, deprives the organism of the strength which it has. But when such Councils are formed, it is because people do not believe, do not expect anything from parliament nor from the present policy of the trade union and political leadership. The masses want their leaderships to take measures to confront capitalism.

## THE FACTORY COUNCILS EMERGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STRUGGLE FOR THE TAKING OF POWER.

It is necessary to discuss the origins of the Factory, District and Area Councils and the reason for their existence. They exist in pre-revolutionary situations. Capitalism cannot give anything. In such a situation either the trade unions and the Factory Councils are administrators of capitalism or administrators of the workers and it is necessary to counter-pose our programme to the programme of capitalism. If the leaderships say that the conditions don't allow it - well why don't they allow it?

Everybody wants this. In Britain the government introduced the three day week. There is no light, no heat and the workers go on strike. They strike because they are ready to replace capitalism, which is impotent and incapable of solving anything. Capitalism cannot solve anything, nor has it an interest in doing so, because its functioning is based on profit, and in accordance with profit it has no interest in investing there.

The working class in Britain goes beyond the leadership, bypasses it, and now is confronting it. In Italy the will of the class attracts the Christian Democratic base, the worker, peasant and petit bourgeois base. The leaderships try to contain and block. It is necessary to discuss, showing that one should not be impatient because this is not the way to advance. The fact remains that the organ is a conquest, tomorrow it is going to be useful. This is the organ which the masses see. What is missing is the leadership and the programme for this organ.

The meetings of the Councils, the internal assemblies in the factories, of each shop, have to be given the significance of a congress, of a conference, because they are the preparation of the leading cadres of the class, who in turn are going to prepare others. They are not normal meetings, but profoundly significant meetings. The class to be discussing, has to see now the very great splits already existing within the bourgeoisie on the problem of divorce.

It is necessary to realise and communicate this, the organ already exists, the factory, district and area Councils. The masses see an organ in which they can intervene without being smashed by the apparatus, and in this way they seek a direct communication with the population. It is necessary to develop a leadership for these organs. The proof that the revolutionary process is more powerful than the bureaucracy is that it cannot block the formation of organs. As the vanguard and the new leadership have not been formed in time the bureaucracy can retain control. But it cannot do anything more, it cannot liquidate them. It is necessary to wait and prepare for the next stage.

It is necessary to elevate in the new cadres the concern to strengthen and elevate themselves politically, to understand the need to develop in preparation for the next stage, but also intervening now. When gains such as the factory and district Councils are made they encourage all the rest to intervene. It is not necessary to wait for tomorrow. Tomorrow is relative. It begins today. The demonstrations which they have made in defence of Chile maintain the level of revolutionary thought. If there was a falling away in the fight, less concern in the revolutionary movement, Chile would not be present as it is. As the heart, the sentiment, the consciousness of the masses is alive, they want action to overthrow capitalism and to unite this with Chile. As the leadership does not appeal to them, does not organise them to take power, they take hold of Chile as a means of impelling the revolution. They always maintain a

The function of the delegates must be more concerned with an answer to the preoccupations of the workers. This is as important as the conquests they have to make. Showing that they are not dispirited or defeated. It is necessary to maintain such a level of combat whilst new delegates are being elected and prepared politically. The delegate must give explanations, lectures, discussions, and proceed to make gains that can be quite extensive.

The simple fact of having formed Councils is a triumph. It is now necessary to construct the revolutionary leadership, a class leadership. It is necessary to pass through this stage in which these present leaderships have the power, they have the apparatus but they are not able to control nor submit the masses, who do not wish to be submitted. On a world scale, all the process is favourable to the Councils. It is necessary to prepare the new leadership. This is not the leadership which corresponds to the will of the masses who made the Councils.

whole area, a structure of revolutionary action. Hence Chile follows, otherwise they would have already forgotten it, they would have let it go.

To improve the functioning of the factory Councils it is important to make as many as possible in the factory, so that there may be crushing resolutions, of the majority so that they can impose forcefully on their own leadership, not waiting to convince this leadership. This leadership is against. It is necessary to develop new leaderships, and meanwhile exert a pressure by way of assemblies, meetings to oblige these leaderships to advance and make way for other leaderships which would include some of them. The trade union and party leaderships are restraining the will to combat of the masses. The workers see this and want to have an explanation. Now they are not going to continue to change the leadership. It is necessary to exert a pressure, to prepare politically for the next stage. But meantime to continue the mobilisations to the maximum possible, not to wait expecting others to do it. Factory actions even on a small scale are going to have great effect because they are going to encourage struggles in other factories. It is going to put pressure on the bureaucracy and encourage the workers to intervene. Throughout the world it is like this. Throughout Italy the spirit of the class is like this. Don't be disappointed because the leadership is not ready to accept this. They can make considerable gains despite the reluctance of the leadership. Limited gains, but nonetheless gains that maintain the decision to fight and mobilise, which afterwards is going to be extended much further.

In the formation and election of the Councils it is necessary to make a selection of cadres to elect the members of the Factory Council, the District Council or the Area Council who answer to these measures. So that the Councils make conquests independently of parliament and the trade unions so that they do not wait for either. On the contrary, with their struggle they are going to encourage the trade unions and parliament. For this they have to discuss what is happening in the apparatus that has to be conquered, it is the apparatus which dominates all this. It cannot be allowed to impose. A new leadership has to be formed. To struggle for a new leadership with a programme which responds to the masses' will to struggle. Not the calculation of the leaders so that they determine what can be demanded. On what basis do they determine what one can demand? On the basis of the masses' will to struggle? The masses want power, they want great conquests, they do not want to stop because capitalism may not wish to invest, it does not have the money. The state can invest! Don't wait to facilitate investment by capitalism. Why help capitalism to invest and profit so that it can reinvest? The state can do it. And we can take the state and the factories. Why not do this? Capitalism is not going to want to do this, certainly, neither today nor tomorrow. We do not want it to decide. If it is the one that decides, it means cholera, hunger, bread-shortages, war - it means all this. It is necessary to discuss not merely what can be achieved at

# the Need for a Conference of the Labour Movement in South London

A demonstration called by Greenwich Labour Party in solidarity with the miners' struggle was well attended by all sectors of the Labour movement, expressing in this way the objective unity of all sectors of the population in the anti-capitalist struggle of which the miners' struggle forms part. It is an aspect of the concentrated growth of the struggles of the proletariat and the masses, of the strikes and mobilisations that openly question the functioning of capitalism, and which advance in their programmatic and anti-capitalist character. The slogan shouting and optimism of the demonstrators and the favourable reception by the population, showed the confidence and decision of the people in this struggle. The government has completely failed in its attempt to set the population - any sector of the working class - against the miners, despite the extensive campaign in the press, radio and television with this objective.

Everybody supports the miners and the Tories cannot point to any protest, strike or demonstration against the miners' action. In fact the proposals made in the Conservative Party Manifesto to make it legally compulsory for trade unions to pay strike benefits - so as to hit them financially - is going to encourage the unification of all the struggles of the working class and masses in Britain against Tory policy, in order to defend the standard of living of the whole population. Questioning the right of the bourgeoisie to rule society, when it has already shown that it is incapable of running the economy without forcing

large sectors of the population to work an inhuman amount of overtime whilst maintaining a high level of unemployment.

Large sectors of the population can be won to the perspective of a Labour government with a socialist programme and policy, but only an organised left can perform this task, as the right and centre-right who control the Labour Party apparatus, and in particular the Parliamentary Labour Party, continue with their policy of negotiating with capitalism and trying to help it survive by making out that the miners are a 'special case'. This will impel the organisation of the powerful left in the Labour Party and trade unions.

The speeches at the end of the march did not reflect all the force of this feeling, as it did not start from this basis already achieved in order to organise the struggle to impose a full set of social and economic measures to answer the needs of the masses to concretely express the favourable balance of forces which exists.

At the end of the meeting the organisers made an appeal to all organisations taking part in the march to attend a meeting to discuss the organisation of a committee for the defence of the masses. This initiative should open the way for the organisation of a conference of the Labour movement in South London, open to all organisations in the Labour movement to discuss measures of solidarity with the miners and a solution to the crisis of capitalism on the basis of nationalisations and a planned economy and to launch a full campaign of explanation and propaganda. 9. 2. 74.

## NUS grants campaign

Continued from Page 1

the political struggle with the struggle for new forms of education and the trade union demands of students, i.e. more accommodation, for a student wage which rises with the cost of living, for the right of everyone to education allowed in working hours, etc.

On this basis with the political elevation of the student vanguard, with a superior democratic functioning and closer links with the rest of the population, the students can weigh as a political force in the construction of a new leadership in the Labour Party and the trade unions and stimulate the independent organisms of the class in its Shop Stewards Committees, Action, Area Committees etc.

At the same time it is vital to develop superior forms of student discussion to liquidate the elements of pretentious bureaucracy in the functioning of the NUS and the various student unions. We appeal for more regular student meetings to discuss all student issues where union officials and delegates are open to immediate recall and

where the carrying out of NUS policy in relation to the miners etc. should be discussed. Regular links should be developed with the local Labour Parties and trade unions, factories etc. We call for more local student conferences to be held, to intensify regional activity of the students, to increase the range of discussion bulletins, to develop college reviews which discuss everything from students to all issues of national and international importance, and in this way to deepen the links at the same time with the international student movement, to discuss the implications of student interventions in Thailand, Greece, Argentina etc.

OPEN THE COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES TO DISCUSSIONS WITH MINERS ON HOW TO SUPPORT THE STRIKE.

REGULATE MASS STUDENT MEETINGS WITH THE RIGHT OF IMMEDIATE RECALL OF DELEGATES.

R E D F L A G

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present in the Factory Council, which is very limited, but the very profound crisis of the capitalist system.

The development of the crisis of the capitalist system continues without interruption in a process of constant social, economic, political and military convulsions. Constant and uninterrupted. It creates and will create and develop the conditions in a more and more elevated way to attract the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry to seek ways to overthrow the capitalist system. It is clear that the crisis is not transitory but arises from the structure of the capitalist system which is collapsing. This stimulates the forces to overthrow the capitalist system. While the Workers States progress, capitalism survives because the communist leaderships do not overthrow it. This is going to impel currents, tendencies and groups

in the communist, socialist, nationalist, left Catholic parties to be concerned to programme a policy against the capitalist system.

J. Posadas 3.1.74

CGIL - Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro (the communist and socialist trade union federation, in which the communists have the overwhelming majority).

Cordones Industriales - organisms made up of delegates from factories in an area, originally formed during the Popular Unity government to organise the defence of the factories from attacks from forces of the bourgeoisie.

# THE BUREAUCRACY OF THE WORKERS STATES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

31. 12. 73

middle pages

J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## LAUNCH A CAMPAIGN FOR THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME ON THE BASIS OF THE WORKERS STRUGGLES

*Bourgeois elections are not the best means of political expression for the working class because it is a means by which the ruling class regulates its own internal problems. However every means has its uses in the advance of the struggle of the working class. In particular we have to take into account the fact that these elections take place in the midst of a total world crisis - economic, political and social of the capitalist system. The Tories were forced by the actions of the working class, with the miners in the vanguard, to call this election in conditions unfavourable to the interests of the bourgeoisie. Thus the very fact of being forced to call an election is, in itself, already a defeat for the Tories.*

All the policies of this Tory government against the working class, against the trade unions are in ruins, and it simply remains to throw them out of office. Whatever the limitations - and they are many - of the leadership of the Labour Party, a Labour government in office is to the advantage of the working population. It is an advantage even at the minimum level of the fact that a Labour government is more open to the pressure of the working class.

However this is not to propose a passive support, we propose a support for the Labour Party in the form of mobilisations, strikes, factory occupations, the continuation of actions of the class already planned and a constant process of discussion - at the factory gate, in the factory and workers areas - on the programme of the Labour Party. We fully support the miners in their decision to continue the strike despite the calling of a general election and we support the demands of the Vauxhall shop stewards for a 35 hour week, for a guaranteed wage covering the whole year. These actions reflect the attitude of the class towards the elections and the fact that what determines in this country and on a world scale is the constant mobilisations of the working class.

The election campaign demonstrates, in a most complete vivid way, the bankruptcies of the capitalist system. The direct agents of the bourgeoisie, the Tories, have no solution to anything, they cannot run industry to its full capacity and they have to say that inflation is not their fault but that of the world capitalist market. They cannot solve the housing problem, or provide enough money for education. We are seeing the twilight of the bourgeois parliamentary system in the fact that the Tories have no solution to anything and do not even pretend that they have. Enoch Powell, who represents a large sector of the Tory party rank and file does not even have the confidence in the system to stand in the elections and, behind all this the army continues its actions at Heathrow Airport which indicates that the bourgeoisie is preparing for other solutions to its problems. As Comrade Posadas has analysed it is the army which is now the political party of the ruling class.

It is also understandable that the Labour masses in this country are not overwhelmed by the idea of a Labour government under the present leadership and that they raise the question 'what would the next Labour government do that would be different from the last one?'. It is a logical question and it has

to be said that what makes a difference is the total crisis of the capitalist system and the fact that a Labour government is being impelled into office by the mobilisations of the class. When the bourgeois press is saying that Wilson is a prisoner of the left of the Labour Party they mean that Wilson as Prime Minister is liable to be the prisoner of the working class. Wilson is not, demonstrably a prisoner of the left in the Labour Party, on the contrary the left has not shown itself at all in the election campaign and the right have been in control. The bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party are putting forward no real alternative to the Tories. They say that they cannot lower prices and can only propose increasing taxation as a means of solving any problem. It is true that Wilson attacks the Tories but only as a means of attacking the worker vanguard. He accuses Heath of creating conditions favourable to the militants as though that were the problem. In actuality the right in the Labour Party and the Tories appear in united front.

The failure of the Labour Party leadership comes from the fact that they are defenders of the capitalist system and there is no solution to the problems of society within the framework of capitalism. The problem is the capitalist system which has become a block to the development of the productive forces which it has - in a previous historic stage - created. The Workers States - often called Socialist Countries - do not suffer from the fuel shortage, the enormous inflation, the 3 day working week etc. because they have a nationalised, planned economy. This demonstrates what is necessary in this country and why the Labour leadership cannot pose any solutions to the problems of society. And nationalisation does not mean taking this or that company into public ownership but the nationalisation of all major industry, the land and all the financial centres - the banks, building societies and insurance companies under workers control and without compensation. It is necessary to control capital since if capital is left in private hands they will sabotage the economy. Capital will be moved out of this country. Indeed the level of investment in this country is very low. The patriotism of the bourgeoisie is very dependent on its profits. It is on this basis that the economy can be planned, organised for the benefit of the population. Food prices for example can be controlled by nationalising the massive organisations - like Sainsburies or Tesco's - for nationalising them and planning food prices can be lowered. The same is true of housing, it is not enough to simply nationalise 'urban build-

ing land' as the Labour leadership proposes. What is necessary is to nationalise the land and the whole building industry so that housing can be planned and constructed where it is needed and in the quantities necessary and at a rent which is not more than 10% of the workers wage.

The Labour leadership poses that a solution lies in higher taxation for most of the population, in trying to redistribute money. What nonsense - the nationalisation of the means of production is the basic solution. However if more resources are needed immediately in the early days of a Labour govern-

ment - and it doubtless will be - then the demand is for the end to all arms production and for the use of that money and those resources for the benefit of the population. This measure has two advantages; one is that it makes available something like £3,000 million a year and untold resources, both material and human; and secondly it damages and weakens the preparation which world capitalism led by Yankee imperialism is making for repression and for the war against the Workers States and the advancing revolution.

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It is clear that the Labour leadership is not going to adopt this programme left to its own devices. However the fact that the election was forced by the mobilisations of the class, by the miners strike, begins to determine the character of the Labour government. This is why we call for a process of mobilisation of the class during the electoral campaign. We appeal for the calling of conferences of the Labour movement including the RWP(t), the Communist Party, and the left groups to discuss and to formulate the programme of the next Labour government; taking as a basis the decisions of last years annual Conference of the Labour Party. It is true that time is short and it may not be possible to organise these conferences before the election but they have a role to play even after the election of a Labour government. It is, however, perfectly possible to take the example of Greenwich Labour Party and organise local committees which include all the left, committees in support of the miners and for a Labour government with socialist policies, programme and methods

The majority of the big trade unions, many trades councils and shop

subject to instant recall and Action or Workers Area Committees which link the factory with the rest of the population in the workers areas. The formation now of committees of support for the miners, of committees for a Labour government with socialist policies which can continue to function after the election and provide a basis for the Workers Area Committee. Added to this is the necessity to prepare to meet the repression that the bourgeoisie is preparing and that the army at London Airport and the repression by British imperialism in Northern Ireland forwarns us of. To call for a Labour government with socialist policies, programme and methods means also to draw the conclusions from the experience of Chile; to understand that the bourgeoisie will reject its own democracy when it no longer serves its interests. Chile was not something unusual but the expression of the nature of the capitalist system. The defence of the working class against the repression of the bourgeoisie has to be based on organisms which have permanent functioning and in which the masses discuss, decide and execute their own decisions.

When the Tories, and to a large extent, the right wing of the Labour Party say that they have no solutions to this or that problem because of world factors it has a basis of truth. The total crisis of capitalism and the struggle of the masses is not confined to one country. It is necessary to see the whole problem, in this context, of the EEC. The Labour leadership proposes to 'renegotiate the terms of membership of the EEC'. This is so much nonsense because the 'Nine' of the EEC can agree on nothing. The labour leadership know

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# Marx, marxism, communist fraternity and the progress of humanity towards socialism

october 1969

J. POSADAS

## extracts from a larger History of the IV International

The history of the Communist International is a synthesis of human history, not the history of an instrument of struggle of the workers' movement to make gains or to obtain demands. It includes particular gains and demands. But the history of the Internationals does not hold as an objective the demands of the working class, peasants or the oppressed sectors of society. The objective, based in part on these necessities, was and still is to take and to incorporate them within the need to change the world. The struggle for demands is only an aspect and not the most fundamental. What is fundamental is the creation of the level of consciousness of the necessity, of the possibility and the will to change the world. This was done when the material conditions to generate this consciousness and will still did not exist. The history of the Internationals and of our International — the IV International — is the history of the concern of a nucleus, of a sector of oppressed humanity, or worker, intellectual and bourgeois origin. It is oppressed because it feels that its thought is oppressed by the absence of freedom, of rights, the absence of fraternal relations between human beings. It feels the oppression on its thought just as the worker feels oppressed in the factory.

For this reason Marx became a revolutionary. Marx in becoming a revolutionary and in founding marxism expressed the most important and necessary human qualities: the scientific thought for the benefit of humanity which secures the elements to allow the transformation of humanity. This is not just a history of the programme, the policy and the ideas, not even in the epoch of Marx. The organisation of the internationals is the activity for the organisation of the most useful and necessary instrument in history. Humanity advanced on the basis of discoveries. Discoveries have been the basis of science. Knowledge leads to discoveries. Discovery leads to the organisation of a series of qualities and of knowledge which formulate principles with which analysis can be made in a constant and regular way, and thus extended. This is

the origin of science. But even the most complete science of all, only succeeds in elevating living conditions, it does not solve the problems of the way of life. It can make great discoveries, and develop great technical capacity; science and technology favourably develop society in a progressive direction, they develop the relations of society with nature but at the same time they develop and increase the struggle in society, transmit the struggle of human society with nature. Consequently they create, with private property and private interests the organs of the human being which are determined by the relationship to property, to the forms of property, distribution and appropriation. All the organisation of human society has been carried out in this way.

### MARXISM HAS DETERMINED FOR THE FIRST TIME THE SCIENTIFIC CONCLUSION OF THE POSSIBILITY OF DOMINATING AND UNDERSTANDING SOCIETY AND OF FORESEEING ITS DEVELOPMENT

The organization of the idea, of Marxism, as a scientific instrument, which is based on the idea, on the analysis, the conclusion of the study of the origins, of the development and of the result of human behaviour, established for the first time the scientific conclusion of the possibility of dominating society. The formation of marxism creates in human society a new element, the most important one: humanity does not proceed blindly any more. With the marxist instrument it can understand and foresee, not the rain, the cold or fire, but what will happen tomorrow, it can understand the importance of particular events, what relation the economy has with society, the economy-society-war relationship.

The fundamental factor which has maintained humanity in ignorance has been the lack of knowledge of the cause of social events, of the existence of prices, of the economy, of why there is struggle, why there are crises, why there is unemployment. Undoubtedly there is unemployment because there is no work. But why all this if people need to eat? No one explained, no one understood the situation. A partial explanation was discussed or a partial solution was given. The system created misery, unemployment, assassinations, famine. This situation stimulated the Utopian socialist current, with a feeling of pity, protection, piety, but without scientific understanding, therefore it did not have the possibility of understanding the causes of the phenomenon and the perspective.

Utopian socialism tended only to reason with piety, to phenomena which had their roots in society and whose base was economic, and when human behaviour was determined by man's relation with property. It was necessary to create the instrument which would provide the answer to this process and which would give the scientific and conscious security of the economic analysis, understanding the relations between economy-structure-society, that were at the base of the constant progress of the economy and that would create the conditions for the rebellion of the productive forces that would have destroyed that economy, advancing instead of retreating.

The capitalist regime, differently from all other regimes in history, created and will create forces that will destroy it, which, instead of establishing a new situation in history with a new ruling class, create the conditions for the elimination of all the ruling classes and therefore for the elimination of the greatest mystery in history: the relations between property-production-society, and give to humanity the security to confront all the problems which it has to confront. The science has no limits.

The development of science and of

technology has been the product of the need for commerce, not of the necessity of human intelligence, but it has been human intelligence which has determined it. Hence all the non-bourgeois intellectuals and scientists were people whom the bourgeoisie hired and utilized and on which they depended. With rare exceptions, they did not come from the bourgeoisie because bourgeois society did not stimulate scientific knowledge, it stimulated the use of property. The great discoveries were not made by people coming from the bourgeoisie except in very few cases. Almost all came from people who served the bourgeoisie and who, guided by human intelligence, sought the way to understand life. The bourgeoisie did not do this. Hence Marx became a revolutionary.

Marx is not a product of his individual orientation, but of the historic necessity which was expressed in him, as was in the case of the discoverer of the telegraph, the telephone, etc. Capitalism cannot generate anyone who can give ideas to be able to permanently maintain capitalist society. Its relation with the economy cannot allow it to do this because the economy has its cycle.

The development of the economy had a cycle of existence and was only able to generate ideas which were simply approximate to truth, accidental and circumstantial. There could be no complete idea, not because there wasn't the possibility but because the regime was not able to generate it.

Private property has stimulated and stimulates a better link with nature and society on the basis of the interests of exploitation of use. It has created the rational system of the utilisation of things for a direct or immediate end, even if in the perspective of production but only for this. Between this and the rest of society it has no interest, because this is the nature of the capitalist system and this is how it created ideas, sentiments and perspectives. It cannot create

ideas which transcend the system or the will to transcend it. It could not create human sentiments, human confidence in victory, in fraternity, consciousness and justice. It created a justice and fraternity which directly corresponded to the need to exploit. Hence in the regime of private property friendship

is created. A stage superior to friendship is solidarity, and after that fraternity. But it reached fraternity during the French revolution and it was expounded in the most elevated way with Beethoven, through whom it offered a universalisation of social relations.

stimulus, and scientific capacity was developed and utilised to help private property. Marx appeared at this time.

One of the elements which gave rise to this was not scientific contemplation but fraternal sentiment, which led him to the scientific conclusion; then intelligence allowed him to understand. Fraternal sentiment gave the base for the development of the scientific consciousness of Marx. Without doubt there was Marx's intelligence and consciousness, but this was promoted and stimulated by the sentiment of human fraternity.

As humanity develops in an unequal and uneven way, Marx showed the best aspect of human society, up to that moment, since discoveries are the best of human capacity. Marx was the best not in speculative discovery but in human consciousness. In this same epoch there had been a whole series of very important inventions. For example the very great stimulus of being able to utilise mathematics in relation to time, space, temperature and also with nature. Laplace has already shown that it was possible to transform nature. But none of them tended to resolve, nor could resolve the problem of society. They all developed the capacity of society with nature. The scientific discoveries of capitalism right up to that moment had the objective of increasing the hold of their ruling class over the working class and the petit bourgeoisie. This was the result of all the inventions of these swine in the capitalist system.

But to advance they have to promote essential conditions which stimulate the development of ideas which were to increase

### HUMAN FRATERNITY IS ONE OF THE ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF MARXISM

Marx was formed during that period, because certain historic conditions had been created in history which allowed scientific ability to have points of objective social support. Human fraternity is one of the essential features of marxism. The creation of marxism is not a product of intelligent and scientific observation, it comes from the human desire to prevent human beings killing each other because there are those who have and those who have not, who are starving and in misery. It is the attempt to suppress human misery, to organise an instrument which can resolve all the problems which exist in life by way of consciousness. Before these problems couldn't have been resolved.

The capitalist regime made this possible. For the first time in history, by its very existence, it generated a class which, like other classes through history, went against the system which generated it. But different from other historic epochs this new class must suppress the class which had generated it and not take its place, because it has to eliminate itself. Therefore it created the conditions for economic relations which eliminated conflicts and created the conditions for human fraternity. As it was historically necessary to complete a cycle of the transformation of social relations, customs, way of life, of organisation of reactions and to give the masses the security to be able to live without conflicts — in a society without conflicts — a historic stage was necessary. These are the bases of the 'Manifesto of the Communist Party': Marx concentrated and centralised it in the

scientific form of the 'Communist Manifesto' first and then in 'Capital' in the 'foundation programme of the 1st International' and in all his texts with which he prepared and foresaw a distant future of 50 — 60 years while the capitalist regime was still developing and still had reason to exist.

Marx appeared when the capitalist regime still showed the capacity, vigour, resolution and possibility of extending itself, when all contemplators and adulators of the capitalist regime were born, when the ecstasy of individual development occurred with the waltzes of Strauss, the impressionists and the Eiffel Tower which is a monument to stupidity; when all the forces of the capitalist system were encouraged to expand and develop in colonial wars, when the great discoveries of capitalism occurred, stimulated by production and individual

scientific capacity, the security of society and of humanity in relation to existence, and to dominate by means of scientific knowledge the capacity of foresight. The capacity to establish relations with nature

and society increased, but capitalism was not able to utilise this. Hence Marx says in his works: 'Capitalism developed forces which rebel against it and which it cannot control'.

### THE SECURITY OF THE 'COMMUNIST MANIFESTO' EXPRESSES THE SCIENTIFIC RIGOUR ON THE BASIS OF THE SECURITY OF THE PROLETARIAT.

The proletariat, through its position in society, generates ideas constantly. But while it is dispersed it can do it in the trade union. The trade unions were shown to be powerful instruments, which centralised the creative capacity of the proletariat but were limited by the relationship between the trade union-production-society. Instead the party centralises and resolves not only and not so much the necessary problems of everyday life but the problems of human relations, and it answers to the scientific need to organise society. It is not guided by the demands of today or tomorrow, but provides the instrument to understand and organise the capacity to foresee, and consequently, is the instrument which organises society. Then it acts as an instrument of the whole of society, it can even win the bourgeoisie. Moreover, being the instrument of the whole of society, it does not propose so much to resolve the problem against the bourgeoisie but to resolve the problem of the regime and in the future to resolve even the problem of the existence of capitalism, eliminating it, annulling it, eliminating the conditions which create the sentiment of private property, the consciousness of private property and the desire for the use of private property.

The creation of marxism was based on two historic conditions; the scientific need to analyse society and to find the instrument to do this. Marx created it, but he did not create it from nothing. Marxism is the result of the combination of human aspiration for fraternity and intelligence which responds by means of scientific analysis, given that human relations depend on the economy. It was necessary to observe the historic conditions which would eliminate in the future the need for human beings to hurt each other. Conditions which would be determined by the development of the economy but also by the development of intelligence and human capacity, in which the proletariat and the social capacity of the proletariat is superior to that of any other class in history.

The proletariat, in developing as a class in capitalist society, in order to substitute for capitalist society, has to eliminate private property. The elimination of private property is not done at a stroke. The proletariat must eliminate private property and consequently transform its own historic human conditions. But before exercising its leading function in the struggle to defend itself as an oppressed class it must develop this quality itself. Because together with the solidarity and the common interests of the wages struggle, it had to incorporate an element which hitherto did not exist: the development of the consciousness along with the demand for economic interest. It had to give — it could not do otherwise —

priority to the conscious rather than the economic interest.

The Paris Commune demonstrated this. No other regimes could do it because they had the interest of private property which developed and organised the instincts, processes and consciousness on the basis of the interest of private property. Marx's observations on the behaviour of the working class during strikes led him to be convinced that the instrument existed, without needing further proofs. The security of the 'Communist Manifesto' expressed the severity, the scientific rigour based on the successive behaviour of the proletariat.

The proletariat had to give a proof of such a behaviour. Hitherto none of the other currents, anarchist, socialist, utopian, humanist had been capable of depending on the scientific base of having confidence in the revolutionary behaviour of the working class, in the historic function of the working class. It was an historic function inherent in the 'Communist Manifesto' because the 'Communist Manifesto' was written in 1948, when still capitalism was to make a great quantity of inventions, develop the world, develop the productive forces, the productive capacity, when still capitalism had to develop forces which would have justified its existence, Marx formulated the analysis that demonstrates that capitalism has a limit to its existence, and that the proletariat would substitute capitalism with full historic justification. It would play a

leading role, but at the same time eliminate itself and give rise to new social relations determined by human relations and not by the interests of the economy.

In 1848 Marx had already formulated these principles, before the decision for the victory of the proletarian revolution could be developed. He showed that human intelligence developed more rapidly than social and economic conditions because the Paris Commune came when capitalism was still strong and full of zest and enthusiasm. The Paris Commune showed that the working class already felt able and determined to lead society, at a time when French capitalism was still carrying out a series of colonial conquests and progressing in economic development. The proletariat already acted as a ruling class, showing that in comparison with relations of dependence on the economy and production, intelligence developed much more rapidly than either. The individual-social-nature relationship showed that the individual developed more than society and nature. Hence in 1848 the capitalist system was producing great inventions but human intelligence produced Karl Marx who was superior to all their inventions. He showed that human intelligence was more capable of developing itself than all the inventions of the capitalist system, all the technical and scientific means which the capitalist system had been able to discover.

October, 1969

J. Posadas.

## correction

In issue 202 of Red Flag we published an article on 'the role of the revolutionary left in the formation of the left in the Labour Party'.

That should have read 'the role of the groups...' as the term used conveys an incorrect impression that seems to indicate that the revolutionary left is to be found exclusively outside the Labour Party.

# THE BUREAUCRACY OF THE WORKERS STATES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

31 december 1973

J. POSADAS

understanding or lack of understanding of the Bureaucracy. It is not a problem of understanding.

The bourgeoisie cannot understand that the revolution is necessary and has to triumph, it cannot understand it because it has a different interest. The bureaucracy cannot understand that soviet democracy is necessary because this would destroy it. It is not afraid of the atomic war because of the devastation the war is going to make but because it means the end of the bureaucracy, it would cease to exist. The proletariat is not afraid of the atomic war, because it understands that it, a sector of it is going to go on living. It is true that a sector is going to die but the rest of humanity is going to go on living. It does not have the conservative interest of a caste, class, category or as individuals. The bureaucracy does. This is why the proletariat is not afraid of the war. It is the atomic war every day in Vietnam. This is how it is necessary to analyse it. The bureaucracy is not going to understand now or ever. As a bureaucracy it cannot understand the revolution, because its interests do not allow it to understand it, they are against it.

The bureaucracy is not homogeneous. As it supports itself on the Workers State and arises and is a product of it, it also reflects the structure of the Workers State. It has the objective inter-

est of supporting itself on the Workers State and the interest as a social category that is against the very essence of the Workers State, which is soviet democracy. Who wins in this struggle? Soviet democracy. The bureaucracy is imprisoned by this. It is obliged to defend itself from the workers against imperialism. Hence its contradiction. It is not because it does not manage to understand, because it does not study, and it does not know better, no. It is through the contradictions of its usurper function as a social category.

The bureaucracy is forced to take account of the revolution, it does not understand and it is forced to understand, but it is not through lack of understanding that the bureaucracy is wrong and has a conciliatory policy, that it does not draw advantages and create consequences favourable to the revolutionary policy. It is not through lack of deduction, revolutionary capacity or culture that the bureaucracy does not organise the programme to overthrow the capitalist system. It simply does not have these qualities. It does not have the quality, revolutionary capacity or the continuity of marxist thought. It takes marxism in slices.

The historic root of this is that the bureaucracy does not represent the legitimate interests of the Workers State, it does not represent

the process of formation, construction or elevation of the Workers State to socialism. Since it does not represent it, its thought cannot correspond to this representation. It represents the usurpation of the Workers State. So it thinks, ded-

## The bureaucracy cannot reproduce itself

The present bureaucracy of the Soviet Union has the same historic roots as the bureaucracy of the stage of Stalin. In Stalin's epoch the bureaucracy could reproduce itself and increase its weight in the economy and in society and extend its weight in the Communist Parties, destroying the marxist life of the Communist Parties. After the war, with the ascent of the Workers State, the triumph of the masses in Stalingrad, the development of the Workers State and of other Workers States and the struggle of the masses throughout the world, there was an elevation of the relationship of forces favourable in all its structure to the Workers State against the capitalist system. This relationship of forces also exists within the Workers States, though to an infinitely lesser extent. This makes difficult and impedes the proliferation and continuous reproduction of bureaucratic layers.

As a bureaucracy it cannot reproduce itself, as historically it would need to do in order to maintain its power. The ascent and development of the economy, social capacity and military power of the Workers States requires a progress of the technical and scientific capacity to develop these forces. Otherwise it is strangulated. It cannot be done bureaucratically. Bureaucratic management clashes with this necessity. The needs of technological development do not coincide with bureaucratic management. Neither can it be determined by bureaucratic planning, done in a stupid

uces, determines, organises and plans on the basis of this function of usurpation of the Workers State. It is not a genuine representative of the Workers State.

way that is determined by bureaucratic interest. The development of science and technology in the Workers State demands that planning is developed, reproduced and extended on a local and world scale. Marx ends several of his texts with a series of analyses that always lead to this conclusion: 'capitalism develops science and technology that surpass its capacity to be able to utilise them. The productive forces rebel'. In the Workers State it is the same. The bureaucracy is not a class. The development of science, tech-

turn to back page

# towards the L.R.Y.S. national conference

## the Yorkshire L.P.Y.S. regional conference

During this period of preparation for the Labour Party Young Socialists Conference a balance has to be made of the activity of the YS in the past year and conclusions drawn for the progress of this movement from now forward. In particular, conclusions can be drawn from the Yorkshire Regional Conference held in Leeds on the 2nd February; not because this was a fundamental conference in itself but because it expressed the limitations that have to be corrected if the YS is to play the vital role in the transformation of the Labour Party that it potentially can.

The report of the outgoing Yorks Regional Committee, which was distributed duplicated, was entirely without reference to the situation in the country, political or otherwise, and contains (under the heading ACTIVITIES) the following report, 'The only venture which has materialised during the course of the year was a meeting on youth unemployment.....'. Unfortunately this conference did not 'materialise' any new ventures either, and in fact had no political or organisational conclusions of particular significance at all. It is necessary to raise the political and theoretical level of discussion to see how to intervene in this process at present developing in the country. The Posadist IV International, who intervened as delegates in this meeting, intervened on the discussion of the general strike, the miners strike, the way to face the use of troops, the situation in the country; analysing the readiness of the miners and the rest of the British working class to confront the attacks of the bourgeoisie with the general strike, showing the necessity of this action to press forward an offensive of the working class to defeat the Tories and impose a Labour government. It is necessary to base oneself on the strike movement and the constant mobilisations of the proletariat to organise the left in the Labour Party - which means breaking the links of the right and centre with capitalism. The organisation of the left is made on the basis of its programme, its links with the struggles of the working class and its intervention as a leadership that takes a position on each issue that arises, whether or not this position corresponds to the official line of the right wing. This means a constant intervention on the most important issues. For example we propose that during and after the YS conference the YS makes a campaign of support for the miners strike - a campaign of democratic discussion, public meetings, conferences, leaflets, publications; intervening to link the struggles with the programme. i.e. raising the level of intervention to match the level of the programme which the YS already has.

At the Regional Conference in Leeds, the delegates from Goole YS proposed an emergency resolution which was formulated after discussion with comrades of the RWP(t). The resolution said; 'This conference pledges full support to the miners strike and any actions the miners may

undertake to make it effective. Seeing the fundamental importance of this strike to all the working class movement we call on the Labour Party at all levels to actively implement the NEC call to support the miners claim and we call on the Labour Party to throw Labour Weekly open for the miners rank and file to present their case against Phase 3 and the government and to serve to organise and deepen the strikes support and development. This conference calls for a National Conference of the Labour movement; the Labour Party, trade unions, RWP(t), C.P. and left groups to discuss and prepare the general strike to ensure the miners victory, to repeal the Industrial Relations Act, the Housing Finance Act, to free the 3 Shrewsbury building workers and to bring down the government imposing a Labour government with a socialist policy and programme'.

This was defeated through the opposition of the platform who were against any reference to the general strike and against the National Conference of the Labour movement in the way it was formulated to include other forces outside the Labour Party. Comrades of the 'Militant' tendency accepted the readiness and determination of the miners to press for the general strike but held that the rest of the class was not prepared for this and therefore to call for the general strike was potentially disastrous. This timid and impressionistic analysis derives from a limited conception of the working class in this stage. The present and future struggles of the working class will advance with or without the YS, what it is necessary to discuss is how to elevate the political life in the Y.S. - beginning with the conference - to have the security to intervene.

The situation in the world is characterised above all by the progress of the constant mobilisation of the masses and the equally constant decline, crisis and chaos of the capitalist system. There is a whole historic structure in which the 14 Workers States are central. Because of the economic progress of the Soviet Union and its example to the masses of the world of what it is possible to do on the basis of the nationalised property, centrally planned production and state monopoly of foreign trade. But also the political process within the Workers States and the world communist movement, the process of partial regeneration as Comrade Posadas defines it. It is necessary to see this process that both expresses and strengthens the force of the revolution in the world in order to see all the influences that react on the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, and to understand the way the class acts and relates to its leadership in this stage. In particular there has to be a discussion on the situation in Europe, of the united front actions of the Socialist and Communist Parties and how the Labour left is to improve its relations with the communist movement and the Workers States. Rather than maintaining a position of hostility towards the Communist Parties and denouncing them as 'Stalinist' it is necessary to discuss the programme for a socialist Europe in the context of the internal changes in the socialist and communist movements and the present policy of the Soviet Union which, without being revolutionary, favours the process toward the suppression of capitalism in Europe.

The British working class feels all this and this is part of its security and will to determine the course of the struggle here. It reacts as a class and prepares for the general strike as a

class, not one sector at a time. Its experiences are generalised and assimilated, tending to centralise around the most elevated centres developed in the struggle. The YS has to see itself within this European process of unification and elevation - without submitting to the political limitations of any of these leaderships - in order to assist the organisation of the left.

We propose that the preparation for the national conference of the LPYS is made on the basis of the best possible study and discussion of the texts of Posadas as the necessary marxist preparation for the conference debates. There has to be a more constant life of political discussion to see what forces are decisive in the national and international situation and to see how to plan the activity of the YS. What objectives? What campaigns? What now there is the miners strike? What if there is a Labour government?

It is necessary to construct the left which exists in the Labour Party, taking the example of the JUSOS (the Young Socialists in capitalist Germany) who are launching themselves in an activity that links them with the trade union left and the left that is developing in the German Socialist Party. As Posadas says, 'In Germany there is a very great process of a tendency that already reflects the maturity of the working class to take power; that is the JUSOS and the trade unions -

before a left wing in the heart of the Socialist Party is formed. The JUSOS have decided a programme which can only be fulfilled by taking power, and they are seeking to extend the programme into the Party and trade unions'.\* It is necessary for the LPYS to adopt this conception of functioning as a tendency within the Labour Party that is going to organise all the forces that want a solution to the crisis outside the capitalist system. The YS has the advantage of having already established a very elevated programme, but it needs to use this to press itself forward as a leadership, linking with the left and the struggles of the masses.

\*The objective of building the YS as the youth movement of the working class' should be more clearly defined. The way to build the YS is to build its authority in the workers movement. This is only done by elevating its political and theoretical role and also its activity directly in the class struggle. For example, the campaign on racialism or for the political prisoners in Spain are worthwhile and necessary - but they do not educate cadres and construct leaders of the workers and revolutionary movement. Campaigns such as these have to be secondary to the burning issues facing the vanguard; the miners strike, the perspective of a Labour government, whether imposed by a general election or a general strike, the problem of the archaic social democratic structure of the Labour Party, the struggle in Ireland and the world struggle. These must be the centres of discussion in preparing the conference!

\* Quoted from: 'The Decisive Function of the Young Socialists in the Formation of the Left in the German Socialist Party'. J. Posadas 17. 3. 73

## BUREAUCRACY

continued from page 3

nology and production requires planning in capitalism and in the Workers State. The bureaucracy cannot plan. The planning that it can make is a partial planning that strangles the capacity of development.

Although the bureaucracy does not make such a planning, the structure of the economy itself develops within the Workers States layers of technicians, engineers, scientists, workers leaders, student and military leaders which do not develop with the individual ambition to usufruct the Workers States, but with the communist conviction that, 'it is necessary to develop the Workers State'. It develops layers which previously could not develop because they were smothered and killed. Now they have to make room for them because they need them. Conditions are created that are opposed to the interests of the bureaucracy. This process develops reproductive forces that are not bureaucratic but bases of revolutionary ferment. It is born here because the bureaucracy cannot reproduce itself, because the structure of the economy prevents it from doing so. It has force because it dominates the apparatus, there are 30 million bureaucrats in the Soviet Union and they control the apparatus of the economy, of the government, trade unions, judiciary, police, army, distribution, of any type of organism. It has a structure, yet does not reproduce itself. Whilst the need to develop the economy increases the need to extend more communist distribution. Also to increase production, to compete with the capitalist system, with the very advanced capitalist technology, particularly in the United States, it needs a level of productivity that cannot be reached bureaucratically. All this takes force and bases of support and reproduction away from the bureaucracy.

The changes in the bureaucracy are produced by historic necessity which is imposed because imperialism prepares the war, they can no longer conciliate with capitalism as a class and the need to develop the Workers States obliges a scientific policy and scientific economic planning. All this prevents the reproduction of bureaucratic structures and demands the reproduction of structures which represent the need to develop towards communism. All these conclusions determine that the bureaucracy is forced to change.

Within the process of partial regeneration there is the struggle of the masses in the Soviet Union, the elevation of their capacity of intervention, their decision and consciousness of their weight and that they can intervene. They feel that they are supported by the world proletariat, by Vietnam, by the progress of the USSR and they are impelled to intervene. Even if they cannot intervene as a decisive factor they feel impelled to intervene. Together with the progress of technology and science there is the development of the revolution, the development of the Workers States, the action of the masses of the world, which includes Vietnam.

In this process, the new layers of bureaucrats, new members of the Communist Party, young scientific cadres, worker militants, militants of the Communist Parties of the Workers States and outside the Workers States develop their intelligence and understanding. They do not develop intelligence as bureaucrats. They are not won over by the bureaucracy, they are not smashed, they are not prevented from intervening and they can develop and weigh in the party. As the structure of the apparatus is very great and solid, the penetration, influence and effect of this new layer of militants is still small. It is still not a decisive weight, but changes in Yugoslavia, the USSR, China, Cuba, Poland and Czechoslovakia are part of the necessary changes that must yield to the pressure of the younger layers that want to sweep away bureaucratic planning and make a communist planning in the Workers States and Communist Parties.

This process is comparatively slow, but although slow, it is a constant, uninterrupted process that is speeding. It is not a process that is elevated diametrically. It is a process that is elevated and extended in every branch of the economy, sciences, trade unions, party, army, government. It is not led by a programme, by a party, or with the programmatic intention of reaching this objective, as there is not the party to do it, it is done in an empirical way determined by the objective need for the Workers States to develop, so the process is slow. This is the reason for the changes in the Soviet Union.

J. POSADAS 31. 12. 73.

**PUBLIC MEETING**  
**Doncaster**  
**sunday 24 7.30p.m.**

THE NELSON

## CAMPAIGN

continued from page 1

that the EEC is simply a question of being in or out. We are completely opposed to the EEC because it only serves the interests of the 'multinational' companies and provides the underpinning for NATO. We appeal for every effort to be made now, during the election campaign and afterwards to organise a Conference of all Workers Parties and trade unions - including those of the Workers States. A conference to co-ordinate the struggle of the class on a European scale and to discuss and formulate a workers plan of

production for Europe based on the end of the EEC, on the end of NATO, on the end of all spending on arms production and the use of those resources for the benefit of the masses. A conference which has the perspective of the end of capitalist Europe and NATO, and the creation of the United, Socialist, Soviet States of Europe.

16. 2. 74.

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# THE TRADE UNIONS, DEMOCRACY IN THE PERONIST MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST PROCESS IN ARGENTINA

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J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

## RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

### MAKE A BALANCE OF THE ELECTIONS TO IMPEL THE EXTENSION OF THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The electoral struggle has shown in the clearest terms the decrepitude of the capitalist system, its leaderships and perspectives. It has not enabled the forces of capitalism to recuperate, to win time or to provide solutions to any of the social and economic problems caused by the system of private property. It has only affirmed that the system is in total crisis and that all the bourgeois leaderships react weakly and empirically to this massive disintegration. Barber, the Tory Chancellor has been obliged to say that the election was brought about by subversives - what a confession of historic impotence - the admission that capitalism cannot dominate the situation. Thorpe sees that the outcome of the elections could be very 'devisive', that is the electoral result is not going to save the capitalist system. The Wilson team has tried to limit discussion of the Labour Party programme and in this way to diminish the pressures of the left on the Labour Party but he can offer no guarantees to capitalism, he cannot maintain the social democratic character of the Labour Party, hence the Labour Party or a Labour government offers no guarantee of future security for capitalism

The way the electoral campaign has been conducted has shown the complete absence of ideas on the part of capitalism. They have lost the ability even to pretend that the system has answers. Inflation is blamed onto the world market forces and beyond control of the rest of the capitalist system, and the most idiotic attempts are made to blame the crisis of bourgeois society onto a few 'subversives' - this latter conception is always the last refuge of outmoded social systems and was the last ammunition available to Charles I, Louis XVI and the last of the Czars. It is an argument that inspires no confidence in the petit bourgeoisie or in the bourgeoisie itself who flutter helplessly between a spectrum of opinions from liberal to various shades of authoritarianism. The government tries to strike a pose of defender of parliamentary democracy and the law when the petit bourgeois masses see quite clearly that these are no longer sufficient for the interests of capitalism which imprisons trade union militants and imposes fascist laws in Northern Ireland. Powell's making a centre of the Common Market Issue and denunciation of the elections is a striking example of the collapse of a sector of the Tory Party which can no longer function within it, which can no longer continue within the perspectives of capitalism.

The inability of capitalism to provide solutions to the crisis of production, exports, social needs of the population has been met with a considerable and continuous resistance by the masses which found its centre in the determination of the miners to strike, reject every offer of capitalism and continue right through the elections. This miners strike has been even more of a blow at capitalism than the strike of 1972, and also at the Wilson team in the Labour Party who have not been able to conduct the election entirely in the way they would have hoped. Wilson failed to gain a complete rejection of McGahey's appeal to the troops even in the parliamentary party, and even now in an effort to appear to command the allegiance of the trade unions, he has been obliged to refer to the agreement with the trade unions so trying to give himself an appearance of authority. But this agreement is anti-capitalist and the incomes policy is not referred to. Although the Wilson team has tended to determine the character of the election, it does not represent the changing character of the

Labour Party and they have not been able to avoid entirely the question of nationalisations. The actual fears of capitalism before the spectre of a Labour government have brought the issue forward to some degrees in the most recent days and Wilson was obliged to defend the nationalisation of North Sea Oil, a very profitable sector for capitalist investment. Even so the programme has been defended in an indifferent way throughout the Labour Party campaign both on the level of the national leadership and in the various constituencies. Some have made it a centre, others have not and the limitation in the presentation of the case for nationalisation lies in the fact that it is not discussed in terms of the complete planning of the economy. A properly led campaign putting forward the advantages of socialist planning would have shown the need for nationalisations as the only way forward to clean up the mess of capitalism, not just as a reform interdependent with the rest of the private economy. It would have used the full experience of the Workers States and presented the contrast between their advance and the imbecility and barbarism of capitalism. But the Wilson team is desperate to have its hands free of the left and maintain its right wing electoral support on the basis of a 'moderate' policy. This is not the way to take advantage of the disintegration of the Tory Party and put forward the working class as the leader of society. But Wilson's gesture to the trade unions remains essentially an example of this great weakness, it shows where the power lies and again that the forces of the left are going to decide in the Labour Party and the unions because capitalism does not have the resources to overcome its steady decomposition.

The enormous fears of capitalism whether expressed through the directly bourgeois parties or through the crisis of the Wilson team have been shown in the way fundamental problems have been ignored in the electoral campaign. Ireland has been conspicuous by its absence - elections are going to take place there under the conditions of military dictatorship and fascist laws. It is a sham. Already in Ireland the functioning of parliament has ended. We appeal to the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the unions to intervene on this issue during and after the electoral fight, demanding the immediate withdrawal of troops and the end of fascist laws explaining that the 'rule of law' and 'parliamentary

democracy' it has already been jettisoned by British imperialism in Northern Ireland and that this is going to be the process here. The Wilson team, with its bi-partisanship with the Tories has sabotaged this discussion but it is one which has to be stimulated by the left forces in the Labour Party and unions and intervening after the elections on this issue, constantly using the experience of Chile and its echo throughout the world workers movement.

Similarly the discussion over the Common Market cannot remain at the level at which it has been presented in this campaign. The forces who have concentrated on renegotiating the terms of the EEC, or leaving the EEC present no socialist alternative, they establish no link between opposition to the Europe of the monopolies and the need for a Socialist Programme throughout Europe. Renegotiating terms is to think within the categories of the capitalist system, to simply show another symptom of the downfall of the EEC without any alternative save a 'national' solution which is no solution in the world of the multi-nationals and hence totally unreal.

We appeal for the return of a Labour government on a socialist programme but such a government must be accompanied by mobilisations of the masses in their own independent organs to see that the programme of nationalisations is extended, otherwise the Wilson team decides. The return of a Labour government apart from posing not only the

implementation of the projected nationalisations but their extension, will inevitably accelerate the struggle of pro-capitalist and anti-capitalist tendencies in the Labour Party and trade unions. The confrontation between the masses and the state machine is inevitable with the extension of the Labour Party programme. The development of a marxist left in the Labour Party is going to be greatly stimulated after the elections and the need for a replacement team to succeed the Wilson clique is going to be more and more sharply posed. The intensity of the capitalist crisis demands more discussion, a more profound programme and greater mass intervention than has been offered in this election.

The trade union, Labour Party social pact in essence expresses the trade union basis of the Labour Party which is destined to weigh more and more as the balance of forces tips against the apparatuses and the labour aristocracy and the worker base of the Labour Party intervenes more and more. It is important to elevate the political intervention of the trade unions, to finish with conceptions suitable only to the aristocracy of labour, that trade unions are not to discuss politics. Unions like the engineers have extensive prog-

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#### The attack by Peron on comrade Posadas and the IV International

The threat against Comrade Posadas by such organisations as the right wing AAA (the Argentinian Anti-imperialist Alliance) the MAP and the death squadrons, coupled with the attack on the Azul barracks are part of the counter revolutionary efforts to overthrow the Popular Government in Argentina.

The growing authority of Posadism and the IV International throughout the world means inevitably redoubled attention from the CIA. Capitalism cannot cope with marxist ideas, it can only answer with fraud, frame up and violence. This process has been particularly clear in Latin America. The CIA, utilising impatient and putschist sectors of the petit bourgeoisie organised in the Tupamaros or the ERP for example, utilises these forces via kidnappings, hold ups, bombing to create an atmosphere for military repression against the workers movement. They systematically slander Trotskyism by linking it with terrorism, robberies etc. But it is imperialism, it is the CIA which is the organiser of assassinations and frame ups. They assassinate their own kind as in the case of the Kennedys and launched the struggle against Nixon because they

need a more pliable instrument for the preparation and launching of the war.

The British Section rejects these sinister calumnies against cde. Posadas and the IV International which are a prelude to further vilification of our militants and the workers vanguard. The particular occasion for the attack against cde. Posadas is the preparation of the counterrevolutionary coup against the Peron regime in Argentina. But more generally the attack on the IV International and its role as the most conscious leadership of the world revolutionary vanguard, is part of the criminal preparations of world imperialism for the final encounter with the Workers States and the masses of the whole world.

We appeal to the workers organisations to take note of the organised activity of the CIA and its agents and their links with the sectors of the European bourgeoisie most interested in the imposition of repressive governments against the masses. The resolutions we publish below are an important warning for the vanguard in the Labour Party, the unions and the factories of the tactics of the bourgeoisie in this stage and the need to explain and denounce them.



There is a progress in the world communist movement. With the recently announced trip to Cuba, Bresnev is inaugurating a stage of more determined activity towards Latin America. This is the objective of the trip even if he does not say so. He is not going to Cuba to dominate Fidel Castro. He is going to Cuba to weigh on Latin America, like he went to India to weigh on Asia, as part of the preparation for the atomic war. Although they do not want it—just as we don't want it—they are preparing for the atomic war. It is different to Stalin who allowed the Nazis to come by surprise. But not these, they are foreseeing what is going to happen. And they are putting the Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean. We do not decide this, certainly, but we form part of the organisation of the understanding that decided this.

Part of our happiness is that we have contributed to this. Like Trotsky's joy when he was writing in the knowledge that he was not going to be able to see this and that they were going to kill him, but he was contributing to history.

This activity of ours has allowed us to be able to exercise this influence and it is necessary to maintain it. We are just reaching this stage. Certainly it is not a definite stage, but it is already a superior level. It is a superior stage of the partial regeneration and the historic reencounter. Although our Argentinian section and our Latin American team are not participating, they do not have the opportunity to have a very strong influence in the communist parties because there are not the conditions, by weighing in the nationalist movements they have an effect on the communist parties. They affect their political understanding, the generalisation of the understanding and they adopt much more profound and objective attitudes. Not through the interests of defending the frontier as in part it is in India—in part but not entirely—but objectively to impel the revolution. Breznev's trip is essentially to impel Soviet authority in Latin America, it is a warning to the Yankees and it is to contain them. There is no doubt that he is going to contain internal criticisms that Fidel Castro is making (he makes few public criticisms) and none at all but this is not the objective. The essential objective is not to contain Fidel Castro, it is to impel the Latin American revolution. It has the same sense as the USSR's breaking of relations with the Chilean junta. They make this break and then go to visit Fidel Castro. The Yankees are next door to Cuba. At the same time, it is an impulse to the rest of the Latin American revolutionary movement. It helps the bourgeois nationalist movements to feel encouraged to advance.

### ORGANISE THE LEFT WITHIN THE PERONIST MOVEMENT

The most important task in Argentina is the organisation of the left in Peronism to progress with the changes that it is necessary to make. Amongst these changes it is the need to break the monolithism of the Peronist leadership that act as bosses. It is here that there is the greatest lack of democracy; democracy does not exist at all. It is necessary to denounce this. This is not democracy. What is this Superior Peronist Council? Who elected it? Where are all these millions who voted for Peron, the 3 millions who went to welcome Peron and who mobilised so that they would not kill Peron? These million Peronists did not vote for this Superior Peronist Council. What do they think of it? How was the leadership of the '62 organisations and trade unions' elected? And they elected Peron. Who elected this leadership when all the masses were against it? There is no democracy, so the struggle for democracy goes together with the organisation of the left.

The murder of militants of the Peronist youth, like the murder of our comrade Martin, is an indication that the CIA is intervening against the Peronist left and against us too and that it is going to increase this activity. The defence which the Peronist Youth, the working youth is making is very brave, very resolute but it is not organised. There are no democratic rights, there is not a democratic functioning, and the Peronist Youth itself is not organised democratically. It is necessary to take up the task of demo-

### THE FORCE OF TROTSKYISM-POSADISM

The Peronist movement has very diffused objectives, programme and policy. It is not a programme which can be reached. It is a programme of liberation, the just and sovereign fatherland. Meanwhile the workers bring out Huerta Grande and La Falda. It is not necessary to repeat Huerta Grande and La Falda and expect that people are going to be convinced by the repetition. This is wrong. It is not through lack of repetition that people are not convinced. One has to see the backwardness of the Peronist trade union leadership. It is not due to their resistance to progress but the fact that they have no historic traditions. They have no historic preparation. This is one of the most direct ways to show the failure of the Communist and Socialist Parties that have failed to educate any important current in the workers movement. And the failure of the old Trotskyism which was also incapable of doing it. Such a current had to be made. This is why the only current that exists in the workers movement is ourselves. This is the only current in the workers movement that has any weight or importance, the Trotskyist Posadists. There are others that call themselves Trotskyists but

they have nothing to do with Trotskyism. They are careerists, impressionists that last for a week or a month and they finish.

It is necessary to feel that the activity of developing our trade union cadres and trade union leaders must be one of the essential preoccupations. To organise and develop trade union cadres, to educate them politically, to prepare them theoretically and make an intense life of preparation. Dedicating more time to the preparation of cadres in the trade unions and in the universities. The fact that the communists are losing in nearly all the University elections which they previously won is very significant. The triumph of the Peronist lists, that we supported in many faculties indicates that there is a much more important intervention than before. People who voted for the communists, for the left, now vote for the left Peronists. It is not a retreat from the previous stage but a progress. There are more important layers of the students that vote for the left; not only because of the problems of Argentina, but because of the world problems and the world situation. Particularly because of the triumph of Vietnam, the development of the

# The trade unions, democracy in the peronist movement and the revolutionary nationalist process in argentina

29 november 1973

struggles of the masses of Europe and Japan, the development of Peru etc. It is necessary to take this as an example to show that the 'boomerang' of Chile, the transitory defeat of the proletariat in Chile has not been a factor

### A PROGRAMME FOR THE UNIVERSITIES

The University movement has to be given a programme of objectives. At the same time as accompanying the left tendency, make a very explanatory activity to gain the Peronist tendency to the marxist conception of the student struggle. Show that the student problem is part of the workers struggle. Struggle for a democratic socialist development, not democracy in abstract. So pose democracy in the '62 organisations'. Where is the democracy in the 62? Where is the democracy in the Peronist party? It is necessary to discuss that there is no democracy there. An organ that nobody elected imposes, and they impose resolutions that nobody resolves. Like this they are all resolutions which favour the bourgeoisie. Even if some of them affect imperialism, they are in the interests of the national bourgeoisie: whilst the proletariat supports Peron expecting him to be a means of transport for their anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist will.

It is necessary to develop a current in the University movement that is going to weigh in the workers movement. The university movement, whilst developing itself, has to direct itself to the workers movement and appeal to it for joint actions based on the common interests, democratic rights and a programme of economic development that is independent of imperialism, that supports measures of nationalisation and planning. At the same time it is necessary to demand democratic elections in the CGT and a democratic preparation of all the elections. This is fundamental. And demand democratic rights for the masses: to decide and elect whoever they want and to press forward the struggle to elect whoever they want against the arrogance of the apparatus.

Organise an appeal in the workers movement to prepare the development of organs to liquidate all these assassins, all those who want to substitute thought and judgment for

of depression, intimidation or fear—the masses have not been paralysed. On the contrary there has been a progress, as much in the University as in the Trade Union field.

the revolver. It is necessary to say that they are simply at the service of the bosses, of imperialism. Make a campaign in the workers movement in which each worker can intervene to massacre the murderers and expel all those that are opposed, and eliminate and liquidate all those who are against democratic liberties. 'If there are no democratic liberties in the workers movement then we cannot struggle for democratic liberties, we are struggling for the interests of the capitalists that lead Peronism'. Show the difference there was when there was Campora and Righi. Why not go back to this stage? In the stage of Campora and Righi there were the profoundest measures of democratisation; the elimination of police arrogance, the freedom of all political prisoners, the liquidation of all the organs of anti-communist repression, the elimination of all the anti-communist laws.

Even if this still goes on, the police organs are already being reconstituted. And there

are not the democratic rights there were before because they are obstructing strikes. Appeal to the police not to obstruct them.

The strike is a right, logical and necessary method of struggle, and one of the bases for the development of the country. Without strikes the country cannot develop,

it is left in the hands of a small stratum which is allied to imperialism. The strike activates the struggle inside the country and permits, therefore, pressure and leadership, controlling the development of democracy in the country in order to prevent a layer of capitalism negotiating with imperialism.

### THE ECONOMIC PLAN AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE WORKERS STATES

At the same time, it is necessary to make a discussion on the economic plan. Argentina has to develop the economy. To develop the economy on the basis of the export of meat and wheat is at a very low price, and machinery, oil and the country's energy needs are all at a very high price. Individually, capitalist Argentina cannot compete in the world capitalist market. Its development is very limited. So compare it with Bulgaria which was a hundred times worse off than Argentina. Even in the stage of Bulgaria, in 1943, Argentina exported meat, wheat, manufactured goods and had some industry. Bulgaria did not, it exported pasta, cows and some wheat, agricultural products but at a very low level of productivity. What needed ten workers in North America needed a hundred in Bulgaria. The Yankees, for example, could grow 4,000 kilos of wheat on one hectare, in Bulgaria it would have been 180 or 200 kilos. On the other hand Bulgaria now is a country where agriculture has developed most and it exports machinery and workers, technicians and technology all over the world, even to countries like France. It is necessary to use this argument. It is necessary to make a historic comparison. To show what Cuba was and what it is today. Even though Cuba has not developed all its potential because there is still not a reasonable and logical plan for Cuba's development—there is still a great deal of dependence on sugar and very empirical planning—but there is no more hunger in Cuba today. Previously, in the epoch of that rat Batista, the only people who knew eggs were chickens and rich people. Now the entire Cuban people know them, they don't eat many but they have eggs. They didn't have meat but now all Cubans eat meat. Previously no worker could speak and discuss or they would kill him. Now one can talk and discuss, although there is still insufficient development of an interior life of discussions, polemic, a life of free discussion; but there is a very great development of the intervention of the population that is preparing for leaps in democracy later. It is necessary to show this simply

To develop individual property by means of the national bourgeoisie is a very limited way to develop the economy. It develops the economy because the bourgeoisie that is in competition with imperialism tries to develop it for itself, but it is a very limited

development. When property is nationalised it can do ten times more. The bourgeoisie can do it for a short time then comes the crisis. There is very little it can do in industrial production because it faces the production of the great capitalist countries and

## Declaration of the Partido Obrero (trotskista) of Argentina on the Provocation of the Assault on the Azul Barracks MOBILISATION AND GENERAL STRIKE TO DEFEND THE POPULAR GOVERNMENT

The attempted assault on the Azul barracks means an increase in the counter-revolutionary action against the Popular Government, in which imperialism and its instrument the CIA, the oligarchy, the most reactionary sectors of the army and the bourgeois right of peronism are gathered together. It is an assassin action, a clandestine blow that expresses all the despair of these sectors faced with the course that the process of the Popular Government is taking, and the use they are making of the ERP as an instrument of this provocation. They are seeking to contain this process and make it retreat, to prevent revolutionary progress being made. They want to impose reactionary measures like the reform of the Penal Code and to weaken the peronist government's links with the masses.

At the same time, this assassin provocation tries to incite the army to react against Peron. Imperialism and the CIA know very well that the counter-revolutionary coup in Argentina will come from this army with a capitalist structure. With this attack they are seeking to attack and interrupt the front between nationalist sectors of the army and of the Popular Government and in this way accelerate the preparations for the coup.

These actions are not made at this time just by chance. Some hours from the visit of Torrijos (the president of Panama) they try to

contain and slow down the profound anti-imperialist and revolutionary consequences of the trip..... It is quite certain that the installation of the Peron government and its continuous declarations of continual unification have been a decisive impulse for Torrijos to make such a trip. Added to that is the recent measure of expropriation of the Cerro de Pasco in Peru. This is why the CIA uses this provocation - on the one hand to attack the Popular Government of Argentina, and on the other hand to give a blow against the entire structure of revolutionary nationalism in Latin America, which advances faster and faster towards the Workers State and socialism. (...)

This coup comes at the moment when the proletariat is putting the Social Pact seriously in question with its mobilisations, factory occupations, taking of hostages, actions of truly insurrectional preparation - like that of Del Carlo - effectively breaking the social Pact and imposing wage increases without repercussions on prices. It puts in question the Social Pact, it clashes with it, and this is why Gelbard (minister of the peronist right) has to pose the only possible alternative for Latin America. Expropriate, nationalise, apply Huerta Grande and La Falda. The Azul provocation is to hit against the influence of this process on Peron and to prevent the left continuing to gain positions. (...)

The key, the necessary response to this attack is for the proletariat to intervene as a class, to organise itself as the leadership of this process. Workers and Popular Militia are more urgent than ever. It is necessary to remember the experience of 1955 and to discuss this in every trade union, in every factory. It is necessary to discuss the experience of the Chilean proletariat. That is the way to respond to Peron's appeal for mobilisation in defence of the government. It is necessary to unite this with the most capable revolutionary organs; Workers and Popular Militia. One of the negative effects for imperialism itself from this Azul coup is that it is going to accelerate and facilitate the conditions for the organisation of workers militia, factory committees, area committees and the formation of a mass Workers Party based on the Trade Unions.

We appeal for there to be no retreat on any of the conquests made, no stopping any of the struggles that are in process, to unify and extend them on the basis of the programme of defence of the Popular Government, for full democratic and trade union rights. It is necessary to relate the absurd and desperate action of Azul to the global crisis of capitalism and imperialism. This is not just another crisis but a crisis that is sharpening and polarising the elements of the final encounter.

For all these reasons the CIA and imp-

erialism feel that it is desperately urgent to apply their counter-revolutionary plans. This is why they organised Azul. We appeal for the most complete political functioning in each factory, area, trade union, CGT. We appeal for mass meetings and assemblies in each place of work. We appeal for a full functioning of the Bodies of Delegates, the Internal Commissions, the Inter-factory Committees, for full meetings and meetings of delegates.

We appeal to the proletariat, the delegates, the militants of all the factories like Philips, Siam, Centenera, Tamet, Volcan, Siat, Gurmendi, Santa Rosa, La Cantabrica etc, that they themselves have to declare a state of emergency and the mobilisation of the factories with the organisation of self defence groups, deciding plans of control and occupation of the factories, the organisation of militia, the application of workers control, in defence of the Popular Government, against the counter-revolutionary actions of imperialism, the CIA and the oligarchy in alliance with the bourgeois and reactionary right.

Political Bureau of the Partido Obrero (trotskista) IV International - Posadist

22nd January, 1974.

## Declaration of the Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (trotskiste), French Section of the IV International

In mid January a group of the so-called guerrillas of the ERP (Peoples Revolutionary Army) launched an assault on the Azul barracks in Argentina. This attack forms part of the provocations organised by the CIA and the Peronist right wing.

Peron, in response, gave his support to the reinstatement of repressive measures in the penal code and declared to the Peronist Youth who opposed these measures: 'This movement is led from France, more precisely from Paris, and the person who controls it is called Posadas. This is a pseudonym for his real name, which is Italian. At this moment France is experiencing a very grave problem of this type. They have let him function there without sufficient repression. The French government is at this moment taking drastic and violent measures to repress those who let him function there. I have already said more than twenty times, the head of this movement is in Paris. There is no way to stop them because this is a movement organised throughout the entire world..... It is the IV International..... it is a deformed marxist movement that intends to impose itself through struggle'.

This is at least the fifth declaration of Peron in less than a month accusing Posadas of directing terrorist action in Argentina from Paris. This is a slander that favours those who are preparing the counter-revolutionary coup d'etat or the assassination of Peron himself, imperialism, the CIA, the Peronist right, the trade union bureaucracy.

Comrade Posadas, the IV International, the Partido Obrero (trotskista) of Argentina have condemned all these terrorist actions in a great number of documents, and concretely the coup perpetrated at Azul, as provocations organised by imperialism and the CIA with the aim of justifying repression. They have also repeated many times that the ERP is an instrument of these provocations and that it has nothing to do with Trotskyism.

With these attacks Peron hopes to contain the profound influence of Trotskyism - posadism in the peronist left, amongst the youth and in the trade union wing which is advancing towards socialist positions. And at the same time, Peron affirms in the most fantastic way, that Posadas is staying in Paris and directs

terrorist actions in Argentina from there. The CIA and the right organise these slanders with the aim of creating the climate and justification to support criminal attacks against Comrade Posadas, against the IV International. By appealing for repression in Paris, Peron supports these criminal preparations.

Such assassin agitation by the CIA against Comrade Posadas and the IV International are not only the result of their influence in Argentina, but of the advances of the communist left and the progresses of the world communist movement expressed, for example, in the Brussels Conference, in their conclusions and the appeals for the struggle for socialism.

The CIA and imperialism measure the concrete influence of the ideas of Trotskyism - posadism and their progress, and they prepare and respond with criminal attacks on Comrade Posadas, the IV International and the communist left. As is well known, one of the strongest reserves of CIA assassins functions in Paris with numerous links in the French police (as was shown in the Ben Barka affair and tens of others). Similar reserves exist in all the European capitals, as the Times in London has revealed.

The Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (trotskiste), French Section of the IV International rejects Peron's slanders against Comrade J. Posadas, our Argentinian comrades and the IV International. It alerts all the French workers movement, the French Communist Party, Socialist Party, the Unified Socialist Party (left socialist party) and trade unions of this provocative campaign of the CIA which is preparing crimes, kidnappings and murders in Argentina, Paris and other European cities.

It appeals for support to the struggle of the masses, youth, the trade unions, the Trotskyist - posadists and the peronist left in Argentina against the counter-revolutionary military coup that is in preparation against the government of Peron himself, and appeals for support to the socialist progress of the peronist masses and the revolution in Argentina.

PARTI COMMUNISTE REVOLUTIONNAIRE (TROTSKISTE) French Section of the IV International - Posadist

it cannot compete. In the production of wheat and meat it goes on being a backward country dependent on these. To be able to determine the course of the economy and develop consumption, culture, general education, health standards and, consequently, the expansion of the population by improving the birth/death ratios, it is necessary to develop the country on the basis of nationalised property.

It is necessary to discuss and analyse the advantages of nationalised property a great deal and show that in this way there can be planning. Show the immense progress that 'this is over private property, over private production. Insist on this a great deal in the education of the Peronist youth. Also for the trade union cadres that, without being Peronist, are close to the Peronists. Above all the Peronist trade union and youth vanguard to gain it to the consideration that it is necessary to plan the economy, and that to plan it is necessary to nationalise. To develop the country you cannot go on living from meat and wheat, it is necessary to transform the country. The country cannot be transformed through private property. As a minimum, the principal industries have to be nationalised.

This also means facing the sabotage of production that the bourgeoisie is going to make. If in Chile they allow people to buy food where they can, in Argentina they are going to kill the cows, they are going to kill the wheat. It is necessary to organise, beginning with the organisation of the soldiers, going into the army, for them and the NCO's and officers to have trade union rights. Open this discussion. The discussion in Europe, in Sweden, France, Italy, Germany is of trade union organisation for the police and army officers. In this they see or feel that the army and the police are not to defend the fatherland, that this is all a lie, they are to defend

the interests of the capitalist. Show how they defend the interests of the capitalists. The proof is Hungary, Cuba and China. Cuba was against Batista who said that he was the defender of the Cuban fatherland. In reality he was the defender of the sugar bosses, who were the Yankees. Batista went, Cuba remained and... this is how Cuba develops.

It is necessary to be preoccupied with a great deal of analysis of the economy. Is it necessary to help the development of an understanding of the plans for the economy and the systemisation of planning. Write a lot on this. Not one or two articles, write articles constantly with analysis, be preoccupied with this task. The Peronists still do not have the maturity to understand this. Neither do they have the decision because they have to confront the Peronist apparatus and they have no example from the communists and they have no example in the world. The example they receive from the communist world is of the combative resolution of the so-called Socialist Countries against Imperialism. But socially they see the difference between China and the USSR, they see that there is no trade union life in the Workers States. For example the Peronists have a resolution from a mass meeting of the telephone trade union. Why aren't there any mass meetings of telephone workers in the USSR, and if there are why don't they publish resolutions? The Soviets say that there is no need. Why is there no need? 'The government expresses it'. No, if they work and have wages and have a trade union then there are relations that make these organs necessary. The telephone workers of Argentina think about this. 'We make a mass meeting, there they don't make mass meetings'. The Soviets and the communists say 'but the Soviet Union supports Vietnam'. But this does not mean that the trade unions do not

# On the Conference of the European Communist Parties

We greet the Conference of European Communist Parties (of the capitalist countries) recently held in Belgium, it represented an advance and an elevation of the programme, analysis and conclusions of the European Communist Parties. It is an expression of the deepening of the process of partial regeneration. It is an advance in as much as it was an attempt to confront the total crisis of capitalism. This advance is firmly based on the struggle of the European working class. The whole elevation of the discussion is impelled by the struggle of the class in Europe and the world. It also expresses the process of partial regeneration in the Workers States because if the Soviet Union did not intervene directly, it did intervene to impel indirectly the calling of this conference and the level of the programme adopted. Also in this, there is the influence of the texts of Comrade Posadas and the intervention of Posadism in this stage of the development of the world revolution.

This conference took place in the middle of the miners strike in this country and the conference sent 'battle greetings to the British min-

ers'. This strike is influenced by the anti-capitalist struggle of the European proletariat which each day elevates the disposition of the masses

## Argentina

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need to intervene. The support to Vietnam is very good, but they do this because it is convenient to the Soviet Workers State, the trade unions have to intervene. The Peronists have no point of support to understand, this is what it is necessary to give.

It is necessary to encourage them to intervene, to help them understand and substitute for the lack of organs and historic example which they lack. There is a very solid base for the bourgeois Peronist leadership to say 'there is no trade union democracy in the USSR and China'. They have never read, for example, about a trade union meeting in China'. Nor in Cuba. In Cuba they don't have a single meeting except at the time of the

### WIN THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The party must function in cells that are linked and communicate with the population. It is necessary to make explanations to the trade union leaders to help them to understand and to help them to overcome the isolation that they feel. They feel that they have to struggle against an entire bourgeois police, military, assassin apparatus and they don't have the necessary experience. Even so they are fairly courageous. But it is necessary to bear in mind that the Peronist right is achieving by indirect ways what it could not achieve directly; making the provincial governors (which have a constitution that is to the left) isolated; and the head remains which is the governor but with a body of ministers who are of the right. It is not necessary to accept this. For example the three changes of the ministers of Mendoza, it is necessary to throw them out. Because they use the governor to cover them and appear as the left, but they make an entirely rightwing policy.

The CIA is going to attack to try to trample over our influence in the Peronist youth, in the struggle which the Peronist

Bay of Pigs, when the trade unions brought out resolutions and were allowed to intervene. But then no more. So it is necessary to say that this is true and we are expecting that the Workers States are going to do this now. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States for contact between the trade unions. In order of importance, the trade unions of the Workers States are the most important organs of the country. The Communist Party, the cells of the Communist Party and the trade unions. More important than the state and the army because they both obey the communist party. It is the communist party, the cells which are the organs of the communist party, and the trade unions.

youth is making. It is necessary to discuss with the Montoneros that the activity which they are making as the Montoneros is justifiable, but the main activity must be to win the political leadership of the trade unions. As we said in the 'Dorrego Operation', the trade unions have to intervene. The Montoneros have to organise and develop themselves in the trade unions. There is already a pretty broad development of this sort of activity, of this sort of urban guerrilla movement that the Montoneros are—which in part satisfies the will of a faction of a sector of youth. But this favours the plans of the right who want to prevent the organisation of the pressure, the struggle, the activity to gain the trade union leadership. Without abandoning the present function of the Montoneros they should incline themselves more toward the organisation of the trade union activity, gaining the trade union leadership. Launching themselves to win the trade union leadership by means of the activity in the factories, on the land, in the offices and barracks. And imposing democratic rights and trade union democracy.

### ORGANISE A NEW LEADERSHIP

The present stage is the need to organise a leadership independent of the bourgeois leadership of Peronism, without breaking with Peronism. Assist this process. This episode of Peron's illness which took 45 days treatment and then in two days he recovered completely, is an indication that there is already a sinister plan being executed for the assassination of Peron. They wanted to separate him by some real or imaginary illness. Tomorrow they may give him another injection and he will be liquidated. It is necessary to foresee that if they kill Peron there is going to be a tremendous fight in which the Peronist right will ally itself with the oligarchy. The Peronist right does not have the same interests as the oligarchy, but it has even less in common with the Peronist base. It has more points of support in the oligarchy than in the Peronist base.

The CGE has a programme of the national bourgeoisie which is not of interest to the oligarchy. The CGE can coincide quite a lot with the trade union bureaucracy, even with the trade union bureaucracy that permits or concedes certain political, economic, wage demands of the workers. Because this sector of the national bourgeoisie has an interest in the state exercising the function of proprietor to develop some industries, to have some sources of cheap raw materials such as the bourgeoisie could not have from imperialism. This is why many of their attitudes can coincide with different objectives of the workers movement—made with different motives, which they want to use for themselves. Meanwhile the nationalisation is for the benefit of the whole of the country and can be a source of cheap production because it eliminates profit and—partly—competition too.

For a whole period we have to struggle in Peronism. but seeking the organs, trade

union democracy, a single trade union centre—but on the basis of support for Huerta Grande and La Falda and trade union democracy. A single trade union centre on this basis. Not just a slogan 'a single trade union centre' but on the basis of the programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda and trade union democracy, the election of councils of delegates, the formation of councils of delegates as in Italy, linking factory-trade union and workers area for the development of the trade union demands, the economy, democratic rights and against imperialism and the Peronists right.

**J. POSADAS**

to smash capitalism throughout Europe. It is the same maturity of conditions for the struggle for power which overflows all national frontiers and demands a functioning like that of a Communist International. And this is what the conference represented.

It has to be seen that the resolutions and the interventions of the delegates expressed a considerable programmatic elevation in all the European Communist Parties. In particular the intervention of Marchais (general secretary of the French Communist Party) who showed that the nature of capitalism has not changed, and the experience of Chile shows this. As Marchais showed, capitalism prepares for the war and developed conclusions from this on the necessity to smash capitalism on a European scale and to construct a Socialist Europe.

It is significant that the conference took place at the same time as Brezhnev made his trip to Cuba. He goes to Cuba in order to weigh in Latin America in the same way as he went to India in order to weigh in Asia, because they have to prepare for the atomic war. From the point of view of policy the Brussels conference was part of this preparation.

The programme adopted marks a decided elevation in the generalisation of a programmatic progress in all the European Communist Parties. The congress adopted a programme which is an anti-capitalist strategy for the European workers movement and which included nationalisations, the defence of democratic rights and the rights of immigrant workers; for a United Front with the Socialist and Social Democratic parties, the trade unions, the left Catholics and all democratic and progressive forces. In other words a programme for socialism.

Marchais in this conference denounced the front that the bourgeoisie is preparing against the workers movement, against the masses and intervened to impel a strategy for the system against system nature of the process at this time. It is clear that his intervention and the conference as a whole on the level of analysis and conclusions represents an important advance for the European Communist Parties.

However it is also necessary to note the limitations of this conference. For example in the emphasis placed on the 'sovereign rights' of individual communist parties in a conference which is formulating a strategy for Europe. This aspect was given some prominence in the Morning Star report. However this is much more a limitation of the CPGB than of the actual conference. We appeal to the left, to the militants of the British Communist Party to discuss this, to draw the conclusions from this fundamental contradiction. But this is not what weighs! In the final analysis what weighs is the fact that this conference was held and that it discussed a programme and strategy for Europe which answers the needs of the workers movement at this time and which answers the objective necessity of the advance of the world revolution as it is expressed in Europe.

Perhaps the central limitation of this conference was the lack of a concrete analysis of the past struggles such as UCS in this country, the 1972 miners strike, the general strike of the 6th of December in France, the strikes and mobilisations in Italy, Germany, Spain. It is notable that no concrete analysis was made of the present struggles of the miners in this country, of the strikes in Germany, of the recent experience of the occupation of LIP, of the struggles in Belgium. Above all the conference did not analyse and draw conclusions for the impulsion of the left in the Socialist and Social Democratic parties for the defeat of the right in the trade union centres. It is correct to send 'battle greetings' to the British miners but in itself this is not enough.

It was necessary to appeal, as we Posadists appeal, for a discussion to develop the programme on the necessary organism, on the factory committees, on the committees which link the factory to the workers areas, on the United Front of all the masses, of the communist parties, socialist parties, the social democratic parties, trade unions, the trotskyist-posadists, the left groups etc.

We appeal to the Communist Party militants and, particularly, to the left of the Labour Party to discuss the conclusions, to make a balance of this conference. It is necessary for the Labour Party left to see that it has to intervene in the process in Europe, to see the favourable conditions for this and for the development of a relationship with the European Communist Parties who send 'battle greetings' to the British miners. Not only this, they also have a programme for a United Front—as with the Popular Union in France—with the Socialist and Social Democratic parties. It is necessary to see that this process is based

on the intervention of the miners vanguard who organise themselves on a European scale like the Dunlop-Pirelli joint committee which now incorporates the Michelin workers, like the Ford workers of Britain, Belgium and Germany, like the support for the dockers strike earlier and for the miners strike now.

We appeal to the Labour Party left to intervene now in the whole discussion on the 'Common Market', not simply being against the EEC, but being for a programme of nationalisations, of workers' control, of organisms which lay the foundations for a Socialist Europe. We appeal to the comrades of the Labour Party left to intervene, proposing a European Conference of Workers Parties and trade unions, including those of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Workers States. To see that the conditions for this are favourable since the Soviet Union, in particular, already intervenes—indirectly perhaps but it intervenes—in the formulation of an anti-capitalist strategy for Europe. We appeal for a campaign for such a conference firmly based on a programme for nationalisations, for democratic rights—the right of instant recall—in the trade unions, for the elimination of all arms expenditure and the use of those resources for the benefit of the masses. The organisation of such a conference based on an anti capitalist programme and on the perspective of the construction of a United Socialist Soviet States of Europe is possible and necessary at this moment.

## EDITORIAL

*continued from page 1*

*rammes of nationalisations - they have to be fought for and discussed and in this way the inter-dependence of the unions and Labour Party deepened, But this process can only develop on the conscious building of the left in the trade unions, the organisation of left currents in the miners, engineers, railway workers etc. With a full discussion of ideas and the full participation of all currents in these discussions, including the IV International (posadist).*

*This election is a mild interlude in what is going to be a very savage conflict in this country and in the rest of the world. Most of the issues have been superficially treated in this election by the Tories, Liberals and Wilson team because their solution transcends the limits of the existing parliamentary system. The nationalisation of the Cerro de Pasco, the advance of the Arab revolution and the notable internal integration of Israel, the successful general strike of public employees in Germany, the meetings of the European communist parties to co-ordinate a strategy against capitalism, the breakdown of the coalition government in Belgium, the profound economic crisis of the capitalist system as a whole, the immense progress of the 14 Workers States in objective alliance with the 16 Revolutionary States all provide a world structure of the revolution which is going to weigh more and more in Britain and accelerate the conscious formation of an organised left in the Labour Party and trade unions. The process demands marxism, and the world structure of the revolution facilitates the introduction of marxism into the process, imposing as it does the need for a world outlook to dominate every national process.*

*Throughout the campaign the broad masses of the population have only been partially involved, the Labour left and the Communist Party have not developed campaigns for the emergence and functioning of action committees, shop stewards committees, district committees etc. But in the process that is coming inevitably these are going to develop and on these the Labour and trade union left must seek support, stimulating a superior functioning of the trade unions to develop a new type of Labour Party, a genuine revolutionary workers party based upon the trade unions. The Labour Party leadership has avoided all these issues in the election, they are unwelcome to the party leaderships that have intervened. But in the stage that is coming advancing towards the civil war, it is the mass organs that are going to weigh and decide more and more with the left in the Labour Party and unions.*

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# THE INTER-BOURGEOIS DISPUTE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRATIC DEMANDS IN GREECE

31 december 1973

Middle Pages

J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## ORGANISE A NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO DISCUSS THE MEANS OF IMPLEMENTING LABOUR'S PROGRAMME

The conclusions of the General Election are the complete failure of all the plans of the capitalist system and the clearly expressed determination of the entire working class to centralise itself around the Labour Party whilst struggling to transform the character of its leadership, structure, policy and objectives. Now the political crisis results in an impasse that can only be broken by the intervention of the masses - this solution may be delayed or contained but this is the fundamental conclusion.

The election results are inconclusive with Labour taking five more parliamentary seats than the Tories but with a higher national vote for the Conservatives. But what is perfectly clear is that the working class in the cities and the industrial concentrations like Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham mobilised for Labour with a massive show of unanimity. In some of these constituencies there was up to a 10% swing to Labour as compared with the last General Election. But in 1970, of course the vanguard of the working class abstained in the election in order to give a blow at the reactionary Labour leadership in the only way it could at that moment.

Now the proletariat has seen and felt that there is a different situation - internationally, nationally and within its organisations. It is not that this Wilson leadership has changed, but now the relationships of forces create the conditions for the organisation of the left that already exists in the Labour Party and trade unions. Now, after the last Labour Party Conference there are the beginnings of a programme that includes quite a lot of nationalisations, even if this has not been at the centre of the electoral campaign. Those candidates who campaigned on the programme like Benn, Selby and Milne (who campaigned on the Labour programme as an independent) increased their votes by quite a lot. This confirms that the central preoccupation of the left must be the campaign for this programme, explaining the superiority of nationalisations and their necessity if the economy is to be rationally organised.

### THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE TORY PARTY.

This is an enormous crisis for British imperialism! And it is reflected in the crisis of the Tory Party, which is disintegrating. The origin of this crisis, the crisis in the Labour leadership and the whole social, economic, political, total crisis of the capitalist system in Britain is, as comrade Posadas analyses, in the constant uninterrupted mobilisations and strikes of the European proletariat that is preparing to take power, only its leaderships are either against or simply do not know what to do about it.

This is part of the world crisis that deprives capitalism of any perspective except that of war preparations against those forces that advance and advance - the Workers States and the masses.

The Tory Party is disintegrating, it is falling apart. It has no policy to stabilise or expand the economy or to attract any social layer of society. It only represents the narrow interest of a class that defends a backward oppressive and brutal regime that is of no further use to humanity and which humanity is crushing in the wake of its own advance to socialism. The Tories called for a 'firm government' and a 'mandate from the country' - in other words they were incapable of imposing themselves

At the same time, large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie did not vote for Labour. Petit bourgeois sectors that have voted for Labour before, this time voted against. This is partly a protest vote against the Labour leadership who offer no new perspective and partly a purely inter-bourgeois contradiction. But it is necessary to see that there is not the political leadership in the Labour Party capable of attracting these sectors with a decisive class policy and programme that raises a perspective outside the capitalist system. This is what is needed to gain them and this is what they will respond to. Because they are already attracted by the methods of the proletariat and its spirit of combat in the miners strike for example. The social layers that were previously the raw materials of fascism can no longer be used by capitalism against the working class. The examples are too numerous to list, but most recently the strike and demonstration of the finger print technicians at Scotland Yard (in other words part of the technical team of the police apparatus) and the Telegraph journalists strike - in which a central propaganda organ of the bourgeoisie was paralysed at the height of the electoral campaign. And the civil servants mobilise with methods they adopt from the proletariat; strikes and demonstrations with slogans and placards in the streets. It is necessary to win these sectors, most of whom are Liberal or Conservative voters. It is necessary to win them to a programme of the transformation of society! None of these sectors are ardent supporters of any perspective capitalism can offer.

against the miners and the masses and so were forced into a General Election. The miners show they want power, otherwise they would not start discussing now another wage claim that capitalism cannot afford. The way they have acted in the course of the strike indicates the will of the working class to take power.

The defection of Powell (which expresses the collapse of an entire sector of the Conservative base), the vote for the Liberals, the last minute blow against them by Cambell-Adamson of the CBI show what a weak instrument this party is. The bourgeoisie have already drawn the conclusions and are preparing for the moment they will rely entirely on the repressive apparatus of

the police and army.

Now, after a resounding defeat that is much deeper than the election figures in themselves show, Heath refuses to hand over the government and calls for an anti-socialist alliance, which shows the polarisation there is and marks a step by the bourgeoisie toward finishing with the parliamentary system. They cannot afford to let it go so they cling on after being rejected by the masses, this is their degree of concern for

with them, they did not have a majority of votes either. The masses are going to reply indignantly. It is necessary to destroy this government and expel it by the force of the full scale mobilisations of the working class, the General Strike is the response to sweep this government aside and impose a Labour government as the masses have already demanded.

Even within the confines of parliament, Heath's position is perilously weak. The alliance he needs to find a majority is impossible with the 11 Ulster Unionist MPs who are all against power sharing in Northern Ireland. The independents and nationalists lean towards Labour; in fact the Welsh and Scottish nationalists express a clear anti-capitalist sentiment. The Liberal leadership is interested in making a deal but the extent of their own crisis is brought to light by the immediate declarations of Young Liberals like Hain and certain Liberal MPs who are against it because 'the country has already shown that it is fed up with Toryism'.

### NEXT WEEK

Watergate and the development of the left in the Communist and Socialist Parties

2.12.73

J. Posadas.

their own 'democracy'! They say the electorate has given Labour no mandate but it is the same situation as in 1970

THE VANGUARD LIVES ALL THE WORLD EXPERIENCE OF THE REVOLUTION.

The situation favours Labour, but since Wilson just keeps his mouth shut and does not even call on the government to resign, the left in the Labour Party has to seize the initiative to launch an appeal to the trade unions and all the organisations of the working class for the immediate, unlimited General Strike to get rid of all these

## THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY HAS MET

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers Party (trotskyist), IV International (posadist) met on March 2nd to discuss the International and national situation on the basis of the most recent orientations of comrade Posadas. A resolution was made on the elections which have proved an unqualified disaster for capitalism. The Heath government has been decisively rejected but at the same time shows the intention of the bourgeoisie to cling to power. The Wilson clique has mobilised nothing against these manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to mobilise a General Strike now to throw the Tories out and impose a Labour government. The persistence of the miners strike is a fundamental expression of the desire of the workers to impel the process towards the taking of power, the overthrow of the Tory regime, and the need to impose decisive measures of nationalisations. The fundamental task to organise the forces of the left in the Labour Party is the central issue facing the workers vanguard in this stage and demands the decisive intervention of marxism.

The Central Committee also discussed the present campaign against comrade Posadas being waged by the agents of the CIA in Argentina, as part of the intervention by the CIA on a world scale against comrade Posadas and the IV International. It rejected the campaign of falsification designed to link the IV International (posadist) with acts of terrorism and assassination, and appealed to the workers organisations to intervene against and denounce all the provocations of imperialism at this stage, the bombings, the frame ups and the assassinations.

The Central Committee saluted the profound efforts of the workers vanguard in the workers States and the communist and socialist parties of the world to impose changes and rectifications in the policy and programmes of these parties. It also saluted the immense struggles of the masses in Latin America, Africa and Asia who in objective alliance with the Workers States seek to throw out the outmoded capitalist system and progress. Particularly at this moment the Ethiopian masses, who are living in conditions of appalling backwardness and having experienced the most cruel and barbarous starvation, are not deterred, but advance against their oppressors and open the way for new and profound social changes.

It is necessary to see Greece in the world as it is today, not the Greece of 10, 20 or 40 years ago. Today it expresses the immense weakness of the capitalist system which is disintegrating. It is a weakness that has the effect of disorganising the capitalist system, it prevents it from maintaining its homogeneous structure and sharpens the interior competition and contradictions of the system.

One of the essential bases for the downfall of the capitalist system, of the triumph of the Russian revolution, of the Chinese and all other revolutions that have triumphed and that are going to triumph, is the sharpening of the internal contradictions of the capitalist system—provoked by the crisis of the capitalist system. In the process of development of the capitalist system there comes a stage in which a process of interior crisis begins and develops. The present economic crisis is a total crisis—social, moral, economic, political, military—it is a complete crisis. The basis of this crisis is the natural process of crisis of the capitalist system, sharpened, sharpened to the extreme, by the development of the world revolution, of the Workers States, of the struggles of the masses of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. The area of domination and expansion of capital, of export and profit is taken away from it. Its internal contradictions and competition is sharpened and consequently capitalism is weakened politically compared with the Workers States. The Workers States advance. Even interpenetratively, even bureaucratically, they progress because they are obliged, impelled, necessarily impelled by the preparation of the war, by the antagonism with capitalism, by the aggravation of the capitalist contradictions that are elevated by the confrontation with the Workers States, by the anticapitalist programmes of the struggles of the masses, by the influence of the world revolution in countries like Thailand, where people did not exist, no account was ever taken of them.

There were the soldiers and the king, the rest did not exist. Suddenly it appears that there are also students, peasants and workers who intervene and they throw out the king. Certainly the king supported himself on a layer of the bourgeoisie against the state that the generals represented. But a movement of the masses developed against these generals, and this movement of the masses is not going to stay at the level of getting rid of this general. They are going to throw out this new general too. The same in Greece, but on a much inferior scale, the generals are trying to contain the interior collision provoked by Vietnam, by the crisis of the capitalist system, by the elevation of the preoccupation of the masses and the influence of the revolution, with some reforms,

### **It is necessary to discuss every concrete stage of the process in Greece**

This process weakens all the structure and authority of the capitalist system. These layers that were capitalism's servants, that are the economic, social and technical means of support for capitalism have their confidence in the capitalist system weakened. This influences a layer of the army. On the other hand, Hungary, Bulgaria, Rumania, the USSR and China gain in authority. Now because these sectors become socialists but because they come to see that the solution for a backward country is found like this. It is the Workers States that give the solution to pass from a backward country to an advanced country. They take this as a solution to try to eliminate or evade the proletarian revolution, but they raise this possibility.

All these layers of the army want to profit from and support themselves on the world process of growth of the revolution, in which they see China, like Yugoslavia, Hungary and Albania, that makes them project in their imagination, in their head and in their decision a series of economic and social solutions that are not strictly capitalist. To do this they need the support of the masses. If they count on the masses and appeal to them, they run the risk of being surpassed because they are not a Party, they have no hard and fast programme, it is not a programme in reply to the capitalist system, they do not have the historic security to represent the future, they are not a class. They are sectors that favoured the bourgeois class and capitalism. But now, on the other hand, they have to support themselves on the workers movement, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry. It is necessary to develop with these layers, eliminating the right, the king and imperialism without depending on these layers. This is what is happening in Greece and with Peron. They are a result of this stage of history. There are phases like that in Greece now which are going to be repeated constantly.

The recent military rising was to contain the concessions that Papadopoulos was preparing to make to the bourgeoisie. Papadopoulos was weakling before the bour-

# The inter-bourgeois dispute and the struggle for democratic demands in Greece

31 december 1973

J. POSADAS

## INTRODUCTION

*This text of comrade Posadas is an important elaboration of previous articles on the crisis of the Greek regime. This analysis can also be related to similar crises of development in other countries, Brazil, Turkey, Thailand etc. The course of human history has been complicated because of the past failure of the world communist movement to push forward the revolutionary programme and policy. Hence a series of phenomena have arisen not provided for within the categories of classical marxist analysis. Thus we have the phenomenon of the Revolutionary State where decisive steps may be taken against the functioning of the capitalist system but where the state apparatus still acts in the interests of capitalism. And in a country such as Greece, although opportunities to take power were sabotaged by Stalin, the decomposition of world capitalism has not given opportunities to Greek capitalism to develop or even consolidate its position. It cannot compete on the world market, it cannot develop, agriculture is not transformed, sectors of the economy remain confined within small scale production, foreign capital has no interest in the all round development of the Greek economy. Greece for imperialism was simply a convenience of NATO, a base for attacking the Soviet Union, but*

*even in the absence of a revolutionary policy and understanding by the Greek Communist Party for example, capitalism continues to disintegrate and gives rise to tendencies within itself which in order to advance tend to go beyond the interests of the system and see nationalisation of sectors of the economy as the only way to advance. There is much confusion on the subject of Greece in the Labour Party, and the term fascist has been frequently applied to the situation there. This only reflects subjection to the bourgeois conceptions because imperialism sees that the process in Greece does not favour its interests, and it uses terms like fascist to confuse the issue. The intervention of comrade Posadas on the inappropriate nature of the slogan workers and peasants government is also most important from the tactical point of view. It is absurd to raise slogans which do not correspond to the possibilities of action available to the masses at this stage. We appeal to the left in the Labour Party, the Communist Party and the left groups to discuss this article, to clarify the understanding of the process in Greece as an aspect of a whole world phenomena arising from the disintegration of capitalism and the absence of a leadership armed with the programme and policy to overthrow capitalism.*

weakening. By forming a civil government and granting elections it is obvious that he was seeking an agreement with the bourgeoisie, with Kanelopoulos and Karamanlis. The military coup by Gizikis was made with a combination of tendencies, like all these military coups, like the one in Argentina, like in Chile, like in Thailand too. With one tendency that wanted to preserve the policy they were making before, that of containing the masses, of making a policy toward the Workers States, of developing the country economically—together with the right wing tendency that profited to make the coup. This is why Karamanlis mobilised. But he showed that they did not have the force, they had to stop and they were left indecisive. This is the process. The nationalist wing was not defeated at any moment. It is a process of interior struggle in which the initiative is not with the reactionary wing, otherwise they would have already acted. It is a process in movement, in evolution, in which the tendency that is trying to develop the economy applies a pressure to link with the Workers States and now proposes an agreement for the communal exploitation of agriculture in regions between Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania.

These are the processes that it is necessary to interpret. This is how Greece and Thailand arrive at the same process. It was the king that promoted all this because otherwise he would have been left behind. He tries to contain, to try to exploit the country economically to be able to remain. It is not the king of Thailand that is important. He has no value or ideas, he has a lot

### **The combined character of the latest coup d'etat**

The Communist Party mistakenly takes these recent arrests as a new turn to dictatorship. There are a lot of arrests but the majority are of the right and centre. The communists say that 14 officers had been on trial. But they do not say that they are right wing officers. At the same time they do not say how they explain why a junta that is 'an agency of imperialism' throws out NATO officers! As the present leadership is a mixture of tendencies in which there are tendencies that want to develop the economy, the arrests correspond to

the same mixture of tendencies. It is a process that is completely undefined. The right has not been able to assume the dominant role in the junta. Otherwise they would have already come out openly. This is why there was such a spontaneous cry of fear from Karamanlis, 'Sort things out quickly!!' Because he sees that power in the junta of colonels and generals is being decided and it goes against him. This is why army captains feel able to come out openly and speak against NATO and look for popular support.

We are not fabricating this process, this is how it is. We interpret it and try to understand it. The Communist Party interprets it and does not intervene, its error is in seeing every movement that assumes military power as a dictatorship because they are linked with the bourgeois wing. As this military coup hits the workers movement as much as the bourgeois sectors the CP is seeking a unification.

In a case like this it is necessary to maintain the democratic demands and make alliances, even with a bourgeois sector, for democratic demands, the right of free speech, of ideas, press and trade unions, the struggles for trade union conquests and freedom of the press. But at the same time supporting and impelling measures against imperialism through expropriation, nationalisation. This stimulates the nationalist sector of the army team, it helps it to seek contact with the workers movement. It is necessary to maintain trade union and political independence without dissolving in the plane of the government or the organisation of support for the government. Maintain democratic demands and at the same time maintain independence from the bourgeoisie. If a sector of the bourgeoisie seeks an alliance for democratic demands, agreed, but with organisms independent of them. But also calling for nationalisation, planning, reforms and changes in agriculture and the economy, something that capitalism cannot do, but we can. We unite the democratic demands with changes that favour the nationalist wing that is seeking changes, improvements and progress in the economy. The economy cannot progress in Greece, nor Thailand nor any other backward country unless it progresses against the capitalist system. Capitalism can build one factory or 10 or 15 but the development of the economy to respond to the needs of society can only be done against the capitalist system.

It is necessary to consider these conclusions. Without losing political independence, we are trying to impel the wings, sectors, groups of these movements that want to progress or take economic measures. It is necessary to make such action easier for them, without submitting to them. Proposing transitional measures in order to advance because there is no other means for us. It is an enormous error to propose 'a workers and peasant government. It is absurd. You cannot give slogans for which there are not the instruments, organs and conditions to apply them. How is a workers and peasant government to be made in a country in which there is a military dictatorship, the proletariat has no organs of its own, it does not have its own Party, it is the bourgeoisie that has the initiative and there is an immense economic backwardness? How can anyone propose a workers and peasant government? It is absurd. The slogan must correspond to the necessity, to the possibility and to the organs that the proletariat has. It has to try to structure the process which may be dynamic and mixed but the slogan has to give it a structure. One cannot leap through history.

### **The vanguard lives all the world experience of the revolution**

All this produces an interior disorganisation in the class policy and stimulates the growth, the elevation and development of the nationalists that want to combine for economic development, economic needs, not only through the interests of the capitalist system but through the interests of the development of the economy for the benefit and name of private property. But they take measures that go against this objective aim. Because they do not have the allies to do it. The result is that they have to seek allies in the proletariat,

in the petit bourgeoisie and even in the students. But as they are afraid of being left behind they want this support, but at the same time they want to contain it. Our policy is to understand this process and impel the independent policy of the students, workers and peasants and give it a programme, policy and objectives that favour those sectors within this movement that are trying to impel the economy, without compromising ourselves. This is the tactic to apply.

Campora, the Argentinian ambassador to Mexico, made declarations in Peru and in Mexico in the name of the Argentinian government saying that 'the Argentinian government proposes that the only real solution for the economic development of Latin America is socialism. And the sooner measures are taken for this aim the fewer tragedies there will be'. Certainly these are declarations aimed at maintaining authority over the masses. But it impels a perspective of the masses. The policy of Peron's government does not correspond to this declaration. But Campora recognised Vietnam, Korea, gave political rights to all, eliminated the police files for repression, eliminated the organs of repression. For 6 months the Campora government had no organs of repression. This was not a measure aimed at impressing the masses so as to be able to impose on them later. It was the attempt of a petit bourgeois nationalist government to find contact with the masses, without breaking the capitalist structure. This policy is indecisive, it is imprecise, it is based on the capitalist system because they have no organs of their own and they have worker, peasant and petit bourgeois points of support

### **Support all measures which weaken the capitalist system**

It was necessary to understand that this class war was being made at the same time as the development of the struggles of the masses within the Arab states. No Communist Party has interpreted it like this. Now they do. Today the Communist Parties of Iraq, Syria, Jordan and Lebanon meet and declare 'It is a class war which it is necessary to support, at the same time developing independence against imperialism and the Arab bourgeoisie'. They did not say anything about this before. Now they say it is a class war. The Communist Parties had nothing to do with this interpretation.

If the leaderships of the Communist Parties were revolutionary then the class war in the Middle East and the process in Greece would not occur as they do, because there would be a clear class definition. As there is no class resolution of the Workers States and Communist Parties they allow this intermission, this stage and process of history. In Greece, as in Thailand, as in the Philippines, as in Argentina and the Middle East, it is necessary to intervene with the slogans that determine the impulsion and progress of a movement of bourgeois origin, leaderships and aims but which does not have the force to finish up in the interests of the bourgeoisie. In this process the petit bourgeoisie and sectors that are dependent on the bourgeois apparatus are influenced toward measures that are not bourgeois. The communists want to do this but they end up supporting these leaderships and submitting themselves, like the communists did in Spain with the 'Pact for Liberty'. Our policy is no 'pact for liberty'. It is support to certain measures favourable to democratic

### **It is necessary to make new interpretations of the process**

The students are not a class. The student has no authority before the masses, the workers and peasants. They are a factor of struggle but not of organisation. But through their spirit of combat, their decision, will and sentiment for justice and the elimination of oppression, they are a stimulus, they are elements of impulsion but not of organisation. They have no party. They are not a class and they do not have a class perspective. They cannot have a class programme, objectives or policy. They can if they represent the Party, but then it is not as students but as student members of the Party. As this is not so, they show the clamorous expression, the very elevated spirit of combat, but without their own programme and objectives. They are an element that can be used very easily—by the bourgeoisie as much as the left—through general democratic slogans that the students will accept and impel in the hope that they go further.

Normally in these movements the students that come out with slogans for democracy and liberty without giving the precise forms of what organisation, what democracy, what

that aspire to socialism. They tend to respond like this. Peron's government is a bourgeois government. Campora's was a bourgeois government. These measures are the result of an imprecise policy of a capitalist government that has support in the working class, in the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. It is necessary to understand this so that without subjecting ourselves, without getting our hands tied, without trailing behind this bourgeois government, we can pressure, influence and sustain all the measures that weaken the capitalist structure and pose the independence of our own demands and their application independently. This stimulates currents in this movement.

This is what was necessary to do in Greece. This is what we are doing in Palestine and in the Middle East with the class war. Our article, 'The new Arab-Israeli war and the class struggle' is a guide to interpret and understand that as it is a class war we support it, just as in Marx's epoch he supported the class war in the United States. Because there is a different, progressive, useful aspect which is an impulse to the revolution against the imperialist function of Israel.

demands whilst calling for the class struggle and the struggle for socialism to go on as before—which is what they have eliminated. They have to modify their position to propose an alliance for democratic result of this process of retreat and disintegration of the capitalist system, the constant weakening of capitalism, the rise of the revolution that lacks a centralised leadership.

It is not necessary to intervene in each stage, in each event of a process that is already analysed, with new interpretations. If it is necessary to make new interpretations it is because there are changes. There may be changes in this process in Greece, certainly. So it is necessary to show what changes there are. If there are changes then the line changes. A normal and almost identical phenomenon everywhere in movements like in Greece and Thailand (in which sectors of the army intervene to represent the aspiration to organise a national bourgeoisie) is that in the absence of the proletariat and bourgeoisie the students are well to the fore.

liberty, what economy, what programme for the economy, unite with the workers when they see that it is a movement that it is possible to impel, to get involved with in

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# THE REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST PROCESS IN PERU

The nationalisation of the giant Cerro de Pasco copper mining enterprise by the revolutionary nationalist government in Peru in January this year has been a tremendous blow at the interests and prestige of Yankee imperialism in Latin America and a stimulus to all the nationalist sectors that want to make the economy progress with measures of nationalisation and expropriation. This nationalisation was foreseen and impelled by the article by comrade Posadas, 'The nationalisations, democratic rights, the function of the trade unions and the revolutionary progress in Peru.' (26. 11. 73). This text had a great weight because it clarifies a series of points about 'social property' and 'industrial community' and establishes the necessity of nationalisation and the intervention of the masses.

The expropriation of Cerro de Pasco has been one of the factors weakening the regime in Brazil and accelerating the differentiation within it. The new president, Geisel is not of the same mould as the original team of the reactionary coup of 1964, nor the previous president, Medici. Geisel is a nationalist - not of the left, but not a right winger either. In Bolivia the strikes and peasant mobilisations express the collapse of authority of the regime and the resurgence of the revolutionary movement.

As comrade Posadas says about Panama; 'The resolution of this small country to confront Yankee imperialism is an example to all the others. It is a small Vietnam of Latin America. The fact that this small country which depends almost entirely on the canal, feels that it can raise the

struggle against Yankee imperialism and calls for its expropriation and defeat, shows all the conditions there are, the decision that comes from Vietnam, from the struggles of the masses of all the world'.

This level of decision is maintained after the counter revolutionary coup in Chile and is, in fact, reaffirmed by the trip of Panama's president Torrijos around Latin America as part of a whole campaign against imperialism. And what is significant too is the stimulus they receive from Brezhnev's visit to Cuba. This is made to strengthen Soviet authority in Latin America and impel the Latin American revolution - not by proposing a revolutionary policy but by pointing out the inevitable reaction of imperialism in Chile, pledging the USSR's support to the revolution in all Latin America and saying that the Soviet Union does not have a policy of peaceful co-existence 'at any price'. And now the Soviet Union is organising arms shipments to Peru in order to defend this regime from imperialism, the CIA and internal reaction.

It is a characteristic of this stage of history that a movement of military origin, like that of Peru, can progress in measures of expropriation of capitalism and create the conditions for a Revolutionary State. 'Our interest is that this revolutionary government advances from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State. But the condition for this is the development of the workers, peasants, students movements which can be the support that allows the organisation of the party - which there is not,

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It is a process produced in this stage of history because neither the Workers States nor the Communist Parties give a solution for these countries by means of the permanent influence of the world revolution is sufficient to take power. The masses are finding the way to erupt and participate in the process of history. As they do not have the force, it does not have the organisation and authority in society because the Workers States do not intervene to give a revolutionary solution, and because the Communist Parties have not fulfilled their historic duty of taking power here where the masses want to take it. The function of these layers of society is a capitalist system, sharpening contradictions and competition within the capitalist system motivated by the rise of the Workers States and the world revolution. This creates the conditions and the relationship of forces that it was not possible for Trotsky to foresee and so base himself upon. It is our task to interpret this process with a political judgement, this is why there are our texts and our analyses on Greece.

What we have to do is to use this knowledge of the structure of the process to determine the scope it can develop and to give the slogans. The usual slogans of a movement like this most recently in Greece, are above all, essentially, slogans of a democratic character, because there is no movement for other slogans. To launch slogans like the workers and peasant government is the impatience of wanting to reach an objective that is impossible. A leadership that takes the movement of the masses as it is and observes, understands and determines the scope it can have does not act like this. Because it is not the working class that is leading. The democratic slogans must be; freedom of all the prisoners and democratic rights for all parties.

But at the same time an economic programme, which can be a bridge to the nationalist wing of the army. For example by imposing the nationalisation of a series of imperialist firms or industries, workers control, trade with the Workers States. Out with NATO! Political freedom for the masses! Together with a minimal programme of economic planning and handing the land over to the peasants. A programme that can be accepted by the nationalist wing and that will impel that wing. Establish a bridge with them in order to impel them. This is what we have done in every nationalist movement.

The process in Greece itself shows how one must work. It is going to be repeated

and which needs to be organised. A workers party based on the trade unions is needed, a party to impel the nationalist revolution with a programme of nationalisations, planning of production, relations with all the Workers States, appeals for the

organisation of the unification of Peru, Chile, Bolivia, Ecuador as a basis for the most complete planning for the unification of Latin America in the United Soviet Socialist States of Latin America'.

## EDITORIAL

people and impose a series of demands defending the standard of living and rights of the working class. And, without waiting, calling for a National Conference of the Labour Movement to organise this strike, stimulate the independent organisation of the working class in the course of the strike and above all discuss the programme and policy for the Labour government.

A policy for social and economic progress that breaks the connection between the Labour Party and the bourgeois apparatus. It is necessary to develop the anti capitalist programme under workers control and without compensation and fight for this. Immediately counterpose the anti capitalist programme to Heath's projected 'anti-socialist alliance'. Which is for the benefit of the country? Which is going to resolve the crisis of three day working, inflation, shortages, economic collapse? The Labour left has to take this as the basis of its own organisation. And also the generalisation of its own best experiences; like for example in Greenwich where the Labour left, with trade unionists, the communists, trotskyist-posadists and the left groups have created an organ that is giving concrete support to the miners strike and discussing how to advance in the class struggle and the organisation of the left. We call for a conference of the Labour movement in each area, beginning with South London and for a National Conference of the Labour Movement in which the left within and outside the Labour Party can really weigh.

It is necessary to consider the intervention of the Communist Party in the elections. Whilst calling for a Labour government with left policies the Communist Party made a whole campaign of its own in competition. Not surpris-

### OPPOSE THE ANTI-SOCIALIST ALLIANCE WITH THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

The key elements of the vanguard live all the world experience of the socialist revolution. The European process of crisis in the governments in Belgium, France, Italy and Britain coincides with the strikes and General Strikes in France, Italy, Iceland and the constant mobilisations of the masses who reject all the conclusions of the capitalist system. The Common Market is in a continuing state of collapse and now the European Communist Parties propose a Socialist Europe with a strategy of alliance with the socialist parties and a programme against capitalism.

This is part of the world structure of the revolution whose centre is in the progress of the 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States, which weigh increasingly in the left because they offer a perspective and a generalisation of the world experiences of the masses. It is a world structure in which the most backward countries like Thailand and Ethiopia where movements of a military or bourgeois origin are influenced by the most elevated experience of the revolution, Vietnam, the development of the Workers States, the struggle of the proletariat in Europe, the war and Soviet intervention in the Middle East, and can mobilise to impose a political and ec-

onomic progress in spite of the grinding poverty, starvation and famine that they have faced in Ethiopia for example. But now they want changes and they throw out the old governments. Tendencies develop that are interested in developing the economy and so necessarily they turn to the masses for support and the Workers States for examples. This is the structure that exists and that advances in system against system confrontation and civil war. The masses are not afraid of civil war or the nuclear war, as they show in Vietnam, the Middle East or Northern Ireland. And the abstention from the General Election in Northern Ireland shows the rejection of the farce of 'democracy' conducted under the guns of British imperialism.

With this world perspective the independent organisation of the working class in its shop stewards committees, factory committees, workers area committees, action committees etc. has a very great importance. These organisms are necessary and it is necessary to campaign for them now particularly in the perspective of the General Strike. The masses need them to weigh and decide in the discussion of the programme and the organisation of its application, but also in opposing their own defence of living standards through price controls, prevention of factory closures etc. The left in the Labour Party and trade unions must support themselves on this development, taking the miners strike as a centre from which to build the forces for the transformation of the Labour Party, that is going to be made easier by the imposition of a Labour government.

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J POSADAS

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# THE 'MULTI NATIONAL COMPANIES', THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE NEED FOR LEFT GOVERNMENTS OF SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES, OTHER REVOLUTIONARY TENDENCIES, TRADE UNIONS AND WORKERS CENTRES

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J. POSADAS

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## THE FIGHT FOR THE PROGRAMME DEMANDS THE WIDEST DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE UNIONS

(Open letter to the Labour Party)

We address ourselves to the Labour Party, above all to the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, at this moment when all the conditions exist for leaps forward of historic significance in the Labour Party. The major task in preparing these leaps is to make the level of organisation and political and programmatic discussion in the left of the Labour Party advance - this task is the central issue whether the government stands or falls in the next few days. The right in the Labour Party leadership is weak, the bourgeois parties are in disarray with open revolt in their ranks - now is the moment the left must seize to make its weight felt.

Immediately after the elections the Liberals were unable to form a government with the Tories because they saw that the country voted above all against the Tories as the most direct and concentrated expression of capitalism - and such an alliance would cause the immediate disintegration of the Liberal vote. But the bourgeoisie are unhappy with this Labour government (as is NATO on the question of the Polaris base in Holy Loch) - it appears altogether too unreliable and subject to too many pressures, from its own left and from the forces of the working class that put it in office. Hence their position zig-zags back to an alliance to try and impose a coalition 'Government of national unity'. The Tories, the 1922 Committee etc. go along with this but under the pressure of enormous doubts and a sizeable and influential sector are against this line, they prefer to wait, to gain time and see if the government can survive its own contradictions. They see that Wilson can force a new General Election and this time win a clear majority, inflicting a greater and more permanent defeat than in the last election.

The General Election was a defeat for the bourgeoisie and not a victory for

the right in the Labour Party. A very large sector of the middle class voted for the Liberals and the Nationalists against the Tories, but were not attracted by the conciliatory policy of the Labour leadership. Part of this vote was an expression of the decomposition of capitalism. It is not a decomposition in abstract, because it is accompanied by the process of the revolution expressed in the massive vote of the working class for the Labour Party. It stems from the total world crisis of capitalism which is expressed in a financial, economic, political and above all social form; 'Watergate' is the highest expression of this. The vote for the Labour Party has been very concentrated in the working class areas. These are votes to strengthen the left, to impel the development of a real left in the Labour Party and trade unions. For this reason the Labour Party can form a government and Wilson has to put Foot, Benn, Heffer and Orme in ministerial positions. The minority position of the government diminishes the room for manoeuvre of the Labour leadership faced with the pressure of the working class which feels that it has defeated the Tories and that the Labour leadership is weak.

### THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM DEMANDS BOLD SOCIALIST MEASURES.

In the past the bourgeoisie would have been secure in handing over to their 'second team', but now they feel that the working class will weigh and decide in the policy of the Labour government. Equally and for the same reasons Wilson was reluctant to take office. He feels, and the bourgeoisie fears, that he will be a prisoner of the masses. Although it is weak in a parliamentary sense, the present government has been much more decisive than the previous Labour government of 1964.

This is shown by the immediate decision to 'freeze' domestic rents - both in the private and public sectors - and to take measures to hold down food prices and to cut the profit margins of the food manufacturers and distributors. The freezing of rents is a blow to capitalism in as much as it is an area in which there is still investments and quick profits to be made for the bourgeoisie.

Labour is quite decisive too in maintaining its independence of the Tories and Liberals, rejecting the Government of National Unity out of hand and declaring they will press for a new election if they are defeated in parliament. The leadership is constantly making concessions to the left but this in no way alters or diminishes the necessity for the organisation of the left to face the coming stages of the struggle against the right, against capitalism and against the bourgeois state apparatus itself. This leadership makes concessions now but does not advance in its conception or objectives - when it can repress the left and disrupt its formation it will do so with all the strength it can mobilise in the apparatus.

The constant mobilisation of the world masses expressed in the victory of the general strike in Ethiopia and in the fact that the miners, whilst returning to work after their victory in securing most of what they demanded, are already formulating new demands, is a fundamental factor which is deciding the policy of the Labour government. However there is another basic factor, and that is the total crisis of capitalism, the disintegration of the system. It means that the measures taken by previous Labour governments to prop up the capitalist system no longer serve, the system is no longer capable of being propped up. In order to solve any of the problems facing the population - in housing, employment, education etc. - fundamental changes of society are necessary.

The measures already taken - and those proposed - are important, particularly the proposal for the cutting of some hundreds of millions of pounds from the arms expenditure; this not only diverts money to the benefit of the population but it helps to weaken the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state. Nonetheless they are merely stop gap measures. The same is true of the settlement made with the miners, and whilst we sa-

lute the victory of the miners it has to be said that in the overall problem of the economy it solves nothing. If the Coal Board continues to function as before then the wage increase will simply be added to the price of coal and add to the cost of living for the masses. Even in this sector more fundamentally socialist measures have to be taken such as the nationalisation, without compensation, of the coal distribution sectors and the companies which supply equipment to the mining industry. At the same time workers control has to be imposed. However the mining industry cannot be considered outside the context of an overall fuel policy which integrates the nationalised North Sea Oil Fields. The NUM has for years had a national fuel policy and this must be used as the basis for a whole process of discussion in the NUM, in the trade unions, the Labour Party. In this way the policy of the Labour government has to be formulated. What is true of the mining industry is also true of the other sectors; take food for example. The measures proposed by the Labour government will not keep prices down and it is not suggested

it will. Measures of legislation will be taken, and we don't oppose them as stop gaps, but the massive food monopolies like Tesco and Sainsburys will find ways of dodging these measures. At a certain stage they will actually sabotage food distribution and they can do it because they control it. In order to control food prices, the immediate nationalisation of food production and distribution industry is necessary. Nationalisation without compensation and under workers control. Immediate discussions should be started with USDAW, in the Labour Party and trade unions, with the housewives and all the population on this demand.

The same applies to housing, the nationalisation of 'urban development land' whilst leaving the actual construction in the hands of the bourgeoisie is absurd. A programme for construction has to be formulated with the unions - UCATT etc. - in the industry. An example can be taken from the 'green bans' of the Australian Building Workers Union - and other unions which directly intervene to impose their own demand in the construction of houses etc.

### FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT.

Since capitalism is incapable of planning anything and has not the confidence in its own future to invest in new industries, it continues to invest in such industries as car production despite the fact that there is chaos on the roads, problems of pollution, a shortage of petrol; to say nothing of the fact that sales are dropping. If any real advance is to be made in the economy and in the standard of living of the masses, then the economy has to be planned; and to plan it nationalisation of the major sectors of the economy is necessary, together with the nationalisation of the decisive financial sectors - the banks and insurance companies.

The election results express the class forces in the country. The working class voted solidly for the Labour Party and the petit bourgeois sectors voted against the Tories. The force to impose a programme of nationalisations comes from the working class and, in its mobilisations to impose such a programme for the solution of the problems of the masses attracts the middle class. The middle class is going to be attracted when it sees the working class acting as a leadership in society. It has to be seen that even in an election campaign that was very limited, it was people like

Tony Benn in Bristol and Edward Milne in Blyth (who stood as an independent but on Labour's programme and against corruption in the local Party) who, on the basis of a more socialist policy than was expressed in the 'official' electoral programme, gained votes.

A massive process of discussion must now begin in the Labour movement

on Labour's programme and the means to implement it. We call for our proposal, which was taken up by Greenwich Labour Party, for a local conference of the

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## PUBLIC MEETING

### "How to implement Labour's programme"

Friday March 22nd 7.30 p.m.

THE GEORGE HOTEL - STAINFORTH  
DONCASTER

Understanding of the behaviour of classes and social regimes is the essential basis of marxism's domination of history. A regime is guided, works and holds a particular perspective according to its interest in dominating the economy. It is not sentiment that guides the bourgeoisie, the proletariat yes, but not the bourgeoisie because the bourgeoisie is determined by property, property determines the behaviour of the bourgeoisie.

The functioning of the capitalist system determines that it cannot give any solution that is for the benefit of humanity. It produces empirical results that are a product of the internal competition of the capitalist system. The entire capitalist system develops in wars, wars, wars. There is never a solution by means of persuasion, by intelligence or reason, only by war. If they do not make war today it is not because they do not want to but because if they make a war between themselves they would favour the Workers States. Since they are afraid of the Workers States their internal confrontations are reduced, but the antagonism that exists between them is in no way reduced. They are contradictions that at some moments reach the point of being antagonistic, not with antagonistic relations but they reach the point of being antagonistic confrontations. The contradictory competition between them and the contradictions of the capitalist system are permanent. To advance it is necessary to develop technology, science and the economy and these cannot be developed whilst they are dominated and used for the benefit of the capitalist system.

Science, technology and the economy develop but situations like the cholera in Naples and poverty in Pakistan still occur. Capitalism cannot eliminate the problems faced by the masses. This is capitalism. Now it can no longer resolve its internal problems by means of war. For example French and English capitalism cannot make a war against Germany. There are a thousand motives to make a war, ten thousand times greater than when they made the other war. They do not do it because if they did it would favour the Workers States. This is why they line up together and prepare to answer as a class against the Workers States. This does not reduce the crisis of the capitalist system, it is turned inwards. This is why there is the daily crisis of monetary exchange, finance and production. The European Common Market met, the meeting finishes, they all shake hands and drink champagne. They leave the meeting and then start fighting each other because they do not agree. The contradictions of the capitalist system continue and sharpen. As they cannot resolve them by war amongst themselves as they did previously, they prepare the total war against the Workers States. This is apparent.

The French Communist Party accepts these conclusions. The Italian Communist Party does not, it hides the class nature of the contradictions. It does not make a class

## CAPITALISM IS SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY IN RETREAT

Capitalism has worked as capitalism in the epoch of Marx, Lenin and today the same. But today there are 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States that have an influence on all society because they show that the solution to all the problems that capitalism is responsible for is in the nationalisation of property, the planning of production, monopoly of foreign trade and workers' control. This is how the problems are resolved, as China, the USSR and Cuba have shown and as is shown by the fact that all the backward states have to adopt the form, structure and economy of the Workers State, otherwise they do not advance. All this is in discussion.

But apart from all this discussion, capitalism is preparing the war, supporting itself on a very weak, soft, insecure support. It has no strength because at the same time as they prepare the coup d'etat, the internal contradictions of the capitalist system increase, deepen and become fiercer, which is expressed in the competition within imperialism, Yankee imperialism against Europe and the others, Yankee imperialism together with Europe against the Workers States,

analysis. It analyses with the belief that if instead of one president there was another he would think differently or could be influenced. They do not consider a class policy. They consider the policy of people, individuals. Not classes. A capitalist government may make concessions to them, but we are in a stage in which the concessions that capitalism can make are minimal, because a historic solution is being prepared. It does not have the funds, the force or the interest.

Yankee imperialism spends millions of dollars on Skylab. With what Skylab costs they could resolve the food problems of Latin America and Asia for five years. But it is more convenient to them to spend their money on this because this is how they are preparing their reply to the Workers States. They are nuclear experiments, tests and exercises. Historic solutions are being prepared.

The Communist Party does not analyse like this, and neither does the bureaucracy. But the Soviet bureaucracy is reaching this conclusion. This is why it answers with another space vehicle. Capitalism is preparing for the war. It is not preparing to resolve problems by means of economic, social or scientific competition because it would lose like that. Capitalism cannot compete with the Workers States and it can see that any country that is advancing is taking the road of the Workers State.

For the first time in history a country of Latin America, Peru, buys arms from the USSR. Cuba bought from the Workers States, and Chile did too but these were countries either in the socialist camp like Cuba or were led by workers' parties, like in Chile. But in Peru the army is the government. This is quite an event in the Latin American revolution. It opens the way for other countries to buy arms from the USSR. To buy arms means the installation of technicians to use them and also people who will teach how to construct the planned economy—bureaucratically planned, but planned—and how to use it against imperialism. The authority of the Workers State increases. It shows that imperialism has no force to retain the power it once had and which now is escaping from its hands, like in Peru. At the same time imperialism sees that it cannot keep these countries under its influence so it prepares the atomic war.

world imperialism against the masses of the world. That is to say, the dispute becomes fiercer and competition in world capitalism, and all of them as capitalists against the Workers States and the proletariat.

At the same time as its contradictions increase, the world front of the capitalist system is weakened. As it is weakened economically and socially the world capitalist system tries to find a substitute to maintain its historic force as capitalism and defend itself. Socially and historically it is in continuous retreat. Economically it concentrates in finance and its financial power increases—the multinational companies represent this.

There is no mystery about the multinational companies. The Communist Parties present them as something that was completely unforeseen. They say that Lenin could never have imagined that there were going to be multinational companies, it is a new phenomenon in history, it is necessary to defend oneself from them, it is necessary to guard against them! This is the attitude of the Communist Parties. The multinationals are allied imperialism. They represent

# The 'multi national companies', the crisis of capitalism and the need for left governments of socialist and communist parties, other revolutionary tendencies, trade unions and workers centres

different imperialist sectors that unite together. It is wrong to present the multinational companies as a great power.

Capitalism feels that socially and politically it is in retreat. So it looks for a substitute and at the same time prepares a military response. It has already tried to give the military response in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in Africa, in Latin America. And they are thrown out everywhere. Capitalism feels that socially and politically it cannot maintain its authority. The multinationals mean monopoly, cartels, trusts. They want to maintain this financial power above society, including against the weaker capitalists. They want fascism. They have tried, they try and they will continue to try to create fascism, but fascism is not made by decree, by their own arrogance, it requires historic conditions which do not exist today.

Fascism was successful in a stage when there was only one Workers State, there was no other world force. Fascism was supported on the failure of the revolution in Poland, Italy, Hungary, Germany, it was supported on the retreat of the Socialist and Communist Parties, on that attitude of capitulation of the Social Democracy at that time. It was the proletariat's first experience of the construction of a Workers State. Fascism was supported on the lack of sufficient political and theoretical basis in the Socialist Party from which to build the mass Communist Parties to take power; it was supported on the refusal, rejection and opposition of the Socialist Parties to take power in Italy, Germany and England; on the naivety produced by the youthfulness of the new Communist Parties constructed in 1919, and on the capitalist crisis and capitalist war they were not prepared to face.

This created conditions that exasperated layers of the petit bourgeoisie and impelled them to find a solution. It looked for it in the proletariat, it wanted the proletariat to take power. The Socialist Party, with Turatti, refused to take power. Since they refused to take power the petit bourgeoisie became desperate, it had no perspective and just wandered between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in search of a solution. This was the base of fascism. It was not the proletariat that gave it any support, this is absurd.

There is no longer any possibility of this because today there are 14 Workers States and the petit bourgeoisie sees that the solution to problems of backwardness is found through the Workers State. It is confident, it has been gained almost everywhere in the world to the anti-imperialist camp. There are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States. This is to say that capitalism cannot count on the petit bourgeoisie as it did in 1919, 1928 and 1932.

It was the same process in Germany as in Italy. It was not the proletariat that gave a support. The proletariat was against. Through its class nature the proletariat cannot support fascism. One, two or ten workers may support fascism as individuals, but the proletariat as a class cannot. The historic nature of the proletariat rejects and opposes

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fascism. The Communist Parties hide this. They write a lot of articles about the war, 1943, on fascism, Hitler, Mussolini. But they do not write that fascism rose up because the socialists, who were most responsible at that time, refused to take power. If they had struggled for power in Italy as they could have done and taken power, there would have been no fascism in Italy and the conditions for Hitler would not have developed.

Fascism could appear because the communists, led from Moscow, refused the united front with the socialists. If they had made a united front in 1923, in 1929-32 there would have been no fascism. In Germany in 1927 the socialists and communists together got 9,000,000 votes. They were almost half the population. If they had launched themselves to give a socialist solution for Germany the petit bourgeoisie would have seen the proletariat as a prolongation of the Russian Revolution and supported it. But Stalin liquidated the Bolshevik leadership, imprisoned the Bolsheviks, murdered them and the Workers State appeared before the petit bourgeoisie as an assassin state. Instead of proposing a united front with the socialists, the communists were against it, they took the positions and programme of Stalin who said, "Now Hitler is defeating the socialists and after he has liquidated the socialists we will liquidate him". But Hitler liquidated the socialists and then liquidated the communists, because the petit bourgeoisie did not see in the trade

## THE COTGRAVE STRIKE POSES THE QUESTION - WHO RUNS THE MINES?

The miners strike was a massive victory for the working class, and victory achieved, the great mass of miners voted to return to work. But the return to work was not entirely smooth or immediate, sectors in Kent, Yorkshire and Cotgrave, Nottinghamshire raised points of dispute. At Cotgrave the return to work led to conflict over the organisation of the work, the supervision underground, and the miners have now called for an overtime ban, want it made official and extended throughout the county, and if no action is taken by the weekend, stronger action will be considered. They also demand changes in the present supervisors to men ratio in the mine. This conflict, like the disciplining of Frank Smith or the walk out of union members in a branch of the Yorkshire miners is a conflict that raises issues far beyond wage demands.

In the miners strike the central issue was the wage demand. But it was only the form of a much more profound conflict - the refusal of the working class as a whole to carry the crisis of the capitalist system and it continued in the way it did, because the miners felt the support of the mass of the working population, not just workers but large sectors of the middle classes, who see

## J. POSADAS

unions and workers' parties the capacity to resolve the crisis in Germany. Hitler showed that he was disposed to resolve them so the petit bourgeoisie ran along behind him.

The petit bourgeoisie is not a class,

## THE 'MULTINATIONALS' ARE THE ONLY FORM IN WHICH IMPERIALISM CAN FUNCTION TODAY

Imperialism can no longer coexist with the Workers States on a world scale. The crisis of capitalism is sharpening, capitalism cannot develop. It can develop in one area but not more generally than that. In its own stage, on the other hand, capitalism could spread because it developed locally and nationally with the export of capital, manufactured goods and the military forces to support the export of capital. Capitalism cannot spread now.

The multinationals exist because this is the only form in which imperialism can function today. Lenin's "highest stage of capitalism" is today expressed in the multinationals. Because capitalism, as in Lenin's time, cannot invest or invade as before, there are not the geographical areas free to do it. In the small areas it is possible, they meet up with the resistance of the world revolution, which means the Workers States,

they are intermediary sectors. Since they are not a class they cannot think like a class, so they try to resolve problems as they appear. At that time the proletariat did not show that it was ready to resolve them. Moscow was responsible for this. Today the proletariat shows that it can resolve all the problems, as can be seen in Vietnam, in the 14 Workers States, in the gigantic development that has been made in the USSR, Yugoslavia, Albania. The petit bourgeoisie is observing this and elevating its confidence in the historic perspective—which is not fascism, and fascism has no basis to attract them, on what basis could it attract them now? What could it offer? Defence of the fatherland? The petit bourgeoisie rejects all this. The "Italian fatherland", the "German fatherland" is unemployment and low wages. The masses see Yugoslavia and Albania that were stable and now they are countries that export machinery and technicians, there is no hunger and poverty and the repression of revolutionary tendencies is infinitely less than in any capitalist country.

the Revolutionary States, the struggle of the masses, the worldwide anti-imperialist opposition.

Capitalism cannot develop through the export of capital, although it continues to export capital. The greater part of the capital it exports is to the already developed capitalist countries, Europe and Japan. The principle enterprises in Europe and Japan are an alliance between national and Yankee capital. They cannot develop any more through colonies because of the resistance of the masses, the resistance of the Workers States that support these countries, the indirect and direct alliance of Africa, Asia and Latin America with the Workers States, in particular with the USSR and China.

The defeat of imperialism in Vietnam shows in an obviously total way that imperialism can no longer dream of invading colonies militarily to be able to find areas to

invest. It knows it cannot do this. It sees it and it is proved decisively; Vietnam threw it out. That in itself is enough. In the Middle East, Israel is a country they imported, they built it as a base against the revolution, but it has been stopped. The masses stopped it and caused an elevation of the revolution in the Middle East. Capitalism cannot dominate, it cannot extend its area of influence and military domination.

Together with the investment and export of capital, capitalism could previously send its army. Now it sends capital and cannot send its army because there is the Soviet Union or the masses of these countries, or there is China. It no longer has freedom of action. It feels constrained to develop the investment of capital, which it has to do within Europe itself. So it invests and reproduces in a concentrated way in the multinationals, like for example in France. Two of these companies hold more capital than the French state and they make loans to the French state, which is a powerful capitalist state. These are firms that need to eliminate the competition of other capitalists in order to live. To be able to develop they eliminate the other capitalists.

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In France the number of agricultural holdings fell from 2,300,000 to 1,500,000 in 15 years. This means that 3,000,000 people had to move to the cities and consequently the area of social domination of the capitalist system was weakened. Capitalist power becomes concentrated in fewer hands but its social influence is reduced. The same with the small traders, their numbers fell from 2,800,000 to 1,200,000 in 20 years. Only 40% remained. The rest were excluded from commercial life. Of 280,000 small firms less than 100,000 remain, concentrated in the big firms. Almost all heavy industrial production in the world is a concentration of capital that includes the Yankees. This is so in England, Germany,

## CAPITALISM IS WAR

The great capitalist countries that determine the life of capitalism need fascist governments in order to confront the Workers States and the masses. They cannot confront them with democratic governments or there is a situation like in Belgium, Germany, Italy, France and soon North America too. They cannot make fascist regimes because this is not something that depends just on them—it depends on historic conditions they do not have and cannot create—so there is a disintegration of the capitalist system. They can give no solution to any problem because their only preoccupation is how to preserve themselves before the antagonism that is corroding and disintegrating them—which is the Workers States that influence the struggles of the masses of the world. So they have to prepare an answer. What answer? They have already replied economically, they are doing this and it is ineffective.

The economic answer is not eliminating the interior crisis of the capitalist system nor the interior competition. This interior competition is expressed in the dollar crisis, the monetary crisis, the gold crisis, the crisis of trade and export, the pieces crisis, inflation, the constant rise in the cost of living and deflation too. All this. There is no stability in the capitalist system. For stability it needs fascism, a strong government to smash the workers movement, to make the Communist and Socialist Parties docile, to impose military solutions. It is trying to do this in Italy, in France but it cannot impose fascism, there are not the historic conditions to make fascism.

The Communist Parties completely denied the possibility of the war, they did not want to talk about the war. They believed that they were going to avoid the war. War is a result of the class struggle. Lenin and Marx gave a definition, "capitalism is war, because capitalism cannot resolve any problem by means of intelligence, reason and necessity". It cannot. Capitalism resolves problems according to its own narrow interests. It only values what is most convenient to it. What is not in its interest or against its interests is of no concern, they can all die. This is the capitalist mind, its class reasoning. There is

France, Italy and Japan. They have a power of capital that each individual enterprise does not have. And to be able to compete they need to raise productivity, which means shortening the socially necessary time to produce, to shorten it in order to reduce the costs of production so that prices can face the competition of the Workers States and the other capitalists, and also the cost of preserving the capitalist system—which has increased five times in ten years. Imperialism spent \$65,000,000,000 per year in Vietnam. Just with this they could budget for all Latin America for 7 years. This is capitalism. This shows the form of functioning of capitalism today. There is no other form. This is capitalism. To be able to survive, to be able to live, capitalism has to increase its internal competition, between the big capitalists, the great monopolies, the great multinationals that are concentrating but this does not eliminate competition with Japan, Germany, North America, England, France and Italy. To be able to survive they need to compete with the Workers States, to be able to compete with them on a world scale. This obliges them to increase productivity and the concentration of capital to be able to compete with their selling offices and maintain the costs of preserving the capitalist system. These are fundamental conclusions.

At the same time, in spite of the fact that a very great part of this capitalist investment being to preserve capitalism and compete with the Workers States it is also with the masses who constantly put the capitalist system in question with their strikes and uninterrupted struggles. There is not a single country where more than a month or so passes without a big strike. It is not like previous stages where there were periods of strikes, May periods\*. Now it is May all year. It is May because that is the will of the masses. The crisis of capitalism, the disintegration of the capitalists and the world influence of the Workers States.

no historic force, fact or event that deviates from this form of thought of capitalism. It cannot because it reasons as a class.

In "The State and Revolution" Lenin makes an analysis of capitalism, of the capitalist state. He shows conclusively that to allow the economy to progress and develop society it is necessary to destroy the capitalist state. The capitalist state is the bourgeois institutions, the banks, the government, the legislature, the army, the police, the courts. Because they all think and reason according to private property, the protection and accumulation of private property. Capitalism's laws are laws to protect the constant reproduction of private property. When they condemn a delinquent it is through the interests of the extension and reproduction of private property. When there is war it is because of the interests of private property. It is the same. It is private property that determines the capitalists' form of thought, his sentiments, relations, consciousness, vision of the world, effects and defects. All through the interests of private property and its private reproduction. When is expressed through competition and expressed in the contradictory process. Contradictory means that there are struggles amongst them, they cannot develop harmoniously. They develop one against another, 'One against another'. The class social-political interests attack and rebel by means of their own competition.

This determines capitalism's form of thought. To want to find another form of thought for capitalism is to base oneself on thin air. It is necessary to read "State and Revolution", and they say "it is a different epoch". Yes, but in what way is it different? It is different because there are 14 Workers States, it is better than before. But does capitalism think differently than previously? Has the behaviour of classes changed because there are 14 Workers States? What has changed in history? The conditions are more favourable to the revolution because there are 14 Workers States, but capitalism still thinks as a class.

It is necessary to discuss with the com-

# ETHIOPIA FROM FEUDALISM TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY STATE

The rebellion of the army and the general strike in Ethiopia is an immense progress for the African and Arab revolution. The mutinies of the army and navy followed by the first general strike in the history of the country are a striking confirmation of how in this stage of history, even areas handed over to monstrous backwardness, with populations that are largely illiterate and unable to intervene in the development of the country, join forces with the most advanced sectors in the world in search of human progress and the transformation of society - because it is the question of the total transformation of society which has been posed in Ethiopia.

The events in Ethiopia have given an extraordinary example of the concentrated united front of sectors who wish to advance, the revolutionary nationalist sectors in the army and the navy, the proletariat and the students. The peasantry as a whole did not intervene directly but without their indirect support the development of the revolutionary process would not have been made possible. Even so, the force which allowed such a sudden and spectacular eruption of the suppressed forces of Ethiopian society did not come from within Ethiopia. The perspective for social change could only have emerged from the world structure of the revolution which gives a social horizon otherwise not available. All the reactionary forces which have sustained the present, unbelievable backward nature of Ethiopian society, that is world imperialism and capitalism, are in full retreat. Vietnam concentrated the change in the relation of world forces, showing that humanity felt secure in its communist future and not all the military weight of imperialism could deter the masses from going forward to construct socialism. Even without a complete communist international to direct and hasten the process, the world socialist revolution constantly advances, the Workers States grow and develop socially, politically and economically, whilst imperialism enters its total crisis, its Watergate and its stagnation and incapacity become glaring. Its capacity to expand is reduced to zero. All this has been expounded and elaborated by comrade Posadas in innumerable texts.

It is the underlining world structure which has given the Ethiopian masses the confidence to intervene, even without a party or organised leadership. Leadership has been found in the general direction of the world process. The proximity of revolutionary changes in Somalia and South Yemen directly sustained by the Soviet Union have of course carried great weight, as has also the struggle of the Eritrean movement of national liberation.

Ethiopia is a classic case of an economy which has been left to rot by imperialism. Its only value from their point of view is as a reactionary bulwark against revolutionary advance elsewhere. What Posadas has said of Somalia at an earlier stage applies to Ethiopia. 'The lack of development of Somalia comes from the fact that capitalism did not have interest, concern; was impotent to develop countries like these. It only regards them as a source for the provision of raw materials..... and to create a number of generals, presidents, technicians to pursue careers to link them with capitalism.'

But no country however backward can remain insulated from the pressure to advance. To the revolutionary sectors in the army, it is clear that the utterly backward and stagnant structure of the Ethiopian economy cannot advance save by the policy of nationalisations, of state intervention to modernise the economy, it cannot come by expecting changes from private property. The regime in Ethiopia is backward and barbarous in every respect. The peasantry is inhumanly exploited - 75% of the peasants produce goes to the landlords and there is no serious attempt to raise the standard of life or modernise agriculture. The total incapacity of world capitalism, its lack of concern with human beings has been shown in the massive drought leading to starvation for thousands of human beings. Three million are said to be facing possible starvation, and what is the reaction of world capitalism? Only further military expenditures, the preparation of further massacres, Chile style, the gross luxury of the wealthy in America, Britain and Western Europe. Private property has no interest in developing Ethiopia in the same way that they had no interest in preventing the massive flooding of the population in Bangla Desh. But what imperialism cannot stop now is that the Ethiopian masses do not feel alone, even in the face of the barbarism of private property, they face starvation and go for-

the right to strike in the public sector, freedom of press and assembly, with the need to extend the programme to include nationalisations of the key sectors of the economy, collectivisation of the land, monopoly of foreign trade, establishment of relations with the Workers States etc. To advance means to plan the economy, to develop agriculture, to diversify the economy whose present export trade is largely dependent on production of coffee. The trade unions and the revolutionary military sector in the army are going to be dec-

isive in the elevation of the programme and the struggle for a government responsive to the needs of the population in the next stage. The revolution-

ary forces have had a great and moving success which will have repercussions throughout Africa.

## open letter

continued from page 1

Labour movement open to all sectors of the movement including the Communist Party, the Trotskyist-Posadists and the left groups.

The Labour left and trade unions have to resist the right wing of the Lab-

our Party and base themselves on the mobilisations of the masses, of the working class in order to impel the Labour government to adopt socialist measures, policies and programme. This means a constant process of discussion in the factories, in the workers areas, in the trade unions and the Labour Party. The Labour left have to intervene, to encourage this process and to transmit the force of the class through the Labour Party into the government.

### THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH MASSES IS A MAIN POINT OF SUPPORT TO CONFRONT BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

The structure of the bourgeois state, the civil service, big capitalist enterprises who still control basic sectors of the economy like food distribution, and the police and army are going to sabotage any socialist measures taken by a Labour government. What is necessary, therefore is the construction of the organisms - the factory committees, workers area committees and 'action committees' which link the factory to the workers area - by which the working class impose their own power.

The experience of Chile, which had a great effect on the Labour Party, has to be used. Immediate measures must be taken to weaken the repressive instruments of the bourgeois state - the police and army. The cutting of arms expenditure is a beginning but measures have also to be taken to weaken them socially. Full democratic and trade union rights have to be instituted in the army and the police, including the right to strike.

We do not need Chile to show us the repressive and assassin nature of capitalism and imperialism; we have only to look at Northern Ireland which is only a 'training ground' for repression against the masses in this country; and against the Labour government! The immediate withdrawal of British troops, the end to internment and the 'fascist laws' and the release of all political prisoners including those like the Price sisters being held in this country. Together with this have to go economic measures including the nationalisation of all major industry, the land of the big landowners, banks and insurance companies without compensation and under workers control. Also, since there is still a large sector of small farmers, the creation of co-operatives is essential with large state

credits for machinery etc. With the removal of the troops and the disarming of police, workers area committees based on the experiences of the 'no go' areas of Belfast and Derry must be allowed to function. On this basis the organs of workers defence can be made.

The comrades of the Labour left also have to understand that the Labour Party cannot be simply an appendage of a Labour government. Neither can the trade union movement, which must retain a completely independent role, even under a Labour government. The left has to structure itself on the basis of the programme of last years conference of the Labour Party, on the process of constant mobilisations of the masses, on the organisms of the class which are going to be constructed in the coming period and on the massive centralisation of the working class around the Labour Party. It is on this basis that the Labour government can be impelled forward. At the same time the structuring of the left in the Labour Party means an advance in the process of the transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle.

16. 3. 74.

wards to the overthrow of the rotten regime.

The crisis has not ended. The general strike secured a basic minimum wage and the revision of the labour laws and limited press freedom has been agreed to. But the crisis is profound and new explosions are inevitable shortly. A change of government has occurred and the workers and soldiers have won limited gains and a massive social victory, but all the basic issues cannot be solved within the structure of the existing regime, which has said nothing about the most important issue of agrarian reform and maintains a budget of which 60% is devoted to military expenditure.

The increases in the army settled nothing. The revolutionary military sectors gave continuous support to the strikes and the students and prevented the police intervening against the student demonstrations in the capital. It has been a process of dual power without the masses at this stage developing all the popular organs for dual power. There has been no force, no party based on the trade unions which could fuse all the revolutionary forces in the army, students, peasantry etc. around a common programme. But it is also quite clear that the unstable situation cannot last much longer, because the forces of landlordism and capitalism are immensely weak and find no social support.

The revolutionary sectors in the army have presented demands which include land reform, improvements in labour laws, free education, price controls, the establishment of political parties and democratic elections. This is the attempt to advance towards the bourgeois democratic revolution, but inevitably the incapacity of capitalism in alliance with the feudal sectors cannot make the necessary changes. A process of permanent revolution has opened, in which shortly the demands for nationalisations are going to be posed. No long term bourgeois development is possible in Ethiopia because the world collapse of capitalism and the incapacity of an opportunity for a Ethiopian bourgeoisie to compete on the world market closes any bourgeois development. Comrade Posadas has elaborated on similar phenomena in Greece, Peru etc. It is necessary to maintain the struggle for democratic liberties such as

\* insert here

## The multi national companies..

munists and use the texts as an orientation as to why the atomic war is inevitable. Now they already talk of the possibility of the war. The only form they will make the war is as an atomic war. Capitalism is war because it cannot resolve any of its own contradictions, its competition and antagonism with the Workers States, with the masses; they are only resolved by means of the war. It has no other means. What example is there in history of the ruling, capitalist class resolving problems by means of persuasion, intelligence, reason or justice? What justice can there be under capitalism? Only that of capitalist power.

Meanwhile China has resolved the problem of 45 nationalities, the Soviets had 25 different nationalities including nomads and these countries have developed with full rights without war. The Sino-Soviet dispute is a profound struggle in which the bellicosity of the bureaucracy, particularly the Chinese, has led to confrontations close to being military disputes. In the worst circumstances we said: "There will not be a war between China and the Soviet Union, the masses of China and the USSR will prevent there being a war".

But on the other hand we cannot say there will be no war between capitalism and the Workers States. In the Workers States of China and the USSR the masses will prevent the bureaucracy's attempts at war. But this is not so under capitalism because capitalism controls and decides. The behaviour of

capitalism is not the same as the behaviour of the Workers State. It is necessary to discuss this with the communists. The Workers State can resolve things without war. We and the Workers States want to resolve things without war. But it does not depend on us, it is the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie cannot expect to use intelligence and reason because they would lose. The structure, the form of thought, the organisation of the sentiments, the functioning of all the digestive apparatus of the capitalist system, of its lungs, of its heart and mind is private property. It cannot think rationally.

It is necessary to discuss with those communists who say "we are going to prevent it, we will enclose it". It seems that they did not prevent it very much in Vietnam, in the Middle East, which are almost at war. And the Soviets say that imperialism can make the war at any moment. Why do they have atomic arms? When we said that "it is necessary to foresee that capitalism is going to make the war" it was so as not to be taken by surprise, not to be disarmed. It is necessary to take the example of Chile to show that capitalism is not going to hand its power over to intelligence, reason and progress.

To understand capitalism it is necessary to see the capitalist competition, the wars they have made, the war they made in Vietnam. This is capitalism. What other conduct does it show? Discuss this with the communist militants. We do not say

"there is going to be the war and we hope they will make it soon". We struggle to take power before they launch the war. We want power. If we are in power we can reduce the consequences of the war that capitalism is going to make. Before they make the war, the more we advance in the development of measures towards socialism, the easier the final settlement of accounts with the capitalists is going to be.

This is what has to be discussed in the world communist movement. Capitalism is preparing the atomic and civil war. We are not waiting in expectation of the atomic war and civil war but we foresee it. At the same time as they prepare for the war the masses show that they are not afraid of it, and the existing and developing conditions constantly favour the world development of the socialist revolution.

J. Posadas 1.1.74

\* This refers to May 1968 in France.

## RED FLAG

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# The Soviet intervention in the Middle East encourages the revolutionary decision of the world masses and stimulates the reduction of bureaucratic power in the USSR

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## Use the experience of the Workers States to advance the government towards a socialist programme, policy and methods

The Labour government has continued the decisive - if limited - actions which marked its first days. At the same time the left - both inside and outside parliament - tries to stimulate the government to adopt more socialist policies and has criticised the budget and initiated a back bench motion calling for greater cuts in arms expenditure, and it intervenes to ensure that no further aid is given to the assassin junta in Chile.

At the same time 'Tribune' says that the budget contains nothing which ought to prevent the trade unions from pressing their wage claims. This intervention goes completely against the concept of the 'social compact' as seen by the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party and a sector of the trade union leadership. To them it means that the trade unions will accept wage restraint in face of continued inflation in exchange for a few minor concessions. Also it is important that the NEC of the Labour Party has demanded that the Labour government implements the resolution of last years Labour Party Conference on the question of compensation to the Clay Cross councillors for the fines imposed on them under the Tory 'Housing Finance Act'. It is important because it is a correct proposal and because it attacks directly the idea - imposed over a period of years by the bourgeois leadership of the Parliamentary Labour Party - that the Labour Party has no right to interfere in the affairs of Labour governments.

If the Labour government acts more decisively and if the left within

the Labour Party attempt to impel it, this does not come from inside the structure of the Labour Party but from the workers vanguard and from the advance of the world revolution. Also the total collapse of the capitalist system which is expressed socially, economically and politically does not allow 'traditional' social democratic solutions to the problems faced by the masses under capitalism. This fact, together with the constant mobilisations of the masses on a world, national and European scale stimulates the Labour left and the government itself to seek solutions which are damaging to the capitalist system. Thus the Scottish Labour Party reacts to this process and not to the parliamentary weakness of the Labour government when it passes a resolution demanding the nationalisation of North Sea oil and gas industry under workers control and, if not without compensation, then with a derisory amount of compensation. What weighs in the most direct terms is the whole atmosphere in the country, in which the miners gained support from the whole population during their strike despite the fact that many people were adversely affected by power cuts and the three day week.

### THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS SEEN IN THE HOUSING CRISIS

The Labour government has been already forced to take limited anti-capitalist measures and the left is stimulated to take it even further along this road. In this the demand for greater cuts in arms expenditure is important in as much as it would provide more resources for the benefit of the population and would also weaken the repressive forces of the bourgeois state. However this doesn't mean that the bourgeois leadership and the structure of the Labour Party preclude this, and the bourgeois right can still maintain itself on the basis of this structure.

Healey's budget shows this, when it gives a few concessions to the lower paid sectors of the working class, takes a few in the form of taxation from some bourgeois and petit bourgeois sectors and effectively ensured - by rising the price of rail fares, electricity, petrol - continued inflation. From a bourgeois point of view it ensured a continued stagnation of the economy without doing anything about inflation. From an objective point of view it did absolutely nothing to solve any of the basic problems which face the mass of the population under capitalism.

This fact was neatly underlined by the proposal of the Building Societies to raise the mortgage interest rate to 13% which would mean not only the possibility of a mortgage disappearing for large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and working class, but that many who already have a mortgage would find it difficult to keep up repayments. This proposal is, in part, intended to sabotage the Labour government but, in the main, it expresses the total crisis of capitalism in a fundamental area, housing. The Healey budget can do nothing about this. The Building Societies themselves do not anyway, actually build

houses but are fundamentally glorified money lenders. The property companies build houses for profit and not for the need of the population and they find it profitable to build luxury properties and then leave them empty while inflation increases the value of their investment. Capitalism is not capable and not interested in providing sufficient housing for the needs of the population. The basic problem is the shortage of houses and giving money to the building societies as the Tories did, demonstrably will not solve this problem. Indeed it will simply mean a rise in the price of houses. Objectively the solution has to be the nationalisation of the land, the building societies, the banks which control finance and the construction industry under workers control and without compensation.

It is necessary for the Labour left to open up immediate discussions with the trade unions and with the masses in the workers areas - a massive public discussion - on a programme for this and for a plan of house building using the most modern methods which capitalism has neither the ability or the interests to develop. As we have said before, some of the productive ca-

capacity now used for producing useless products like private motor cars and Concorde can be used to manufacture prefabricated houses. At the same time the Labour government should enact

legislation for the immediate expropriation of all luxury and empty property, with or without compensation, and royal

turn to back page

### BELGIUM

## The participation of the trotskyist posadists in the elections

The Parti Communiste Revolutionnaire (trotskiste), Belgian Section of the IV International (posadist) intervened in the legislative elections in Charleroi. After arguing with all their force for the proposal of a single candidate of the socialists, communists and trotskyist posadists, our Belgian Section decided to stand in the elections to organise the will of the Belgian proletariat vanguard to impose the organisation of a left tendency going towards a left government on an anti capitalist programme.

Our comrades are developing an electoral campaign based on daily meetings at the factory gates and in the workers districts, and are receiving an immense support and a very great solidarity. The votes for our party will show the maturity of the conscious revolutionary current, even if the progresses which have been imposed on the Socialist Party (in the sense of a more left policy) impel an important current of the vanguard to vote socialist this time.

The POR (t) has launched an electoral manifesto for this campaign. 'TO AFFIRM THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME, TO IMPEL THE UNITED FRONT OF THE LEFT IN THE STRUGGLE FOR POWER' from which we reproduce extracts below:

The POR (t) appeals to the Belgian working class, to the working masses of Belgium, Flemish and Walloon to intervene in these coming elections to affirm the socialist programme, to impel the united front of the left in the struggle for power. We appeal to vote for the Socialist Party when it presents left candidates, and for the Communist Party on the lists where it presents itself as a party. We appeal to vote trotskyist in the region of Charleroi!

There is no electoral solution to the crisis in which capitalism struggles in Belgium. We launch an appeal to vote massively for the communist, socialist, trotskyist-posadist parties, and at the same time to prepare to impose the demands of the workers on capitalism in the mobilisations and direct interventions.

### OUR PROGRAMME

For the nationalisation under workers control of energy and of all the key sectors of the economy: engineering, heavy industry, the coal industry and all the enterprises in crisis - small or large.

For the nationalisation of the banks and their functioning under workers and trade union control.

No to unemployment, to sackings, to closures! Work sharing among all workers! A 36 hour week immediately! Increase of paid holidays! All the profits from automation to go to the workers!

No to the high cost of living, to inflation. For the sliding scale of wages, the national minimum wage of 15,000 Belgian francs. For Popular Committees to establish the index and to control increases.

Down with the professional army! Out with NATO! Down with the Vanden Boeynants project! Full democratic rights for soldiers!

Defence and increase of the Popular Democratic Rights!

Anti-capitalist united front of the Walloons and Flemish workers to impose a left government in Belgium! The left to power: Socialist Party, Communist Party, Left Christians, supported by the trade unions!

Workers committees in the factories! Area committees in the districts which function as organs of power of the working class and all the working population for control and to apply the anti capitalist programme!

For the socialist unification of Europe!

The course of history is determined by the existence of 14 Workers States. The impulses can come from anywhere, but the decisions are taken in Moscow. The events in the Middle East confirm again that the decisions are taken in Moscow. Although they try and conciliate with capitalism in the conclusions they reach, they are conciliations that go against the capitalist system. They conciliate because they do not use all the favourable opportunities that exist, but they do not take measures that favour the capitalist system. Imperialism invaded Lebanon in 1958, and in 1970 they wanted to invade Jordan, now they have threatened to invade again, but it was the USSR that invaded. It was clearly the USSR that intervened openly in the offensive. They sent arms under the very nose of imperialism which did not touch a single boat or plane, and when they fired on a cargo boat the Soviets admonished them, "another error like this and we will use atomic arms". This was the Soviet response, "Do that again and we will use atomic arms, Israel will disappear off the planet". And Laird's declaration<sup>(1)</sup> was the Yankee's reply. These are concrete facts. A mistake on one side or the other and it is atomic war.

The Soviets have 75 ships in the Mediterranean, eight of them carrying atomic weapons. They have seven submarines armed with atomic weapons. It is not Israel that

#### THE FORCE WITH WHICH THE USSR INTERVENED TO CONTAIN THE YANKEES IS THE DECISIVE ASPECT OF ITS ATTITUDE.

The USSR stood openly, directly and resolutely at the side of the Arab countries. What is decisive in its behaviour is not the pressure for them to negotiate now, but the force with which they intervened to contain the Yankees and make them retreat. They say to the masses of the world, we will support any important movement against imperialism and this is how we will fulfill all the resolutions we took in the 24th Congress. We are fulfilling the declaration in Bresnev's letter, <sup>(2)</sup> we will support every progressive movement. Although the objectives are limited it is an enormous impulse to the revolution. It is after this that Peron appeals to Europe, asking them to invest. He turns to Europe, and not only to capitalist Europe, for he accepted Tito's invitation to go to Yugoslavia. Peron also said that if Europe does not want to invest they would ask China to intervene: China is a country with 800 million inhabitants and they see that they can have very useful relations with China. He also says that it is no longer the epoch of military governments, and with regard to Chile he says that it will be of short duration. That is to say, they are not the declarations of someone who sees imperialism rising up and smashing the Middle East, following up from Chile.

The relationship of forces is more favourable to the revolution every day. They can strike in one or another country like in Chile, but the relationship of forces is infinitely more powerful than this. The events in Turkey are another element that shows it. The defeat of the so-called "Justice" Party is very important. There is a whole avalanche of the left which indicates the changes that are being prepared in the Middle East as far as the Balkans. There is the influence of the trial of Haraszi<sup>(3)</sup> in Hungary too, which indicated that they have to bring to light a discussion that is in every way against the bureaucracy. It means the opening of a public discussion. They did not sentence him, they suspended the trial again. And of the eleven witnesses they heard, which they would have avoided, ten of them were favourable to Haraszi, and they said that what he wrote was good, that he is an excellent communist and that his aim was to impel communism. And they

#### THE IMMENSE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION ALREADY HAS AN ORGANIC CHARACTER THAT IS WEIGHING IN THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

This immense progress of the revolution, that already has an organic character, is weighing in the Communist Parties. It is necessary to draw this conclusion and say to them, "Look comrades, this is how the world is!" And within this, it is necessary to intervene in the discussion in the World Federation of Trade Unions, in which they

provokes such a concentration, it is caused by the structure of the world. The relations between the Workers States and the revolution—which the Workers States represent though they do not lead it—and the capitalism, determine a class against class concentration. Events are worked out in one country or another, but on a world scale they are defined as class against class. This is why the Middle East is a confrontation between the world socialist revolution, led politically, if inadequately, by the Workers States, against imperialism and world capitalism led by Yankee imperialism. This is the essential conclusion from which it is necessary to begin to see the state of the world today and the significance of the Middle East.

have to publish all this. Previously they would have accused him of being a traitor etc. It is a beginning of the opening of a very profound discussion there is in the Workers States and which is going to be followed in the other Workers States, Poland and Czechoslovakia included.

It is necessary to see more than just the process of advance of the revolution, the strengthening of the revolution in Turkey, Hungary, the Middle East, Thailand and Argentina. It is necessary to see it in the Workers States. The Soviets are intervening very profoundly in the Middle East. They were thrown out of Egypt, they were apparently in conflict with Syria, but now it is obvious that there is an alliance between the Workers States and the Middle East. The population of all the Middle East has made an enormous leap in history toward the Workers States, synthesised in the embrace of this old Syrian woman to one of the Soviets, saying "You are my child!". It is necessary to understand what this means! And it is very important that in this war the people have learned to use arms and not to be afraid of them. This is the practical conclusion drawn by the masses, who see that it is not possible to advance without arms. This is the conclusion drawn by this eighty year old comrade who says, "We are right, but if we don't have to use arms . . . the armed struggle is necessary". This reasoning is going to appear in the Communist Parties in a very short time.

Thailand used to be considered a country full of gorrillas—and they and the people were just animals. Suddenly, all this movement appears and they throw out the military. It is not true that they just left, they had to run away. Middle East, Guinea Bissau and Turkey. And there are a million Turkish workers outside Turkey who are making schools of the class struggle in the countries they are in. This is part of what has impelled forces within Turkey, and they are going to impel them more. There is no separation. It is by means of letters, articles, visits and discussions all this is transmitted. It is the same as will happen when the Greek workers that are out of Greece return.

make a proposal that is incorrectly formulated—of opening the WFTU to all trade unions. We are not against this but it is necessary to discuss programme, policy and objectives. They hide this in the discussion they are making about opening membership to all, which is incorrect because they submit to the Christian Democrats and Social

Democrats, they are afraid. The fear may be justified but the organisational attitude is not. If we can impel a programme of anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggle that all the workers movement can participate in, then we agree. But they do not propose such a programme. It is necessary to raise this.

In a stage where the nonaligned or semi-aligned countries are behind the revolution this is expressed in the trade union and political fields, and in culture and science too. To face this it is necessary to have the organisational capacity to attract. The problem is not to make concessions to other forces with regard to the programme. Concessions of time can be made. This can be done. But not concessions of form or substance. The form is the method of struggle and the substance is the objectives. This has to be discussed. The rest is just appearance. It means holding on to positions they call class positions, but which keep them isolated from the possibility of influencing the rest of the world workers movement, including the Catholic and socialist movements.

It is necessary to intervene on the function of the WFTU. They do not discuss it. What does the WFTU have to say about Chile? They made an appeal for mobilisations in defence of Chile, but they did not call for concrete activity in defence of Chile. They brought out a communique, the papers published it and that was the end of it. The WFTU has practically no functioning, it is not decisive in the life of the world workers movement. Why doesn't it make appeals, why doesn't it organise? It has no organic functioning or weight. It does locally in some countries. For example in the France of the CGT is in the WFTU and makes an important activity for the WFTU. On the other hand, in Italy there is no such link.

When the WFTU proposes the incorporation of new trade unions it does so as an attempt at anticapitalist centralisation. It is not a centralisation for accommodation and

#### THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS HAS TO HAVE A REVOLUTIONARY FUNCTION.

So it is necessary to intervene in these movements of non-communist and non-socialist origin, or socialist movements that were outside the WFTU. They have to intervene in the WFTU with a programme. But above all it is necessary to question, what is the function of the WFTU? It is necessary to discuss what role it plays. What has been its weight in the events of history? What has been its function? What programme? What policy? What experience does it transmit? For example, Vietnam and the Vietnamese trade unions have transmitted an immense experience to all Asia. The trade unions intervene directly in the struggle to overthrow imperialism, to defend themselves from imperialism with arms in hand and struggle for its defeat, producing and developing communist social relations. This is obvious and conclusive. All the East, and in part the Middle East, is under this influence. There is no doubt that China intervenes too, but without Vietnam's intervention China would not do as it does. Vietnam is not just a transmitter for the Chinese, it is, in some aspects a superior form to China. In some aspects. Political relations are superior to the Chinese.

So, what is the function of the WFTU? We propose that it takes a revolutionary function, that it faces the task of incorporating the Middle East trade unions into the

negotiation with the capitalist system. It is an anticapitalist aim that is lost because there is no programme corresponding to this aim. It is necessary to propose that these new trade unions join the new WFTU, they have to join or affiliate but discussing the programme, policy and mobilisations. This has to be discussed.

The level of relations that exist at present between the Workers State and the Middle East, Vietnam, all Asia are being extended. Relations of the Workers State with movements that are not organically revolutionary in their principles and objectives but that are becoming revolutionary. For example, Sihanouk movement. A Prince who even wanted to show that a king can become a marxist! It is a movement that has nothing to do with the royalty or monarchy. It did not originally have the intentions it has now, it was gained along the way. The communist militants, leaders and cadres see this as a product of manoeuvres. In part this is true. The manoeuvre has a certain effect. But the essential force is the world weight, the world structure that removes any perspective of action to develop the country with any programme and policy other than that of the Workers State. This is the essential reason. So it is necessary to argue in this way. Not simply saying to the communists that it is not a class policy but arguing.

For example, what has to be done to develop Cambodia? It cannot be done with Sihanouk as a prince or king, nor with the capitalist system. Cambodia can only develop with the planning of a Workers State. Otherwise it cannot develop. People already have this experience. They have it from Vietnam. This is where it is necessary to begin. And the Catholic and Social Democratic trade unions are seeing this experience, they are seeing Turkey and they are seeing Greece. Greece will show this very soon. Papandreou is going to make quite an important activity because there is a lack of a centre for the left in the class. And we are going to make an important activity there too. The communists are not.

WFTU and assists the struggle of the Arab masses. With all the concessions that have to be made and that can limit programmatic points, but with no concessions against the principle objectives of the struggle against imperialism and against the capitalist system. They can make omissions, but not against class principles. This has to be discussed. They are stages that impel the communist militant to conciliation because he thinks that this is the way to advance. The Party gives no other education than this. But there are 14 Workers States and 16 Revolutionary States that we have already gained. And the communist leaders say, "our policy has led to this". It is blind confidence, believing that things are going to go on as they have in the past, it is not scientific. This is why they discounted Chile. And also because they are afraid to face this experience. And as they have no tradition and formation of centralised functioning—it is not a lack of internationalism but of centralised functioning—they do not see the necessity of this sort of functioning and the discussion of the most centralised experiences, which are Chile, the Middle East and Vietnam. This is why they do not gather experiences in a centralised way. This is why they separate and divide countries off from one another. There is a particular experience in Italy "because we are Italians", in France

# The Soviet intervention in the Middle East encourages the revolutionary decision of the masses of the world and stimulates the reduction of bureaucratic power in the USSR

20th October, 1973

J. POSADAS

## INTRODUCTION

*In view of the subsequent development of the process in the Middle East this article by comrade Posadas - which was written during the war itself - has a great importance and relevance now to understand the development of the inorganic united front between the Soviet Union and the masses of the world in the struggle against imperialism and the relationship between this world process and the internal process in the Workers States and communist movement. It was the essentially class nature of the war in the Middle East that was decisive in determining the ultimate consequences and influences of the war as part of the global confrontation between imperialism and the capitalist system on the one hand and the masses and the Workers States on the other. This is reflected particularly in the attitude of the masses in the Middle East towards the Soviets - a conscious welcome and desire to deepen the united front and impel the political relationship to a more elevated programme and policy. This undermines the*

*bureaucratic power of the right in the Workers States and stimulates, the left and the proletariat to intervene. The spirit of struggle and determination of the masses in the Middle East leaves no base for negotiation with Yankee imperialism or its Israeli agents. The intervention of the USSR is politically limited, but it is intransigent opposition to imperialism in the Middle East and gives no base to those bourgeois Arab leaderships that would like to compromise with the Yankees. On the contrary, they support the aggressive line of the Syrian and Iraqi leaderships and reject Sadat's "diplomacy" with imperialism. The Soviet intervention in the Middle East has not just been military, its conclusions, as comrade Posadas says, are social and political and a stimulus to the revolutionary decision of the masses. This is fundamental to see the world forces and forms of the revolution and take them as an element in the organisation of the left in this country.*

they are French, in England English. Obviously they are English, French and Italian but the capitalist regime is the same in all three and experiences are transmitted between all three. There is communication within each class amongst the three countries. The classes have identical interests, identical aims and identical objectives. The immediate relationships of forces may change, but not the objectives, means and conclusions. They do not discuss this.

Imperialism's defeat in the Middle East is going to strengthen this progress. Whatever the results of the negotiations they are pre-

paring, it is a defeat for imperialism. 15 days of struggle in the Middle East have led the Arab masses to see they can win. That is sufficient! Previously they appeared to be powerless. Firstly before the protector Nasser, the priest and magician. Then before Israel, "careful of Israel! We have no arms, we have to depend on the Soviets." Now there is no more fear of Israel or the Soviets and Nasser. They have acquired immense social security. This is going to have an influence in all the Middle East, the Far East and in Europe too. One of the consequences of Vietnam is the Middle East, but Turkey too.

#### THIS STAGE OF HISTORY WILL BE DETERMINED BY THE WORKERS STATES!

This stage of history, for a whole foreseeable period of many years, will be determined by the Workers States, and within them by the USSR. This does not mean that things will progress in the way they are doing now, there will be superior stages. This does not depend on one or another leadership, but on a superior stage in which reason will be the decisive factor. But for now it is the Workers States that show their historic superiority. The way their historic superiority is shown is that any country that wants to advance meets the obstacle of imperialism, the capitalist system, the capitalist and imperialist structure.

Capitalism in Asia, Africa and Latin America is weak, it is not comparable with European or Japanese capitalism. It is very weak historically and has no perspective of development because it cannot compete with the developed capitalist states. It cannot compete from any point of view; it has to give way to the organisation of thought of layers that impel a progress, perspective and orientation of economic, social and political measures that are not capitalist. Although they aspire to a capitalist form of development of the economy they have to take measures, programme and objective that weaken, divide or damage the capitalist system. And they establish the bases and point of entry for an alliance with the Workers States.

The aim of development cannot impel them along strictly capitalist lines. Although they have capitalist aspirations the road they can follow towards capitalism is very short.

Asia and Latin America impelling measures with a programme, with appeals, with open anticapitalist support this would promote a very dynamic impulse and development. It would develop the capacity of understanding and intelligence of the masses, making them see that the immediate shortage of material means can be made up later; the problem is to take power. A conclusive and absolute example is Guinea Bissau, a country that has only just come to life. The Portuguese capitalists and imperialists with all the help of American and British imperialism's military and economic power, were powerless to prevent Guinea Bissau freeing itself. It is already accepted in the world that for any country to progress it has to take up arms to organise itself and smash capitalism, and take measures that are not of capitalism but of the Workers State. And although Guinea Bissau is so poor, that does not matter because the masses feel that now they can participate in history. It is necessary to take account of this! The little old woman who embraces the Soviets in Syria is participating in history. Not as a consumer who eats whatever the boss hands over, she is making history. This is human dignity.

There is no going back on this, this conquest is already established in the masses. There is a solid world alliance. A united front between the masses of the world and the Workers States, now consolidated in the Middle East—whatever its result. It is consolidated and it will give an immense impulse to the masses of the Middle East to intensify the class struggle and sweep the bourgeoisie out of these countries. This does not give authority to the bourgeoisie of Egypt and Syria. It shows that they are not the ones that won, but the alliance with the Workers States, with the structure of the Workers State and the masses who showed how powerful they are and how significant their bourgeoisies—even though for the moment they hold the world and decide. In a short process this is going to give a very great impulse to the revolution in the Middle East.

European capitalism is discussing to see what is going to come after the Middle East, because they all understand that this is an impulse to big changes in history. Not only in the Middle East but in all the world. Capitalism's point of attack turned out to be useless, ineffective and impotent. The Yankees are being thrown out everywhere and now from one of their most vital centres, which shows that Israel does not have and cannot have the weight, the importance and the factors that it had before. And the Soviets show that they are not prepared to let the opportunity pass. This gives the bases for big changes in favour of the revolution. These are not just any stages, they are preparing big changes and impulses in the Workers States, weakening the world capitalist structure and advancing the massive intervention of the masses. It is favourable to the revolution, this is why we spoke of the "boomerang" of Chile.

History develops on the basis of the Workers States. Capitalism does not determine the course of history. It has atomic arms but no social capacity, force or authority. Humanity is living the experience that to be able to progress economically, culturally and socially new forms of property, better systems of production, superior forms of social relations are necessary. Humanity already has this. Humanity has the example of the Workers States. Even with the limitations of the Workers States politically, they show their superiority over the capitalist system in every way. The objective alliance that the Workers States and Communist Parties are establishing with the struggle of the peoples of the world and

their incorporation, gives precise and concrete forms to this consciousness of humanity. Imperialism finds before it irreversible facts that can no longer be met with invasions. Like in Lebanon, Guatemala or Santo Domingo. Everywhere they go they feel they are going to come up against the Soviets, directly or indirectly. The attitude of the masses of the world counts on the Soviets intervening, sooner or later, or that the Workers States are going to intervene, and this has an influence in China too. China's quiet attitude, the changes with regard to the Middle East show that there is a discussion in China which is going to be expressed in a later discussion as a criticism of the present leadership, it is going to be an impulse to the left.

And the form in which the changes to the left are expressed in China is that in the first days they gave a verbal support, afterwards they warned against the superpowers and a week later they had to send 10 million dollars and two million tons of wheat. That is to say, they took a direct position where previously they had a merely verbal position so as not to clash with the Yankees. When they have to send ten million tons of grain it is because internally they have obliged even Chou En Lai to take a position facing the Yankees. Which means that the Workers States, including China even with this bureaucracy, have to take positions favourable to the development of the anti-imperialist struggle. It indicates a structure that is not dominated by the interests of the bureaucracy but by the interests of the Workers State, which is not expressed politically but which in a prolonged conflict finds the way to express itself. Stalin's epoch was different. This is why the Workers States must be taken as the centre determining the course of history. This does not mean that it is necessary to approve their policy, but that the Workers States are decisive.

At the same time it means that there are forces within the Workers States that oblige them to change, like in the USSR, which after all their embraces for Nixon went through a period of peace and calm and the peaceful settlement of the conflicts between the Yankees and Soviets (though there are no direct conflicts between them) and also between their different spheres of influence. And the USSR's spheres of influence are not countries that the USSR protects but the revolutionary social advance of the peoples of the world, in which the USSR has an interest and is itself a prolongation. The Yankees, on the contrary, have an interest in maintaining the capitalist system and recovering zones of the world that are escaping from the capitalist system. All the conflicts come from here. And the Workers State appears as the defender, the support of every progress—even with the criticisms, with the limitations and the bureaucratic policy. The Workers State has to have this function, which is decisive. It is directly comparable to the Soviet intervention in Poland and Finland in 1940 and the intervention of the Soviet troops in Europe, which was a decisive factor in the social transformations in Europe. This was not the only factor, but it was one of the decisive factors. And the other very important factor that has to be taken as a guide is the defeat of the Nazis by the Soviet masses who showed the masses of the world that the Nazis, like Israel, were not invincible, that they were puppets, that it is not the capitalist system that can persist and survive even with atomic arms, but it is the progress of humanity that clears aside every obstacle, including the atomic war.

turn to back page

Coming out soon

**SOLZHENITSYN, THE SOVIET UNION**

**AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM**

*j. posadas*

14. 2. 74

# ON THE NATIONAL CHILE CONFERENCE

The National Chile Conference held on the 23rd of March raises a number of important issues which have to be discussed in the Labour movement, and the conclusions used to help the organisation of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions. The positive aspects of the conference - the frank and non sectarian discussion of the lessons of Chile, the programme of solidarity and trade union action, the appeals to the Labour Party - were marred by the refusal of the platform to allow resolutions or amendments from the floor. This provoked the disorder at the end of the meeting.

The vanguard has to intervene against this bureaucratic functioning. All conferences of this type - liaison committees, Shrewsbury 24 committees etc. must see their role as intervening with political discussion and programmes of action to organise the left in the Labour Party and trade unions for the taking of power. This requires full proletarian democracy - the right to discuss openly and put resolutions from the floor. Instead of small cliques who have shown that they do not have the ideas which organise the struggle at this stage, there must be the fullest participation of all the vanguard with ideas and resolutions. That meeting - for all its limitations - was more representative of the national Chile campaign than this small clique who intervened to limit and contain. The left has to draw this conclusion and intervene - not with foot stamping and hysterical screaming - but making a political intervention to the left in the Labour Party, Communist Party and trade unions, pointing out that these measures limit their intervention as well. The future perspective of constructing socialism, society organised by the working class through its own democratic organisms, starts now with demands for political democracy in all organisms of the working class, in the trades councils, trades unions, in the Labour Party at all levels.

The workshops on the lessons of Chile showed that if a full frank discussion of differences is made, the result is a general political elevation. It is the only way to conduct the campaign. When the naive view of 'unity' based on refusal to discuss differences is imposed the result is always sectarian dispute. The essential conclusions of Chile are that no state apparatus can ever be weakened to the point at which it can ever be dismantled in a non violent way. It is the marxist-leninist theory of the state, which the groups in general understand and discuss. It is essential, though, that the discussion is not left there but developed in the context of the Labour Party programme of nationalisations. Not on the basis of 'if' the Labour Party was to implement this programme, but intervening as we do, on how to organise the left and how to develop the independent organs of the working class.

Gains can be made by a workers party in parliament, but ultimately power can only be imposed against the opposition from the bourgeoisie with the army and their agents inside the Labour Party and trade union leadership, by independent, democratic organs of dual power. In Britain this means factory committees centred around the shop stewards committees with a constant political life in mass meetings. Workers

Area Committees linking factories, shop stewards, tenants associations, trade unions and trades councils, all parties of the left, schools, housewives and womens groups which discuss and decide everything.

These are the conclusions from Chile which organise for this stage. No one is saying that these will be formed overnight, but for example in Calverton, Nottingham, the NUM during the strike bought food in bulk and distributed it at cost, cutting out the monopolists profit. This linked with a political campaign on the need for nationalisation of the food industry under workers control could have linked the strike with the workers area. In Chile, Popular Unity set up the JAPS which were popular committees responsible for control of prices and the distribution of food. All of this has to be discussed in the Labour movement.

'Chile Fights', the paper of the campaign, has to include articles like this, making an analysis of what happened and applying it in Britain. 'Chile Fights' remains in the hands of a clique. The current issue contains an article which starts by saying that; 'any suggestion that a Chilean style coup is just round the corner in Britain is absurd' and concludes that 'the Tories are bad losers, but how far are they prepared to go?' This attitude, where ever it appears must be denounced by the Labour vanguard. This is an echo of the voice of the right wing of the Popular Unity, who must bear the responsibility for what happened in Chile. They now call for an alliance with the Christian Democratic leadership - who stimulated the coup - in order to defeat the junta. They also call for an end to armed resistance. The coup came from capitalism, it will be defeated by the workers with arms - a popular based guerrilla led by the Popular Unity and MIR and supported by the Soviet Union. The nature of this group is reflected in Chile Fights' pessimism, the morbid cartoons and the lengthy listing of crimes carried out by the junta. Contrast this with the mood of the Chilean working class who made a demonstration of 3,000 at the funeral of Toha (minister of the Popular Unity) shouting left slogans, the strikes (building workers and copper miners), the persistent but apparently disorganised armed resistance, the volume of leaflets and slogans of the left appearing everywhere.

The world working class is not interpreting Chile as a depressing defeat. The mighty nationalisations in Peru and Venezuela, the mass insurrection in Bolivia, the expulsion of imperialism from Panama show that the pace of the revolution accelerates, and when Marchais of the French Communist Party, the Italian Communist Party and McGahey make appeals to the army it

is because the conclusions are being drawn. When the Soviet Union sends arms to Peru it shows they are being applied. These are public

## THE SOVIET INTERVENTION

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THE USSR CANNOT FREE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD WITHOUT FREEING ITSELF FROM SUBJECTION TO THE BUREAUCRACY.

Capitalism has an interest in spreading the belief that the consequences of this confrontation in the Middle East are just military. It is a lie. The Soviet intervention in the Middle East promotes the social progress and revolutionary decision of the masses of the world and it is the preparation of changes and the decision of changes in history. And in the USSR it promotes the reduction of bureaucratic power, because it makes it unnecessary. It cannot stimulate bureaucratic power, on the contrary, it increases the influence, the expression and conviction that Soviet democratic power is necessary. This is the most important consequence of this war. They want to reduce it to the military aspect, which is the least important aspect - although at this moment it is important and decisive, of course - no, it is the social aspect which shows that the USSR cannot liberate the people of the world without liberating itself from subjection to the bureaucracy. It is what Marx said, "A people that oppress another people cannot themselves be free". How could anyone imagine that the bureaucracy can liberate the peoples of the world whilst itself remaining an oppressor? It is absurd to suppose this. It is logical that the capitalists should think with such a lack of logic because their mentality, interest and deduction is capitalist.

But it is a confirmation that they have to admit that there is a very great progress in the Workers State and a very great decision to intervene. It is not just a casual comparison. This could produce the world war. It is a decision of the Workers State that has to intervene. It is not that it intervenes, it has to intervene. The USSR cannot allow any important event to pass by without it being present. It cannot! It has to intervene and weigh. This is the most important thing about the intervention of the Soviets in the Middle East. Together with the missiles, which indicate the Soviet's preoccupation to have efficient arms, foreseeing the obstacles they are going to meet. It shows the great resources they have.

manifestations of the deep public polemic inside the world communist movement.

The RWP (t) intervened in this conference in all of the discussion, with a leaflet and with Red Flag. The political workshop came as a result of our intervention in the national committee in Manchester. It is essential that the discussion is elevated and taken into the Labour movement and the programme of action applied.

At the same time, the intervention of the Soviets has an influence in the military apparatuses of the capitalist world, making them see that the military omnipotence of the capitalist world has failed. Previously it was all admiration for the powerful capitalist armies that could create the most perfect weapons. Now they see the Soviets.

The Soviets combine powerful weapons that can destroy capitalism with arms for individual use like in this war. What the Soviets do not do, and in this they show a superiority, is to make an action of massive reprisals against the population. This is done by the capitalist system; reprisals to intimidate, to make people retreat into themselves, to make them afraid so that they stay quiet. This is the depth of intimidation. Whilst the Soviets do not seek such a conclusion but seek to attract them, to win them. This is the social, military superiority. As the Bolsheviks did, appealing to them, showing to them that they should distribute the land, that they could produce and distribute in a better way.

Partial regeneration is a gradual process. Through the factors which intervene, particularly through lack of conscious leadership, it takes a gradual form. It is the form in which the political revolution develops. And these new forms of the Revolutionary States help the changes, the partial regeneration in a most powerful way. It is necessary to consider that these countries like Guinea Bissau, go directly from the most backward stage of history to the most advanced. And that this is achieved because although the economic bases do not exist, the will exists, the consciousness that has been acquired, the resolution to achieve it. Because the Soviet Union exists, China, the Workers States and the image of what these can do. The help which is secondary in this case, is afterwards superior. In this case the acquired consciousness is fundamental, the resolution, the world experience of the masses. The Communist Parties must apply this.

J. Posadas

## EDITORIAL

continued from page 1

palaces, to ease the housing shortage. The occupations of luxury properties by squatters who are, in the main, from the petit bourgeoisie shows that this action would meet with the support and approval of great sectors of the population. If there was not an atmosphere favourable to this then the squatters would not exist.

THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY MUST PROFIT FROM THE EXPERIENCES OF THE WORKERS STATES.

The comrades of the Labour left, inside and outside of parliament, have to draw their strength from direct links with the mobilisations of the class and from the total crisis of British capitalism. The crisis finds expression in the continued 'Littlejohn affair'. It is clear that this self confessed paid terrorist of British imperialism could not have escaped other than with the aid of certain forces within capitalism. The statements in the bourgeois press confirm what we always knew about the assassin and terrorist nature of British imperialism but it also shows something else.

It shows the deep internal crisis of the bourgeois apparatus, between a sector that wants a repressive and terrorist solution to the struggle of the masses, to the advance of the revolution, which has been using such methods in Northern Ireland

The left of the Labour Party has to base itself on the ambience which exists in the population, as demonstrated by the support for the miners and for the actions of the squatters, in order to impel the Labour government. It has to intervene to stimulate the discussion in the AUEW for example, which is preparing industrial action in support of its wage claim. What is necessary is not a 'social pact' but a programme of demands which will impel the Labour government and which will weaken the bourgeois rightwing in the Labour Party.

for some time - and sectors that fear such methods because of the reaction of the working class and because it endangers its own freedom to follow sectional bourgeois interests. Like 'Watergate' the crisis of British capitalism and its internal decomposition is expressed in

the most public manner, it can no longer be hidden.

The struggle of the Labour left to structure itself and confront the bourgeois right in the Labour Party and government is not carried out in isolation. A base of support exists in the advance of the policy of the Workers States and in their very existence. It is necessary for the left to base itself on this and on the experience of the construction of the Workers States. The statement of Ron Hayward, in which he said it was necessary to listen to the opinions of the 'one party socialist states' shows that sectors of the Party are already seeking these links. (Hayward is the secretary of the Labour Party and was referring to the European Workers States)

The Labour left has to take the advance of the policy of the Soviet Union, the constant mobilisations of the masses - in which the miners strike in this country finds an echo in Lorraine and in Sweden, the emergence of organisms and actions of dual power and the total crisis of capitalism and overall advance of the world revolution to structure itself in the process of transforming the Labour Party into an instrument for the taking of power.

30.3.74

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# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## On the General Elections in Belgium

The progress of the Socialist Party in the elections is very important, even if nationally there was a certain retreat in the number of votes. At the same time there was a retreat in the Federalist parties, RW, FDF and Volksunie. The bourgeoisie voted for the PSC-CVP. There is a greater and greater polarisation of forces between the capitalist system and the masses. It is not only the population of Belgium that voted in the elections, it is also the miners strike in Britain, the general strike in Italy, the strikes in Germany, the Union Populaire in France.

It is all this which has impelled the working class to vote in a centralised way for the Belgian Socialist Party and to attract part of the petit bourgeoisie which has broken from the federalist parties. It is a vote to make the Belgian Socialist Party change! It is a vote to strengthen the turn to the left which can be seen in the Socialist movement and to make these changes irreversible.

Our party salutes the progress of the socialists with a very great joy and it is in this light that we measure the significance of the 648 votes the workers vanguard in Charleroi gave for trotskyism. The vanguard who had voted for the POR (t) in 1971 and this time voted for the Socialist Party wanted to use this vote to

impel profound changes in the Socialist Party to impel the organisation of the revolutionary left in the Socialist Party. They are trotskyist votes that are being incorporated in the interior struggle in the Socialist Party to construct a left leadership with an anti-capitalist programme. At the same time a firm and solid sector of the workers vanguard maintains its electoral support for our party because it feels the necessity of affirming the revolutionary programme, policy and continuity, to give greater confidence to the socialist, communist and trade union left.

It is necessary to take the elections in Belgium as an important progress of the left and begin from here to struggle for the left united front based on the anti-capitalist programme. The crisis of capitalism is going to be continually aggravated after the elections.

We appeal to the militant base of the Socialist Party, trade unions and Communist Party to intervene. As the workers vanguard has intervened to organise the vote for the Socialist Party we appeal to it to intervene now to impel the left united front, making everyone participate in the discussion! We appeal for the reorganisations

left united front, making everyone participate in the discussion! We appeal for the reorganisation of the free assemblies where everyone can intervene, the young and old, workers and housewives. It is their intervention that is going to overcome the lack of preoccupation, lack of interest of the socialist, trade union and communist leaderships and make the united front really progress!

We appeal to the socialist left to organise united front discussions, assemblies, debates to discuss the situation. We appeal for the convocation of the workers assembly of the workers parties and trade unions to discuss this necessity of impelling the left united front now, and the anti-capitalist programme to go to the left government.

Political Bureau of the POR (t)  
Belgian Section of the IV International (posadist)

## The property speculation accusations show the need to change the present structure of the Labour Party

*The crisis of European capitalism and the Common Market is a result of the progress of the revolution and above all of the continuous, uninterrupted mobilisations of the working class that constantly undermine any semblance of stability still remaining to capitalism and intensify the total, economic, social and political crisis of the capitalist system. The enormous progress of the Workers States and the revolution in the world, together with the continual process of crisis of capitalism provide the background and world context for the advancing struggle of the working class in this country to weigh in the organisation of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions.*

*This left has to be organised to advance in the programme and policy to find a solution to the crisis of capitalism in the expropriation of the capitalist system. It is necessary to be based on the world experience of the revolution.*

*The crisis of European capitalism is very great and intensified by the antagonism with the United States, which is expressed as a trade war and a diplomatic confrontation between Jobert and Nixon, rather than as a real military war, only because of their mutual fear of the Soviet Union and the revolution. Their common interest in avoiding a deeper confrontation that would favour the working class, in no way diminishes the sharp inter capitalist competition existing between them. In France in particular the bourgeois crisis is going to be accelerated by Pompidou's death because all the disintegration, disunity and pessimism of the French bourgeoisie is going to allow them no perspective of concerted action against the Union Populaire and the strike movement of the French proletariat. Already the UDR is in complete disarray over the presidential elections with Chaban-Delmas*

*and Edgar Faure standing against one another as well as other possible bourgeois candidates and the communist-socialist candidate. French capitalism will be unable to maintain a parliamentary electoral perspective for very long in such conditions. The strikes of key proletarian sectors like the St-Nazaire dockers and miners in Lorraine together with more and more extensive sectors of the petit bourgeoisie on strike in the banks and stock exchange are a factor of the crisis and weigh in the progress of the left in the communist and socialist parties who have advanced the common programme which, although limited, is anti-capitalist. Similarly in the German Social Democratic Party the tensions between Brandt and the left become more and more open and public as he tries to blame the left for the most recent electoral setbacks the SDP has faced, when in fact these have occurred only where the local apparatus of the SDP has a particularly entrenched position as a bastion of reaction. Now the right wing is in crisis and the left in the Socialist Party, the socialist youth and the trade unions are finding organic forms of unity in struggle for the socialist policy and*

programme.

*This process can be seen in this country as the strikes, mobilisations, occupations and discussions of the working class constrain and limit the leaderships room for manoeuvre. The right wing in the Labour movement concede quite a lot to the trade unions by their proposed industrial legislation that allows obstruction of the highway for as long as is necessary to let pickets explain the situation to drivers or people wanting to enter work. This is new, it does not favour capitalism.*

*But it is very significant that the TUC says that these proposed laws are inadequate and they want more legal rights for unions in dispute as well as the immediate repeal of the Industrial Relations Act. Even with the monstrous apparatus there is in the British trade unions the top leadership is not in a position to make a great compromise on this point. This shows the pressure the trade union base is managing to exert, and consequently it shows the enormous limitation of the measures this government is prepared to take compared to the will of the working class. It is isolated from the mass of the Labour Party - even the NEC of the Labour Party comes into pretty severe conflict with it over the attitude to the Clay Cross Labour councillors, because the government will not apply the Labour Party conference decision to reverse the fines made against them under the Housing Finance Act. And these councillors, who have served as a focal centre of opposition to the right in the Labour Party - refuse to be reimbursed from Labour Party funds, saying in effect that they 'don't want charity but the struggle against the capitalist system'. This is a partial expression of the left which exists in the Labour Party and that is already quite strong but which is lacking in organisation and consistent policy and programme. Although this right wing team in the government has made certain limited concessions to the working class it is incapable of changing its essentially bourgeois character as one of imperialism's last resources in the defence of the capitalist system.*

*In this sense the press campaign against Wilson launched by a sector of the bourgeoisie is an extremely profound and conclusive confirmation of the debacle of the capitalist system. Whereas in the past they would have discredited a shaky social democratic government by linking it with communism and the Soviet Union - now they try to discredit this government by linking it with capitalism! The allegations of 'land speculation' being made against Wilson and his secretary etc. are a means of attack on the Labour government which the bourgeoisie sees is under pressure from the working class and in which it has little confidence as a prop of the capitalist system. But the working class is going to want to discuss these accusations. There is already the Poulson affair and the cor-*

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## N.U.S. CONFERENCE EMPHASISES THE NEED FOR A LEADERSHIP WHICH CORRESPONDS TO THE MILITANCY OF THE STUDENTS

The conference of the NUS, confused and chaotic as it was in some respects, has demonstrated very sharply the gap between the profound combativity of the students and the lack of an adequate leadership. This advance in combativity is based on the general assimilation of the world advance of the socialist revolution, the advance of partial regeneration of the Workers States and the general disintegration of world capitalism. The total crisis of British imperialism can only promote the growing understanding among students that capitalism as a system has to be superseded. The victory of the miners, the entry into government of the Labour Party, the manifest justice of the struggle of the masses to be free of exploitation and the brainless functioning of the capitalist system, the exposure of Watergate and the Littlejohn affair, constantly stimulate a discussion and searching among students for a socialist solution and a searching for the tactic and programme to achieve this.

The combativity of the students - which rests fundamentally on the influence of the combativity and the decision of the working class - was shown in several resolutions at the conference. The vice-president was criticised and in this clearly the whole inadequate student leadership, for lack of decision in the conduct of the grants campaign. A resolution was passed completely rejecting bourgeois liberal conceptions of free speech for everyone and making it clear

that meetings of the bourgeois right were to be smashed in the universities. The executive resolution on Soviet dissidents was referred back. In all this the efforts of the right to push the students union into making a centre of anti-Soviétism and support for Solzhenitsyn failed.

None of the existing leaderships act as the channel to centralise the student sectors and make them a real political influence in the workers vanguard and in the construction of the left in the Labour Party. The left groups show militancy but give no perspective to the process. The Broad Left does not express the force of the student movement. None of them provide the political perspective and stability to centralise and guide the students. Hence the apparent fragmentation and disorder in the elections. The growing militancy of the students under the impact of the intervention of the workers does not find the programme, policy and decision to correspond to it.

The attempts by the bourgeoisie to intensify a policy of intimidation which they dare not try at this moment against the working class - against students has been shown in the brutal interventions in Oxford and Essex universities, arresting and suspending students wholesale. Capitalism fears the students sectors, not because of their social weight, but because they can act as an influence on the workers movement from the point of view of discussing ideas and

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There is a complete decomposition of capitalism. Outside the Workers States and the developed capitalist countries of Europe and Japan, one of the essential processes of this stage that shows this decomposition is the crisis in Ethiopia. Ethiopia is one of the most backward countries in the world, with a feudal patriarchal regime in which the proprietor owns everything. Now there is a general strike of protest, opposition, uprising against the tyranny of the leadership of the country. The masses did not demand only wage increases. They demanded democratic rights, political rights, distribution of the land, the punishment of those responsible for the backwardness: they took hostages, influenced the army, demanded the cultural elevation of the country. They won over officers, NCOs and even officers of quite high rank.

Such organisation is not determined by the internal motives. It is the Eritrean Liberation Front, the guerrillas of Eritrea, the existence of the Revolutionary State of Somalia and south Yemen which is close to a Workers State, together with the world process of the revolution which have influenced this process. And in this, there has been the struggle of the Vietnamese masses, who are represented directly by the guerrillas in Eritrea who gave an impulse to the struggle against this assassin Haile Selassie.

This process has developed in Ethiopia because the revolution is very profound and in all sorts of ways succeeds in stimulating and organising the consciousness of the population and the latter receive it as part of their own organisation. It is concerned to live better, to have more to eat and to look after the children better, but to try to keep through the radio and through meetings. This means that there are meetings, that there is a political life, that there is an organised life of the masses in Ethiopia. This is not the product of an empirical life, they did not come into the streets in desperation. It is an organised movement, organised in a co-ordinated way, which shows that they have the capacity to wait for the moment to advance. The masses, without the possibility of an organised life, have achieved this. This is to say, they live in an organised way in the minimal form in which they can do it. To do this, means that each member of the population lives a political life, is interested, concerned, discusses, sees the others, and communicates.

The regime of Haile Selassie is that of a nepotist society. It is a whole power dominated by families who control the country with an arbitrary regime, dictatorship that prevents discussion, speaking, trade unions, strikes, a political life. This has been accompanied by an atrocious persecution. But this has not prevented the population from uniting, advancing, organising and making a revolutionary movement, influencing the army. This shows that important bases of the army are influenced by the revolution. Even in a country where the army is a Praetorian Guard, it depends on being paid and it is denied any possibility of independence, culture or initiative.

When part of the army is sensitive, accepting the influence of the population, it is because already within it there is the development of an influence of the world revolution. Naturally it does not influence them all, that is the army as a body, but part is influenced by the revolution. There is also a manoeuvre of imperialism, which tries to block this process, trying to persuade the Negus to make reforms. But he cannot make any important reforms. Haile Selassie cannot make any important reforms because there is a feudal structure which any reform would overthrow. It is the same situation as with the King of Jordan, who could not make any reform because everything would collapse.

This process shows how the revolution has infiltrated in spite of the isolation, illiteracy, the tribal isolation imposed by Selassie. The influence of the revolution has penetrated, the influence of revolutionary democratic rights, and this has acted upon the country. It is not the bourgeois sectors, nor the military in the service of the bourgeoisie, but the masses, the military that are influenced by the masses, which carry forward progress, as they are doing in Ethiopia.

We make an appeal to Somalia and to South Yemen to express their solidarity with

# The significance of the uprising in Ethiopia: The general strike as an instrument of culture and progress

The masses of Ethiopia and with the Workers States, to intervene, giving their support to these masses. Even if the movement in Ethiopia does not go beyond a very great protest, it has already forced the government to make concessions. For the first time, it has not been a movement of officers who stay in the palace, but a movement that seeks contact with the population; which distributes leaflets among the population, which seeks to unite the population, makes appeals to the population and calls on it to participate. The population responded. It has not been able to intervene in a massive way because it does not have organisms, it does not have a previous political life, does not have organisation, lives in very miserable conditions, and is oppressed by spying and terrorism. There could not be a massive organised reaction like that of the masses in the countries of Europe or Latin America but an organisation that responds favourably and which prepares to intervene later. This shows that henceforth the process is going beyond the framework of the palace struggle, the struggles between military cliques and that it tends to attract the intervention of the population. It attracts the population. This shows that there is a very profound process, that it is the effect of the world struggle against imperialism and against capitalism and in part of the guerrillas of Eritrea.

The intervention of the CIA sought to stop this, to divert the process. It sought to take it in their hands, to liberalise the regime and block a better movement, to make some agrarian reform, to make some concessions to the students, to allow a certain democratic freedom for a liberal balance between the bourgeois camp and petit bourgeois camp, to prevent democratic developments and to prevent the intervention of the large popular masses. But not withstanding this, it is large masses that have intervened, who influenced the sergeants, the NCOs and the top layer of the officers. It is a process which has escaped the control of the CIA. Hence the rebellion continues and puts forward revolutionary demands which completely bypass the original demands. They put forward many demands that tend to overthrow the regime of Haile Selassie.

The CIA supports Haile Selassie because he has made some concessions to the upper strata of the petit bourgeoisie, to the intellectuals and the officers to hold improvements at that level, in order to incorporate in the regime of Haile Selassie, another stratum of individuals interested in power, to contain the rest of the population which wants fundamental changes in society, such as overthrowing the despotism and to construct revolutionary order which transforms the present regime of feudal property into a regime of state property, a Workers State.

Ethiopia is a naval base of Yankee, British and French imperialism. It is a country which serves as a means of containing, of counter revolution against the revolutionary process in Somalia, in South Yemen, the development of the revolution in Africa. This is its objective meaning. It has no other meaning.

Ethiopia invests in the development of the economy of the country only one third of what it votes to military expenditure. It has one of the most prepared and most developed armies with more influence from Yankee money, supported, protected and sustained by Yankee, British and French imperialism. They are bastions that imperialism arms to try to contain the revolution.

Ethiopia is the Israel of this sector of Africa. Hence it is the only country which has relations with Israel, which has supported it and at the same time has sought to contain the process of development of the influence of the revolution in Somalia, in Eritrea, in South Yemen. To contain this, they sought to take a series of political measures among which was the recognition of China, seeking to protect themselves with China, to contain the intellectual and revolutionary cultural development of the student and military strata.

The world development of the revolution creates an understanding of history. It is not a question of just economic interests, although these are fundamental. But all these strata of intellectuals, students and military technicians, are influenced by the development of the process in the Workers States, by the struggle of the masses. They see the historic social superiority of the Workers States, this develops in them the desire to develop Ethiopia and they cannot develop it, within the capitalist regime. Hence Haile Selassie sought to contain it with the recognition of China, to seek to maintain his base of intellectual authority, of containing the influence of the revolution on strata of the intellectuals, of the proletariat and of the peasant sectors. But it has been shown that the revolution is more powerful than all of their economic and military measures.

The revolution, above all the struggle of the guerrillas for the liberation of Eritrea, the struggle of South Yemen, of Somalia, has an enormous influence. They have seen that countries infinitely more backward, or just as backward as Ethiopia have developed and that in them there is a strata of economic development, still they have not resolved the problem of the economy given the enormous backwardness which they have inherited, but there is a development of the intelligence, culture, solidarity and unity of the population to resolve problems on the basis of centralisation from nationalised property to socialist measures.

For this reason the Yankee, French and British imperialists made a centre of Ethiopia: a counter revolutionary base. But the world revolution has compensated for the lack of internal forces of the proletariat and of political liberty and has introduced a superior level which is represented by the development of the Workers State, of the struggle of the masses of the world and has won, influenced strata of teachers, technicians, university teachers, workers and soldiers. It is the interpenetration of the world revolution which compensates for the internal

## Generalise the experience of the Hirwaun 'action committee' by constructing organs of dual power

The struggle at Hirwaun, although on a small scale compared with the massive strike actions of the class such as the miners, railwaymen etc, has a very great importance. The occasion for the mobilisation of the population was the attempt to install a giant gas storage complex. A popular committee, was formed, widely representative of the population, to organise resistance to the scheme, regarded as extremely unsafe. The authorities finally decided to impose their solution and tried to break the pickets.

The latter proceeded to mobilise the population who came from the surrounding area, particularly from the local factories such as Dunlop and in this women workers were particularly prominent. The police were thrown back, and as at Salford during the miners strike of 1972, finally withdrew.

The character of the struggle shows the great confidence of the masses at this stage of history. It occurs in the period which has seen the massive miners strike and the return of a minority Labour government to power, when the masses all over the world from Ethiopia to Japan advance in the consciousness of their capacity to replace capitalism and construct socialism. Without this world structure, it would be impossible for sectors such as those at Hirwaun who are not the most central sectors of the British working class to intervene in the way they have.

The struggle shows the complete rejection of the arbitrary planning and development of capitalism, which places its own wishes above those of the population and has no interest in human beings except to exploit them. It is a rejection in miniature of the functioning of the capitalist system, and it is a rejection by force. When capitalism imposes by force it has to be met by a superior force. Hirwaun shows, on a small scale, the tendency of the class to go beyond protest and demonstration and advance towards measures of civil war, a contained civil war without the shots, but in essence this is what is meant by Hirwaun. It is a defiance of the regime of 'law and order' and tends to pose

weakness, but which shows that the world is henceforth mature for fundamental social historic changes, that is the construction of socialism.

The revolutionary sentiments, if they did not exist now in the population, would not have been created by the drought or the low standard of life; the low standard of life of itself did not create the mobilisation. The conditions for the revolution were due to the influence of the world revolution, the struggle of the masses of the world. The drought undoubtedly impelled this movement but did not organise or originate it. At the same time all this shows the criminal character of the capitalist regime and of this form of feudal organisation in Ethiopia, as in the rest of the world. There has been as a minimum a hundred thousand deaths caused by the drought, according to what they say. We calculate 500 thousand, because they hide things. Whereas in the Soviet Union and in China, they had the same problems of drought and devastation, of hunger and they eliminated them. This shows the superiority of the Workers State, which in China, in less than 30 years, liquidated the low standard of life and floodings. And the Soviet Union has not only eliminated droughts, but has transformed Siberia. This shows the superiority of nationalised property, of the centralised planning of the economy and of Soviet functioning.

Not all the population intervenes in Ethiopia. There are students, officers, NCOs small sectors of the proletariat who are functionaries, clerks, sectors of the administration. If these sectors are ready to intervene and find support, the sympathy of the population, it is because, in a concentrated way, the world process of the revolution, the advance of the struggle of the masses against capitalism and the development of the Workers States is linked with the masses of Ethiopia. These live and transmit still in a very limited way, the struggle of the guerrillas in Eritrea, the struggle of Eritrean Liberation Front. But this is insuff-

the need for constantly functioning popular committees opposing the established authorities of capitalism.

The action committee for the area was capable of mobilising the whole of the local population including decisive sectors in the Labour Party. It is an important experience which should be generalised throughout the class. It could only arise responding as it does to a new stage of the class struggle in this country.

The left of the Labour Party has to base itself on experiences such as Hirwaun or the occupation at Clydebank or the experience of 'Free Derry' where a popular functioning was developed outside the control of the government and has to be suppressed by force. Hirwaun shows that the decision, optimism and confidence of the masses is far superior to their leaderships. The forces of the left have to base themselves on this in order to advance in their struggle to transform the Labour Party into an instrument for the construction of socialism. We appeal to the Labour left to study the experiences of the French May of 1968, of the Italian factory councils, of the Chilean Cordones Industriales which all show the decision of the population to resolve the problems of society outside the organs of bourgeois power. The committee at Hirwaun was formed for a very specific purpose, but it is necessary to extend such committees into organs which discuss all the problems of the masses, those of employment, public amenities, regional planning, education, posing the need for workers plans of production, organising dem-

onstrations and, as at Hirwaun, trying to mobilise all sectors of the population, young and old, workers and petit bourgeoisie, men, women and children. This is going to be posed on a very large scale in the next period as capitalism enters into ever deepening crises and the masses go outside the structure of parliament and local government to impose their will in their own organs, action committees, shop stewards committees, district committees etc., seeking a soviet functioning. By understanding the role of committees as at Hirwaun the Labour left is going to greatly magnify its sphere of action and intervention and eliminate the old social democratic electoral perspective, replacing it with a class and revolutionary perspective. In this way also it will help to elevate the life of such committees which can tend to remain at the level of limited local concerns unless they are given a perspective of generalised social struggle, a programme and orientation which must come from the political organ of the class, the Labour Party. But a Labour Party, which has broken all the right and centre links with capitalism.

### CORRECTION TO RED FLAG ISSUE 208

The first paragraph under the first sub-title in the editorial should read: 'The Healey budget does not reduce military expenditure. Irrespective of the pressures on the Labour Party the bourgeois right can still maintain itself on the basis of this structure.'

## J. POSADAS

favourable to the overthrow of what remains of imperialism and capitalism.

When in a country like Ethiopia, which is one of the most backward in history, this process occurs, it shows that the revolution extends all over the world and that it arrives there via the radio and the guerrillas, like the guerrillas in Eritrea, who communicate the revolution. If the masses receive this influence, it is because they live this experience and this desire, otherwise the process would not reach them. If the masses did not have this desire and this will, the influence of the world revolution would not reach them. They have the will and the desire! In the most appalling and utter misery with 90% illiteracy, they have an aspiration for social progress. It is the influence of 14 Workers States, of 16 Revolutionary States and of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, of the Liberation Front in Eritrea, of the Liberation Front of Oman and Muscat, of the guerrillas of the Persian Gulf, and of Somalia and South Yemen.

The most important facts of the world situation show a very great progress in the relation of forces, favourable to the world development of the revolution, to the development of the struggle of the masses against capitalism, the weakness of capitalism and of imperialism. The most important facts that show this are, the victory of the miners in Britain; the Labour victory in the elections and the General Strike in Ethiopia. They are two, not the only, fundamental aspects of this process. In a more limited more distant form, this process was expressed also, in the victory of the public service sector and of the police in Germany where 90% of the police went on strike. It had enormous repercussions in Germany. An echo of this strike was the panic of the right which voted for the Liberals in Hamburg, but at the same time it consolidated the left, which influenced and will influence the Liberal youth which is to the left also in Hamburg. There is quite an important Liberal left.

The very favourable balance of forces can also be seen through the attitude of Gromyko in Syria which whilst being interpenetrative, is a blow to the Yankees. Certainly he will negotiate to find an agreement, but on what basis? In Syria there are 1,600 agrarian cooperatives and 16 collective agencies of the government and the principle industries are nationalised. Gromyko went to Iraq to support this. These are two important countries with a very great weight in the Middle East and this will influence notably and powerfully the rest of the Arab countries and among them Egypt. The turn to the right in Egypt, does not have a solid social basis.

Throughout the world, capitalism has not succeeded in giving any serious of important blows which discourages, confuses, or contains the development of the workers and revolutionary movement. On the contrary, there is a progress of the Workers States in alliance above all with Latin America, Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is the global sense of the process. But what emerges, which gives a clear notion, an incontrovertible and categorical notion of the elevation of the revolutionary processes are the events in Ethiopia. It is the place furthest away from civilisation. It is a mixture of tribes and class, where the Negus lives patriarchally, letting others die of hunger and accumulating wealth himself. It is a stagnant country, in which there is one of the highest levels of illiteracy in the world and it is the same with the rate of mortality and it has one of the lowest levels of consumption in the world. There is a complete general strike.

One cannot make a complete general strike without the support of the whole population. If the sentiment of the people was against, if there was resistance, this would discourage those that make the strike, because those who go on strike are those who are organised, who are part of the economic apparatus, of the distributive ap-

paratus, of the transport apparatus. It was almost a complete strike, because the population supports it. This shows a sentiment of general protest in the population, a sentiment of progress of the population. In its turn the population reflects the pressure and the relationship of world forces within Ethiopia. This teaches the masses of Ethiopia a revolutionary political education, without their ceasing to be semi-literate. They are learning to measure the relationship of forces and to be based on the world forces of the revolution.

This strike indicates that when such a social convulsion takes place, such a participation in a country that is so backward, among the most backward in history, as is Ethiopia, it means that the whole of humanity is ready to struggle, ready to intervene. This will have very great consequences in the Communist Parties, in the Socialist Parties, among the nationalists and the left catholics. It is not simply one strike more, but a communication with the world, an expression of how the revolution succeeds in influencing, even such a backward sector. This will influence powerfully all the organisms of the working class, of the trade unions, of the workers centres, of the Communist and Socialist Parties, in the Workers States, in Latin America, in Africa. In Asia. Ethiopia is an expression of the world elevation of the revolution, and will communicate its decision to the rest of the world. It is not one strike more or one movement more. It is a country which goes directly from feudalism and from the phases preceding feudalism and incorporates itself in the revolution showing, that to elevate culture, the conditions of life, they must make the revolution. The general strike is an instrument of culture and of progress.

For the whole of Africa this will be a source of education and an enormous influence. They will not see the general strike as an element of a conquest of economic demands, wage demands or conditions of work, but as an instrument of a conquest of work, but as an instrument of struggle for progress, they are instruments of the workers movement, of the struggle for socialism. This incorporates directly the country which is most backward into the permanent revolution. It is the most elevated form. It is not the permanent revolution. It is an aspect and a stage toward the permanent revolution. This is how the masses feel it. The permanent revolution means to go directly from the feudal level in which they find themselves, to socialist measures. This does not mean the revolution every day as the bourgeois journalists present it in a caricatural form. It means that these receive in a concentrated way, all the experience of humanity; the development of the Workers States, the struggle of the masses of Europe, of Africa, of Asia, of Latin America, of Japan. They receive it, in a concentrated way and they live it.

They do not have the means to live or to eat. They do not have culture, they are illiterate, but they have the mind ready to see the progress of humanity and the radio and newspapers through those that read them, communicate to them, the progress of humanity and incorporate them in it. The masses, through the radio, the newspapers, and discussions with students and intellectuals, with technicians, are in communication with the world.

Together with this progress they have at their side the guerrillas of Eritrea, Somalia and South Yemen, who are elements of progress and stimulus. While they are confined and submitted to the Negus, he has not been able to smash or intimidate them. On the contrary, the existence of Eritrea, of Somalia, of South Yemen and the world process of the revolution have encouraged them.

This will have very great repercussions in the world communist movement. It will stimulate leading communist sectors to see that it is possible to go directly from a state like this, to more elevated forms of the struggle for socialism. It is not a problem of the backwardness of the masses, they are not backward. They do not know how to read and they do not have enough to eat, but socially they have the most advanced thought and accept the most advanced forms of the struggle. In this there is no aspiration for the development of the private property of the Negus. Hence they demand the distribution of the land.

## Labour Party

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ruption in the North exposed by Milne that shows quite clearly the degree of implication of the Labour right wing and apparatus in the most sordid scandals of capitalist finance and corruption. And even if there is nothing in these present allegations against Wilson, all this sector are on company boards, they are amongst the exploiters, they are structured into the capitalist system. The Labour left has to seize this opportunity to impose a democratic and public discussion of the structure and functioning of the Labour Party that allows these things to go on. The trade unions have to take up a position against all this and discuss how the masses themselves can weigh in the Labour Party, transforming its structure discussing the objectives and programme that have to determine the structure and the process of creation of new leaderships. This present conflict shows the depth of change necessary in the Labour Party for it to be made an instrument of revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, a revolutionary workers party based on the trade unions.

We appeal to the Labour movement to discuss the struggle in Northern Ireland to see what assistance can be organised for the masses in their struggle against the repression of the army and the police and for an anti-capitalist solution to the chaos that is inflicted by capitalism. Out with British troops from Northern Ireland! For the unification of the struggles of the Irish and English masses!

The trade unions must intervene as a sector of the NUM leadership has done in demanding an end to imperialist violence in Ireland and the withdrawal of the troops. The policy of Wilson, Orme and Rees expounded in parliament this week has to be condemned, it does not correspond to the needs or interests of the Irish working class and on the contrary, it quite blatantly continues the imperialist policy of intimidation. The vicious 'arms searches' (which are not simply searches but house wrecking and intimidation exercises on a street by street basis) this week show no reduction in the intensity of repression by the new government. It is likely these searches were initiated by the army rather than the government, but the government goes along with all this. The legalisation of the political wing of the Provisional IRA and the UVF is a complete sham. It is necessary to propose a solution for Ireland on the basis of a common programme of economic development on the basis of nationalisations, independent organisation of the working class and fighting links between the trade unions and workers organisations. Wilson still supports the bourgeoisie over Ireland and it is necessary to finish with this policy once and for all.

The struggle of the masses in Northern Ireland is a factor favourable to the organisation of the left in the Labour Party because it is weakening the force of British imperialism and providing a basis of experience for all the British, and indeed the European proletariat. This is how the bourgeoisie reacts to threats from the working class when it can no longer contain them. This is how the civil war is being prepared. But this struggle, which as comrade Posadas says is a Vietnam in Europe, is impelling the crisis of growth in the Labour Party and imposing a disintegration of the coercive apparatus of the bourgeois state - in the police, army, secret service in Ireland.

All the conditions exist for the organisation of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, the mobilisations of the masses and the anti-capitalist sentiment of the petit bourgeoisie confirm it. In particular the National Union of Students conference this past week has a very great importance (as is analysed elsewhere in this issue of Red Flag) and the relative failure of the anti-Soviet intervention shows the maturity of the student base; and at the same time, the influence of the Workers States that intervene against the capitalist system.

This world influence is a funda-

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# The victory of Panama and the world forces of the revolution

7. 2. 74

J. Posadas

Imperialism has been forced to get out of Panama. It is not only because of the struggle waged by Torrijos, even though he has been important and shows the progress of the revolutionary nationalist movement in Panama. It is the effect of the world forces of the revolution which support the Panamanian nationalists to throw out the Yankees. In the past the Yankees supported themselves on the bourgeoisie which they imposed on through arrogance and intimidation. Today, nobody is intimidated anymore. On the contrary, now inside the United States there are demands that Nixon must give way. A sector of Yankee imperialism is trying to act in such a way as to gain time with the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. Imperialism has engendered a whole generation, a whole structure of assassins whose only function is to kill. To kill without war; to assassinate, to kill people as in the case of the assassination of Kennedy. This murder began this inclination of Yankee imperialism in world imperialism.

The movement led by Torrijos supports itself on the struggle of the Latin American masses. Panama is very backward. There is an enormous disproportion between its forces and those of imperialism. So why is it that imperialism doesn't dare attack it? Why is it that it negotiates with Panama? Why is it that Panama feels it has such a force? Because it represents the consciousness given to the world by the Workers States, by the revolutionary masses; the consciousness that it is necessary to change history, to finish with oppression and submission to imperialism and capitalism. In various degrees the world advances in this sense. This is the reason we salute the masses of Panama and the nationalist movement led by Torrijos. They express the will of the Latin American masses to free themselves from imperialism and among them the masses of Central America like those of Honduras, who are the weakest socially, because they do not count on any economic force. It is an immense progress.

This progress is a product of the world relationship of forces favourable to the revolution. Imperialism wants to give way now in

order to be able to concentrate its efforts and forces into the preparation of the final settlement of accounts. The revolutionary comrades of Panama like Torrijos, of Peru like Velasco Alvarado, of Ecuador, of Mexico, of Argentina must understand that imperialism is not going to go away and it will not yield out of respect for the will of these countries. It is going because it is the least evil for itself, because it can no longer resist the pressure exerted on it. And it can no longer resist because in the United States the petit bourgeoisie, the workers, the masses are against the imperialist policy of their government.

If imperialism could count on a much larger base of support in the United States, it would be much more audacious, much more decided, even in confronting the Workers States, the Soviet Union. But from now on it is necessary to take into account the participation of the people of the United States, who still intervene in an indirect way. There is no mass movement in the United States but there are movements of opinion. Watergate is an expression of this movement of opinion of the workers, peasants, the petit bourgeoisie and the students. The large strikes which took place, with the participation of the more prosperous petit bourgeoisie and of the civil servants - from the lowest to the highest grades - show that it is a very large movement of opinion. It is a movement which draws along the whole petit bourgeoisie. It is necessary to celebrate the victory of Panama in all the sections of the IV International. The Yankees have been forced to go, not because they want to, but because they have been thrown out. They do not accept a struggle. It is necessary to repeat to the revolutionary comrades of Panama, to Torrijos and to the other leaders of the revolutionary nationalist movement in Panama, that it is only the world force of the revolution, and in particular the Workers States which has allowed Panama to expel the Yankees. Had the latter not met the resistance and world struggle of the masses they would have had their hands free to maintain themselves in Panama. It is not a problem of economic interest or new plans. The

Yankees are forced to go and the people of Panama are throwing them out. This is going to have immense repercussions in the whole of Central America. The most immediate result can already be seen in the present events in Honduras and Costa Rica.

We congratulate the Panamanian revolutionaries, including Torrijos, for the very great progress of the Latin American revolution, an enormous progress in the struggle to eliminate all forms of oppression, violence, confrontation, aggression. To do this it is necessary to overthrow capitalism and imperialism. We appeal at the same time to the Torrijos government to plan the economy, to allow the workers to intervene and the students, with discussions and by the formation of councils; that they intervene to give their opinion, their judgement, for them to participate and control the economy, to prevent the formation of bureaucratic teams, bureaucratic interests, which take the place of capitalism and command like capitalism did before and so prevent the objective development of the country. Panama does not have an economy which can compete with the rest of the countries of Latin America and the world. Its economy is hardly competitive on the world market. On the other hand it can experience a great development on condition that it diversifies agricultural production and that it develops certain local industries of a communal type, as the Chinese did. It is necessary to ask the help of the Workers States and to propose joint planning of the whole of Central America; a plan of economic, industrial and social development in which all the masses participate. It is necessary to progress in this way to the greatest social and revolutionary gains against imperialism.

It is necessary to base this progress on a programme of anti-imperialist united front on a Latin American scale, a united front of all the workers centres, of all the workers parties against imperialism; for an anti-imperialist Latin American and world united front, for the united front of all the Workers States and for the unification of all the Workers States.

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raising the level of political discussion. Capitalism has no ideas and, as it has no social authority now either, it is doubly in torment and moves in terror of dangerous thoughts. It is in the sphere of ideas that the students can weigh most of all. But to do this requires clarity, the clarity of marxism, not the blindness of putschism or the routinism of conciliation.

The present struggles over grants and accommodation have to be linked with an intervention towards the left in the Labour Party and towards the struggles in the factories, not just on the level of agitational leaflets but posing the programme of nationalisations and workers control, students wages to rise with the cost of living, full support to the anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world, withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, action committees in the workers areas etc. We appeal for more political life in the universities, Polytechnics, colleges, a profounder study of marxism with student elections contested on a real programme and policy. The whole structure of capitalist education has to be subjected to a consistent criticism, and courses proposed to link the students with the problems of their regions, and to relate all this to a workers plan of production. This student conference has shown with even greater clarity than before, that the only solution for the faction fights and the necessity to answer to the profoundly anti-capitalist spirit of the students, is the serious study of marxism, particularly the articles of Posadas, a greater fusion with the forces of the left in the Labour Party and a profounder internal life in the NUS itself, so that a deeper discussion of ideas and policy is allied to a real internal democracy with all delegates and officials open to immediate recall.

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## Labour Party

mental point of support in each country. It is necessary to take account of this sentiment of the petit bourgeoisie that is attracted by the proletariat in its strikes and mobilisations and which can be gained to the anti-capitalist programme. This requires a deeper discussion led by the left in the Labour Party.

This discussion has to answer the continuing economic crisis. The government have not made sufficient concessions to the working class in terms of overall economic strategy - they have, on the contrary, undertaken to delay any question of nationalisation for as long as possible; discussions of a 'growth economy' that will provide full employment and expanding production are an abstraction in these circumstances. It is necessary to plan production on the basis of nationalised property or there is no economic progress. The recent bankruptcies in the London stock exchange show the insecurity of finance capital, its distrust of this government (which is mirrored by the low level of economic activity, investment, reinvestment in general) and the perspective of recession, unemployment and continued stagnation. Nationalisation, workers control, centralisation of the economy will give a solution, capitalism will not. But these demands, apart from an elevation of the Labour left, the organic forms for the intervention of the masses - factory committees, action committees etc. as a basis of democratic discussion in order to weigh in the class organisms, and as organisms to impose the will of the working class and exploited masses in opposition to the bourgeois apparatus of the state. It is necessary to be based on this perspective in the organisation of the left.

7. 4. 74.

## The uprising in Ethiopia..

The distribution of the land means the revolution. There are the most unimaginable and inhuman forms of exploitation, thousands and thousands of people. All these people encouraged the coming of the strike and the victory of the strike, who are nothing but skin and bone. All this shows the level of the relations of the world forces of the revolution.

At the same time, this will be an enormous blow against China, because China supported the Negus. It will have a very great effect in giving an impulse to the development of the struggle in the Workers States to carry forward the revolutionary policy, and also in the capitalist countries. It will influence the rest of the Workers States, the Communist and Socialist Parties.

The soldiers and the guerrillas must appeal for a united front with a programme of democratic demands, distribution of the land, democratic rights, discussions of the population to overthrow the regime of Haile Selassie and to constitute a revolutionary democratic state which may progress toward taking measures which tend to advance, as in Somalia, as in South Yemen, towards their establishment as a Workers State. All the world workers movement must help, and the guerrillas, the soldiers and the organisations of the masses must discuss to help to achieve this objective.

We appeal to the trade unions, to the Communist, Socialist, Left Radical Parties in Europe and throughout the world, to the nationalists, to make an appeal for support

of the masses in Ethiopia, appeals for solidarity, and for a movement of demonstrations, of strikes and stoppages in support of the masses of Ethiopia, so that the masses of Ethiopia feel that they have this support. Even if they were not able to advance much in the first moments, they can continue now on points of support to continue this struggle.

Imperialism supports Haile Selassie to seek to crush the movement and to promote a stratum of soldiers, of students seeking to corrupt them, to attract them to elevate them in their social function.

The masses, the students, the functionaries, the soldiers must feel that they have the support of the masses of all the world. That they have their concrete support, that they can expect material, moral, political support to continue this struggle to overthrow the regime of the Negus and develop a modern democratic state which can go toward a Revolutionary State and a Workers State.

It is necessary to struggle for democratic demands, the right to speak, freedom of ideas, the functioning of political parties, of trade unions rights, cultural democracy with the right to develop the economy of the country with the intervention through the state. It is necessary to plan an economic development for the benefit of the population; the development of agriculture, of industry, of the transformation of economic relations with the rest of the world; a centralised planning in which all the masses can intervene.

It is necessary that all the Workers States, that all the socialist countries intervene giving their support to the masses. That all the trade union centres of Europe, of Latin America, of Africa give their support to the struggle of the masses in Ethiopia so that they make their weight felt, because this will stimulate the currents who want changes and a revolutionary democratic development because they feel the world support and are stimulated to advance, to overthrow the feudal regime. It is necessary to make also an appeal for the intervention of the population for a later agreement with South Yemen, Somalia etc.

The relation of forces in Ethiopia is unfavourable to the masses, to changes, because there is a clique that governs. But on a world wide scale, it is favourable. This weighs and stimulates the thought, the decision, the longing of the masses, of the intellectuals, of the students, peasants, workers to stimulate progress. Progress must come on the basis of measures which overthrow the capitalist system. It is the boomerang of Chile that continues to function. Throughout the world process, for example, in the processes of the general strikes like that of the British miners who have just defeated the Conservatives. It is a world process which favours the masses. The immediate effect of the drought which had assassinated hundreds of thousands of people, without this meaning anything to Haile Selassie who has massacred and repressed the masses more and more, has not intimidated the masses. The masses did not allow themselves to be intimidated or frightened but they continue and go forward with their demands. It is an irreversible process. A process of progress which imperialism does not have the capacity to contain.

J. Posadas - 5th. March 1974

\*the King of Abyssinia.

# RED FLAG

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS TO SUPPORT THE DEMANDS OF THE ENGINEERS!!

The enormous crisis of world capitalism and imperialism has shown itself in a whole series of recent events. Boumediene has appealed for a policy of more nationalisations in the 'under developed' nations, which is an expression of the objective alliance of the Workers States with the force of revolutionary nationalism, advancing from the Revolutionary to the Workers States. The downfall of the government of Golda Meir demonstrates the crisis of the Israeli bourgeoisie unable to maintain authority, in face of opposition from the working class and the decomposition of the ruling teams in Israel, after the failures to defeat the Arab masses and the increasing intervention of the Soviet Union at the side of the Arab masses.

The Japanese proletariat launches a massive general strike - winning their basic demands for a wage increase of 30% - dealing a heavy blow to an already tottering Japanese imperialism. In Europe the coming presidential elections in France are showing the enormous weight of the forces of the Popular Union, whilst the bourgeoisie have no common front, putting forward candidates like Chaban Delmas and Giscard d'Estaing who represent different tendencies. Nixon rushes to Europe to try to maintain the NATO alliance in preparation for the war that is coming, in conditions of unprecedented competition between all the forces of world imperialism, whilst in the USA the decomposition of Watergate expresses the generalised disaster, the abysmal collapse of the world authority of imperialism, its representatives and institutions.

In these conditions the crisis of British capitalism, passing through the Labour Party, becomes more and more agonised and insoluble. The Labour Party leaders, despite their fundamental allegiance to the bourgeoisie are obliged to take account of the masses, to repeal the Industrial Relations Acts and the Housing Act, impose rent controls, and now to throw out the vicious retrospective acts against the illegal immigrants. The desperate efforts of the Tories to discredit the minority Labour government over land speculation in the eyes of the petit bourgeoisie, by saying in effect, 'look, they are as great swindlers as we are but everyone knows we are swindlers, they claim something else' has like Chile boomeranged against them. It has accelerated the tendency in the Labour Party to propose the implementation of urban land nationalisation as at least one measure to contribute to the overcoming of the housing crisis. The bourgeoisie observes that even while the Labour Party leadership constantly tries to maintain capitalism, the Labour Party is now a real element of instability in the generalised crisis of the capitalist system, where the forces of the left are going more and more to gain the initiative. The contradictions between the present team and measures of the Labour Party and the underlying leftward pressure in the Labour Party is going to develop rapidly.

The sending of the previously contracted ships to the assassins of the Chilean masses and the increase in the barbaric military campaign against the masses in Northern Ireland must be condemned in the sharpest possible way by the forces of the left in the Labour Party. The call by a leader of the Scottish NUM for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland must be developed into an immediate campaign by the left in the Labour Party. This bourgeois team in the Labour Party is carrying out the policy of repression in Ireland which sectors of capitalism want to see developed throughout Britain. They base themselves not on the masses, but on the military and police apparatus of imperialism. It is not

possible to pursue the struggle with capitalism, i.e. the destruction of the coercive organs of the state apparatus, with a Wilson team prostrate in front of the Union Jack. A struggle has to be waged against them because apart from the army, they are the last ditch remnants of capitalist authority. It is the connection of the centre and right with their range of links with capitalism and the lack of political life in the Labour Party, which permits them to survive.

The struggle against the line of the Labour government in relation to Ireland has to be linked with the rejection of any effort by the trade union bureaucrats to contain the masses on the basis of the 'social compact' between the trade unions and the Labour Party. There can only be such a pact when the fundamental citadels of capitalist economic power have been expropriated and when on this basis there is a common

interest of workers and government in the development of the economy. Such is not the position now, the policy of nationalisations has not even begun, the crisis of the whole capitalist system goes unchecked, but inflation means that the masses are having to pay for this crisis. The pressure for nationalisations is going to increase but capitalism is still determining employment - as with the sacking of print workers in Glasgow - still controlling investment etc. A social pact under these conditions is an unmitigated farce, useful only to capitalism. All the efforts of capitalism to achieve this in other countries such as Italy and Argentina have failed. No to the social pact between the right in the Labour Party and the union bureaucrats - yes to nationalisations under workers control without compensation. Only on the basis of socialist planning is it possible to develop the economy and elevate the standard of life.

The parliamentary precariousness of the minority Labour government is used in an attempt to demobilise the masses. But they must be mobilised and discussed with all the time. In face of the provocation of the fining of the engineers union a massive strike should be called, linking this with the demands for higher wages, better working conditions,

no payment of fines by the Clay Cross councillors, the release of the Shrewsbury militants, and appeal for nationalisations as laid down in the programme of the AEUW and the Labour Party programme. Threats of expropriation of union funds must be met by force (the South London district committee of the AEUW previously offered to defend the union with detachments of workers). No to the expropriation of union funds - yes to the expropriation of capitalism without compensation and under workers control!!!

The refusal of the union leadership to link the struggle of the engineers with that of the miners and the inertia in defending the basic interests of the engineering workers themselves is part of the relation between the conservative interests of the union leadership and the pro-capitalist cliques in the Labour Party. They are a mutual prop in which both sides maintain their interests, lack of democracy in the unions and electoral inertia in the Labour Party. It is necessary for the left in the Labour Party and unions to campaign for a programme of trade union democracy whereby trade union delegates are responsible to specific groups of workers in the factory and open to immediate recall. This is the way to break the grip of the aristocracy

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## the solution to the housing question lies in the expropriation of the land, building industry and banks without compensation and under workers control

The attack made by the Tory press on Wilson in respect to his connections with certain 'land deals' has acted as a 'boomerang'. It has resulted in a vehement affirmation of the Labour Party's programme for the nationalisation of urban building land. The working masses, the base of the Labour Party have reacted violently to any suggestion that leaders of the Labour Party are connected in any way with the exploitation of the masses in the area of land and housing. The reaction has been such that even in the midst of self justification, Wilson has to say that the programme of the Labour Party is for nationalisation of urban building land.

The revulsion of the working class over 'land speculation' is not surprising because it is in housing that the working class and wide sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are most exploited. In the factory the workers have organisms - like the Shop Stewards Committees - and the organised strength which allows them to resist exploitation to some extent, to wring concessions out of the bosses and to impose elements of workers control. In the area of housing such means, such organisation does not exist except in a very embryonic way.

It is correct to pose, as many sectors of the Labour Party including Tribune do, the demand for the nationalisation of urban building land. However the proposals of the Labour government do not even reach this level which is not very elevated. Crosland is now proposing - as a means

to ease the building crisis - to grant low interest loans to the building societies. This means allowing the building societies to then lend the money to house purchasers at a higher interest rate. Thus the Labour government is proposing to boost the already enormous profits of the building societies who produce nothing and simply exploit the masses. Would it not have been better, at the very least, to have put this money into the production of council houses? On top of this what Crosland's proposal means is to inject more money into the market without producing any more houses. This is a classical recipe for inflation and the result will be an even steeper rise in house prices.

These measures solve no problems because capitalism as a system has neither the interest nor the capacity to produce enough cheap housing to fulfill the needs of the masses. The only interest the bourgeoisie has is in speculative building for quick profit. In itself the simple nationalisation of urban building land doesn't solve the problem. It is true that more land would be available for building but in the hands of the bourgeoisie the construction of houses would be delayed, insufficient houses would be built and the whole process would be attended by the sort of corruption - over tenders etc. - which has been revealed in the 'Poulson scandal'. To solve the housing problem a national plan of the construction of houses is necessary, and this has to be based on the nationalisation of the land, construc-

tion industry, manufacturers of building materials and the financial sectors - banks, insurance societies etc. - under workers control and without compensation. This is the programme which the Labour left has to struggle for in the Labour Party, this is the demand that has to be made to the Labour government.

We cannot expect, of course, that the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party will adopt such a programme voluntarily. The impulse has to come from the base, from the trade unions and in particular from the trade unions in the construction industry - UCATT, TGWU etc. The mobilisation of the building workers for the release of the 'Shrewsbury Three' is absolutely correct. It is criminal that these worker comrades should still be in prison under a Labour government. However it is a demand which should be linked to the demand for the solution of the housing problem, for the nationalisation of the building industry under workers control and without compensation. Together with this demand it is necessary to impose workers control in construction in order to refuse to build office blocks, luxury properties - the whole sweep of speculative and useless building. This means the organisation on each site of a site committee with delegates subject to instant recall and the decisions of the workers.

The experience of the 'Green Bans' of the Australian trade unions in this respect should be taken and generalised. The 'Green Bans' originated by the New South Wales Building Labourers

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# THE MEANING OF THE NEW 'CULTURAL REVOLUTION' IN CHINA

J. POSADAS 17. 2. 74

The Chinese leaders launch this accusation against the Soviets\* with the aim of containing the Soviet influence, or the influence of a pro Soviet wing inside China. All these denunciations are completely false. They are the work of a bureaucratic clique that acts like Stalin, although they do not have the force he had, and try to maintain and defend themselves against the competition of the Soviet bureaucracy and its policy, which in every way confronts imperialism. All these accusations are not only false but they originate from a criminal intention and objective; to weaken the forces of the Soviet Union which is the principle support that the masses of the world rest on against imperialism's attempts to massacre them.

By dedicating themselves to the defence of bureaucratic clique interests, the Chinese leadership is applying Stalin's policy without having the force that he had or the historic conditions and perspectives that Stalin could count on. All that this leadership says is a pack of lies, it does not exist, it is absurd. A country that is doing what the Soviet Union is doing at present cannot have a million political prisoners, it cannot torture, repress, dominate or control by means of oppression. At the most, the leadership can exercise a bureaucratic domination, in which oppression does not have the same role as before.

The proletariat in the Soviet Union does not oppose the regime by resistance. If it did, the Soviet Union could not do what it is doing in supporting Vietnam, Latin America, Asia, the Middle East. It is the Soviet proletariat who pays for all this aid. This has repercussions on wages and the standard of living of the Soviet workers, but they raise no protest about this. It is aid to the revolutionary movement, to the struggle against capitalism, against imperialism, paid for at the cost of the workers wages. The Chinese leadership do not say a word about all this. They are as miserable as Stalin, they have the same interests and the same mentality. They act like mandarins, like masters of China, not as a function of their polemic with the Soviet

## A PUBLIC DISCUSSION IS NECESSARY FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

This is the general sense of the accusations the Chinese leaders are launching. This is why the capitalist journalists themselves admit that the Chinese give 'pretty few examples' when they talk about the imprisonment, torture and repression in the Soviet Union between 1960 and 1972, over twelve years that is. The Chinese are not referring to intellectuals like Solzhenitsyn, because this is not an example which is in their favour. The intellectuals make a series of demands that not even the Chinese can give, nor is it convenient for them to give, because they mean freedom for the penetration of the alliance with imperialism.

The Chinese leadership is defending Chinese national interests, as Stalin did. They don't defend capitulation to imperialism, but Chinese nationalism, but they must base themselves on layers who favour and develop a process like in Czechoslovakia with Dubcek and Ola Sik.

This policy of the Chinese originates and is a consequence of the Soviet Union's policy at the time of Stalin. It is the result of the existence of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the absence of soviet functioning, of soviet democracy, of the independent functioning of the trade unions and the lack of functioning of the Bolshevik Party, of the abandonment of marxism by the Soviet Union during the epoch of Stalin in the later stage and still today, although there is a process of partial regeneration.

The Soviets must make an appeal for a public discussion, mobilising world worker opinion and the communist and socialist parties. Appealing for a public discussion to smash the capitalist system, for a united front against imperialism to give unconditional support to the world masses, to hold a discussion on the construction of socialism. To hold a soviet democratic congress or conference open to everyone to discuss, and to appeal for an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist united front with the Chinese, Appealing for a denunciation of the fact that imperialism is preparing the war, and calling on the Chinese to make a united front in order to intervene in this discussion. To give freedom to the Soviet trade unions so that they can intervene, make appeals, re-establishing soviet democracy, functioning and making appeals to China. With these measures the USSR would break these attempts by the Chinese. The Chinese cannot hope to achieve anything with these accusations.

These accusations by the Chinese are directed at the meeting the Soviets are holding with 67 communist parties. They are an attempt to put pressure on this. It is absurd. The Soviet Union's policy of support to revolutionary movements against imperialism cannot be done if there is the repression the Chinese claim that there is inside the Soviet Union. Chinese nationalist interests lead the Chinese leadership to make such accusations.

This 'cultural revolution' there is supposed to be an invention. It is a superficial struggle to cover up a real struggle which exists. To discuss and argue over Confucius is useless. It is not a discussion which elevates the capacity of understanding, but it is an abstract discussion which they are hiding behind. There is no value in discussing Confucius, it is unimportant, it contributes nothing to the development of revolutionary thought, whereas the experience of the struggle of the masses does.

bureaucracy. It is possible to make such a polemic, but it must be in the interests of the revolution.

The lies of the Chinese leadership have the aim of defending their clique interests; they feel that the Soviet Union has an influence in China, and also that the need to break the alliance between imperialism and China is becoming more pressing. The agreements between the United States and China are not of the same nature as those which exist between the USSR and the United States; the Soviet Union makes agreements with Nixon, but it supports the struggles in the Middle East, Vietnam and Latin America and it appeals to the communist parties for an anti imperialist policy that they openly support.

The policy of the Chinese leadership is to defend their bureaucratic interests. And because the forces that are going to overthrow them are in the process of development and they launch themselves in self defence. They do not intervene to proclaim their principles or policy, they do not offer a united front - as the Soviets have called on them to do - they do not appeal for the struggle against imperialism, they do not launch a programme of support to the revolution. On the contrary they support what is backward.

world proletariat, and concretely by the Workers States, particularly the Soviet Union, has won. It shows that imperialism has not the force to win, even if it is preparing the atomic war. What does it mean to support imperialism against the Soviet Union. It serves the enemy. Why not discuss directly with China the problems of the economy, of the policy? Why not hold an open discussion where the Chinese trade unions can intervene? It is necessary to make appeals to

## THE WORKING CLASS MUST INTERVENE IN THE DISCUSSION IN CHINA.

The proletariat shows that it is irreplaceable in the leadership of the economy, the policy, in the elaboration of thought, that it has an irreplaceable security. Therefore why don't they let the workers intervene to discuss Lin Piao, to discuss also Confucius, and also Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, to discuss the present experiences of the revolution? Why aren't they allowed to intervene? A discussion on Confucius is an abstract form of discussion, distant from the problems which have to be discussed. It is necessary to discuss the problems of today. Why don't the trade unions intervene openly? They must intervene openly and directly.

At least in the Soviet Union they hold meetings, discussions in support of Vietnam, the Middle East, Cuba. There are no meetings in China. They are hiding behind this discussion in order to contain a much more profound and dynamic discussion. They are making off with the discussion. The leadership discusses in order to prevent the base from thinking, from taking democratic soviet measures. It is a dispute of clique and local interests, of possibly regional interests. The lack of a party which reflects a centralised power, the centralised interests of the country, develops and separates local interests, leading to a type of Yugoslavia.

Three 'cultural revolutions' in such a short time and the fact that they made criticisms, accusations, but no concrete accusation in relation to policy or programme based on comparison of experience or on verification of experience, the fact that nobody attacks the alliance with Yankee imperialism shows that what they are defending are local interests. There is not the least attack on imperialism, while there is an objective

alliance - in some aspects, though not in all - with Yankee imperialism against the USSR.

What they are defending are chauvinist, nationalist interests, interests of internal power. To attack Beethoven is a very indirect and false way to pose problems. There are very direct ways to discuss if one is bourgeois or is not bourgeois, with political and programmatic positions. In the struggle against imperialism and capitalism, what positions do the Chinese take? Since this indirect way of posing that whoever listens to Beethoven or reads Confucius is bourgeois serves to conceal the interests of the cliques which discuss interests which are not revolutionary interests, otherwise they would be discussed directly.

Besides, this still shows the backwardness of the Chinese Communist Party. Even some tendencies which want to enter into discussion are not animated to pose anything because there is no tradition, no programme. The Chinese Communist Party does not discuss any problem in the world; in the resolution it does not pose

any taking of positions on the world problems of the class struggle, on the world development of the socialist revolution or the development of the Workers States, on the present situation in the world. They do not discuss any of this, while there has been a very great progress in the struggle of the masses, of the revolution, and a constant retreat and disintegration of the capitalist system, even if the capitalist system has not been eliminated, because this has the strength to respond with the war. It is necessary to discuss this.

If this is not discussed it is because local interests are discussed. Groups and circles discuss in order to threaten and to support themselves on declarations of revolutionary interests which conceal local, bureaucratic interests. At the same time it is necessary to take into account the lack of tradition of this discussion and the lack of tradition of the party.

If they have to use such accusations of being bourgeois, it is because they have to direct the discussion towards a public, a base, to militants who want to advance in the revolution, otherwise they could take other examples; the interests of 'big China', the Chinese fatherland'. Instead they do not speak of the 'Chinese fatherland', but of things with a bourgeois sense, which appear imperialist. They do not go directly to the programme, the policy, the experience which they could take, like that of Vietnam, of the Vietnamese masses who won on the basis of the intransigent struggle against capitalism. They won because humanity supported them. Part of this support of humanity has been the support of the Soviet Union. Imperialism has been defeated, the centralised process of the revolution has won. In China the same force must win. The Chinese do not discuss this.

Imperialism has been defeated in the Middle East. Imperialism wanted to smash the Arabs and now they are obliged to change their policy. Imperialism was defeated in Latin America, the masses progress in their struggles

and the progress of class centralisation advances, whether through the united front, with agreements with the communists, socialists,

radicals and the alliances with the Workers States and the trade unions. It is necessary to discuss this.

## SINO-SOVIET UNITY WILL MULTIPLY ENORMOUSLY THE POWER OF THE WORKERS STATES.

Why don't the Chinese trade unions intervene? It is only the summits that discuss, seven, ten, fifteen people. Others make these wall posters, according to what they say, but there are no conferences, debates, demonstrations. There are no publications where discussions take place and where it is possible to discuss. Then these wall posters are written by people who have been allowed to write. If the cliques who lead all this are the ones who control the display of these big posters of interest to them, it means that there is not a spontaneous expression of the population. If there was a spontaneous expression of the population, there would be a process of much greater significance, of a much more profound origin and strength.

It would be seen in the factories, in the countryside, amongst the students. If it came from the base it would be seen in the factories, in the life of the population. If it is not seen it is because it is a movement created at the top to discuss the interests of the leading team.

Behind all this there is the interest also of the development of the Chinese revolution. When they attack or oppose bourgeois interests they show that they must base themselves at least on a revolutionary intention because they refer to a public which has an interest in advancing on the road to socialism, not in local nationalist interests. Hence this so-called 'cultural revolution' has been invented to conceal a much more profound process; to prevent another process coming forward. They seek to contain it. They utilise the will of the masses to progress in the road to socialism, in the socialist revolution, for the struggle between local, clique group interests. This is why the agreement between the currents at the IX Congress was very transitory. It was an agreement made without programme, without principles, without objective. However the objective was clear; the masses of the world are besieging capitalism. Brezhnev went to Cuba and made an agreement with Fidel Castro. This is an impulse to the revolution. It is limited, but it is an impulse to the revol-

ution, it is a support. What do the Chinese say to this? The Vietnamese won and now have called a trade union congress in which they pose the intervention of the trade unions in the control of production, not as leaders who determine what it is necessary to produce, but as organisers or as controllers of production to elevate production, its quality and also the distribution. It shows that there is a limit on the bureaucracy and an indirect participation - but always participation - of trade unions in the process of production. It is not only to determine the growth of production but also the quality and the totality of production which determines also the price. It is an obstacle to and a brake on the functioning of the bureaucracy. The workers are developing like leaders. Why don't the trade unions intervene like this in China? China is much more developed. It does not have the problems of Vietnam. This is what it is necessary to discuss in China.

It is necessary to discuss the present situation of the communes with the most important economic development which has taken place. The development of the commune should be discussed, and why it does not participate in the political life; how is it that with the necessity for a 'cultural revolution', they do not discuss the necessity to stabilise relations of fraternity,

of united front, of common structure and alliance, of unification with the Soviet Union and the Workers States. They must seek this, even if the Soviet Union does not seek it. It is necessary to discuss among the Chinese people the most important problems; unity with the Soviet Union. This would increase 100,000 times the power of China and would give an impulse throughout the world to the struggle of the masses against capitalism. If they do not discuss this, but they discuss other things, it is because of local interests.

We appeal for a discussion about the union with the Soviet Union and the unification of the world communist movement. The Chinese and the Albanians are the most backward from this point of view. In recent declarations in which they supported NATO against the agreements of the Soviet Union, with the countries of Central Europe and the Mediterranean, they do not defend revolutionary interests, nor the interests of the progress of the revolution. They are local interests. To advance they must find support in the world workers movement, in the struggle of the masses, but not to defend local interests which detach them from the world course of revolutionary policy of united front. This corresponds to page 4

## OUT NOW!

'The revolution in Europe and the process of partial regeneration in the Socialist Parties'

J.POSADAS (1972 - 73)

## Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and the struggle for socialism (extracts). J.Posadas. 14.2.74.

*The following are extracts from the bulletin by comrade Posadas on Solzhenitsyn to be published within the next few days. We strongly recommend this bulletin to be studied by the forces of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, by the Labour Intellectuals and the students. The bourgeoisie have tried to use the expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union as a means of frightening the petit bourgeoisie and trying to develop a sentiment of hostility to the Workers States. This has failed because the petit bourgeoisie perceive the essential progress in the Workers States and the total crisis of capitalism cannot win back the petit bourgeoisie to respect for the capitalist system. But the case of Solzhenitsyn is of much greater interest from the point of view of the internal struggle between the forces of the left in the Soviet Union and the most conservative sectors who seek only a life of bourgeois individualism and reject the advances towards socialism in the Workers States, the objectives of communism.*

*As Posadas points out, it is an absurdity to write about the concentration camps now, in a phase of history where the system of Stalinism has disappeared and the Workers States - with all the limitations of the bureaucracy - show constant and striking advances. Sakharov, one of this right wing tendency, advocates openly the abandonment of marxism, and ignores all the immense advances of the world socialist revolution, remains immune to Vietnam. Clearly the tendency of these people is thoroughly backward and reactionary. It is a return to religiosity and infantilism and has nothing to do with human progress. The frantic weakness of world capitalism is demonstrated when it tries to make a centre of the expulsion - as it tried in relation to the Czechoslovak rightists after the Soviet intervention of 1968 and equally failed. The analysis of comrade Posadas is very complete and gives a full reply to the positions of Solzhenitsyn, placing the concept of literature within the struggle for socialism. He relates the case of this writer to the process of partial regeneration in the Workers States, whose ultimate conclusion is the restoration of full soviet democracy and the elimination of the bureaucracy, whose functioning is the original cause for the emergence of the Solzhenitsyns.*

### Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and the struggle for socialism.

The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn from the Soviet Union doesn't have any importance either for history or for social and political struggles. It is an aspect of the interbureaucratic struggles inside the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn doesn't represent the socialist progress of the Soviet Union or the struggle of the Soviet masses. His writings have nothing to do with this. He writes for a restricted circle. He writes a series of laments, memories of sad events, of the disintegration of thought, lost in narrations of activities and of situations in the life of concentration camps, showing events as though the Soviet Union was like this a horrible country, not the development of the Soviet Union, in spite of the concentration camps of Stalin and after Stalin.

The Bolsheviks and the trotskysts were in prison at the same time as he was, within the prisons and concentration camps, the leaders, the militants, the bolshevik cadres condemned by Stalin and after Stalin, prepared to organise the thought, the political will to intervene in the social struggles of the world and help overthrow the capitalist system, and to defend the USSR. They lived, thinking and preparing to continue the revolutionary task of developing the Soviet Workers State and the world socialist revolution.

Hence they intervened in the war, supporting the struggle of the Soviet Union—not the Stalinist regime—without demanding revenge on Stalin; without demanding primarily the condemnation or elimination of Stalin but defending the Soviet Union as the greatest instrument of progress in history. The Bolsheviks acted with dignity. None of the bolsheviks, or the Trotskyists made a record of the tortures of prison camps, of the concentration camps. They are stages of the revolutionary struggle, for which we condemn Stalin, the absence of soviet democracy, the concentration camps. The Bolsheviks, when they condemned the concentration camps, showed that they represented the revolution because within the camps or outside, they continued defending the Soviet Workers State and the extension of the Soviet Workers State, condemning capitalism, appealing for the struggle against capitalism, the Stalinist regime, not the Soviet Workers state.

Solzhenitsyn, in his book, doesn't represent any of these necessities of history. What does he represent? He represents a layer of the bureaucracy which emerged developed during the war and which needed to condemn Stalin and to support themselves on this condemnation to defend their own interests, their own caste interests, and to impede the development of the revolution. Solzhenitsyn, like Evtushenko, Sakharov, Medvedev represent bureaucratic layers with material interests who resist the policy of the partial regeneration. Hence their writings are directed to a restricted layer of the bureaucracy, close to capitalism. The writings of Solzhenitsyn are of interest to capitalism because they in no way condemn the capitalist system. They condemn the absence of democracy, torture, the anguish of life in the concentration camps.

The millions of Soviet bolshevik prisoners who lived in the concentration camps, in the nazi camps, developed the revolution and saw the progressive aspect of the Soviet Union, nationalised property, monopoly of foreign trade, centralised planning, Solzhenitsyn doesn't represent this process of development, He doesn't criticise in the name of the development of socialism, of soviet democracy, to develop socialism, to develop the world revolution. He represents restricted layers of the bureaucracy, who use Solzhenitsyn to prevent the Soviet Union living and developing in the process of partial regeneration to help the world revolution. For this reason Solzhenitsyn is completely unmoved by the world revolution, by Vietnam, Indo China, the Middle East, Latin America, Africa, Asia. He is moved only by his own life and the tortures in the concentration camps.

When condemnations are made, they have to be made for progress. Solzhenitsyn condemned the camps etc, seeking to contain the development of history, of the Soviet Union. This is no way to condemn. The correct attitude is not to expel him, but to discuss, to open a discussion inside the Soviet Union and to show what he is, and his origin. This is the correct attitude. Whether they expel him or not is historically unimportant, because he does not represent the will, the struggle or the

progress of the masses. Nor does he defend democratic freedom for the development of the socialist revolution, but for democratic freedom for his sector, for the

layers of bureaucracy which he represents and who stimulate and encourage him to conduct this struggle. His writings, his interpretations of the history of the Soviet Union don't lead to audacity or tenacity in confronting the Soviet government. His literary capacity does not show that he has the political understanding, the organisational, social, revolutionary decision to confront the authorities. He has nothing of this. What is then his strength? He represents layers of the bureaucracy who stimulate him, and who want by this, to contain the development of Soviet Union in the process of partial regeneration. Hence the Solzhenitsyn affair is not a problem of discussing if he should be expelled or not, but of discussing what he represents, what he signifies, and to open the door for soviet discussion to show the necessity for revolutionary writers.

The expulsion of Solzhenitsyn has been carried out by one sector of the bureaucracy against another sector who wanted to support him and who have sustained him until now. In expelling him, the Soviet government tries to deliver a blow to eliminate the bureaucratic sector which supports him. Support for him was an aspect of the conciliation with the capitalist system, not an accidental event. It is necessary to remember that Sakharov posed as a solution a combination of the best of the Soviet Union and the best of capitalism.

These writers and scientists express a tendency for amalgamation, for conciliation between capitalism and the workers state. They are the Oto Siks of the Soviet Union. Solzhenitsyn is an Oto Sik of literature because he represents interests of private property, private interest, individual interest as opposed to the development of the necessities of collectivisation, of the development of the Workers State. These writers express an interbureaucratic struggle, an elevation of this struggle. The expulsion itself is a bureaucratic solution.

The correct attitude is to discuss, to show that he represents individual bureaucratic interests against the development of socialism. The solution is soviet democracy, the development of the Soviet Union and the extension of the socialist revolution throughout the world, to support concretely the transformation of the whole world, by means of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, as the Vietnamese did.

### Solzhenitsyn and Evtushenko ignore the social historic heroism of the Soviet masses. Vietnamese masses, of the whole world.

The letter of Evtushenko is not the product of Evtushenko. He doesn't have the strength, the capacity or the authority to do it. He doesn't have any weight in the life of the Soviet Union. Evtushenko is the entertainer of a layer of the bureaucracy. What he writes has no value or artistic truth, much less in poetry.

Why do they allow him, then to do this? It is because he represents the interests of a layer of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the leadership of the Communist party and of the Soviet Workers State who have an interest in containing the process

turn to page 4



# DEEPEN THE DISCUSSION IN THE L.P.Y.S. TO ORGANISE THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The National Conference of the Labour Party Young Socialists this week expressed the enormously anticapitalist sentiment of youth and their level of preoccupation to oppose the capitalist system and accompany the working class in the struggle for power. The enthusiasm of the delegates in the first day and the search for ideas marked an element of progress compared with previous year's conferences. This reflects the massive progress of the struggle of the masses on a national and international scale which is the major source of stimulus and security for the left in the Labour Party and trade unions. But the level of political discussion and the concrete conclusions for the intervention of the LPYS in the organisation of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions shows very little progress, they are a long way behind the level of maturity and understanding of the vanguard of the working class; and the progresses which there are, are only a rather distant echo of the process which is developing in the base of the Labour Party.

The most significant progress in the overall activity of the conference was the very large quantity of publications of posadism that were sold. The sales of Red Flag, the collection of articles of cde. Posadas on the process in the European Socialist Parties and the special conference bulletin (which contains an article on the role of the YS in the organisation of the left in the Labour Party and an article of cde. Posadas on the multinational companies and the crisis of capitalism\*) and other bulletins of Posadas shows the search for ideas, for marxism, and at the same time the very great authority of the texts of Posadas that are organising a whole current in the Labour movement in the global conception of marxism.

The LPYS has had a very elevated programme for a number of years and the resolutions this year have maintained it - for example, of particular importance is the resolution that called for MPs to be

drawn from the trade union sector, subject to recall and bound by conference decisions, because this means an attempt to intervene to change the structure of the Labour Party.

It is a limited attempt because the transformation of the Labour Party means not only the possibility of the base to weigh on the leadership but also a centralised and disciplined political life in the branches, which have to function more as cells firmly linked with and based on the factories and workers areas so that the masses themselves intervene. And at the same time as the links with the trade union sector have to be improved, there also has to be the struggle for democracy in the trade unions, breaking the bureaucratic apparatuses.

But the adoption of this point, or the programme as a whole, is not a solution in itself. The miners strike confirms that the working class is ready for the struggle for power, it wants this struggle and it wants to finish with the capitalist system. To do that it needs to transform the Labour Party and that begins with the organisation of the left in the LP and trade unions - the LPYS has to intervene in this! This can only be done on the basis of a deeper political discussion of the national and international situation, drawing conclusions for a leading intervention in the political and theoretical organisation of the left, together with the closest possible links with the mobilisations of the masses. If the LPYS is to play a role in this process it needs to develop a more constant political life in all the branches and an active participation in the struggles of the masses and the activity of the left - which it still does not see because this left is not organised.

It is necessary to discuss more fully the crisis in the Labour Party; in which the conflict between Wilson and Heffer over the question of the frigates for Chile is very important. It expresses a whole current of opinion in the base and a sector of the middle layers and even in the leadership of the Lab-

our Party who are not prepared to accept any more rotten compromises, conciliation and downright pro-capitalist interventions of the leadership. Heffer feels this pressure and is prepared to confront Wilson and the right in this way. It indicates the depth of the process within the Labour Party which is much more profound than Heffer can express.

It is also necessary for the YS to discuss the land speculation allegations. It is not possible to avoid or hide this discussion. It is necessary to discuss this openly! It is certainly true that the bourgeoisie is using this against the Labour government because it does not trust the government to work in the strictest interests of the capitalist system; but it is also true that the right in the Labour leadership is involved in this sort of deal, or they sit on the boards of capitalist companies - which is the same thing, 'legal' or not. It is necessary to break the links between the right and centre of the Labour Party with the capitalist system: the LPYS has to intervene in this struggle. It is necessary to continue this discussion with public meetings, regional conferences and local meetings of all the Labour movement to see how to advance.

\* - 'the revolution in Europe and the process of partial regeneration in the Socialist Parties' J.POSADAS (1972-3)

- 'the role of the LPYS in the organisation of the Left in the Labour Party' 7.4.74

and

'the multinational companies, the crisis of capitalism and the need for left governments of Socialist and Communist Parties, other revolutionary tendencies and trade unions' J.POSADAS 1.1.74

available from IV International publications

EDITORIAL from page 1

of labour on the unions and allow a real workers intervention towards the Labour Party. There has to be an end to the way in which union delegates in trade union conferences represent apparently thousands to whom they owe no obligation and who cannot recall them.

We appeal for the engineers to make a profound campaign against this 'fine' and mobilise support from other workers forming committees to stimulate at the same time the implementation of the Labour Party programme of nationalisations. We appeal for the left in the Labour Party to campaign in support of this issue and at the same time to continue the appeals for the organisation of mass action committees, shop stewards committees, workers district committees so that the masses can develop their independent activity and not be confined by the slowness and lack of initiative of the Labour Party and trade union organisations - but not competing with the mass class organisations but stimulating them. We appeal for the imposition of workers control in the factories to open the books, and control all questions of hiring and firing, and the rhythm of production. No worker to be unemployed. All wages to rise with the cost of living! Sliding scale of hours and wages. In these problems the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the unions have to intervene constantly. Only in the process of active intervention in mass mobilisations and campaigns that establish links with the masses is the left going to develop its strength to change the functioning in the Labour Party and eliminate the type of functioning which has permitted a regime of careerism and manoeuvre to prevail over ideas.

13. 4. 74.

## HOUSING...

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Federation means the refusal to allow any building which is against the interests of the working population. This has now been taken up by other sectors like the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union and the Engine Drivers and Firemen. This intervention of trade union sectors to control building received its original impulsion from the 'blackening' of supplies to Yankee imperialism and its allies in Vietnam by the Australian Seamens Union. It is an expression of the consciousness of the working class which intervenes not on a narrow, sectional, trade union basis, not for immediate economic gains - indeed workers lost money by refusing to allow certain projects to continue - but for the benefit of the masses in general. We propose to the building workers and to the Labour left that they take this example.

In all this there is an immediate problem that demands immediate measures. There is a mass of accommodation which, in the midst of an acute housing shortage for the working population, remains unused. We propose the immediate expropriation of all empty and luxury properties, royal palaces, office blocks, hotels etc. to ease the housing shortage. We cannot tolerate a situation where some people have more than one house - some even have three or four - whilst many have very poor and crowded accommodation and some have none at all.

The site committees in the construction industry should make links with the population, in the same way as the Australian building workers have in order to impose the 'Green Bans', in order to discuss how the building industry is to be used for the benefit of the working masses. At the same time to organise the expropriation of empty and luxury properties. The squatters movement is possible because a whole atmosphere of approval for such actions exists in the working class and in large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie.

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## Solzhenitsyn...

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 3

which is in every way advancing in the Soviet Union, elevating the Workers State and eliminating part of the bureaucratic functioning. Even if it is very limited, there is a progress. These layers are opposed to this.

It is not true that these layers defend the struggle against Stalin. Today the struggle against Stalin is to support Vietnam. Evtuschenko hasn't written a single poem about Vietnam. The struggle against Stalin or against the past of Stalin is to develop the USSR and the world revolution, and to appeal for soviet democracy, for the intervention of the Soviet trade unions, in assemblies, in conferences, in such a way that everybody can see that the trade unions participate in the construction of the Soviet Union. Evtuschenko doesn't have a single poem on all this. He has poems for petit bourgeois circles in the Soviet Union, administrators, planners, bosses. His poetry is aimed at them, at their individual interests.

None of these characters has produced poetry, music or songs for the most important events for humanity, Vietnam, the heroic struggle of the masses in the Middle East, Panama, the revolutionary attitude of the government of Panama, Ecuador, Peru, the struggle of the Peronist masses, of Chile, the struggles of the European proletariat, the struggle of the Soviet proletariat, Neither Evtuschenko or Solzhenitsyn have had the capacity, concern or inclination to interest themselves in the problems which are in front of them, such as the heroism of the Soviet masses at Stalingrad, with whom the defeat of the destruction of Nazism inaugurated a new epoch in history. These are the most important events in the history of humanity. The Soviet masses communicate to the whole world the invincible will of the proletariat, who attract the rest of the population to win, the struggle for progress, for socialism. It was the proletariat which gave the strength to smash nazism. It attracted the rest of the population because the Soviet Workers State existed. In spite of Stalin, the structure of the Workers State imposed this necessity and the proletariat was its interpreter. Here is a good motif (theme) for the poets, the film makers, the theatre to communicate and make known such historic action, to give it a transcendent quality! But this didn't interest them. What interested them was the private life and their small circles. In the Workers State, they continued thinking as capitalists. Hence we condemn all of them.

These writers don't feel attracted by this. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people is a motive for the elevation of the concern, of the sentiment, of the consciousness and in consequence represents a much more elevated level of consciousness, so as to attract the artist. None of them felt attracted by this heroic struggle of the masses of Vietnam. It is not a heroic struggle simply to defend their country. They were defending a Workers State, without any means of their own, helped by the rest of the workers states and by the world proletariat: this was a world class united front against imperialism. And it triumphed. The world united front triumphed against imperialism. Where are the poems, the films, where is the theatre, the music, the songs which make known the heroic actions expressed by humanity in Vietnam. This is what the Soviet poet, the revolutionary poet, has to do throughout the world.

J. POSADAS 17.2.74

## CHINA...

from page 3

onds to the stage of the Soviet Union under Stalin which carried on in the following phase and even today, but with the development today of a process of partial regeneration.

We appeal for a discussion on the basis of soviet democracy, which means discussing all the problems and the intervention of all the population. We appeal for a discussion in the trade unions, in the communes, with the programme of the planning of the economy, with a programme of world policy, of the united front of all the masses of the world against imperialism. It is necessary to support the struggles of the masses of the world against imperialism. It is necessary to support the struggles of the masses of all the world with concrete proposals. In China they should call meetings, assemblies, demonstrations in support of the struggle of the world masses, whether in Vietnam or elsewhere. They should give support to the recent resolution of the participation of the trade unions in the reconstruction of the country, intervening as organisers of production and also as a leadership. They should give their opinion, their judgement, they should discuss all these opinions and elect leaders with the right of immediate recall. Those who have been elected should be elected in the workplace and on the basis of a direct contact between workers and leaders. We make an appeal to the USSR to do the same.

We appeal to the USSR to propose to the Chinese trade unions, to the Chinese government to make a public discussion for a world united front and for the world unification of all the Workers States, to plan the economy, policy, the military activity in defence of the Workers States and in support of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle of the masses of the world. This is what it is necessary to do.

J. POSADAS 17. 2. 74

\* The accusation to which comrade Posadas refers was published in the New China Agency and appeared in the newspapers on the 9. 1. 74. It accused the Soviet regime of being a machine of fascist dictatorship.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## THE SCOTTISH T.U.C. EXPRESSES THE STRUGGLE IN THE LABOUR PARTY FOR THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME

The process of the crisis within the Labour Party which expresses itself in an open class between the pro and anti-capitalist forces is the way in which the total crisis of capitalism develops in this country. On a world scale, the wholesale decomposition of the capitalist system is itself expressed in the continuing saga of 'Watergate', with Nixon suffering yet another blow from the defeat of the Republican Party in the Michigan elections in particular. In France, the forces of the bourgeoisie are in complete disarray following the death of Pompidou, with an absolute unity of the forces of the workers movement centralised in the Popular Unity. At the same time, the crisis of the Israeli government remains unsolved. Imperialism and the world bourgeoisie can stabilise nothing and suffer defeat after defeat at the hands of the masses. Syria—with the full support of the Soviet Union—intensifies its struggle against Israeli imperialism and the Japanese workers win complete victory in their General Election.

It is in this light that we have to see the struggle in the Labour Party over the sending of warships to the Chilean Junta. The bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party has not found the strength to take any sanctions against E Heffer and in contrast, Heffer has received the support of widening layers of the Labour Party. Mikardo, as Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party, has called a meeting of protest which already has the support of a hundred Labour MPs. At the same time, the Secretary of the Labour Party, R Hayward, denounces the actions of the Labour government at the Conference of the Scottish TUC (STUC). Ron Hayward intervenes with the full support of the delegates to insist on the implementation of the resolutions of the Labour Party Conference by the Labour government. It was a warning to the Parliamentary Labour Party, that the struggle for the Labour Party programme is intensifying, the struggle to apply the anticapitalist programme. In this intervention Hayward sought the support of the trade unions. This is the significance of the statement in which he reminded delegates that the Labour Party was the creation of—and based on—the trade unions, and he tries to base himself on the trade unions. Through the trade unions, he tries to base himself on the workers vanguard as a point of support against the right in the Labour Party.

The struggle over Chile is an aspect of the crisis of capitalism and the preparation of the war, which is worked out in the Labour Party. This is expressed in another way by the contrast between the demand of the President of the STUC for a cut in the arms bill of £1,000 million and the statement of Judd (Navy Minister), that there should be no cut in the arms expenditure by the Labour government because 'we have to face the threat of Russia's imperialism and the Brezhnev doctrine'. As Comrade Posadas analyses in the document on the death of Pompidou published in this issue of Red Flag, the intervention of the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party in the Common Market is the intervention of Yankee imperialism to put a pressure on the European bourgeoisie, to try to unify them under the leadership of Yankee imperialism in preparation for the war. Ron Hayward also made reference—not for the first time—

to the role and importance of the Socialist countries (Workers State), and in this, he represents a whole sector of the Labour Party which is attracted by the advances—and the obvious superiority—of the Workers States and seeks to support itself on the Workers States. This is also stimulated by a direct intervention of the Soviet Union towards the Labour Party and the trade unions. This means that the struggle already develops to break the centre and the left of the Labour Party away from the bourgeois right, away from the whole integration of the Labour Party in the structure of the bourgeois system. This is a necessary stage in the advance of the Labour Party, to be-

come an instrument for the taking of power and it is in this process that the trade unions, the Labour left, the Communist Party militants and the 'Leftist' groups have to intervene.

The Conference of the STUC, expressed in other aspects, the struggle in the Labour Party for the implementation by the Labour government of the programme of the Labour Party Conference. At the centre of this was the question of the 'Social Compact'. When a delegate says that the 'Social Compact' for him includes the whole programme of nationalisations, and when the Conference completely rejects the idea of 'wage restraints' it means a rejection of the impression created

by the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party, and a sector of the trade union bureaucracy, that the 'Social Compact' is an agreement between the trade unions and the bourgeoisie for the working class to pay for the crisis of capitalism. The delegates at the STUC confirmed that the 'Compact' is an agreement between the trade unions and the Labour government on a programme—limited perhaps—of social measures to raise the living standard of the working population.

This process is not generated within the Labour Party or the apparatus of the Unions it comes from the world process of the revolution and from the constant intervention of the working class in this country. The whole discussion over the warships was the result of the decision by sectors of the working class—by the Shipbuilders and the Aircraft workers at Rolls Royce—to 'black' military supplies to Chile. It has been sustained by the direct intervention of the dockers in Liverpool, who passed a resolu-

## FOR A PUBLIC LABOUR PARTY / TRADE UNION ENQUIRY INTO THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SPECIAL BRANCH

The Lennon case and his assassination have focused attention on the functioning of the spy and assassin networks of British imperialism. This case, following very rapidly the Littlejohn affair, has thrown a powerful beam on the methods of imperialism; murder, robbery, provocation, frameup; the decomposition of capitalism is accompanied by the ferocity of its efforts to survive and the speed with which one scandal follows another. The Watergate case in the USA is symbolic of the total crisis of the capitalist social order: corruption, ineptitude, and the complete debacle of any authority in face of the petit bourgeoisie. At the same time, the outcrop of these scandals is part of the massive internal struggle in the heart of the bourgeoisie. The Lambton and Poulson cases have the effect of discrediting gentlemen of the bourgeoisie associated with Parliamentary politics, and with the conventional functioning of capitalism. The Littlejohn and Lennon cases are part of the discrediting of these who are linked with the most coercive organs of the bourgeoisie. In practice, throughout the world, a struggle exists in the bourgeoisie between those sectors who want to proceed rapidly to the development of wholesale repression and those who resist this because they live in fear of the reaction of the masses and the discrediting of their authority before the petit bourgeoisie.

Yankee imperialism is deeply involved on a world scale through operations of the CIA, with encouraging kidnappings, explosions, and assassinations, using links with a variety of protesters and guerrilla groups to impel right wing forces to encourage military coups, and repressive measures against the masses. Indeed, the direct intervention of the CIA in this country against the Trade Unions and its preparation for an intervention against the Labour left and the Labour government as it advances, is already public knowledge. British imperialism is, after all, the closest ally of Yankee imperialism in this stage of the decomposition of world capitalism. Not a very strong ally, but still the closest to Yankee imperialism. The spate of bombings in Britain recently is part of the same pattern—to develop an atmosphere to stimulate a coup and measures of repres-

sion against the workers movement.

The Lennon case concerns, apparently, an informer linked with the IRA but there are a whole host of informers whose activities are directed to the Unions, the left in the Labour Party and the various revolutionary groups. The people who use them, will use the same methods of frameup and provocation against the revolutionary left in industry. Hence, it is important that the left in the Labour Party and the Unions make a powerful intervention on this case, because the Special Branch is a weapon of the class interests of the bourgeoisie. It is simply a special sector of the coercive apparatus of the bourgeoisie as a whole, but an attack on it has to be linked with a fundamental discussion of what is the future course of the process in this country, how can the masses best prepare to face a coup launched by the army, what measures can be taken to weaken the structure of the bourgeois repressive apparatus?

In the first place, in relation to the Lennon case, it is not enough to have merely a secret Home Office enquiry, ie the police investigating themselves. The Labour Party and the Trade Unions have to intervene on this issue and campaign about it. They must intervene towards the Labour government—part of the struggle with the right pro-bourgeois sectors in the Labour Party—demanding a commission composed of representatives of the Labour Party and the trade unions to investigate the running of the Special Branch, expose its structure, and demand its dissolution. The intervention of Ivor Clemitson denouncing the 'enquiry' shows that a basis for this already exists in the Labour Party. Such a commission should make a series of reports to the local Labour Parties, trade union branches, Shop Steward Committees, Trades Councils etc, and to the factories and the workers areas. This would allow a discussion on the structure of the capitalist state and of its fundamentally repressive nature. Chile, has already shown that the bourgeoisie will not allow parliament to be used for the benefit of the masses and that it will react with violence to measures which damage the structure of capitalism. Immediately after

the coup, these conclusions were drawn in the Labour Party by leaders like Judith Hart it is necessary to retake these conclusions now, that the only way to confront repression from the capitalist system is to prepare the organs of dual power—factory committees, committees of the workers areas. At the same time, to discuss the necessity for a whole activity towards the army, struggling for trade union rights in the army and police and the necessity for political meetings of the police colleges and army barracks.

Clearly, such a commission at this stage could only make limited headway in the smashing of this particular apparatus or even in gaining much information because every effort would be made to sabotage the whole investigation and there are plenty of opportunities for this, but it is a question of using this case to develop a political campaign against the bunch of assassins and provocateurs who operate against not just the IRA but the whole labour movement and the repressive strategy of capitalism. All the organs of bourgeois opinion will be in uproar. Good, it presents an excellent opportunity to publicise all the activities of the coercive state apparatus. All the bourgeois forces of coercion are in a state of decomposition. The American army was totally demoralised in Vietnam. And the British army is becoming increasingly demoralised by the war in N Ireland. A campaign of exposure and discussion allied with propaganda on this issue and on the SAS issue (murder army squads in N Ireland), directed to the army, would weaken extensively the capacity of capitalism; the structure of the forces of repression cannot be changed. But sectors can be won to the revolution. The Labour Left must make full use of the opportunities now showing in the British and Irish police and army—discussing the strike of the fingerprints department for example—to demoralise the repressive organs of the capitalist system attract those sectors who can be won over to the workers movement, and prepare the way for the mass mobilisations which will be necessary to implement the programme of nationalisation under workers control, and confront and smash the bourgeois state apparatus.

The death of Pompidou unleashes and develops a previously contained crisis of capitalism, but the elements of crisis were all there. Pompidou was a centre of containing this crisis, they accepted him in expectancy of new elections. This crisis arises now, but it would have developed in the same way with a replacement of Pompidou. His death accelerated the crisis. This shows the fragility of capitalism. At the same time, the meetings at the funeral in France of the top representatives of world capitalism shows that they have to go to discuss, because France is a centre of the capitalist system. They went to France to see how to negotiate to defend themselves from the USSR, and to try to co-ordinate internally to meet the crisis of capitalism, with the object of presenting a united block against the Workers States. Yankee imperialism goes with Nixon to impose its hegemony over the rest of the capitalist system. It wants to unload on European capitalism the crisis of the capitalist system, so that European capitalism has to negotiate with the masses. Also it is going to impose a military authority to form a single military leadership, because already also NATO is in question. This indicates the acceleration of their crisis.

The burial of Pompidou provokes a series of meetings of Nixon with the presidents of the capitalist countries in Europe. These secret meetings were made in a short time, in the first place so as not to bother the Soviets, and in the second place, so as not to provoke internal polemics

#### THESE ARE ALL STAGES IN THE PREPARATION OF THE WAR.

Yankee imperialism wants to dominate the entire political and economic functioning of capitalism so that they decide in the war. The entry of Britain into the Common Market is to seek to weigh, to make demands and to try to profit, and also as a function of the common military interest against the development of the revolution. Through Britain the Yanks are represented in the European Common Market.

The Yanks see that the inter-capitalist contradictions are also involving Britain, and they want to have a direct intervention, a direct control and decision. At the same time they meet the resistance of French capitalism which feels that it is the weakest of the three great capitalist powers of Europe and which tries to defend its interests and the colonies that remain to it, in the game of commercial exchange with a whole series of concessions which, if they submit themselves to the Yanks, means to submit to a policy which weakens them in their ability to compete although it is a question above all of political competition in relation to the petit bourgeoisie. If French capitalism yields to the Yanks, a very great base of the petit bourgeoisie passes to the side of the proletariat. Hence they have to main-

#### THE INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION AND TOTAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

Nixon went to Paris to this meeting to discuss with all the European capitalist countries, rather less with the French, to exert a pressure on French imperialism and to reach agreements with the other European bourgeoisies. So Nixon uses Pompidou's death to go and make lightning and clandestine meetings. Nixon went to weigh as President on the European bourgeoisie in clandestine meetings. This shows the very great crisis of the capitalist system, which has to use Pompidou's burial to make clandestine meetings.

It is a lack of authority of Yankee imperialism and it is expressed in the fact that a single European capitalist country - French imperialism - has such an echo, such an effect to the point that the Yanks cannot smash it, cannot bypass it and cannot push it out of the way. If it pushes forward a policy of direct confrontation, favouring the struggle of the petit bourgeoisie, of the sectors that will vote for the government, they will go over to the camp of the workers parties. This is the situation of crisis of European capitalism.

This crisis which has broken out with Pompidou has a certain similarity with that of De Gaulle. Even before Pompidou died, they were already discussing who was going to succeed him as an internal capitalist conflict, when they have to confront the threat of the Popular Union, with the possibility of the triumph of the Popular Union being very near. When in spite of these threats, the differences of opinion and the crisis among them continues, it is because it is a question of the total crisis of the capitalist system. It is a political crisis in the course of finding support in the development of the capitalist system. It is a political crisis which reflects the social, economic crisis of the capitalist system. This is intensifying in France and also in Italy the weakness of the capitalist system.

between France and the rest of the capitalist countries in Europe. And the Yankees made secret meetings with every president or premier, to exert pressure, to influence or to threaten. Even though they were meetings which lasted a few hours, they correspond to real secret meetings, because they went to resolve the problems of the capitalist system with the Yanks imposing on the European bourgeoisie, imposing their intervention on all the economic, military, political problems of Europe.

Yankee imperialism and the European bourgeoisie have an interest in making common military, economic and political plans because they are confronting together and they are attacked by the development and the advance of the world revolution, by the electoral triumphs of the workers parties, by the big agitations and mobilisations of the masses through the trade unions and the concrete progress of the mass struggle. The Yanks feel that they cannot survive the world drive of the proletariat and the Workers States, particularly the Soviet Union; they cannot put up with the advancing crisis of capitalism, and they try to unleash this crisis on the European bourgeoisie and to make, at the same time, a united front to prepare to launch the war at the moment the Yanks decide. Meanwhile the European bourgeoisie have to put up with the consequences. The Yanks are throwing the entire crisis of the capitalist system onto the European bourgeoisie. This is the disagreement between them.

tain political authority over the petit bourgeoisie. These are the causes of their disagreements.

Yankee imperialism feels this process, but it wants to oblige French imperialism to carry out this policy, although this means having to confront the petit bourgeoisie, even though it means having to confront the possibility that the Popular Union wins. What the Yanks seek is another solution, which is not the political, economic solution in world trade, but a military solution. Meanwhile they try to be the ones who determine the policy of the world capitalist camp, to make the whole of capitalism pay for the policy of the Yanks of negotiations, agreements, treaties with the USSR to try to prolong the stage before the atomic war.

Nixon's objective is to exert pressure on the European bourgeoisie from every point of view, economic, financial, military, so that it yields to the Yankee blackmail to unload the crisis of the world capitalist system and Yankee imperialism onto the French bourgeoisie. French capitalism tries to defend itself. In confronting the Yanks it tries at the same time to win a certain prestige and a certain electoral authority, to attract a sector of the petit bourgeoisie in the next elections to replace Pompidou.

The capitalist press accentuate their critical differences from Nixon, but there is no criticism from the point of view of the capitalist perspective nor of Yankee imperialism, nor of the function of the Yanks carry out in the world, nor the arming by the Yanks of Israel in the Middle East nor the support of the Yanks to all the dictatorships of the world, nor the support which the Yanks give to Chile. French capitalism does not make a class opposition nor a class conflict with Yankee imperialism. Hence it keeps quiet about everything; for example the murderous policy which Yankee imperialism is carrying out in the Middle East, the continuation of the crimes of Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, the support to criminal and assassin governments. French cap-

# Pompidou's death, Nixon's clandestine meetings and the elections in France

8th april 1974

italism does not say anything about this. It does not speak of the increase of military support, nor of military expenditure, nor of support to the repressions which are being prepared in Mexico or Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia. The French bourgeoisie enters into a conflict, a competition with Yankee imperialism; both try to unload the crisis of the capitalist system, whilst both prepare the war together, French imperialism criticises and objects to Yankee imperialism over NATO but it does not leave the Atlantic Pact, it does not oppose it, overthrow or renounce it. At the same time it does not allow democratic liberties in France, French imperialism represses the masses in France. It is the same capitalist system of exploitation and crime. It has the same interest of capitalist exploitation. It is a conflict of French imperialism with Yankee imperialism. Hence the French bourgeois press denounces the clandestine

#### MOBILISE THE MASSES TO IMPOSE THE TRIUMPH OF THE POPULAR UNION

It is necessary to intervene in these elections with all the force, with all the passion and all the decision of the working class. It is necessary to intervene through the trade unions, the factories and workers areas; calling meetings, assemblies, discussions, proposing amongst the most fundamental points all the profits of automation and electronics, all advances in the productivity of labour for the benefit of the masses. There is a constant process of crisis, of unemployment, of increase in the cost of living. There is a constant increase in the cost of living, and it is going to increase much more.

French capitalism has already declared through the mouths of Pompidou and Messmer that the conditions of crisis will increase, that it is necessary to expect cruel years of scarcity and increases in the cost of living. But the masses do not have the responsibility for this. It is capitalism which is leading French society. They are responsible for this situation! When they speak to the masses saying that they can only expect 'harsh years', it is because they want to prepare the petit bourgeoisie to accept the decisions of the government. But it does not have to accept! In no Workers State is there such a situation. In all the Workers States there is a constant progress in the economy, in the standard of living for the masses and in the care for the workers, working women and for the children. This is a constant improvement. This is not all that they should do. They could do infinitely more. The insufficient life of the leadership in the Communist Parties, the existence of the Soviet bureaucracy, of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, prevents a much more powerful development of the Workers States. Even so, there is an immense progress over the capitalist system, an immense superiority from every point of view, and it prepares the conditions for a constant and uninterrupted later progress. It is necessary to make comparisons between the two systems.

The death of Pompidou has unleashed the crisis of the capitalist system. There is an enormous process of breaking up and confrontation between them, to the point of smashing themselves in pieces, whilst in the Workers States there is an uninterrupted progress of the economy, of the welfare of the population though it is necessary to achieve better democratic rights and soviet democratic rights. A comparison has to be made and an appeal made for support to the left programme, the programme of the Popular Union. For a single candidate of the left through the Popular Union with the participation of all the masses in democratic discussion; rights for every tendency to discuss, propose and exchange ideas, experiences, to develop organs of control, factory councils, workers area councils, district councils, to make a programme for the development of the economy together with the trade unions, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Radicals

meetings of Nixon; they say that they are undignified and improper and they try to make an impression on the petit bourgeoisie seeking electoral bases and support.

It is necessary to reflect on the situation of crisis unleashed by the death of Pompidou, which is now going to be concentrated in the elections. Elections do not resolve the problems, but they are an aspect which can impel the centralisation, co-ordination and unification of the class, and be a very great impulse to the working class to win over sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and peasantry, to elevate the decision to go to the government and from the government to power, to develop anti-capitalist measures and to develop the working class to solve the problems of France through a programme, even from a modest, incipient anti-capitalist programme.

and the left, the PSU, all the Trotskyist tendencies, the Posadist-Trotskyists, all the tendencies of the workers movement, including the gauchistes; so that they all intervene with the object of impelling a development of democratic rights of the masses, and the participation of factories and the workers areas in the discussion, in the proposals, in the control of production, to facilitate a programme of production, of trade which responds to the interest and the necessity of the masses and of the French people, with two fundamental aspects; sliding scale of hours and wages; all the profits from automation, electronics, of increase in labour productivity to go to the benefit of the population. All this should be discussed in the workers areas, in the factories, in the trade unions, they should call meetings, conferences, discussions, before, during and after the elections, with the object of being able to use the participation of the masses, to be able to decide, to deliberate, to control the application of the programme. Let the discussion be a constant cell of the proletariat in the factories, the workers areas, the trade unions, the homes, with the workers the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry. Everyone must participate. Show that the economy can develop in France to find the way to answer the needs of the population.

Hence for this, a whole series of measures, programme and policy are required, which are not capitalist: planning, nationalisations, workers control of investments and production which answer the needs of the masses, Accompanied by complete democratic rights, agreements with all the countries in the world, agreements with the socialist countries, with the countries which are developing towards Workers States like Algeria, Peru, Mexico, Ecuador. Agreements with the countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America, development of the concern, the will to intervene and allowing the intervention of the masses, of all the young people, women in discussion. Also the school pupils, students must all intervene and discuss everything.

The solution for France is a programme, a policy and control by the population which develops the economy for the benefit of the population, not for capitalist accumulation which is preparing the war. Everyone has to discuss and the popul-

ation has to intervene like a real parliament. Discussions everywhere! Without there being an obstacle to the development of the electoral campaign, the democratic development and the democratic discussion throughout the masses has to take place. This is real democracy, in which the masses see that they can make use of democratic rights to speak, decide and apply.

The capitalist government of France, whether through Chaban-Delmas, Edgar Faure or Messmer or any other candidate they may elect, are going to try to appear demagogically before the petit bourgeoisie to present a programme of development, of popular promises. Capitalism has always governed in France, without achieving anything. The standard of living of the masses is worse than before. Now besides worsening the standard of living, they are preparing for the war. It is necessary to understand quite clearly and decisively, the opposition of French imperialism to Yankee imperialism is a problem of competition of inter-capitalist competition, nothing more. There is no desire, no interest to elevate, to extend democratic rights, to improve the life of the population. French imperialism has diminished its power, in its historic capacity, as a result of competition with other imperialist powers, and it is trying to acquire a certain support in the population to prevent the development of the left, to prevent the Communist and Socialist Parties coming to power.

It is on this basis that it is necessary to intervene in the elections to win them. But in the elections, it is not possible to remain only on the electoral setting, because if the left wins, the bourgeoisie is going to try to act as in Chile. It is necessary to foresee this Chile situation and to prepare the masses to intervene, to appeal to the army, the police, to respect the path of social development. The development of France is the development of French people, who are 70% with the left. It is not just a question of those who vote. There are an enormous number of people who do not vote, who are with the left, like the huge university population, the students who are in movement throughout France and who show that they are on the left.

It is the same in the great strikes like Rateau, which showed the will of the proletariat in the great struggles to maintain their gains and to develop measures which are not capitalist because capitalism does not answer the need to maintain employment and the development of the

#### UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKERS PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS IN EUROPE TO IMPOSE A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT WITH AN ANTICAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

Nixon's visit to consult with all the capitalists of the Atlantic Alliance has been to influence French capitalism so that it elects a candidate in the elections who can be an immediate partisan of submission to Yankee demands. At the same time, the enormous number of candidates for the government - among them Messmer, who after having had all the support of Pompidou, after just being reelected premier, has no support from his own Party - shows the fragility of their movement.

They are sustained by fear of the proletariat and by the influence of groups representing some sectors of high finance. Nixon's visit and the candidature of Giscard d'Estaing shows that they are seeking a candidate directly linked to high finance, or at least open to agreements, willing to negotiate or give way to the Yankees.

The enormous number of capitalist candidates shows the weakness, the internal division, the internal competition of French capitalism and the manoeuvre which Yankee imperialism is making through Nixon, to try to impose a candidate who may be more accessible to Yankee influence. It is necessary to respond to this by developing a campaign

standard of life. When the comrades at Rateau get their families and people from the workers areas to intervene in the factory they are saying, 'This is the life that we want'. There is an objective superior to the strike in their minds, the strike is a way of reaching human relations that are superior to the capitalist system. It is not a party or a celebration, it is a meeting in which they show that this is how they want to live, preparing their food and eating together, all discussing and living together without there being any exploited and exploiters, where there are no differences between them, but a common life in which they are all integrated. The proletariat shows that it wants fraternity and sentiments of human relations and an equality of human relations. It shows that the communist sentiment is a thousand times more advanced than the means they have for the taking of power. The families go to associate themselves with the strike and show their adhesion and solidarity and to affirm a sentiment of communist relations. This is the objective. As LIP was before. And as Sud-Aviation was in May '68. These are the conditions in which to intervene in the elections.

It is necessary to reply to Pompidou's funeral and to the secret meetings with Nixon with this programme, to make the Popular Union triumph, with democratic rights, trade union democracy, discussions in the workers areas, in the factories to unify a single centre on the basis of an anti-imperialist, anticapitalist programme; with complete trade union democracy. This will give an enormous base of fusion for the masses in the factory, in the workers areas, for discussion. They can base themselves on agreements, because they have the same historic interest, the same objective and the same desire to make society progress, the political differences are being solved, becoming integrated in the common drive to progress and communicate the best experiences, the best decisions, the best ideas to advance; which allow everyone to intervene. And it is necessary to see that the students and peasants intervene. And to see that a whole sector of the police intervene, those that have shown support for democratic rights and do not want to remain as an instrument of the capitalist system for the repression of the masses.

Pompidou's death and the secret meetings with Nixon should be answered by general mobilisations, for the triumph of the Popular Union with a programme leading to a greater progress and the suppression of the capitalist system. It is necessary to be prepared for the armed struggle which capitalism is going to unleash. It is very clear that capitalism is not going to permit an electoral defeat, French imperialism and Yankee imperialism are going to react, they are going to intervene, because they feel that it is a class defeat of French imperialism, a class defeat in France and the rest of Europe. The elections have to be won, by elevating to the maximum possible the base of contact with the population, through trade union democracy complete democracy, complete discussion with all tendencies. It is necessary to raise the standard of living in France, through a programme which in part is begun in the common programme of the Popular Union, but extending it to the suppression of the capitalist regime.

to win the elections, and from there to continue with the nationalisation of all the most fundamental means of production and exchange, to plan the economy and production, with agreements with all countries, agreements with the Workers States, and appealing to all the masses of all the countries of Europe and the world, to plan the economy, to dislodge, to overthrow capitalism, to impose a workers and peasants government. An appeal must be made to all the proletariat of Europe, all the workers parties, the socialists, communists, left radicals, left Catholics, to support the Popular

## editorial

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tion in support of MP E. Heffer for his stand against the decision of the government. This shows that the working class is deciding the present crisis in the Labour Party, in which the centre and the left are divorced from their ties with the bourgeois state and its repressive apparatus.

The struggle of the working class finds, at this moment, an expression in sectors like NALGO and the teachers because they are sectors less organised, less controlled by the bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions. In contrast, the Engineering workers struggle for a programme of demands is limited by the leadership of the AUEW, who have retained the demand for a £10 a week wage increase which is almost meaningless (since the majority of workers have already gained a wage increase beyond this), and have dropped the demand for the 35 hour week! Despite this, there is the overtime ban and a whole preparation for mobilisations at a higher level, particularly in the car industry. It is necessary to develop a discussion, to expand the programme of demands of the AUEW, to include in a situation where the level of inflation results in the implementation of the 'threshold' agreements, that all the wages rise with the cost of living, on the basis of a 50p for every 1% rise. This demand has to be generalised throughout the workers movement and has to be included in any agreement between the trade unions and the Labour government.

The struggle within the Labour Party is only a distant expression of the militancy, the determination and the consciousness of the working class and the sectors of the petit bourgeois which they attract. If elements of the 'Parliamentary Left', of the 'Tribune' groups like Mikardo intervene in an anti-capitalist way, with a certain security, it is under the impulsion of the working class and as yet unorganised but genuine-left in the Labour Party. The con-

sciousness of the working class is demonstrated by the Clyde Shipbuilding workers who have intervened on the question of warships to the Chilean junta, without regard to their own immediate economic interests: the refusal to build these warships, or to fulfill the contract poses the danger of unemployment and the possible closure of the Shipyard. Therefore, it is necessary for the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions to demand not only that no military weapons go to Chile, but that the Labour government implements the programme of the Labour Party for the nationalisation of the Shipbuilding industry.

The level of consciousness is also seen in the proposal by the workers and journalists of the now closed Beaverbrook press in Scotland to run their own paper. It is not a fully socialist proposal, but it is outside the conceptions of capitalism and it is a demonstration of the security of these workers who feel that they can run a newspaper where the bourgeoisie cannot. This is at the level of the conquests just made by the Italian car workers in Fiat, who have just imposed that so much production of cars would be stopped and put in to build buses! The working class feels that it can run society. The Beaverbrook workers and journalists have demanded financial aid from the Labour government, and the Labour left has to extend this demand to one for the immediate nationalisation of the Beaverbrook press in Scotland, under workers control and without compensation. Indeed to demand that all factories in danger of closure, are nationalised under workers control and without compensation to the former owners!

The fact that the mobilisations of the working class have imposed a Labour government, itself stimulates a whole process in which the class prepares to intervene and this has resulted in a certain elevation of the political life in the workers movement. It is necessary to take full advantage of the Conference called by 'Clay Cross' on May 8th, and the 'recall Conference' proposed by the Labour Party Young Socialists at their annual Conference this year,

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# ON THE REFERENDUM ON DIVORCE IN ITALY AND THE CRISIS OF THE ITALIAN BOURGEOISIE

The crisis developing in Italy is an integral part of the process that is taking part in the whole of Europe. The crisis produced by the withdrawal of the small Republican Party from the 'centre left' coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists, Social Democrats and Republicans had the objective of opening the door to measures of repression against the masses, without confronting them directly, by repressing their democratic rights.

At the same time the loan that was being negotiated by the Bank of Italy with the International Monetary Fund was going to be used to develop a policy of deflation, of factory closures, of rising prices and credit restrictions. But the reaction of the Trade Unions showed that they weren't prepared to stand for it; the one day general strike of February 27th went much further than the perspectives and calculations made by the leaders of the Trade Unions and the workers parties. It was a complete stoppage. Everybody participated in it. This strike had been prepared by the strike of police and civil servants in Germany and by the miners strike in Britain. The decision with which the working class moved, showed that the masses took the Trade Union strike as a means of exercising a political pressure and of impelling the workers parties and the catholic left. This was the meaning of the strike, the same as the strikes in Britain, Germany and all the other mobilisations in Italy.

In this situation the ruling class needs to prepare a solution, to rally its forces to confront the masses, but in reality the contrary is happening: its forces are being divided and the base of the Christian Democracy, a mass of petit bourgeoisie, peasants and workers, a traditional social base of support for capitalism, is intervening actively in all the anti-capitalist struggles. In order to break this unity of the masses a sector of capitalism and the church have given active support to the campaign for a referendum for the abrogation of the divorce laws. We publish here some extracts from a resolution and article published on 'Lotta Operaia' organ of our Italian section.

'Our party calls to vote against the abrogation of divorce, as part of the struggle for the respect and the extension of democratic rights and to defeat the reactionary attempt expressed through the referendum. It is necessary to vote NO in the referendum and at the same time to continue to deepen the anti-capitalist struggle, to extend the united front activity of the masses to impose all the demands of the workers movement and the exploited population.

The reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie that have imposed the referendum have the objective, among others, to divide the united front that exists—and that has been strengthened on the basis of the anticapitalist struggle and that therefore cannot be broken—whatever the electoral result—between soc-

ialist, communist and catholic masses. This objective must be defeated by voting NO and with the progress towards a workers alternative, a left alternative to the present crisis of the regime: a left government of PCI, PSI, left catholics based on the trade unions'.

'Women—in the world and in Italy—are not the backward part of society, they no longer are under the influence of the priest or of religious prejudices. Even women who are still catholic participate in the trade union struggles of their husbands, brothers, fathers, sons or those of their own category when they have been able to get out of the restrictions of domestic life and have been able to obtain work in production. For this reason large sectors of the catholic movement, including bishops, such as the one of Bolzano-Bressanone, have made declarations in favour of the freedom for the individual to decide according to its conscience in the referendum, which in fact is a support for the NO to the abolition of divorce. We must base the mobilisation to defeat the reactionary manoeuvre of the referendum on these conditions, to mobilise large sectors of women workers, peasants, students, housewives that are not mobilised very often, in order to obtain an objective that goes further than the immediate demand, to obtain a stable progress, in all the Italian workers movement through the full, active leading incorporation of the enormous energies and capacity of the mass of women in the struggle for power and socialism.'

'The best way to attract the mass of women to the anti-capitalist struggle is the organisation of the struggle for a revolutionary programme, showing concretely that it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system, to prepare the conditions for the struggle for socialism, as the mass of women feel that their problems can only be solved by a radical change of society, and that therefore the decision to fight for such a complete change can gain them to a much deeper political and trade union militancy'.

'At the same time it is necessary to develop a political, cultural and revolutionary activity to elevate the level of trade union-political militancy of women, based on a scientific and therefore marxist vision of the problem. It is necessary not to make any concessions to the mentality, the limitations, the divisions that capitalism makes of the so-called problems of women; newspapers or magazines like 'We Women' (A magazine for women of the Italian Communist Party) that speaks of fashion and other problems in a way which is not very different from the bourgeois women's magazines, and that at the most can win a few electoral votes for women, but that do not contribute to elevate the scientific understanding of their problems. They leave women as separate from the general struggle of the working class. The same role is played by the Women's Lib group even if in a different way, because they speak of oppression by 'man' on women without making any class distinction, without posing the real class oppression by capitalism on the proletariat, from which women workers suffer in a sharper way than their 'male' class comrades'.

'All the statements by large catholic sectors against the voting 'YES' in the referendum are a symptom of the conditions which exist, for breaking the Christian Democracy and forming a Left Catholic Party. They do not express the personal opinions of this or the other leaders. They answer a situation in which many of these leaders would lose all their authority over sectors of catholic workers if they showed themselves to be accomplices to this reactionary manoeuvre. They also show that the decisive element that is missing in order to obtain this objective, is an active initiative of the workers movement and in particular, of the Communist Party. Communist women can and must play a fundamental role in this activity, this is the best way to secure the immediate objective of the defeat of reactionary forces in the referendum'.

## Women must be part of the leadership of all the organisms of the workers movement

J. POSADAS

(INTERVENTION IN THE CONFERENCE AND CADRE SCHOOL OF THE TROTSKY-IST PARTY, ARGENTINIAN SECTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL JANUARY (1966).

*It is necessary to include in the revolutionary struggle, in the trade union functioning, the right of women to intervene and be a part of the trade union leadership. Together with this need, to organise the struggle for women's trade unions demands; for better working conditions, for 3 days rest a month during the period of menstruation, rest for maternity—before and after—and equal pay for equal work.*

*In general, the leaderships do not allow the free intervention of women. For example in Italy, despite the fact that the workers movement is an advanced, one woman intervene very little, and even less in the trade union leadership. They do not let them, they intimidate them.*

*Women must be included in the trade union leadership proportionally to their weight in industry. Not as a particular concession to women, but as part of the worker's movement, in which they have particular demands which are not taken in consideration. Moreover, they work the same amount and earn less than men. Women have specific natural conditions and specific demands which are not taken in consideration. They have a weight and the will to struggle, which is not registered in the struggle. For this reason, and for their social weight in the respective areas of work, they must be included in the leadership. Why do not the trade union militants and leaders take into account the weight of women? They do weigh and very often they are more decisive in the struggle than the men. The unification of women, in their fields of work, is done through their leading and militant participation. 'Cultured men', 'those who cultivate culture', proclaim the liberation of women. And they think that this liberation can be obtained in the moment in which the state gives them their liberty. This is false. The liberation of the woman takes place when she can act without feeling terrorised and subjected to either the capitalist state, marriage or her husband. Only then she is free. The liberation of women begins in the trade unions. The party extends this because it makes them feel in a position of equality to think, lead, decide, accept, reject, suggest, create. Freedom for women is their demand to be equal with the same rights, the same capacity of action, of creation and of leadership as the man has. No capitalist state can give this. Because even if formally in the statute books, freedom for women exists, under capitalism they feel to be inhibited, suppressed.*

*In the capitalist state, there will never be equal economic conditions for both men and women. Not because of the economic dependence, inevitably women must be concerned with the children. This puts them in a position of inferiority. When women militate in a trade union, they feel free and tend to act as such. They feel free to speak, suggest, think. But liberty of the woman must not exist only in the trade unions, but also in the house with the proletarian mother. Capitalism impedes this, women can feel free only in socialism. Their liberation begins in the Workers State, because it allows the proletarian mother to intervene in all problems, without being submitted to having to take care of her children. The Workers State creates the material conditions to allow this, in such a way so that looking after the children, washing clothes, cooking, are collective tasks that others carry out. Then the proletarian mother has time to intervene. She does not develop any more as of children, nor as a machine which cleans children's clothes, nor is she subjected to permanent concern for the life of the children. Then she develops with a sentiment of equality. It is necessary to impose conditions in the trade unions which allow women to exercise their rights. It is a necessity for the workers movement, it is a utilisation of all the forces. Women must lead in the trade unions, as the men do. They must be listened to, and have the same possibilities to discuss, oppose, propose, have the same rights as men. Moreover, it is necessary to struggle to propose proportional representation of women. To condemn, and throw out of the trade unions all those who treat arrogantly, those who treat them as an object, or who try to corrupt those women who intervene in the struggle of the workers movement. This full intervention of the woman is an important part of the struggle for the demands of trade union functioning.*

## editorial

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to discuss the elevation of the programme of the Labour Party and its implementation, to problems of the 'Common Market', the intervention towards Chile, the means to raise the living standards of all the masses in the British Isles to develop the economy on the basis of a programme of nationalisations under workers control and without compensations. The intervention of the whole population in mass meetings and the construction of organisms, of Factory Committees and Committees of the Workers Areas.

## Pompidou

Union, to triumph over capitalism in France. It is the guarantee, the basis to be able to develop a policy that can develop the economy and confront capitalism, and end up overthrowing it. It is necessary to make an appeal to the European and world proletariat to support this candidate.

The elections in France coincide with the elections in Italy over the referendum. They are a proof that capitalism is acting and developing — on the one hand on the manoeuvre of Pompidou's death and in Italy through the direct preparation of Italian capitalism — to try to create the conditions to be able to unify and centralise the forces of capitalism, under the control of high finance, to try to confront the proletariat, to contain the conquests and the progress of the proletariat, to contain the development of the communist, socialist and left Radical Parties, and to try to create the conditions for a repression, a general process of reaction against the proletariat. This is the intention of the bourgeoisie.

All the actions of the proletariat, all the struggles of the masses go in the opposite direction. All the mobilisations in France and throughout Europe are mobilisations of unification, from the children in the colleges, to the pupils, to the university students; and the peasants too, including the middle peasants, who mobilise against capitalism because it cannot resolve the problem of prices and their income from production. The poor and middle peasants are united and unify themselves with the struggles of the proletariat; the same with the petit bourgeoisie throughout Europe. There is a whole progress of the unification of the struggles with the proletariat. The small electoral defeats of the social democrats in Germany have no fundamental importance, because they are a reconstitution or reorganisation within the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties. The right wings go away to support the Liberals or Social Christians. But on the other hand there is a much more solid support from the left. This means a reorganisation within the socialist movement. This is the significance of the reduction of votes for the socialists in Germany.

This process in France shows that the Popular Union has to be supported. The proletariat of the whole of Europe has to be appealed to, for it to support the Popular Union and support the 'No' to the abrogation of the divorce laws in Italy and to make a united front. It is necessary to use these circumstances to make a united front throughout Europe with a common programme, for a common united front of all the Parties of the left with the trade unions to confront the capitalist system, to confront the efforts of Yankee imperialism and European capitalism to recover the gains won by the proletariat, and to put forward governments and programmes in the service of the masses; that put all the achievements of science and technology at the service of the masses. To do this, a government of the left is necessary, which advances toward much more advanced solutions to finish with the capitalist system. So it is necessary to intervene in the trade unions, in the workers areas, in the factories to prepare for the electoral triumph and to prepare to sustain at all costs the electoral victories of the Popular Union in France.

J POSADAS 8.4.74

## RED FLAG

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## FULL SUPPORT TO THE ANTICAPITALIST STRUGGLE OF THE PORTUGUESE MASSES!

The overthrow of the dictatorship of Caetano is yet another expression of the level which the structure of the world revolution has reached; which itself is determined by the total economic, financial and social crisis of world capitalism, by the constant struggle of the exploited masses of the world and by the existence—and the development—of 14 Workers States. When the masses of a country like Portugal who have suffered an absolutely dictatorial regime since 1928, who have had no freedom of political or trade union activity and—in conditions of an appalling economic backwardness—have the lowest living standards in Europe mobilise in this way it cannot be explained on the basis of simply the internal forces. In this respect the events of the last days in Portugal, the smashing of the repressive and fascist regime of Caetano is close in character to the process in Ethiopia.

What is clear is that although the army launched a coup it received an immediate response from the population with the masses demonstrated on the streets with red flags, with slogans demanding the complete destruction of the Caetano regime, trade union rights, the release of political prisoners and freedom of the press. It is not a 'palace revolution' or simply an army coup in Portugal but a process in which sectors of the army—the lower ranks of the officers, the NCO's and the ordinary soldier—play a role of leadership in conditions where no really organised political parties or trade unions exist. It is not a new phenomenon since, in one form or another it has appeared in South Yemen, Somalia, Ethiopia, Peru, Libya and many other semi-colonial and economically backward countries.

Whilst it is true that the overthrow of Caetano and the whole rotten regime is part of the advance of the world structure of the revolution and cannot be understood outside this context, it was also determined by the armed struggle of the masses of Mozambique, Angola etc and above all, by the existence of Guinea Bissau. This is what, in the most direct way, impelled the process of disintegration in the Portuguese army. It found itself involved in a war which had no possibility—nor was that the intention—of doing anything to improve the lives of either the masses in Africa or in Portugal. The Portuguese army not only suffered military defeats, not only had no perspective of winning such a war but also received the direct influence of the struggle of the revolutionary masses of Africa. The soldiers have been able to observe the superiority of life in the areas freed from the colonial domination of Portuguese imperialism over the life of the masses in the areas of Africa still controlled by Portugal and over the standard of life in Portugal itself. It has also been influenced directly by the guerrilla movements and by the leaderships of these movements, for example immediately after the coup the leader-

ship of PAIGC which is based on Guinea Bissau made a statement which, in part, was an appeal to these sectors of the army most open to the influence of the revolution; saying 'The people of Guinea-Bissau are more than ever resolved to the struggle against the Portuguese aggressors'. This is the best way in which the forces of independence can help the Portuguese people and the 'healthy forces' of the Portuguese Army'.

The disintegration of the army as an instrument of repression is part of the social crisis of capitalism inasmuch as sectors want to develop the economy, want to develop the country from a national bourgeois point of view but see that not only is the capitalist system incapable of allowing this but that, in the Workers States, there is already a system based on a nationalised economy which is superior.

What has happened in Portugal is an enormous blow for world capitalism and in particular Yankee imperialism. At a time when Yankee imperialism is intervening to try to draw together the European bourgeoisie, to impose a unity in preparation for the war against the Workers States and the world revolution it has lost—in both the military and social sense—yet another base. At the same time the overthrow of the Caetano regime is going to have repercussions in Africa particularly in Southern Africa, in South Africa and Rhodesia; it is going to be a weakening of what little is left to imperialism in

### editorial

## THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY MUST DISCUSS AND EXTEND THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS

*The tense situation in Europe, shown by the tendencies in the bourgeois in France, Italy, and Britain to prepare the way for military coups and the tumultuous pressures from the masses for the destruction of the capitalist system has found renewed expression in the overthrow of the terrorist dictatorship in Portugal. This is a heavy blow at world imperialism and demonstrates the profound impotence of capitalism to develop the economy or maintain for any length of time, in this period of history, a regime of unmitigated repression. At the same time as this collapse of a reactionary regime linked with and maintained by world imperialism, there is the tremendous campaign for the victory of the Popular Union in France. The massive attendance—well over a hundred thousand people for the Paris meeting of Mitterand and Marchais (CP) show a communist spirit and limitless confidence in the future of humanity. The slogan of Mitterand was 'the left to power'—meaning concretely the imposition of a socialist programme of nationalisations and confrontation with the bourgeois state, although he does not provide a programme for the ensuing conflict with the bourgeoisie. This contrasts with the*

Africa. Brazil is also not going to be untouched by this process. The same is true in Europe; the process in Spain, for example, is going to receive an enormous impulse in conditions where there is the possibility for an electoral victory of Mitterand and the Popular Unity in France and where there is a Labour Government in this country. What has happened in Portugal represents breaking of a link in the chain of world capitalism and imperialism.

It is true that the situation is still confused but what is certain is that the masses have already made gains in the sense of overthrowing a repressive regime, in the release of political prisoners, in the destruction of the secret police and in imposing the right to demonstrate; in imposing these rights in the streets! At the same time the army, through Spínola, have put the demands for the right of the trade unions to function together with the promise of free elections in the near future. However the army is not by any means a unified force in this process and there is contained within the process elements of a 'coup within a coup' in the sense that Spínola has acceded to these demands reluctantly in order to prevent a process which would go further in an anti-capitalist direction. The army moved but behind the army—in every sense—were the masses with demands for the end of capitalism. It is clear that the sector of the army represented by Spínola which wanted a very limited coup, which want-

ed a capitalist solution to the problems of Portugal did not control the coup. For example a civil servant who went to the barracks to ask who was in control, who was responsible got the reply 'we all are'. Spínola himself was forced to accept the demands of the lower ranks of the army and he did so reluctantly. It is clear that, as with the process in Greece, the advance of the Portuguese masses is going to express itself in further struggles within the army even before any elections are held. Immediately after the overthrow of Caetano the preparations for another stage of the struggle, a directly anti-capitalist stage are announced. They are announced in the appearance of the Communist Party—which has been illegal for 50 years—at the head of demonstrations, it is expressed in the clenched fists and the red flags and, in the most clear way, it is expressed in the slogans which have appeared on walls in Lisbon calling for 'the final confrontations with capitalism'. The masses of Portugal are going to take the gains already made, the freedom of the press, elections, trade union rights, as the basis to advance to the complete overthrow of capitalism in Portugal.

The response of the Labour movement of the trade unions and the left of the Labour Party to the process in Portugal has to be—and no doubt will be—one of support of solidarity with the Portuguese masses. However it is not just a question of solidarity but of seeing the process in

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*programme of Giscard d'Estaing, the spokesman for the connection of French and American imperialism, which offers no end to inflation and stresses the need for adequate defence for French Imperialism ie the economy of war and reduction of the living standards of the mass of workers and petit bourgeoisie of France. In this campaign the optimistic struggle for socialism contrasts sharply with the sinister preoccupations of the bourgeoisie—when to precipitate the coup?*

*British imperialism, tired and beaten, watches the drama in France with some fear, because even if the Popular Union were to be defeated in the elections, the massive weight of the popular forces in France adds to the total impact of proletarian strength throughout Europe and weakens the ability of capitalism to launch coups with any prospect of success. Since the victory of labour in the elections—a defeat of capitalism but not a victory of the right wing of the party—there has been a phenomenal increase in the preoccupation for political discussion in the party and the beginning of the weakening of the ties of the right and centre of the LP*

*with capitalism. The trials of Smith and Cunningham show the tenacity of these links of the aristocracy of labour with capitalism, but the reaction against this type of corruption is growing in the Labour movement and is a fundamental aspect of the declining weight of these forces who maintain links with capitalism.*

*The weight of the forces of the left in the Labour Party increases rapidly. This has already shown itself over the central problem of Chile. Although the government is sending the frigates, the left has made its criticisms—in the heart of the government and cannot be disciplined or controlled. The latest and most important aspect of the advance in the confidence and understanding in the forces of the left, finds a reflection in the speech of Mason on the growing demand for the end of British troops in N Ireland. Wilson re-emphasised the continued presence of British troops there, but the way in which the issue was raised confirms the weight of the pressure in the LP for withdrawal from N Ireland, already shown in the unions by the call of the vice president of the Scottish miners union for*

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The development of the process of partial regeneration means the existence of a struggle within the Workers States and the Communist Parties on whether to advance to power or not. The present stage of history is that of the dismemberment and disintegration of the capitalist system. It is not a permanent and constant disintegration that will lead to the destruction of the capitalist system, but it does lead to its weakening, fragmentation and the disintegration of the links that maintain its unity.

It continues as a capitalist system but the lack of order, harmony and co-ordination in its functioning express its growing crisis. It is a question of a global, total, complete crisis of the capitalist system; economic, social, political, scientific, military and police.

The capitalist regime still has not been overthrown because the forces that could do this did not propose this and do not always propose it. This is the fact that allows it to survive and continue. This is not a question of capitalism counting on its own forces - which exist, but which are very limited - but of resorting to measures, to reserves which do not belong to its own ability, putting to its own benefit the powerlessness, the lack of capacity or intention of its class enemy, the Communist Parties. This is what is in discussion, not the proletariat. Whilst surviving in this way, capitalism maintains internally all the factors of disintegration. It is in this way that the whole gamut of crises is expressed in all the capitalist countries; from literature to law, through science, philosophy, the school, church, the priests and the nuns, the police, the army, the judiciary. There is a constant progress of a process of interpenetration in the capitalist system, in the course of which systems, relations,

laws, anti-capitalist judicial conclusions like the fact of occupying factories and making them function by selling the products begin to dominate and to be imposed.

This process creates a state of total weakness in the capitalist system, not just in one or other country but in all of them, right up to the most powerful like the United States or Britain where the workers occupied and controlled the shipyards in Clyde. In the United States they have not done this yet, but when they oppose the war in Vietnam against their own country, and weaken the latter, this has the same sense. The influence of the world process is concentrated at the present moment in the petit bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the United States and is going to be expressed afterwards in apparently sudden and spontaneous mobilisations. The proletariat and petit bourgeoisie accumulate the bases, the will which will allow them to decide. All this enfeebles the capitalist system. Moreover it is beaten throughout the world. Even in the country where it succeeded in recovering a part of its power - in Chile - it has not succeeded in imposing and stabilising itself, whereas from the first moment of the coup, all the Communist Parties considered Chile was liquidated.

#### THE CONSTANT WEAKENING OF CAPITALISM AND THE ELEVATION OF UNDERSTANDING IN THE WORKERS STATES AND COMMUNIST PARTIES.

The capitalist system is weakening, and this process is expressed in the constant fall in its authority and weight. As opposed to the advance of the revolution in all its forms; from the church to literature. The revolution incorporates the schoolchildren and even domestic animals; on the demonstration of the 6th December in France, even the dogs carried placards! The Workers States and the Communist Parties still do not take advantage of this weakness. In this way they give capitalism a means of survival.

But to survive is not to live, because it implies the utilisation of or profiting from factors which do not belong to the capitalist system itself and which consequently are neither durable or stable but only circumstantial. Hence the permanent, total crisis of the capitalist system which has broken out in a thousand forms. It is shown in a very, very vigorous way in the economic field where capitalism does not succeed in stabilising its economy. There are constant outbreaks of crises provoked by the existence of the Workers States. Their progress and their social and economic superiority. For the capitalist system, this means a reduction in its field of action, and fluctuations in the functioning of the cycle of capitalism. This reduction exercises a restraint on capitalism and leads to a more and more desperate struggle between the capitalist powers which is externalised in the majority of cases in the domain of finance.

At the same time the economic crisis is, after the war, the most concentrated world expression of a global confrontation of the Workers States, of the ex-colonial countries and of the proletariat of the world with the capitalist regime. The crisis of capitalism, its internal competition is exacerbated because there is no field in which to extend itself. The accumulation of capital does not allow any more expansion, capital cannot any longer be exported to the colonies and the regime must, on the contrary, put up with enormous expenditure in armaments as when it has to consent to the creation of professional armies.

The feebleness of the capitalist system increases and it is this that elevates consequently in the Workers States and Communist Parties the necessity to understand. The enfeebling of the capitalist system gives an impulse to the Workers States to feel, to understand, to dare to see the process which history is developing and to see all that, not through the understanding and the interests of the bureaucrat, of the administrator, of the planner, but through the party and the trade unions. In progressing, in developing its struggles, the working class throughout the world transmits to the Workers States force, impetuosity and decision. It stimulates the intervention of the masses

The present course gives the masses confidence and assurance in the fact that they no longer have to fear a return to nazism. In that epoch there was only one Workers State. Now there are fourteen. The confidence and assurance of the masses constantly advance, they feel stimulated to intervene, though in a very limited way, from the fact essentially that there is no party that allows them to do this. But already they intervene. If it is not directly in meetings, assemblies, debates, discussions, they intervene in all sorts of ways and they weigh and feel the necessity to produce intelligence and reason. This is what the programme of the Workers States shows, which supports the world revolution, in a still limited way, without doubt, but it supports it.

At the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union pillaged Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Now it gives aid to the whole world. This is not a restitution for what was pillaged, because one cannot consider that it was a question of plundering these countries, but of measures which developed the revolution. It was necessary to reinforce the Workers States and even if the methods used were incorrect, they basically answered a necessity; to reinforce the Soviet Workers State before everything else. The bureaucracy did it to defend itself - as in the case of the invasion of Finland and Poland - but it was a necessity. If these measures had not been taken the capitalist regime would have invaded the Soviet Union. Of the communists, pushing them not to confine themselves within the sphere of servants of the bureaucracy or bureaucratic interests. This influence is united to that of the scientific and technical development of the Workers States, which gives confidence to the masses and shows the uselessness of a closed apparatus which thinks only for itself. All that elevates and develops the need to discuss, to see and to understand the necessity of planning.

It was possible to obtain the same result by mobilising the masses. The form employed by the bureaucracy was reactionary, but the object pursued was not counterrevolutionary because it allowed the possibility to maintain the Workers State in these countries. The proof is that all the other

# The historic function of the Soviet Workers State, soviet democracy and partial regeneration

8 december 1973

Workers States have been sustained by the Soviet Union.

This is elevating the development of science and technology in the Workers States, and the confidence necessary to see, understand, study, discuss, reason and resort to the original sources of marxism in the Workers State, to give confidence to construct it. This process encourages people, reanimates people, incites and impels the masses to sweep out the trade union apparatuses. Even if they have not done this yet and are not doing it, they see that it is possible to speak, discuss, exchange ideas and polemics without danger. In spite of the existence of the Sino-Soviet conflict the behaviour of the masses of the Workers States, of the Soviet Union and China, has at no time expressed depression, discouragement, a sentiment of defeat or of weakness before this division. The power of the Workers State is stronger than this division, which shows very well that at the base of its sentiments the vanguard understands that this division is not due to the Workers State itself, but to the leaderships.

THE BUREAUCRACY CAN NO LONGER REPRODUCE ITS POWER.

All this weighs in the Workers States. At the same time, the masses of these countries and those of the capitalist countries seek and find, through Vietnam and the struggles in France, Italy, Germany, centres of unification of their will, of their aspirations and sentiments, though they are still without organisms. This is how the masses of the entire world enter into communication, transmit their influence to the masses of the United States and create a vast field of influence in the capitalist countries and the Workers States.

This influences the workers, peasants, layers of the petit bourgeoisie, or layers that correspond to it in the Workers States, and the militants and leaderships of the Communist Parties, and creates a base of confidence and assurance which allows one to see ideas objectively.

Capitalism has not been able to dominate the Workers States, to break them and to make the counterrevolution, because the historic structure and basis of the economy, the forms of property, centralisation hinder it; but also because there is the working class. The influence of the latter finds a lot more powerful and more centralised means of action and influence than before. It finds means of communication with the Workers States, with the capitalist countries, and in part with the United States too. The working class creates a whole field of action, within which it impels, incites and elevates the confidence necessary to see the process objectively; instead of seeing it in a closed way like the bureaucracy does. But first there is a bureaucratic structure which it is necessary to break and eliminate.

This bureaucracy does not have either the force, the means, the power, nor the necessary historic conditions to reproduce itself in order to maintain its power. Its perspective, as in the case of the capitalist system, is weakening and disintegrating. Against that there is the progress of the masses, who have confidence in the conscious socialist historic heroism which was expressed in the USSR at Stalingrad, and which is expressed now by the young workers and engineers, the men and women who go to work in Siberia without pay to defend the Workers State. It is the same historic heroism which the Chinese expressed when they made the greatest sacrifices, comparable to those of the Bolsheviks, to triumph against Chiang Kai Shek, and also in their support to Korea.

These conditions come together as a very clear influence over the Workers States. The bureaucracy does not have the historic means to

THE PROGRESS IN THE POLICY AND TACTIC OF THE WORKERS STATES.

The result of this process is that the Workers States must discuss the tactic, policy and the confrontation with capitalism. Now they combine the policy of adaptation to capitalism with the policy of impelling the revolution. If we were still in the time of Stalin, what would be happening would be adaptation and alliance with capitalism, but now the bureaucracy can no longer do this; it is hindered by the development and the structure of the Workers States and by the intervention of the proletarian vanguard of the whole world.

reproduce its power, to keep the levers of power in its hands. It is weakening and disintegrating. It is, at this moment, a powerful apparatus which dominates the whole of the economy, all the police, army and justice. The advance of the revolution progressively weakens this power, in an unequal way but always concentrated in the same sense, to know that the final settlement of accounts is necessary, that it is necessary to suppress the capitalist regime. Capitalism and the Workers States can no longer coexist. This logically creates a reaction in the Workers States, the consciousness of the confrontation, and consequently the search for a basis of support in the working class, in the USSR, in the Communist Parties and in the whole world. It needs support to act against the capitalist system. It does this in a reformist, interpenetrative way; but it has to do it, quite the reverse of what it did in the past. Before, it was a question of adapting to the capitalist system. Without suppressing it or breaking it, this process weakens the bureaucratic process, its functioning, its growth and its reproduction. And on the other hand, leaders, cadres and militants who have confidence in communism multiply in a very clear way.

All this has to be expressed in the communist movement in programme, tactic and policy; and this is what is happening at the present moment. We are an expression of this process; a weak expression from a numerical point of view and from the point of view of material means, but powerful in its decision and its admirable historic quality that is comparable to that of our teachers, the Bolsheviks. A small group which has the decision and assumes the historic responsibility to understand that it is necessary to undertake this task of writing, analysing, transmitting experiences to coordinate and homogenise the capacity of analysing for the development of communism, opposing capitalism with a policy that allows one to benefit from all circumstances with all the degrees and variations of the necessary tactic.

This is a continuation of the effects of the existence of the USSR and the world proletariat, which progresses in its anticapitalist struggles in Europe, Africa, Latin America and Asia. The result is that a weight is exercised on the Communist Parties, forcing them to rectify their policy of adaptation to capitalism and to reach confrontation and antagonistic clashes like in Vietnam and in the Middle East - even if the policy that the Soviets push forward is not correct. The Soviets must intervene now, for example, in Vietnam, and we appeal to them to do so, because the Yankees are again threatening to intervene. The Soviets must make a public declaration to warn them to respect the agreements, instead of giving assurances of sympathy, friendship and cordiality to Messmer and Pompidou as they are doing. They must warn the United States, 'We will intervene in Vietnam, for the legitimate defence of the Vietnamese people'. The same in the Middle East. They must appeal to the masses of the Middle East to expel Israeli imperialism. And if the Yanks brandish the threat of war, show all world public opinion that they are preparing war, they want it and they oppose any peaceful solution in the Middle East. It is not a question of trying to convince them, but to show the decision to impose on them with definite measures.

The result of this process is a development of partial regeneration, because the Communist Parties must push forward a policy which confronts capitalism, in defence of the revolution in countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Communist Parties seek alliances with local movements in these countries in order to gain electoral progress or to implement measures of the Workers States, measures which suppress the capitalist system.

Although the policy of the Communist Parties remains very limited, they now confront the capitalist system, they progress in a programmatic sense toward anticapitalist objectives. Without being revolutionary, their policy has anticapitalist objectives. It makes anticapitalist conquests progress and gives confidence and assurance to the world communist movement. There is a discussion now in all this movement of the programme and policy which are necessary to replace the capitalist system. The Communist Parties pass from a policy of adaptation to the policy of 'substitution'. This policy progresses but they do not have a party prepared for this task.

The structure of the Communist Parties still corresponds to the previous stage of adaptation, coexistence, submission and interpenetration with capitalism. The Communist Parties and the Workers States support the anticapitalist struggle, but they have no parties prepared for this task. They are not consistent. They must rid themselves of this structure in order to be able to act in a coordinated manner and be consistent as a Party - which they are not. This is what allows capitalism to intervene inside the Communist Parties to revive there and support the conciliatory right and in this way impede the task of internal clarification, to draw lessons from the external process, to elevate the party and so gain historic time. To gain historic time

THE DISCUSSION ON THE SOVIET UNION IN THE AUSTRALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

The result of this is that some Communist Parties want to discuss, and our intervention has a very great weight. We are an indispensable part of the world communist movement because we have been preoccupied, we are preoccupied and will continue to be preoccupied with the discussion of all these problems; to feed this movement theoretically, developing the experiences and lessons from the world process.

means to be prepared with atomic arms to respond with war at the time imperialism believes it fit to launch it, which it will do when it thinks it is most favourable to it.

The process of partial regeneration is neither consistent nor continuous; it does not rise by steps or degrees because there is no consistent leadership inside the Communist Parties capable of understanding the process. The process is therefore very limited. On the other hand, what is decisive is that they are objectively obliged to lead a revolutionary policy: It is necessary to overthrow capitalism, to plan, to eliminate the bureaucracy, to establish socialist democracy, to plan with mass organisms that intervene in the discussion. It is necessary to centralise all the currents of the workers movement. All these conclusions that concentrate the present development of the revolution appear, even though they are divided and diversified and separated they are united as necessary consequences of the process.

Therefore tendencies and currents spring up in the Communist Parties. They are searching and they see that we write, that we analyse, we are preoccupied to feed the world revolutionary movement, communist, socialist movements, and we are preoccupied to provide the necessary ideas for every problem which it is necessary to discuss in this stage and for all the new phenomena in history. Which include the nationalist movements like Peronism, Peru, Mexico, the Middle East, South Yemen, Zambia, Somalia, Sekou Toure, N'Krumah, Congo Brazaville in Africa. All this is the consequence of essentially one process; the destruction and interior disintegration of the capitalist system, itself the product of the revolution and the existence of 14 Workers States.

The Communist Parties have neither the cadres nor the preparation as a party to be able to understand, generalise and dynamise this process. They are afraid of dynamising it because through the apparatus they feel the weight of the bureaucratic interest which holds them back. They are forced to confront capitalism like in 1940 the Soviet bureaucracy was forced to confront nazi imperialism. It is the world masses, the progress of the revolution, the existence of the 14 Workers States, that is to say, a force which pushes toward the necessity of anticapitalist measures, it is forcing them to take these measures which they would not have taken before. There is a progress in understanding that it is a question of a system against system confrontation, that we are going toward the final settlement of accounts. The communists still do not have this comprehension, it is one of the most complete experiences that have to be reached.

The result is the development of currents and tendencies in the Communist Parties which want to discuss, to see, to verify for themselves because they no longer feel intimidated and paralysed either by the policy of Stalin or by the preoccupation for parliamentary progress. These currents feel the need for an intellectual revolutionary activity in order to understand. This is why articles appear such as those published in the organ of the Australian Communist Party.

We have preoccupied ourselves to discuss the way to intervene in the Workers States, in their struggles, and in particular on China before the political capitulation of China to NATO. It is a capitulation in this case, if it were a broader capitulation this would mean the counterrevolution. It is the bureaucratic interest which leads to this capitulation, as it led Stalin to capitulate before Hitler. It is a partial capitulation on one problem. We intervene to provide the communist vanguard, the Communist Parties, with the analysis and the conclusions of this stage of history.

Our intervention has an organising effect in the Communist Parties. Which means helping them to understand, giving them confidence and assurance in the marxist method, in the continuity and perspective of the triumph of communism. Our intervention gives the communist cadre and leader an explanation of what he feels but what he cannot understand, he cannot unify his thoughts globally. He does not see that at the root of everything there is a world process whose base and roots are the 14 Workers States.

The Australian Communist Party calls the Workers State 'Socialism of the base'. What does this mean? Why do they give it this name? It is a way of qualifying the Workers State without using the name Workers State. But the fact that this Communist Party is discussing what the USSR is and trying to characterise it, is an immense victory. Previously all the Communist Parties were saying 'It is a socialist state'. Now they discuss, 'What is the USSR?'. Apart from Lenin and trotskyism - posadism, no one has asked this question. For all the Communist Parties it is a socialist country.

The discussion to try to characterise the USSR is fundamental because it is this characterisation which determines the tasks, policy and objectives to be developed. If it is a 'socialist state' the objective of the USSR is to elevate its internal relations with communism, to elevate its production for there to be a sufficient distribution. But the very fact that there is a 'state' indicates that it is not socialism. Socialism is a system, not a state. The very fact of the existence of a state indicates a differentiation, an unequal distribution. Socialism means the elimination of unequal distribution and 'to each according to his needs'. This is what socialism is.

Communism is a more advanced stage in which distribution is according to needs, but also all the apparatus, all form of coercion has disappeared. The construction of socialism will not be done everywhere in the same way; some parties will advance more and provide the norms for all the rest. The experience of how to construct socialism still has to be discussed. The particular form to take power in each country is determined by the process as it occurs, but the means are always the same.

When a Communist Party like the Australian Communist Party raises the necessity of discussing what the Soviet Union is, of discussing everything from the time of Stalin and from now too, it expresses the favourable conditions for discussion which this process of partial regeneration meets in history.

The important thing is that this is a small Communist Party which is divided. The Spanish Communist Party has two fractions, one pro CPSU and the other not, though both defend the Soviet Union and keep good relations with it. These parties are not divided for theoretical and political motives but over the alliance or non alliance with the USSR, of agreement or not with the policy of the USSR with regard to Spain. In other words, they are divisions that have no great importance for the experience, the comprehension and analysis of the world communist movement. It is a dispute between fractions, between bureaucratic and non revolutionary tendencies, otherwise they would discuss programme, policy and experience.

The same thing in Greece where there are two Communist Parties which discuss neither programme, policy or experience - neither their own nor of the world communist movement, nor the stage of today or the soviets. On the other hand in Australia the communists are discussing the characterisation of the USSR and the need to return to a functioning of the soviets. This indicates the depth of the crisis of the Communist Party.

At the same time, such a discussion is not a product of entirely Australian origin. It has

flared up in Australia, but the raw material and part of the product come from the whole world. And in particular from Vietnam, but also in part from Korea, Australia and from the Italian Communist Party which is discussing what the USSR is and its problems - which is a fundamental and vital conclusion to understand the present stage of history. The communists are also discussing the conclusions of the Russian Revolution; why didn't it progress more whilst it was possible? They want to discuss what the function of the leaders of the USSR has been. Why do the Australian communists want to defend the functioning of the USSR between 1917 and 1921? How does this serve them? They do not need it from a programmatic point of view, but to arm themselves theoretically and politically it is a necessity.

The Australian Communist Party does not have a large numerical weight in the world communist movement but on the other hand, it has very good political positions, like those it adopted on the anti imperialist struggle in Vietnam. It is a Communist Party that is closely linked with Vietnam, and in a country where there is a very powerful Socialist Party with a fairly strong left. When such a Communist Party discusses the characterisation of the Workers State and of Stalin, it is because it is trying to understand the necessity of reorganising the leadership of the world communist movement; the theoretical, political and programmatic comprehension and the revolutionary objectives to finish with the capitalist system. This is still expressed in a timid and very general way, but they are already discussing this.

The Australian Communist Party's characterisation of the Workers State as 'socialism of the base' is incorrect because it is not precise about the stage of its development. Workers State is the correct characterisation because it defines the economic structures, the internal economic and social relations. 'Socialism of the base' goes toward socialism. The Workers State is a stage of transition between capitalism and socialism; it is therefore a phase in which there is not yet socialism.

The Workers State establishes relationships determined by state owned property, planned production, state monopoly of foreign trade, soviet relations as the democratic organisation of the country. This constructs a superior stage when when distributed, 'to each according to capacity', is suppressed. To call this stage 'socialism of the base' is to attribute to the Workers State a certain socialist base that implies that exploitation has already been suppressed. It has only partially been eliminated in the Workers State because wage differences still remain, the surplus value produced by the exploitation of the workers does not go to enrich private property, but the differences in wages remain, and consequently there are differences in the standard of living, different living conditions. These differences should not exist.

The elimination of exploitation does not, in itself, suppress every aspect of the capitalist regime. The suppression of one boss, or ten, or a thousand and the concentration of property in the hands of the state does not suppress inequality in wages and working conditions. These differences still exist today and just saying that it is socialism is not enough to suppress them. It is a Workers State and this is what has to be said.

This is why Lenin, Trotsky and the Communist International talked of the Workers State, because they qualified it as a period of transition between capitalism and socialism, a social process between capitalism and socialism. They pointed out that this state was no longer capitalist since it was state property that allowed planning of production, monopoly of foreign trade and also soviet democracy which allowed an elevation of the whole of society to the role of leader. This period created new conditions in history, a new form of social development which allowed superior forms to be reached; the total suppression of wage inequalities and differences in conditions of life. Equality means that each one has what he needs, not what he can provide for himself.

The attempt to call this period 'socialism of the base' is a healthy reaction against the incorrect qualification of the Workers State as 'socialism', which is made to justify the bureaucracy. It is a mistaken definition too but the fact of wanting

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# Editorial

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the withdrawal of troops from N Ireland and the fact that a whole group of MPs support this demand. This goes right against the fundamental interests of capitalism. Capitalism cannot tolerate a situation where N Ireland is abandoned.

But it is not possible to isolate N Ireland from the class struggle in Britain. War is being waged by Imperialism against the masses in N Ireland only as part of a whole strategy of repression against the desire of the British masses for socialism. The demand for the withdrawal of troops has to be linked with propaganda for trade union democratic rights in the barracks and the opening of the barracks to political discussion. We appeal for a campaign for the withdrawal of troops to be linked to the public intervention of the labour party and the trade unions calling for mass meetings in the factories and the workers areas to

## The historic function.....

to discuss it, to appreciate and argue means that there can be a very good discussion - and the arguments that they use are not bad in themselves, even if the characterisation they make is bad.

It is necessary to discuss the role of the soviets because the Workers State cannot be posed as a stage of transition without the functioning of democratic organs. Democracy in capitalism has aim of resolving the capitalists' problems amongst themselves, between the bureaucracy and themselves, and to win over the petit bourgeoisie. In the Workers State democracy has the aim of elevating the whole of society in the role of leader. It is very important to discuss this.

It is also necessary to discuss why the USSR continues to call itself the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, when there is no longer any functioning of the soviets. It is necessary to discuss the importance of the soviets and soviet democracy, the right of all the workers to discuss and of all revolutionary tendencies to participate in the discussion, which means the participation of all tendencies that want to construct socialism. It is necessary to discuss the construction of the Workers State and to enrich the discussion with contributions. And those that are against can go to hell! It is not a question of democratic rights but of a superior form of existence. It is a war, and what is decisive is not the interest of such and such a person but the right to construct humanity. It is not sufficient to give rights, it is a problem of establishing organs which will allow the construction of humanity's future. This is why the intervention of all revolutionary currents was allowed in the first years of the existence of the Workers State, but only the revolutionary currents. Those that are against socialism have no right to intervene, because what we want is to construct socialism. We do not propose to construct a new power, that is to say, new forms representing interests that are not those of socialism.

In the case of the Popular Union in France it is rather different. To go to the government it is justified that there may also be capitalist groups; it is not a question of socialism but a government of Popular Union.

One essential aspect which it is necessary to discuss is why there is this division between the USSR and China. It is absurd! There is no historic, concrete political or economic reason for a division between the Workers States. This division can only arise because the leaderships do not come to agreement. And the very fact that they do not come to agreement shows that they do not represent the legitimate and revolutionary interests of the Workers State. Otherwise they would discuss. For example, why have all the Workers States coincided on the necessity of defending Vietnam? Why, in the past, have they coincided on the necessity of defending China? Why are they separated now? It is necessary to analyse the policy, the economy and the construction of both Workers States and to criticise the USSR as much as China. China merits a more severe condemnation because of its objectively reactionary actions on many aspects, with regard to Chile for example. It is not the Chinese Workers State that is reactionary; it is its present leadership that has a reactionary policy on these aspects. It is necessary to

explain why there is a systematic repression there, calling for the abandonment of all the fascist laws in N Ireland and the immediate freeing of all the political prisoners. N Ireland is part of the preparation of a Chile solution for Britain, counter revolution and repression.

The principal objective of the conservative sectors in the LP is to try above all to contain the intervention of the masses, to contain the wage demands and to use the so-called social compact between unions and LP for this end. There is an inevitable connivance between these sectors and the conservative sectors in the trade unions who exist on the basis of the lack of trade union democracy and substitute for this, the closed life of the apparatus. Thus the leadership of the engineers contained the effort to link up with the miners at an earlier stage and now opt to settle for a wage settlement within phase 3. The separation between struggles of engineers, railwaymen, teachers, local government workers can only be a transitory stage in the process because the crisis of the capitalist system is deepening constantly.

open a public discussion on these subjects. The IV International appeals for a discussion of the planning of the Workers States in common and the necessity which is again expressed for the Communist International.

The organisation of the Communist International is meeting a lot of resistance on the part of the Communist Parties because they feel, analyse and judge the policy of the Soviet Union and they see that it is concerned, essentially, with imposing its own decisions. This is how they see it, and it is partly true, but this is not the historic role which the Soviet Union is playing at the present

### IT IS NECESSARY TO OPEN A WORLD DISCUSSION FOR THE MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

It is necessary to open a world discussion to reach an agreement between the Workers States, to plan in common and appeal for the construction of a new Communist International. Which has to be based on the programme, policy and world development of the world revolution, posing support to all the Workers States and to all the Communist Parties, with planning that tends to elevate the poorest Workers State to the same level as the richest. That is the Communist International!

It is based on the Workers States, on the world revolution, and it serves to support, sustain and publicise the revolutionary experience of all the Communist Parties in the framework of a soviet democratic discussion whose objective is to make the revolution advance.

These are the essential problems to discuss. All the Communist Parties, even those that have neither numerical force nor material means and only represent a small minority, must play a role in the construction of left wings and revolutionary leaderships in all the existing mass parties; Labour, socialist, left catholic or nationalist. It is necessary to organise and develop these tendencies and to develop as a Communist Party by fulfilling this function. It is this which is going to allow all these movements to progress because they must necessarily go toward communism, there is no other way to bypass the capitalist regime, the only road is the Workers State and socialism.

The nationalists, left catholics, socialists were not able to construct new forms to go to socialism. They did not exist. The only road is nationalisation of property, planning of production, monopoly of foreign trade, soviet democracy. This is the communist conception of history. There is no socialist, nationalist or left catholic conception to oppose to it. It is impossible because it is necessary to have a programme, a conception of social and economic relations.

Our divergences with the old leadership of the International concerned policy, programme and objectives. We broke with this leadership because its policy consisted of disintegrating the Communist Parties, in trying to destroy them by means of the entrust policy. It expected to act in such a way as to favour the disintegration of the Communist Party in order to transform the International into a mass movement. Our policy is the reverse. We seek to develop and fuse ourselves with these communist, socialist, nationalist and left catholic movements to stimulate them to take power. To stimulate these movements, and within the communist movement, to impel a return to its marxist origins, this is our objective. The communist movement at present does this in part, not fully, but this allows the reanimation of the work-

Delay in the organisation of the demands of the masses at this moment, merely means an explosive accumulation of demands at a later stage in a situation on a world and national scale entirely favourable to the advance of the revolution.

The central problem remains the need to organise the forces of the left in the LP which are constantly sustained and encouraged by the whole world process and the evident decomposition of capitalism. Capitalism of itself has no margin of manoeuvre apart from what respite is given to it by the Workers States or the workers parties in the world. In Britain, the capitalist parties give the sense of total disarray. CBI the employers organisation enters into crisis, because of the inability of capitalism to provide a common strategy which can unite all the capitalist forces. The central industry of capitalism - apart from the manufacture of arms - the car industry as at Leylands, has to look for state aid to meet its crisis. And immediately the question of nationalisation is raised. This is why the most decided capitalist sectors have to think in terms of

moment. It is true that the Soviet Union defends itself when it defends Vietnam or the Middle East, but it also defends the revolution because objectively the structure of the process leads the Soviet leadership to identify its interests with those of the rest of the world. It is along this road that a new leadership is going to mature. Not from outside as the gauchistes are trying to do, dedicating themselves to criticism, expecting that a new leadership is going to be created by this action. They want to be this new leadership and they have neither the policy, programme, tradition nor the masses.

ers movement, the Workers States and stimulates them to confront the capitalist system, and on this basis to push the movement to return to its origins, to return to Lenin. We think that it is possible. Not completely, but through internal struggles which are going to be favoured by the advance of the revolution and the preparation of the war. The proof of this is the internal struggle in process in the Communist Parties of Italy, France, the USSR, China, Cuba and the entire world.

The intervention of trotskysm-posedism is not a search for a perspective but the scientific conclusion: To the extent that the world process advances and technology in the Workers States and the struggles of the masses of the world develop and impel intelligence and reason, poverty and isolation are suppressed and the development of the Workers State is assured. This is how favourable conditions for the development of the revolution are created. Once the isolation is ended - itself a product of Stalin's policy and the original weakness of the first Workers State - the conditions for the reverse development are created. If all this change has still not taken place up to the present it is because there is no prepared party, and it is this that has allowed the bureaucracy to extend itself. We base ourselves on the conclusion that once the stage of historic isolation of the Workers State has passed, there is a process of development creating new favourable conditions in history. To believe the contrary is to think that communism does not have the strength or capacity to reconstruct. It is absurd! If we have been capable of winning the generals, the experts, the leaders of bourgeois movements, like the revolution in the USSR did, why won't we win the Communist Parties? This does not mean to say that we win the bureaucracy as a body. It is a question of a process in which everything that allows the survival and reproduction of the bureaucracy is weakened, and in which the revolution progresses in constructing new cadres; in this way creating the possibility of a new revolutionary leadership. It is not a stage but a process, determined by the war, with which it is combined. We intervene in this process to develop the communist movement and stimulate it to take power.

J.POSADAS 8.12.1973

organising a coup because the alternative is one of constant mass mobilisation and an uninterrupted advance in the, understanding and confidence of the left in the LP.

The most important objective in the functioning of the left in the LP and the unions must be the struggle for the programme of nationalisations under workers control, the programme for the expropriation of capitalism but allied firmly to the need for a complete discussion of the perspectives and the methods to be used. This means an uninhibited discussion within the framework of the socialist objectives, a discussion together with direct intervention towards the activities of the masses. The labour left has to be present in all the strikes of the masses! The struggle for example at Cowleys, in the docks or in the steel mills have to be communicated within the Labour party so that the left in its struggle to overcome the lack of sufficient initiative therein finds support in the initiatives of the masses.

It is necessary to struggle for the most complete trade union democracy in the unions thus removing one of the remaining pillars of the aristocracy of labour, so that the delegates of the unions are open to immediate recall and represent specific sectors of workers whereas now they 'represent' thousand to whom they own no obligation to discuss and report back. At the same time it is essential to appeal for the organisation of shop stewards committees and mass popular committees in the workers districts involving all sectors of the population to discuss and decide upon everything. It is in a complete fusion with the struggles and aspirations of the masses in the unions and in the workers districts allied to the comprehension of marxism that the left in the LP is going to be organised and develop the leadership for the conquest of power and the construction of socialism.

## PORTUGAL

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all its complications. The idea of a military coup is liable to meet with some uncertainty in many sectors of the left and we can have no confidence in elements like Spinoza. It is therefore a question not of who to support but what to support. And this doesn't mean 'liberty' or 'democracy' in abstract. It is necessary to support those measures which favour the anti-capitalist struggle in Portugal, which favour the masses and which weaken capitalism. It is necessary to support the demand for the right of free trade unions, freedom of the press, for full political rights and for the end of the war in Africa. Also, inevitable whatever government appears in Portugal it is going to have to face the fact that, in order to develop the economy, nationalisations will be necessary. The process in Greece, Peru etc already foreshadow this.

The response of the labour left, of the trade unions in this country cannot be simply one of solidarity, of support for the struggle in another country. Although this, in itself, is not incorrect. It has to be in the context of supporting a process that is going to weaken world capitalism led by Yankee imperialism in its preparation for the war. This means the demands must be raised and pressure put on Labour Government for the end to NATO. In the most immediate sense the demand must also be made that the Labour Party the trade unions and the Labour Government intervene to take part in and to impel the mobilisation of support for the Portuguese and Spanish masses, calling on all the Workers Parties and trade unions for such actions on a European scale on the basis of demands for the end of NATO, for the overthrow of Franco.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## FULL SUPPORT TO THE A.U.E.W. STRIKE!

The world situation is weighing much more in Britain, breaking the traditional isolation of the British Labour movement from influences of the world revolution. The events in Portugal in the last period, the tremendous upheavals there, have forced the Labour Party to take a position and recognise the new regime, and now the NEC of the Labour Party have also come out calling for the recognition of Guinea Bissau. The elections in France, which are not simply presidential elections but a struggle as to who leads France, the working class or the bourgeoisie, the elections in Belgium where the Socialist Party, after years of participation in a bourgeois coalition this time decides to go into opposition, are all profound expressions of the advance of the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties of Europe toward the taking of power. There is a process of unification of all the forces of the left, socialist and communist, and the development and organisation of new left sectors within these parties.

Where does all this confidence come from? Not from within these parties themselves, because the bourgeois democratic structures of these parties do not allow the free development of ideas and influences within them, but the forces enter these parties through the struggle of the working class on all sides, through the struggle of the masses

throughout the world, in Portugal, Ethiopia and the Workers States on the one hand and the complete and utter decomposition of capitalism on the other.

The Parliamentary Labour Party meeting held this week on Chile was a further blow for the right wing leadership of the Labour Party, and shows the development of a real current in the Labour Party prepared to discuss and defend socialist positions and ideas. At the same time, the limitations of these sectors are all too apparent because they still do not appear as an organised tendency with an independent programme and policy but tend to intervene on individual issues and this allows the right wing to maintain its control over the party.

Nevertheless, the massive struggle going on in the Labour Party over the government's decision to send the warships to Chile could never have taken place at an earlier stage. When Callaghan says that they need to send the ships to Chile in order to help finance the costs of defence and the armed forces, and claims that the shipyard workers need the work given by the orders placed by the Chilean junta, the left should answer programmatically, calling for the scrapping of the arms bill, the withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland and the nationalisation of the shipyards. The attitude and mood of the shipyard workers on Clyde-

side, where a large sector of them came out against sending the ships to Chile, is weighing on the left in the Labour Party and they feel obliged to respond to this, even if in a limited way.

The vicious attempt of the NIRC to sequester the whole funds of the AUEW is an attempt to exert pressure on the leadership of the union. When the bourgeoisie is forced to react in this way it is because they feel that the Labour Party is already outside of their control and it is a desperate bid by a sector of the bourgeoisie to attack the working class. It is not a carefully worked out tactic of the bourgeoisie, but a measure which will prove disastrous for them when they have to confront the full mobilisation of the working class against them. This shows the enormous weakness of the bourgeoisie which can only act on the level of desperate

to be able to participate in these meetings, for the workers in the factories to be able to control and immediately recall all representatives who have to be accountable to the men who elect them. Mass meetings and committees in the factories are the way to impose changes on the existing structure of the trade unions, together with local and regional meetings where the base can weigh and determine in these discussions.

It is important to transform the struggle for defence of the engineers into a workers offensive for the expropriation of capital, linking the engineers with all other sectors of the class, including those sectors in struggle at the moment who took a very militant part in the MayDay demonstrations; the nurses, teachers, NALGO etc. All this requires a continuous political life and functioning.

**THE LABOUR LEFT MUST SUPPORT THE AUEW STRIKE BY MOBILISING WITH THE TU'S TO SMASH THE I.R. ACT**

## For a TU campaign to support the Portuguese masses!

The effect of the overthrow of the fascist regime of Caetano in Portugal and the upsurge of the class and revolutionary struggle in Portugal is not confined to Portugal alone. It is going to have an effect in the whole of Europe, in the elections in France, in Spain where the working class and the rest of the exploited masses are going to be encouraged in their struggle to finish with Franco. All this is going to be transmitted in the most direct way by the Portuguese workers in France, Germany, Holland and this country.

The Portuguese workers who come from a backward, agrarian country have been educated, as cde Posadas analysed, 'educated and developed in the functioning of the class, receiving the political, trade union and revolutionary influence of the workers centres, trade unions, communist and socialist parties in Germany, France, Belgium and to some extent Britain'.

In Britain, organised in the TGWU International branch for example, together with Spanish and other immigrant workers they are an important element in the struggle to raise wages in the catering industry which is notorious for its low pay and bad conditions. And they have played a central part in organising support for the struggle of the masses in Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau.

We appeal to the trade unions in particular to organise a campaign for full support to the Portuguese masses, for trade union rights and the development of the trade unions in Portugal, for the anticapitalist demands that are already being raised, for support to the workers parties.

We appeal to the leaderships of the trade unions, to the shop stewards and factory workers to organise meetings and discussions with Portuguese workers invited to take part and talk about the development of the struggle following Caetano's overthrow and what it is possible to do in support.

We appeal for this campaign of solidarity to be used also as a basis for an intervention of the Labour movement to impel the unification of the struggle of the working class on a European scale.

We appeal for a European conference of workers parties and trade unions, including those of the Soviet Union and other European Workers States, to discuss all the problems facing the masses in this final stage of the death agony of capitalism; to organise mobilisations in support of the Portuguese and Spanish masses.

Many will return to take part in the developing struggle within Portugal, but many will stay and continue to form part of the Labour movement and its struggles.

moves of this kind. The only perspective they have is of stimulating right wing sectors in the Labour Party to come out in defence of the existing bourgeois legal system and thus contain the struggle developing within the Labour Party.

The Tories are using this as a preparation to intervene repressively in the name of defending bourgeois law. The lack of social strength of capitalism is also expressed by the fact that the bourgeoisie are making only very feeble efforts to intervene openly, but instead are forced to intervene outside the parliamentary arena, either clandestinely through the activities of the Special Branch and the CIA or through actions of this kind.

The left in the Labour Party must give unqualified support to the defence of the AUEW, no matter what the legal implications are. To deepen in this way the links between the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions. The immense pressure from the base has forced the AUEW to keep up its opposition to the NIRC and the only course now open to them is strike action. In order to develop the strike and extend it as fully as possible to all sectors, it is necessary to combine defence of the AUEW with the struggle for trade union democracy.

The strike at Cowley clearly showed that the forms and structures of the trade union movement correspond to an earlier period, and even if the shop stewards and leaders are not backward or bureaucratic, at the same time, neither do they express the level of political life which exists in the factories. Struggles such as these cannot stay on a factory level but must be extended into the workers areas. The only way to break the grip of the right wing both in the Labour Party and in the trade unions is through the independent organs of the working class in the factories and workers areas which intervene to defend and impel the Labour Party programme of nationalisations. This is the only way to break the rigid structure in the trade unions and the alliance of the aristocracy of labour with the right in the Labour Party which tries to contain the rising struggle within the trade unions by means of the social compact. Trade union democracy means mass meetings, for all workers

The development of a left in the trade union movement is a struggle which runs parallel with the struggle inside the Labour Party. Sectors of the AUEW leadership were prepared to capitulate over this struggle with the NIRC and have been forced to continue through the constant pressure of the base, and because the initiative isn't in the hands of the right wing any more.

The Labour Party cannot refuse to intervene and support these struggles for much longer. For a period they could partly avoid intervening on issues like Clay Cross, the imprisonment of the Shrewsbury building workers and the Price sisters; but this situation cannot be allowed under a Labour government. Such blatant and brutal acts of Tory repression as sending the Shrewsbury pickets to prison, the Industrial Relations Act and the setting up of the NIRC cannot be tolerated and must be rejected and denounced as class legislation. The Labour government must take measures which facilitate the class struggle and the actions of the working class; but at the same time, the Labour movement is not determined by the limitations and resistance of the government.

It is vital for the Labour government to immediately repeal the Industrial Relations Act and the whole Labour movement should mobilise to bring this about. The engineers must organise defence committees against any attempt by the bourgeoisie to forcibly expropriate union property, following the example of the South London district of the AUEW who previously offered to send detachments of workers to defend the union. The AUEW should call an immediate national strike with occupations, calling for full active support from all other sectors of the working class.

NO EXPROPRIATION OF UNION FUNDS!

MOBILISE ALL THE LABOUR MOVEMENT TO DEFEND THE AUEW AND TO PASS FROM DEFENCE OF THE ENGINEERS TO THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AUEW'S PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS!!

FULL SUPPORT TO THE MASSES OF PORTUGAL!!

DOWN WITH THE FRANCO REGIME!

FOR A SINGLE EUROPEAN TRADE UNION CENTRE INCLUDING THE TRADE UNIONS OF THE WORKERS STATES!

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!

\* 'The world process of the socialist revolution, the army, the masses and the overthrow of fascism in Portugal' J.Posadas 24.4.74 (see next issue of Red Flag)



There is a struggle of tendencies in Greece which has still not reached a definition. The Yankees have not won and neither have those who want certain measures of economic development; the nationalist bourgeois tendencies have been liquidated. There is an internal struggle. The position of the bourgeois assassin Karamanlis results from the fact that he has to seek the support of radical tendencies in the workers movement, in the students, with the object of finding a popular base of support to justify a coup against the junta. Neither his past nor the interests he represents can testify to anything else.

There is also a tendency that wants to bring back the king. The Yanks are confronting this tendency, trying to impel and impose an agreement and a government which can advance and prepare Greece again as a centre to exert pressure on the Balkans and to have a secure base for NATO. At the same time, there are tendencies that look for support in the working class, in the students, not to give way to them but to be able to count on a point of social support, and a programme leaning on the nationalisation of oil, either directly or indirectly. This tendency sees the possibility of economic development leaning on the struggle, the resistance of the students and workers (in construction and textiles in particular) to have points of social support. It wants to use the strength of the students and workers movement for this. For their part, the workers and students try to radicalise the movement, to give it an anticapitalist and antiimperialist sense. This is reflected in the army and goes as far as the head of police.

The student masses, the university sectors, the workers and intellectuals have intervened in the struggles to try to impel the leaderships to go further. There were constant antiimperialist declarations. This influences the nationalist wing and also the imperialist bourgeoisie which wants to make a coup but sees that if it did it would link the students, workers and intellectuals to the nationalist wing, so it stops short.

This struggle has gone on for many months. If there had been a continuation of the November line it would have won. When the process develops from November and they have still not won and they have to repress, it is because there is still no sector secure enough to triumph; there is a social disequilibrium with the interests of imperialism.

The previous equilibrium that existed around the king, which concentrated the political power and arranged the tendencies was broken by the coup of the military junta in 1967. Greece cannot

return to the king. They can put the king back again but they cannot continue governing with the king or return to a monarchy. Nor does it suit imperialism to have a monarchy. There are going to be confrontations between imperialism and the local bourgeoisie; with the landowners and the church, because imperialism wants a political leadership which has a certain petit bourgeois base of support, and the king can no longer be the political centre. There is going to be quite an accentuated difference between them; between Karamanlis and all the others. They cannot seek an equilibrium as there was before. The junta lacks resolution because it has neither a nationalist nor a bourgeois equilibrium. The bourgeois sectors are trying to find a way to come to an agreement and find a centre.

The workers and students try to intervene, to weigh more for a further move to the left. The November coup was not a coup strictly arranged by imperialism. Imperialism immediately tried to use it. But if imperialism had achieved what it wanted completely it would have openly imposed its own policy. When it does not do this, it is because there is an internal resistance. There is a struggle inside the junta itself, and outside it, in which a very great number of young officers want an agreement with the students, with the workers and even with Papandreu; they propose that Papandreu could be the political party to provide the solution to this with an antiimperialist programme. The workers do not have organs, the trade unions are not free. But on the other hand, imperialism does not dominate, nor do the nationalist tendencies. The concentration camps they have made hold not only workers but also quite a lot of bourgeois. All this shows the state of indecision, in which the repression is conducted by various tendencies defending themselves from the workers and the tendency that wants to push forward to a complete submission to the Yankees.

There is still not a solid perspective because there is no workers movement, no students movement. The slogan of the struggle for democracy, democratic rights, the freedom of speech and publications, for the intervention of the state in the economy, continue to have validity and there must be an agitation for this.

This is a process in which the line of the nationalist sectors and the proletariat and students that are trying to stimulate them, is combined with the absence of a Communist or Socialist Party or nationalist movement able to order, canalise and organise this movement along a revolutionary path.

## NO COUNTRY CAN MAKE A POLICY INDEPENDENT OF THE WORLD COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION.

It is necessary to take account of the world influence of the revolution, the influence of the process in Turkey, with the government of Ecevit and the policy which has been pushed forward, which is going to influence Greece a great deal; the nationalist wing, the students, the workers, those who have participated in the mobilisations. They are going to be stimulated to intervene.

The process in Greece is a very rich example from which to learn, to generalise the experience of how the class is moving, the concentrated influence of the revolution in each country and the irreversible changes in the Soviet Union. In Portugal there is an iron dictatorship and suddenly a group of 80 officers appear with a manifesto demanding freedom for Angola and Mozambique; not just to leave, but freedom, to respect the independence these peoples want. It is a revolutionary position. It is not a position which comes from Angola and Mozambique. It is the world influence of the revolution, the notion given by the experience and effect on them when they see that capitalism is disintegrating and there is such an advance of the Workers States, the superiority of life in the Workers States, in the economy, politics, science, technology in spite of the bureaucracy. This gives a better idea, a better point of view and proof to these sectors. It feeds them politically, intellectually and, above all, socially.

The same thing that is happening in Greece is happening in all countries. They assassinated Carrero Blanco in Spain because he was trying to

make changes, and they assassinated Puig to try to intimidate and prevent changes. But the revolution triumphs anyway. Spanish capitalism feels that it cannot progress with fascism. The economy the centralisation, the development of technology and of industry are against the government of capitalism, not only of fascism but of capitalism. Neither fascism nor capitalism can develop the economy, technology and science; it is impossible. It is not an imperative of history because the working class and communists exist. Besides, the working class and the communists, the workers states are the material representatives of marxism they represent the necessity of history because they show the economic, social, scientific and technical conditions and the working class. It is above all this influence which determines the situation in all countries even if late as was shown in Thailand.

The events in Greece express the relation of forces on a world scale, in factors such as for example the attraction of the military nationalist sectors who can advance to impose their solution in particular stages. The situation in Peru is not accidental nor in Ecuador, Mexico nor Venezuela. In Venezuela there is a party of left soldiers and they are revolutionary, because the programme which they have is a programme to deprive the Yanks of everything. The programme of the revolutionary soldiers in Venezuela is the programme of nationalising all the oil wells. They do not

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speaking of constructing a socialist regime but of giving democratic rights based on these measures. Amin in Uganda also shows this.

The relation of world forces has each time a more decisive weight in the politics of each country. No country can make a policy independent of the world course of the class struggle, of the preparations for the war which is the defeat of imperialism. It is not an hypothesis. It is a fact that the constant defeat of the capitalist system has an influence. It is not possible to make any correct or logical political line if the world process is not taken into account.

It is the world process which originates these movements like Peru, Venezuela, Mexico, Argentina and in Africa, Lybia and Algeria. It has antecedents in history. The antecedents are that the revolution provides the base for the weakening of the capitalist system and allows movements to advance to seek liberation because the economic and social conditions exist and the world process is a stimulus which encourages the search for economic progress and these movements see that capitalism cannot do it. The military currents come to realise that measures of nationalisation are necessary because they are historic conclusions and analysis. They arise from

# DEMOCRACY, NATIONALISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN GREECE

J. POSADAS

the economy and the social relations of the worse state. They are the forms of nationalised property and planning; planning which can only be done with nationalised property.

Although this phenomenon exists in various places in various forms and unequal relations of forces, it exists in all the countries which correspond to those that were semi colonial and even agents of imperialism. Saudi Arabia, for example an agent of imperialism, before and now, has developed a team of technicians, scientists, intellectuals who now want to develop the country. To develop the country there is no other way than to nationalise. They are stimulated to do this because there are the workers states, the struggle of the masses, of the French, British, Italian, German, Latin American, and Japanese proletariats. It is these bases which give them the strength. In Greece also. This framework allows Greece to develop a military wing which retakes the old movement of Greek nationalism to seek a solution to the problems. In Greece problems arose from the failure of two revolutionary uprisings, the failure of the Communist Party, the fall of the authority of the Communist Party and the advance of a great petit bourgeois movement in which the students and in part

the peasants had a very great weight. The workers movement has no weight. All this gives to this heterogenous movement a physiognomy which does not represent the will of the masses. The soldiers are based on this. When there are movements of soldiers or movements which tend to confrontations of the soldiers with political fractions of the bourgeoisie which allow them to intervene the masses intervene massively to try to encourage the more left sectors of the bourgeoisie the petit bourgeoisie, the workers parties and trades unions — even if they are semi legal, semi clandestine or semi official — so that they intervene.

In countries like Greece which has an old nationalist tradition going back to the war of liberation, the frontier wars, the world war and after that the postwar revolutionary movements, it is logical that there should be nationalist tendencies in the army and that, in this stage, the nationalist tendencies should increase and deepen. If they do not appear it is because they have not found the means to express themselves. There are nationalist tendencies in Thailand and Indonesia. There are quite important nationalist tendencies in Thailand which have relations with China.

## Break the links between the Labour Party and capitalism!

*The bourgeoisie has tried to use the allegations of corruption that have been made against Short and against Wilsons involvement with Field and Milench in property speculation to attack this Labour government; because they see that the right wing in the Labour Party leadership no longer have complete and unquestioned authority to implement a strictly pro-imperialist policy.*

*On the contrary, the mobilisations, strikes, occupations and struggles of the British and European working class have been accompanied by a powerful development of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions; even though as yet this left is still not organised. It is disorganised and still timid, but the leadership cannot ignore its existence. Capitalism uses the corruption allegations to try to undermine Labour's support in the petit bourgeoisie and present the Labour movement as divided and dishonest.*

*Capitalism tries to make its own use of the present crisis, but the crisis itself is real enough. It is part of the crisis of objectives, interests and aims that the Labour Party is to serve, the crisis which is the form of the crisis of imperialism and the road toward the struggle for power in Britain. The revelations against Poulson, T Dan Smith, Short etc are quite extensive — but only the tip of the iceberg. A whole sector of the Labour Party is corrupted by the careerism, bourgeois mentality, private interests and a million links with the capitalist system that have dominated the Labour Party through almost its entire existence. This thoroughly rotten sector has to be broken! The present crisis is part of the disintegration of this layer.*

*The total and irreversible crisis of the world capitalist system and the constant and uninterrupted advance of the revolution create the world conditions and world relationship of forces favourable to the revolution that are stimulating the progress of the left in the Labour Party and encouraging the decision and determination of the masses to make this Party into an instrument useful to human progress, i.e. to the struggle for socialism. This poses a complete transformation of the Labour Party — its objectives, structure, functioning, policy, programme and methods. It means the elimination of the bourgeois conception of the Party, which was the conception with which the Labour Party was constructed; in which careerism, an interest in private property and positions on the boards of private companies were considered quite respectable: and the Labour Party apparatus — basing itself on the aristocracy of labour and the trade union bureaucracy — was able to contain or smash any criticism from the base. The function of the Labour Party as a parliamentary electoral apparatus worked against serious political discussion and served the role of a direct agency of the capitalist system.*

*All this has to change, and is changing, under the pressure of historic events; the intervention of the masses who want to change society and the crisis of capitalism, that together allow these leaderships very little room for manoeuvre and compromise. On the contrary, there is a process of change in all the European Socialist Parties, a process which cde Posadas characterises as a transformation from social democratic Parties to being consistently socialist Parties that are prepared to take measures toward the suppression of the capitalist regime.*

*This raises the necessity for the organisation of the left in the Labour Party as a tendency with a political life that takes positions on each issue arising in the international class and revolutionary struggle and that intervenes as a responsible leadership with the programme of suppression of capitalism. This is what it is necessary to organise in the Labour Party!*

*Consequently, it is not good enough to meet the present crisis simply with the call for a register of MPs' interests. There is a whole right wing apparatus other than the MPs, that has structural links within the capitalist system. As cde Posadas said, 'It is necessary to*

*break the links and relations of the right and centre of the Labour Party with capitalism; to break the links between the workers movement and the capitalist system.'*

*This is the discussion which the left in the Labour Party has to raise now. It is not just a question of corruption in the sense that some MPs can be bought or get involved in illegal deals or speculation. It is the whole bourgeois interest in defending private property, in personal profit and consequently, inevitably opposing the revolutionary interests of the working class. The same with the trade union bureaucracy: The Whelan case in Nottingham brings to light the fact that a trade union official in the N.U.M. can be getting a salary of over £3,000 pa and a free house worth many thousands of pounds as well as other fringe benefits. It is not surprising that Whelan bases his defence against shoplifting charges on the assertion that 'he was against the strike'. It is necessary to denounce this corruption!*

*New cadres of a different sort are needed, and are developing, in the Labour Party and trade unions. Cadres that are not motivated by self interest and careerism, but by the desire to be useful in history, to represent human progress in the struggle for socialism. Proletarian leaders that see the solution to all the problems of society and the economy in the elimination of the capitalist system and organise their activity according to this perspective.*

*The objectives of an organisation determine, ultimately, its structure and functioning. The more the left in the Labour Party advances in its political, theoretical and programmatic level and capacity, the more pressing the need for fundamental change in the structure of the Labour Party. It is necessary to elevate the political level and the organisation of the left so as to give the conditions for a disciplined political functioning that is based on the necessity of defeating capitalism and constructing socialism. The masses have to be able*

to weigh in the Labour Party — beginning with public meetings of the Labour Party to discuss each event in the struggle and the crisis of capitalism to see how to advance.

*The left has to deepen its links with the masses and their struggles so the left gives a political perspective to their strikes and mobilisations and so, at the same time, the masses can intervene into the Labour Party. The most complete form of this interaction is the Party cell. The experience of factory branches of the Labour Party (in Sheffield for example) — though extremely limited — is very important in this respect and has to be extended so that all the workers in a factory can participate in the factory branch with ideas, opinions and discussion. This has to be combined with the functioning of factory committees and mass assemblies that are organisms of power.*

*It is necessary to discuss the experience of the Bolshevik Party in the Russian Revolution and the way in which the Party cell acted as a bridge, carrying the analysis, ideas, slogans of the Party to the masses and the masses carried their own preoccupations, passion, capacity of action into the Party.*

*A disciplined and centralised cell functioning, fused with the life of the masses is not going to emerge in the Labour Party tomorrow, but the Labour masses are seeking the way to break the apparatus and transform their Party into a revolutionary workers Party based on the trade unions. The left has to organise itself according to this perspective.*

*Apart from the necessity for the masses to be able to intervene in the Labour Party and the struggle for trade union democracy, a more intense political life of discussion has to develop in the Labour Party so that the world forces and structure of the revolutionary process can be seen in their entirety and so world points of support can be found in the generalisation of the experiences of the struggle of the masses of all the world, in the enormous progress of the Workers States and their intervention that is favourable to the struggle against imperialism.*

## THE FUNCTION OF THE WORKERS STATES, THE CHANGES NEEDED IN THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

A very notable aspect of this process is the attitude of the pro-Soviet Greek Communist Party which speaks openly of an alliance with all the progressive forces, including tendencies of the army, to overthrow the pro-imperialist junta, even making agreements with democratic sectors — though not submitting to them — with the object of pushing forward the democratic struggle toward socialism.

The attitude of the Soviets, through the Communist Party, is going to have a great influence. When the Communist Party takes a much firmer class position, it is important because they are trying to solve the problem of ordering the Communist Parties in Greece. They are cleaning out the insecure, vacillating parties, mixed with the bourgeoisie, bourgeois careerism, they are cleaning out the leaderships, leaders and militants linked to the bourgeoisie in each country. It is necessary to pay a lot of attention to the struggle in the Communist Party. It means that there is a struggle in the Soviet Union too. The Greek Communist Party previously said that all the military junta were assassins. Now they propose an alliance 'including the military nationalists', and call for a popular government. They are learning to differentiate between the military, to see those that are influenced by the revolution, who see the need to advance — even within the bourgeois camp — and cannot do it with these bourgeois leaderships. They have to seek alliances with the Workers States, with the students, and, at the same time, they have to defend themselves from the workers and students. So this has consequences that are not favourable to capitalism. Without submitting to any of the leaderships, it is necessary to use every step, every movement which they are obliged to develop, to impel them to go forward and for the workers and students movements to win democratic demands accompanied by economic demands for nationalisations, planning, workers control, factory and area councils, councils of workers and peasants.

The Workers States have a very great weight in all this process. It is necessary to understand the function of the Workers States and their weight in the process. We have already said before, 'the Greek Communist Party is a party that has collapsed, a colonial party; it has to change'.

'Everything that goes against the Soviet Union loses'. Although a group can make protests they ultimately lose, because the leadership of history does not go through the groups but through the centres that decide, that have shown that they decide economically. The groups have importance in as much as they can weigh with ideas in certain events; in ordering and orientating, but they cannot decide new movements or create new movements. They can do it if they have ideas, if they have positions and programme which correspond to necessity and at the same time can organise, canalise or originate revolutionary movements or activity like ourselves. But even so, they cannot develop as their own movement in competition with the mass movements that already exist. At a certain stage they have to try to understand the mass movement and seek a fusion with it.

This is not a passing phenomenon in Greece. It is a phenomenon which exists everywhere. The Communist Parties have to change. They cannot continue the old game of allowing the bourgeoisie and imperialism to decide and give the orders. Today new factors emerge which the old parties, the socialists and the communists cannot dominate. They are dragged along, history imposes and they are obliged to make changes, they have to modify their policy and understand how to intervene in the process.

The events in Greece must result in the organisation of a tendency which can function combining democratic demands with economic demands of nationalisations, like oil; nationalisation under workers control and with planning that serves as a basis from which Greece can be developed. This is going to impel a nationalist wing, although there is also a proimperialist wing that depends on funds from imperialism. Consequently, we propose that the Workers States intervene with money; as they did in Turkey with the loan of \$400 million for the search for oil. When the Soviets

made this loan to Turkey everyone, the left groups included, criticised them as 'allies of fascism and reaction'. We said, 'we are in agreement. This does not support reaction, they are preparing reaction's downfall'. If it were a revolutionary leadership it would have another policy; but as it is not, within this leadership, this is the sense of such an action. The result is that it is not Demirel that wins but Ecevit; and they have given a very great blow to reaction in Turkey. They improve their relations with the Soviet Union to such an extent that they allowed the Soviet planes to fly over as they went to help the Syrians and Egyptians. Greece and Turkey did not give their bases for the NATO planes, but they allowed the Soviets to fly their planes over. The Greeks have still not revoked this measure.

Part of the conciliatory policy of the communists is supported on these conclusions. They see this process — they do not dominate it but they see it, they feel it and they support themselves on it. They hope that they are going to disorganise capitalism and win over layers with the interpretative policy. It is not a hope to fortify or maintain capitalism, but to try to suppress it in this way. So we refer to it as 'revolutionary reformism'. They are trying to suppress capitalism. In Hungary they have thrown out the liberal reformers who were supporting the Ota Siks, the Dubceks and Solzhenitsyns.

The central basis for this process is the existence of the Workers States and the change of policy of the Workers States, which is favourable to the struggle against imperialism. Although this change may not have a markedly, intentionally or primarily revolutionary character, they have no choice but to confront imperialism and to stimulate, support, encourage and orientate a revolutionary policy of suppressing capitalism, of suppressing imperialism.

It is necessary to count on and support oneself on the world process of the struggle of the masses. Turkey is going to influence the students and the workers, and it is necessary to expect more extensive movements.

The students have intervened with a great passion, expecting to impel and to give form and order to develop the movement. They have not been able to do this because they did not have decisive social force and because sectors able to do it have not acted in this way, Papandreu amongst them. Within this, there is the declaration of the head of police, Ionides, who said, 'The only one who can deal with all this is Papandreu'. Papandreu is not the Atlantic Pact. The declarations that Papandreu made are quite interesting. It is necessary to expect a much deeper struggle in the junta and it is necessary to intervene with the programme of democratic demands.

It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States to intervene. Now it is not the epoch of Stalin. The bureaucracy has its own interests, but it can no longer do anything which works historically against the Workers States. It is the world structure of the revolution that determines and impels this process of partial regeneration.

The crisis of capitalism is total, economically, socially, morally, politically, militarily. The basis of this crisis is the natural process of crisis of capitalism, its internal contradictions and the powerful advance of the world revolution, of the Workers States and the partial regeneration. This process weakens the structure and authority of the capitalist system. And sectors — like in the army — who were servants of capitalism, have their confidence in capitalism weakened. They see the progress of the Workers States and they see that this is the solution for the backward countries. This is how these nationalist tendencies arise. They seek to use and support themselves on this world process of the revolution for a series of social and economic solutions which are not rigorously capitalist. And this is why they have to seek support in the workers movement, in the petit bourgeoisie and peasantry. It is necessary to use and impel these sectors who seek to advance, eliminating the right, the king and imperialism but not depending on any of the other sectors. They are the result of this phase of history.

J. POSADAS 24. 3. 74

# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE OCCUPATION OF THE RATEAU FACTORY AND THE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE. (extracts) J. Posadas

The occupation of Rateau shows the level of consciousness of the masses of the world. France is not a Workers State, it is a capitalist state but the masses live in this way. This occupation is the third of this type in the last few years. It is a symptom of a whole internal process in the class that is seeking socialism. This is the reason for capitalism's great fear of the elections. It sees that the working class is seeking this solution and it has the Popular Union. This has a limited programme, but the aspirations, will and decision of the class bypass the limitations of the programme. This is what frightens the bourgeoisie.

There is a process of elevation of the revolutionary struggle throughout the world, and France. This elevation is impelled by the will of the masses to go to power. Rateau expresses it; this occupation communicates with the occupation at LIP, with Sud Aviation in 1968, with the occupation of Renault Billancourt by 25,000 workers in 1971, in which the proletariat already showed its immense maturity.

The proletariat showed that it was mature enough to exert pressure on its leadership, to beat it without breaking from it. To have broken with it would have meant breaking its own internal unity and it is this that the class tries to maintain. And it succeeded in maintaining itself united whilst confronting its leadership.

The situation today is better. It is not that the changes come directly from the leadership; from LIP to Rateau the progress is shown in a much more powerful and centralised way through the vanguard. They have transmitted their will to all France. The world vanguard has advanced and has nourished the decision of the proletarian vanguard, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry in France. The decomposition, disintegration and internal clashes within French capitalism go on. The vanguard feels that it now has more solid points of support, although its leadership does not understand it. When the leadership of the Communist Party in particular, and also the Socialist Party, yield to

the pressure of the base that says, 'We want to go to the government', the vanguard is a lot more sure of itself and shows itself decisive and without hesitation. It feels that it has already pushed its leadership forward. This is why it gives more importance to the Common Programme and the elections than its own strikes; it hopes that through the elections it is going to reach the power that is going to allow it to resolve all the other problems. It is this maturity of the working class that imposes confidence on the leadership to advance: The vanguard makes its leadership advance.

The collective meals at Rateau are the collective meals of the entire proletarian vanguard who see that the Communist Party is yielding and this reinforces their courage. This provokes confusion among the gauchistes, like 'Lutte Ouvriere' and 'Rouge' who are obliged to support these struggles and do not know how to justify the error they are committing in presenting their own candidates in the elections. They are going to feel isolated. They can be - and if they carry on like this they are going to be - a receptacle of antiSoviet tendencies who begin with antibureaucratic criticisms and end up encouraging and allying with all the antiSoviet tendencies who want, in one way or another, to oppose the programme of the Communist Party.

'Rouge' should maintain its criticisms of the Communist Party - it has the right to do this and some of its criticisms are very good - but also making an analysis, for example, of Rateau, The vanguard in Rateau criticised its leadership but did nothing to prejudice it. It is necessary to maintain the criticisms, but also formulating slogans for progress. When those that have been elected have to participate in the kitchen and wash the pots, which they would not have done yesterday, it is because they are pushed by a wind that comes from the entire world, from the Workers States and the other countries. This is what the gauchistes have to understand.

The people who went into Rateau did not go just to celebrate. They have the same maturity as

those that lead the fight. They have less political understanding but they are united by the same sentiment and resolution. It is necessary to finish with the capitalist life. The vanguard sees, feels, enters into contact with progress and transmits it. It adopts the positions, habits, relations of combativity, solidarity and fraternity that are not just from the struggle; they come from very high pressures that demand a much more elevated relationship than the type of struggle waged at the present moment can give.

The Popular Union in France, the left front is a tremendously important event of trade union and political unity of the workers movement through the union of the left, but also through a programme which without being entirely anticapitalist is such in essence and is going to impel an immense anticapitalist struggle and impel the confidence of the communist and socialist movement to develop the anticapitalist struggles. This union creates more favourable conditions for the development of revolutionary currents and changes in the sense of a revolutionary leadership in the Communist and Socialist Parties.

The electoral result can give an anticapitalist solution to the situation. Even if Mitterand can contain and stop his own base, the socialist base is going to feel stimulated to lead society. And it is not going to go on as under the Popular Front.

The left has already made an immense step in the direction of triumph. The triumph is the unity of the class which leads the rest of the population and attracts the gauchistes. The latter are going to feel stimulated to transmit their will of combat and decision into the Popular Union but seeing, at the same time, that they must accompany the experience of the class. They cannot replace this experience with appeals, attacks and a sectarian policy which in certain aspects goes against the interests of the workingclass.

J. POSADAS 13.4.74

at the disposal of tendencies that struggle for socialism, not try simply to produce the same bourgeois paper (as happened in the recent dispute in Nottingham).

Newspapers, television, radio have to be taken out of the realm of commercial profit and placed within the perspective of the socialist planning of the economy. The bourgeois press is devoted to private interest and idiotic forms of individualism: A press on the basis of nationalisation would be in the constructive service of the masses. It would be a means of social education and finish with all the garrulous columns of bourgeois journalism. It would be open to the permanent intervention of the masses, the workers, the women, youth, schools, factories, offices etc. It would be an instrument of social progress.

We appeal for this demand to be put forward by the printing unions - just as the nationalisation of the film industry has been proposed by the cinematograph union. We appeal to the left in the Labour Party to support this position and repudiate the farce of a Royal Commission proposed by Wilson. The theory of the free press is a liberal invention, it never existed, and under the rule of finance capital it is a cynical lie to defend the special interests of the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to take a class position on the question of the press with no concession to the travesty of the myth of the free press.

We call on the left in the Labour Party and trade unions to link the demand for the nationalisation of the press with the extension of the programme of nationalisation under workers control and to link this with the demand for a daily paper of the Labour Party. The big Communist Parties have their daily papers, 'Humanite' and 'Unita', why not the Labour Party? This means a discussion throughout the Labour Party and trade unions, not just to find the financial means, but the necessary base for such a paper - which is a better political life, profounder links with the workers in the factories and with all the population, a real effort to develop teams of dedicated revolutionary journalists.

Capitalism will furiously resist all efforts to expropriate its press, its banks and industries, but as part of the preparation of the confrontation with capitalism, it is necessary to subject the question of the 'free' press to a merciless onslaught, to be audacious in repudiating all the rubbish about freedom which means 'freedom' for the few while the rest of humanity can rot. There will be a resistance in the Labour Party and trade unions among the apparatus that have never heard of marxist ideas and fear them because they are inconvenient for the policy of conciliation with capitalism. But the explanation of the need for marxism, allied to the pressure for a new type of Labour Party based on socialist policies and programme, responding to this stage of history, finds a growing support in the Labour Party.

NATIONALISE THE PRESS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

## Nationalise the press under workers control!

Frequent complaints are made by the Labour Party leaders about the unjust treatment they receive at the hands of the press. In bourgeois language there is always the problem of maintaining 'freedom' as against 'license', but whatever the 'problem', the bourgeoisie own the press whether nationally or locally. There is no major daily national paper that represents the interests of the masses. The Morning Star speaks for the very small Communist Party, while the Labour Party can only produce Labour Weekly. Thus there is no mass workers paper in this country. The capitalist press dominates the scene and interprets the world through bourgeois ideas.

This 'free' press simply informs the bourgeoisie of what is happening in the world and within this structure, sensationalises the news as a result of the intercapitalist competition for circulation. News is a commodity, bought and sold and open to all manner of adulteration. The press is divided into the papers that provide the bourgeoisie with political and intellectual guidance, and the so-called 'popular' press where crime, sport and sensationalism prevail and ideas never appear. The press in no way shows the spirit or level of communication of the masses, it simply reflects the mentality of the bourgeoisie and the capacity for commercial gain backed by the advertisements of big business.

As with the logic of capitalist production, control of the press falls into fewer and fewer hands. The press is essentially controlled by a few major monopoly firms. It is a total hypocrisy of capitalism to speak of a free press - it is a press designed to try to maintain the allegiance of the petit bourgeois sectors to capitalism.

The increasing rationalisation of capitalist production as a whole means inevitably a rationalisation in the printing industry, as happened at Bryants Colour Printing and now directly in the sphere of journalistic 'production' wholesale redundancy takes place, as at Beaverbrooks in Glasgow. There has to be a complete answer to this problem - the press has to be nationalised under workers control!

There is no half way house in the form of cooperatives, cooperatives cannot survive in the jungle world of capitalist competition. But the process of occupations at Bryants and elsewhere shows how the answer of the working class tends to go outside the legal norms of capitalism and poses both nationalisation and workers control as logical solutions.

The press is a weapon in the arsenal of the bourgeoisie. All the campaign that is being carried out against the Labour government at this moment has as its objective the attempt to stimulate resistance to the Labour government and with the decided sectors it is a means of preparing the way for a coup. The power of the press and the media are vastly exaggerated - they give a purely illusory sense of the strength of the bourgeoisie. In no way do they give a trace of the power of the masses, and at the same time, there is no reason for the masses to have to put up with the rotten antisocialist rubbish purveyed by the bourgeois press against the unions, against the Workers States and against the working class.

NATIONALISE THE PRESS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL! ALL TENDENCIES IN THE MOVEMENT FOR THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE PRESSES AT A NOMINAL FEE.

Access to the best means of public attention is as much a democratic right as the right to organise unions or hold demonstrations. The bourgeois control of the press is an impediment to the free circulation of ideas and the development of a mass press that discusses all the ideas of the class in the framework of socialist ideas.

On the basis of the nationalisation of the press under workers control it will be possible to develop teams of writers committed to the construction of socialism, no longer concerned with the journalistic trivia of the bourgeois world, which constructs and teaches nothing. Every printing plant that is taken over in a struggle should place its equipment

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# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## The world process of the socialist revolution, the army, the masses and the overthrow of fascism in Portugal

J. Posadas 28.4.74

The defeat of the fascist regime in Portugal is a direct consequence of the action of almost the entire army. But the real force that impelled this process and allowed it—such a conduct of the military does not come from within the army itself. The manifesto of the young officers is not a product of a reasoning or conclusion of the army. The army lacks the means, the life and the organisms to be able to live and discuss individually and even together they still cannot reach conclusions which require political security, capacity of analysis, conclusions that want life and contact, experience and comparison between the capitalist system, the colonies, the colonial military function, the submission and subjugation of the colonies and the development of humanity which includes the Workers States and the Revolutionary States like Algeria, South Yemen, Panama, Congo Brazzaville, which are developing constantly without yet reaching the stage of being Workers States.

What has helped the actions of the Young Officers and determined the sentiments of intolerance, of not accepting the role of being the executioners of Portuguese imperialism, is the influence of the world revolution. It is the same process that is happening in Spain, Greece and Turkey, where a great number of nationalist soldiers exist and there are struggles and fights in the leadership that don't appear in an organic form because there is not the life and organisms and because they are not determined by ideas. But they receive the influence of ideas and they see the defeat of the capitalist system, they see it and compare it. They constantly prepare the progress of humanity that is advancing in the form of the Workers States, the Socialist countries, or the Revolutionary States, while in their countries there is a constant threat and reduction of the area of functioning of the economy and the life of the population. They continually face the population while, in those countries that progress, there is an elevation of science and culture. There is the participation of all the population in cultural problems, the people of backward countries are immediately incorporated in life and the soldiers feel that they play the role of defending a class, a regime and a system that is falling down and that can give nothing to humanity. They give Watergate, they give an assassin President who is judged as a thief and a cheat, ministers who are judged to be liars, political struggles like in France where the two presidential candidates of the bourgeoisie accuse each other of being useless, cheats, and of being incapable and corrupt. All these soldiers feel the effect of this.

Meanwhile they see in the Workers States the army have a much more elevated function, supporting and developing the struggle against imperialism. Still not in a sufficient and necessary form, but they have this function. This action of the soldiers is not a product of their own resolution. They express a process. They took this action but they express a process. It is enough to see that Spinola was expelled

from his post a month before. When Caetano gave up, he handed over power to Spinola. It is a class conclusion and measure, aimed at preventing worse consequences for them. Spinola's first measure was just to make changes in the government; the downfall of the fascist regime and the restitution of certain democratic liberties. From the first day up until now the degrees of concessions and the development of democratic rights particularly for the workers parties, the freeing of political prisoners, and trade union freedom, have increased. This was because of the participation of the population, it was not in the programme of the soldiers.

This leadership of the military junta at present in power in Portugal does not reflect the manifesto of the young officers, there is still a process of interior struggle and insecurity about which road to take, above all to prevent a revolutionary outcome. The manifesto of the young officers is not a manifesto of the bourgeoisie of a country. It surpasses the bourgeoisie of the country, their intentions, programme and objectives. By surpassing them this indicates that they receive greater influences which come from below; they are influenced so that they go to a direct conflict. The young officers were not shaken just by the defeat in the colonies. This is secondary. They were shaken by the social, historical consequences in their own minds, it was not the military sentiment, nor the patriotic sentiment, nor military careerism. They are officers, they are in a transition between a career that encourages them in the ambition to increase their rank.

Soldiers are not able to understand the process of the revolution. In the Workers States they can, because they live more elevated and centralised lives and the econ-

omy is nationalised and centralised and production planned. In the capitalist countries the action of the masses is necessary to stimulate the soldiers to intervene, to gain them to the revolution. Ethiopia and Niger are two recent aspects of this process. They are very backward countries. Nonetheless the soldiers are in revolt, they judge their leaders and the ministers of the government and take on the task of cleaning up the country. These are areas that the capitalist regime has kept as the lowest of humanity like Ethiopia, denying them access to culture, economy and life, and where hundreds and thousands of people have died through poverty, drought and famine, while members of the ruling regime have a car for each day of the week, horses and ferocious animals which they feed very well, whilst people die of hunger. When in countries as backward as Ethiopia the need for the development of culture is expressed, and they have to make an effort for this and it is reflected in the army, this is receiving the influence of a much more vast process, much more vast than the local process, whether in Ethiopia or in Portugal.

## FOR A CRITICAL BALANCE OF THE AUEW STRIKE!

*The immediate success of the engineering workers strike and the capitulation of capitalism before the AUEW was even fully mobilised shows the immense weakness of the bourgeoisie; they are too divided, insecure and lacking in social bases of support to be able to face the consequences of their own provocations. This is the essential conclusion that the left in the Labour Party and trade unions has to draw. At the same time, the struggle over the attempt to sequester union funds confirms again that the continued existence of the capitalist system is not due to its own inner strength or the passivity of the working class, but only due to the lack of preparation and interest of the leaderships of the workers movement to confront the capitalist system.*

*The NIRC's attempt to seize union assets when the Labour government was in process of dismantling the Industrial Relations Act that gave rise to the industrial court was a desperate provocation launched by a sector of the bourgeoisie who see that the right wing in the Labour government is not in a sufficiently strong position to be able to determine a policy and programme strictly in the best interests of the capitalist system, and on the contrary, all their attempts at a 'social compact' containing the demands of the trade unions are becoming increasingly problematic. Capitalism is constantly faced with the dilemma of either trying to use the right wing in the Labour Party to contain the demands and mobilisations of the working class, or alternatively to confront the working class head on. The sector that favours the latter course made this provocation, but the response of the AUEW and in particular the engineering workers themselves led to the sudden appearance of the £65,000 to calm the situation down again. Capitalism has to resort to clandestine donations to an industrial court to avert the consequences of its own provocations! This strike has been an enormous defeat for capitalism, and the vanguard of the working class is going to feel strengthened in the conviction that it is the one that decides, as it decided the defeat of the Tories in the miners strike. This is going to affirm the sense of pessimism among the bourgeoisie and, most fundamentally of all, it is going to further weaken the right in the Labour Party apparatus.*

*The mobilisations of the engineers when the strike was announced were decisive and extremely forceful, something that the bourgeois press has tried to hide; but the fact that most of the bourgeois press did not appear the morning after the AUEW decision shows the speed with*

*which the engineers responded to the call to strike, which they themselves had in one way or another imposed on the leadership. The massive walkouts in all major industrial centres snowballed throughout the day with the engineering workers at the GEC-AEI factory in Manchester being accompanied by workers from other unions in the plant acting in solidarity. The occupation of the Manchester offices of the NIRC by the entire district committee of the AUEW and 25 shop stewards is a further expression of the anger and indignation of the working class against the attempted expropriation of union property. The proletariat did not intervene with a purely defensive attitude; the proletariat wanted to use the occasion to settle with the industrial court and the Industrial Relations Act once and for all, and to weigh in the Labour government by throwing the sequestration orders back in the teeth of the bourgeoisie!*

*The leaderships proved still incapable of seizing the opportunity presented by the bourgeois capitulation. Scanlon's praise of the court for accepting the sixty five thousand pounds shows that the conservative weight of the trade union apparatus still exercises an enormous constraint on the masses in the trade unions. It is necessary to break up this apparatus! The struggle for trade union democracy means the transformation of the trade union structure from an intermediary apparatus between the workers and the capitalist system, into an instrument to fight the capitalist system with the objective of overthrowing it. The Labour leadership did not respond with a clear class position either, though Foot, in his way, reflected some of the pressure of the Labour left in his denunciation of the NIRC. The left in the trade unions and Labour Party have to make this critical balance with a public discussion that seeks to impel and confirm their own progress. It is necessary to draw the conclusion that the left has to appear independently of the right wing leadership with its own meetings, positions on each event, intervening as a leadership. It is necessary to organise the left in the Labour Party.*

*All the European process is favourable to the organisation of the left. Above all the electoral campaign of the Popular Union in France, together with the massive upheavals in Portugal, signify a tremendous elevation of the revolution in Europe. The total crisis of capitalism, now further exaggerated by the permanent Watergate spiral into utter chaos that repels the North American petit bourgeoisie, is accomp-*

*anied by the constant mobilisations of the masses who are seeking to impel, influence and construct their leaderships and their existing class organisms for the taking of power. Apart from the French elections and the overthrow of fascism in Portugal*

*the crisis in capitalist Germany is going to favour the left in the SPD because the polarisation and open dispute in the social democracy is going to open the discussion to the intervention of the trade unions and the masses. The bourgeoisie — has used the Brandt 'spy scandal' to deliver a blow at the 'Ostpolitik', the policy of relations with the European Workers States, and to try to strengthen the right in the SPD with Schmidt, a rightwinger, replacing Brandt in the leadership. It is an attempt to contain the influence of the Soviet Union and to try to act against the essential preoccupation of the West German proletariat for unification with the German Workers State, with the economy of the Workers State. But the socialist vanguard, the trade unions and the masses have already intervened with demonstrations against Brandt's resignation. Not to defend Brandt, but to defend the Ostpolitik! The German workers are not interested in breaking from the SPD or the government, but in all their recent strikes they have sought to find the way to overcome the limitations of the leadership and advance toward socialist measures. The polarisation of forces in the SPD will favour the masses who use every event to weigh on their leaderships. The masses in all Europe are raising the necessity of the transformation of the social democratic parties into socialist parties. This is part of the world structure of the revolution at this stage.*

*The world structure and all this influence from Europe, Portugal, the Italian divorce law referendum, the election in France are encouraging the left in the Labour Party to take a more determined stance for the programme, for anti-capitalist measures and for a life in the Labour Party closer to a proletarian functioning. All this is present in the corruption allegations in the Labour Party. The proposal of a compulsory register of interests of MPs is inadequate to meet this crisis, because it is not a question simply of declaring what interests the MPs have and avoiding overstepping the limits of bourgeois legality. It is a question of objectives. The objective of the workers movement is the struggle for socialism, for power — even if the leadership is against,*

# ..... THE OVERTHROW OF FASCISM IN PORTUGAL

from page 1

This process is the advance of the world revolution which is shown in the necessary progress of the struggles of the masses, in their conquests; in Europe, through the Popular Union in France, the United Front of the workers parties, the trade unions, the workers centres; in Italy through the coordination and the united front of all the masses through their workers centres, in the enormous progress and the constant conquests of the workers parties and the decadence and the constant decay of capitalism; in Britain through the progress of the trade unions with the recent resolution in which they asked the labour party and the government not to hand over the warships which had been constructed for Chile. In Sweden they have demanded the 30 hour week and the soldiers have met and organised trade unions. In France the police organise trade unions and declare that they don't want to serve any more as an instrument of the government to repress the workers. There is a tendency for the trade union organisation of the police throughout Europe. In Germany the masses, in spite of the fact of supporting the Brandt government, launch strikes against him without feeling that they are betraying the party. Everywhere the Socialist parties advance towards the left. There are internal struggles towards the left and a constant progress of the united front. The masses are making an enormous united front.

There is an enormous progress in the Workers States with their intervention in support of the masses particularly against imperialism. There is a greater internal progress in the Workers States through the purging of the bureaucracies, of the technocratic sectors. There is a stage of accusation, condemnation, elimination on the part of the bureaucratic apparatus which is weakening their support and allowing the access, advance and the development of layers who are not interested in bureaucratic development but in a more harmonious, communist development of the Workers State. This is what the last speeches of Brezhnev to the Komsomol expressed, and in Yugoslavia, Rumania, Hungary, the cleansing directed to throw out the elements who make an agreement with capitalist interests and who plan in accordance with this interest. All this does not mean that this might be strictly the correct solution but there is very great progress in the Workers States towards the elimination of the forms, the functioning and the bureaucratic structure.

The most complete and necessary form is that of the soviet. Then there is no place for the development of bureaucrats because the working class, the masses, the trade unions, the population, control and impede the development of the bureaucrat, and all the population intervenes in the economy and in the policy. They discuss and they don't submit themselves to planners who exercise this function as an exclusive right.

This process is in advance in Latin America in the struggle of Panama against Yankee imperialism; in the recent electoral triumph in Columbia of a left centre which goes to the left; in Venezuela with a left centre which goes towards the left; in Mexico with a notable declaration towards the left. There is also a whole elevation of the struggles in Africa, Central America, and Asia. All this process and advance of the revolution conquers positions in the economy and shows that the planned economy can resolve the problems and that it is not the colonies that maintain the capacity and development of the economy of each country but the development of planning through means of nationalised property. This is what influences the army

It is not the defeat of the army in Guinea Bissau, in Cape Verde, in Angola and Mozambique which has determined the revolt of the military in Portugal. It has an importance and it is one of the causes, but not the principle one. The principle cause is that the soldiers feel the world influence of the revolution. They feel their isolation from life, they feel the solitude of Portugal and they feel themselves as part of this

solitude. They feel that the world advances and progresses and that they are constrained to act as assassins or be killed. And they rebel against this. It is the rebellion of human intelligence which reaches the soldiers and impels them to refuse to be instruments of the capitalist system. Its the expression of a very great progress of the crisis in the capitalist system, which cannot dominate or control the colonies. The organs which capitalism itself created to sustain and develop itself, rebel and rise up against it. Organs develop contrary to the capitalist system in the Church, in the Police, in the army, in the judiciary and in justice in general.

The development of technology, science of the economy in the Workers States shows that this is the way to progress, to which it is necessary to add the necessity for soviet democracy. Countries which are very backward develop by means of a nationalised and planned economy and they progress and they are quite superior to Portugal. All this makes an impression on the soldiers and on them there is also the effect of the defeats they have suffered.

They see that the capitalist regime declines, decays, disintegrates. They see their function as one of assassins, the supporters of assassins and they rebel against this. Meanwhile they see Watergate. Yankee imperialism, interested in maintaining the colonial system, which it supported and maintained together with the Atlantic pact, disintegrates into political corruption. The soldiers feel the effects and on them weigh the defeats and this process of decomposition of the capitalist system. This is the essential cause which has impelled the soldiers to rise up against the fascist regime.

The defeat is not the product of a lack of economic base. The defeat is a product of the resistance of the masses. The struggle of the masses in Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola was a direct factor, as was Vietnam in the defeat of Yankee imperialism. In their turn the masses of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau receive the impulse, the effect, the support the direct aid of the struggle of the masses of the world, of the struggle of the proletariat and of the petit bourgeoisie led by the proletariat, by the Communist and Socialist parties, by the Workers Centres of Italy, France, Germany, Britain, Belgium, of Holland, of the masses of France led by the United Front of the Workers Parties and Trade Unions, the advance in the progress of gains and the direct struggle for power against the capitalist system, although after it might be necessary to affirm this by means of force to disintegrate the army and to prepare for the civil war which capitalism is preparing.

In Latin America there is an immense progress of the struggle of the masses, of the struggle against Yankee imperialism. In the Organisation of American States, the principal countries of Latin America rebel against Yankee imperialism and force it to accept that Cuba participates and be re-integrated in the meetings of the Latin American countries and that future meetings do not take place any more in the United States. The tendencies of the centre left and of the left triumph throughout Latin America; the power of the dictatorship in Brazil declines, the Brazilian Miracle is deflated; Peron pushes forward a contradictory policy; externally it is a policy that impels the struggle against imperialism and internally he limits the use of democratic liberties and allows the policy of repression against tendencies which seek to impel the economy toward socialist measures, and political and trade union rights for the masses of the Argentine.

All this forms part of an incessant and uninterrupted progress of the struggles of the masses, in which constantly there is a class against class confrontation, as in France, as in Italy, in spite of the fact that the leaderships of the Socialist and Communist Parties conceal this conclusion of class against class.

## The soldiers are influenced by the progress of the workers states and by the struggles of the masses of the world

This is the process which is developing and weighing on the soldiers. It reduces their capacity and their function, makes them feel the limitation of their influence, of their weight and functioning in history. The pride of being a soldier and representing the power of the capitalist state is being reduced, they feel themselves being diminished before the force and the struggle of the masses, who make them see the smallness of the military function of the capitalist regime and the progress and the revolutionary struggle of the masses and the advance of the Workers States. All this weighs on the soldiers and also on the young officers in Portugal.

It is progress that reduces the function of the soldiers but it doesn't smash or intimidate them. It makes them ask 'why do this?' Its reasoning. Why do this? The soldier doesn't show this because he stays within the category of being a soldier but internally he reasons, he has to see that life, technology and science show the straightforwardness of human relations and that the uniform they have is superfluous. This has an influence on their human condition.

The progress of the economy of the Workers States, the scientific development of the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Poland, the constant advance of the Workers State that pass from nothing to surpass the capitalist regime, all this together has an effect on the soldiers. Together with this the struggle of the masses of Guinea Bissau who supported themselves on this world process that ties the hands of capitalism and that prevents it from intervening as it wants to and using all the arms that it has. It makes them see the powerlessness of the capitalist system to contain the progress of the revolution because the revolution obeys the decisions of history.

They feel that this progress of history is established in the workers states and in the struggle of the masses of the world, while they see themselves diminished. All the defeats that the soldiers led by Yankee imperialism are suffering in the Middle East, in Latin America, in Vietnam, or Asia, the advance of the Workers State: all this weighs on the soldiers and it weighs socially on the soldier's mentality. This is why there is a process of disintegration of the world military apparatus of capitalism beginning with Yankee imperialism; a process of political doubts and social doubts, of social and political controversy and polemic, because they feel the weakness of the apparatus. This is no longer omnipotent. Vietnam has been one of the most harmonious and beautiful examples for humanity to see how a small people can fulfill the stern necessity of defeating Yankee imperialism and has shown that to advance there is no other solution other than the use of force, because imperialism and capitalism use force to prevent the progress of history.

The soldiers feel diminished in their historic capacities. They feel that arms are no longer an unconditional element of power but they are subject to the social and political development of the masses. This is what disintegrates the structure of the functioning of the capitalist system and attacks, weakens and disintegrates the functioning of the repressive apparatus and the military capacity of the capitalist system. It does not annul but reduces and weakens it and prevents the coordination of their forces.

All the military structure of capitalism is already disintegrating. This is part of the struggle of the masses of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique but also of the European proletariat, Vietnam and the rest of the world, the resistance of the negroes in South Africa. All this weakens the capitalist system, prevents it concentrating itself, dissolves it and prevents it finding its own means. Besides which they don't have these means, history denies them.

Yankee imperialism, like the world capitalist system, has an interest in main-

taining the colonies, whether Guinea Bissau, Angola or Mozambique which have served to maintain a regime of dictatorship and repression in Portugal. Almost 50 years of dictatorship has been broken in a day. In less than a day. They were being constantly undermined by the progress of the revolution expressed directly in the struggle of the masses, of the liberation movement of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. These liberation movements deserve the respect of all of humanity because they have fulfilled and are fulfilling a necessary function for the development of the people, to eliminate the capitalist system and consequently world repression and poverty. This advance of these movements is a brake on the capitalist system and a powerful instrument to defeat its power. Imperialism had and still has an interest in maintaining all the colonies, and Portugal has not been able to intervene. Portuguese imperialism is already broken. It is not just a crack, it is broken. Yankee imperialism has arms, it has atomic weapons. Why hasn't it prevented this? Why did it not prevent Vietnam! The world relationship of forces are infinitely favourable to the development of the struggle against imperialism and against capitalism!

This is the fundamental conclusion that the comrades of the Workers States have to draw, the comrades of the Soviet Union, China and Cuba, and of all the Socialist Countries, the comrades of the Communist Parties of France and Italy, of all the Communist and Socialist Parties. They have to draw the conclusion that this shows the weakness of the capitalist system that has been powerless to keep and maintain Portugal within its domination. It has had to give way! It has not been able to intervene because of the world relationship of forces favourable to the revolution through the structure and the development of the processes against the capitalist system, and because there is continual impulsion to the development of the masses in an increasingly elevated, more continuous and permanent way, to the struggle against the capitalist system. It is this world relationship of forces which allowed the soldiers to be influenced through the struggle of the liberation movement in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. This in turn was supported by the world process that impelled it and limited the world capitalist system. The downfall of fascism in Portugal is part of this downfall of all the fascist regimes on which imperialism depended. This disintegrates all its strategy.

Kissinger goes to the Middle East in the role of a traveller in death, to try to contain the development of the revolution in the Middle East, to try to re-attach Egypt to the sphere of influence of Yankee imperialism. The masses, the world process of the revolution, the scientific necessity of the progressive progress of history responds to this with the triumph of the masses in Portugal and in Guinea Bissau, and soon in Mozambique and Angola. This is a demonstration that imperialism no longer has the forces to decide. It is not from there that the initiative comes, but from the defence of the progress of history. It is capitalism's death rattle sing goes as a traveller in death, to contain and make whatever small arrangements he can, he can decide absolutely nothing; he has to try to resolve the problems of Egypt and Israel, while the Soviet Union supports itself on Syria and Syria supports itself on the world process of the revolution, and on the struggle for the progress of history. This is a combined force of the Soviet Workers State and the struggle of the world that imposes on Yankee imperialism.

This is also in a direct way one of the causes of the triumph of the military movement and through the military the triumph of the masses in Portugal. It is the struggles of the masses of

Europe, the struggles of the masses of the world that have to be taken within this process so that the comrades of the Workers States and the Communist Parties, their cadres, policy and programme are based on this for an audacious policy, a more consistent policy that bears in mind that all these sectors are being gained, like the Catholic left of the Christian Democratic parties which is being gained to this process. But to be gained they have to see a more audacious and resolute anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist policy externally and internally in the struggle against imperialism in the world and the struggle against capitalism in each country. This encourages the Christian Democratic left and it is gained, as these young officers were gained.

These young officers were not gained just to finish with the war in Angola and for things to be quieter, this is absurd, there is nothing that shows that it was like this. They have been gained to a policy of opposition to the continuation of the system of repression. This is the first step. They have no political life, no instrument, they have no political revolutionary education, they receive the influences from the world. And what influences! They receive influences that put in question, in danger and at risk the capitalist system which gave them origin. They are impelled by an infinitely superior sentiment which is not just a fear of being representatives of military defeat, but fear of feeling themselves inhuman. It is a progress of history which shows itself in this form.

This progress is shown in the Workers States and in the form of superior human relations; and also superior economic rela-

## The essential role of the Portuguese proletariat

It is necessary to take this process as a whole to elaborate a policy, programme and perspective. Imperialism has an interest in maintaining the Atlantic Pact but it is powerless to contain this process.

The downfall of the regime of fascism in Portugal is an enormous influence on all other countries that are in more or less the same conditions, with a dictatorship, whether Spain, Greece or Turkey. It will have an immediate echo in the elections in France, in Italy and in all the places of concentration and mobilisation of the masses against the capitalist system. Portugal is going to vote in France and Italy. The world factors intervene in local factors. The more the process is centralised, the masses intervene and unify around any important event in order to intervene in the most elevated way because then the matured process of the revolution can express itself in the economy, science, technology and the relations in these countries. It is the world process which operates in an increasingly concentrated and direct way and has the effect of disintegration of the capitalist system. In itself it does not eliminate the capitalist system, but it weakens its structure, prevents the harmonisation of the functioning of capitalism and sharpens its crisis; the crisis of the dollar, the crisis of money, the crisis of production, the internal competition which is constantly increasing, the competition and disintegration of the capitalist system and in turn the contradictions of the capitalist system itself. For capitalism to advance it has to develop science and technology, but for science and technology to be developed without limit, to respond to the needs of humanity they cannot be directed by the capitalist system. It is European capitalism itself that has had and still has to develop and educate the peasant masses of Portugal, Greece, Turkey and Spain as proletarians. For the development of capitalism in Europe, of the European Common Market they have had to import workers that are mostly of peasant origin; and they have had to educate them and develop them in a class functioning, receiving the revolutionary, political, trade union influence of the workers centres, of the trade unions, of the Communist and Socialist Parties, of Germany, France, Belgium, Hol-

and, in part, Britain. The Portuguese proletariat, mainly of peasant origin, that is working in these countries - there are three or four hundred thousand of them - have been educated in the class sense by means of letter, relations, contacts, visits, family relations and the communication of the class progress it is making and receiving in these countries through the trade union and political struggle of the masses, the progress of the Workers Parties and trade unions. This is an essential factor which has led and influenced the military, it has had an enormous weight, it is necessary to draw the conclusions from this process, to help the Portuguese proletariat that is working outside the country to be able to maintain continuously and uninterruptedly its influence inside Portugal. This is one of the fundamental conclusions of this process. It is necessary to help the Portuguese masses to maintain uninterrupted contact within Portugal so that they weigh in the present crisis in Portugal. This is a very profound defeat of the capitalist system which has supported itself on the Atlantic Pact of which Portugal was a fundamental part. The dictatorship was a measure to maintain the pact. The downfall of fascism puts in question the colonies, the Atlantic pact and increases all resistance to the imposition of imperialism. It particularly weakens Rhodesia and South Africa. It weakens all the capitalist and imperialist system; Portugal is one of the centres of NATO, it is not simply a military coup and a progress. It initiates a process which is not going to finish just with a new government or a new constitution, it is going to influence all Europe. All the European bourgeois are going to try to contain it so that this process has a limited scope. But they do not have the force to do this. This is part of an uninterrupted process - which is no longer a chain - but that mutually interinfluences and expresses the disintegration of the capitalist system. It is still necessary to see what scope and aim these soldiers have got, but they are not the ones who are going to decide. The masses are already intervening to influence and the young officers feel more secure, more resolute and firm. They are already committed to the task of programme and

policy, to great discussions, rows, confrontations and clashes and a new struggle within the military junta and with the masses: The young officers are going to feel a direct effect to develop tendencies more to the left, more toward measures of confrontation with imperialism and the capitalist system. This is the conclusion it is necessary to draw.

It is necessary to intervene to develop the support of the young officers to be able to pass the leadership to the parties of the working class with an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme and policy. The soldiers are not going to decide the course of history in Portugal. When they have had to give way it is because they did not have the force to maintain the situation nor the changes. All history requires changes. Portugal is a backward peasant country, with a backward agrarian production; an agricultural country that was a base of the imperialist system and the exploitation of the wealth and minerals of the colonies. This has been brought down. They have not nor will they be able to prevent it. Imperialism had an interest in maintaining it, but it did not have the military, social or political force to do so. It has an enormous economic capacity and military capacity, but it doesn't have bases of social support to impose itself. This has to be the example for the policy of the Workers Parties, for the Workers States. It does not mean that imperialism is going to give up but that it is going to continue to retreat and be increasingly constrained, diminished but centralising its forces to respond later with the

## Combine the programme of democratic demands with measures against capitalism

This defeat of imperialism in Portugal is going to have important consequences in all the world capitalist system, it is going to stimulate the ascent of the workers struggles and the workers parties.

The workers parties have to help the intervention of the Portuguese masses within Portugal so that they can influence Spain, Greece and Turkey immediately and all Europe. Help the intervention by means of meetings, beginning in each country where the Portuguese proletariat is working. They have to have the same rights as the proletariat of that country; the right to speak, to discuss, to write, to have direct relations and to participate in the struggle of the masses and the class in these countries. And through this to direct themselves to Portugal by means of correspondence, letters, taking positions and with demonstrations and meetings. So that all this is communicated and reaches Portugal. To organise trips of hundreds of Portuguese workers to Portugal to intervene in the meetings, demonstrations, in the struggle to organise the trade union centre, the workers parties, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party or other parties of the left. To help them to organise with an immediate programme; liberation of all the colonies! And explain why. To give a stage of struggle to carry forward this activity and to reach these objectives; liberation of all the colonies! withdrawal from NATO! the planning of production! the nationalisation

## editorial from page 1

*The bourgeois conception that derends private property is incompatible with the struggle for socialism and leads only to careerism and bureaucracy. McGarvey's suggestion that there should be a Labour Party/trade union enquiry is correct but rather than leaving it to individuals like Feather to head such an enquiry we propose that the discussion is broadened to consider the whole question of individual interest, careerism, capitalist links within the Labour Party and the organisation needed to eliminate the possibility of such functioning and we propose that the discussion be opened to the masses in public meetings of the Labour Party constituencies and the trade unions - particularly in the North east - open to all the workers and all tendencies of the workers movement. MPs and officials have to be answerable to the base of the party. It is necessary to discuss the changes made in the Italian Communist Party where deputies are elected now from the factories and continue to work whilst interven-*

ing in parliament. It is necessary to discuss how the Labour Party left can direct itself more effectively to those sectors of society that are against capitalism but still have to be won politically to full active support of the workers movement. The strikes and mobilisations of NALGO with their mass meetings in London, for example and the nurses who are intervening not only for better pay and conditions but threatening sanctions against private practice in the health service, is very important. The left has to set itself the objective of gaining all these sectors. To do this it has to elevate its own level of organisation and intervention, linking itself to all the struggles of the working class, using the programme as it exists to link them to the struggle for its implementation, stimulating the organisation of the masses in their own organisations in the factories and workers areas, deepening the discussion of the whole world process of the revolution so that this weighs in the preparation of the Labour Party as an instrument of the struggle for socialism in Britain. 11. 5. 74.

turn to page 4

ary state, without which the economy will remain fragmented. It is necessary to make a campaign of influence on Spain, in such a way as to diffuse the progress, to spread the progress of these countries to Spain. This progress in Portugal continues what was expressed in Spain and which ended in the bombing of Carrero Blanco. The murder of Carrero Blanco has already broken fascism in Spain. If it still continues it is because it has the apparatus. But it is obliged to give way.

It is necessary to raise a programme of support for the struggle of the masses in Portugal. Appealing for a mobilisation of the workers centres, of the workers parties of Europe; Communist, Socialist, Left Radical, Trotskyist Posadists. A united front in support of this movement with demonstrations and meetings to apply pressure on the bourgeoisie of each country! To send delegations and to make meetings together with the Portuguese workers and for them to participate with this programme of agrarian reform, distribution of the land, expropriation of the landowners and nationalisation without compensation, nationalisation of the principle sources of production, functioning under workers control, full trade union and democratic rights, freedom of press, of ideas, of speech, of functioning and of organisation, of discussion of every problem, discussion with the military, the right of trade union organisation for soldiers. To draw, communicate, and spread the experience making a full agitation. Showing that fascism was installed in Portugal because there are no democratic rights and that it did not develop the economy because there is no relation or co-ordination between the interests of the population, democratic rights and the development of the economy.

The soldiers have served as a base of support and a bulwark of fascism in Portugal. Demand the right to trade union organisation for the soldiers and police. Draw the experiences of the recent past. This is the programme that the Communists, and Socialist Parties, the Left Radicals, the Posadists, Trotskyists of every tendency, the trade unions and workers centres throughout Europe have to carry forward.

It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States, to the Socialist Countries, to China, to the USSR, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Germany to intervene. The trade unions, the Communist Parties, the workers centres of the Workers States have to intervene making appeals for support for the Portuguese masses. Giving economic support and aid, making demonstrations and meetings, appealing for strikes throughout Europe in support of the liberation movement in the colonies and the struggle of the masses in Portugal, to pressure the bourgeoisie, to elevate the young officers and soldiers to a better political function with a socialist programme. This is the conclusion it is necessary to draw to strengthen the progress of the Popular Union in France, the Socialist, Communist, Trotskyist, Posadist parties in all Europe in this struggle which will be an enormous impulse and to take this as part of this general process of activity and struggle. It is not simply one more activity and the downfall of a dictatorship. It is the overthrow of a dictatorship! Imperialism was powerless to support it, as it was powerless to maintain its power in Vietnam. It no longer has the historic means to do it. It has military and economic power but no social capacity. It is disintegrating. It is necessary to do this in such a way that it influences the masses in the United States, for them to feel that imperialism, with NATO is defeated in Portugal too, by means of this movement of young officers, and that they in turn reflect the great pressure and influence of the struggle of the masses.

It is necessary to take this process as a whole, in such a way that it serves as a bridge, a stimulus for the development of the struggle of all the masses and to the intervention of the Workers States in a consistent and more profound way, unifying the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist with the anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary to struggle for the unconditional rights, and for the liberty of all the colonies. So that

they can develop the economy and production according to the needs of the population. Imperialism is going to try to interfere to prevent the development and the liberty of the colonies. The interests of imperialism in investment in Mozambique, and in Angola above all, as in Guinea Bissau, are going to try to weigh and to influence. It is necessary to make mobilisations in each country to prevent this. Out with imperialism! All the wealth, all the production of Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and Angola must pass into the hands of the population of these countries. Carry this into the discussion in all the world and show that these people have the right and the need to expel imperialism. All the wealth that is there does not belong to imperialism, it belongs to the population of these countries who have to develop it. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States for collaboration to plan production. It is necessary to maintain the freedom of the colonies at any cost. Out with imperialist troops from Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America! Out with imperialism and all its troops! Out with NATO! Out with all the naval, air force and military bases of imperialism in Europe! Out from Germany, out from Spain, Portugal and all the colonies!

It is necessary to elevate this struggle in such a way that it gives to the liberation movement of Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique a solid perspective, counting upon the support of the European proletariat. The European proletariat has to feel this struggle, has to support the conception that the Portuguese people liberate the colonies. The Portuguese people cannot ask for their own liberty without demanding freedom for the colonies which are being oppressed. It is not true that the loss of the colonies reduces and leads to a decline in the standard of life in Portugal. What declines is the power and the accumulation of capitalism. It is necessary to reorganise, to plan the economy and to elevate it. It is capitalism which loses. Capitalism is not necessary for the development of production of the economy and of life. It is simply an obstacle for this. It is necessary to plan this activity in such a way that the Workers States intervene in a more powerful form by means of the trade unions, workers centres and the Communist Parties. They must intervene weigh and decide in this process.

It is necessary to see that the masses of the United States feel and live this defeat of fascism in Portugal, that it is being caused by the world process of the revolution. To appeal to the Communist, Socialist Parties, to the Workers States, for the world united front for the liberation of the Portuguese colonies and for the elimination of capitalism in Portugal. It is still not clear what the present power of General Spínola is going to set out to do. But it is evident that Caetano handed over power to Spínola as the least evil, to prevent the masses taking power. It is a power, even if it is circumstantial still not decided in a process in full momentum, but already the masses are intervening. It is necessary to support the captains so that they link politically with the population, that they develop a political life and elaborate a programme of development of production against the capitalist system, of expropriation of the sources of imperialism and of planning of production to develop the economy, beginning with agrarian reforms and with the distribution of the land to the peasantry and expropriation of the big estates. It is necessary to show that the backwardness of Portugal allowed the alliance of the oligarchy with world imperialism and the installation of fascism to defend a small circle of proprietors.

This military junta had to make many more concessions than was at first believed. The will of the people showed the depth of their resolution. After almost fifty years of dictatorship! In only one day they threw out the government. They came to discuss living fully all the events as if they had been functioning with permanent organisations and now they come to communicate the resolutions of the meeting! It is the world process which maintained the Portuguese people alive, unified the world process to the ideas and the organisms of the masses, to struggle and to be concerned to

struggle. Hence immediately they proposed socialist measures and conclusions! Where did all this emerge from if they didn't have a political life. Otherwise they wouldn't have been able to do it. They would have remained subject to a dictatorship. The people had communication with the world revolution which maintained it in contact with the revolution. In part as an expression of this also there was the influence of the liberation movements of Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique and the masses lived through this process. Hence they came out immediately to communicate with the soldiers.

The population was for fifty years without the possibility of speaking and discussing, they were imprisoned for decades and then they come alive fresh from the prisons. The population was in chains. Portugal was a public prison and now they discuss all the problems, they come out to win the soldiers, to influence them, to make contact with them, in the distribution of flowers, singing the Internationale, and demanding socialism. After forty eight years of fascism, the Portuguese masses, instead of taking revenge, come out to organise the revolution.

The Portuguese people did not remain shut out and in silence. They were not dominated by prison, by intimidation and repression. The people lived thinking, reflecting and communicating in a thousand ways with the world process of the revolution, with the Portuguese proletariat which worked abroad, who communicated with their families constantly the development of the struggles. The immigrant workers communicated all this and transmitted to the Portuguese people the resolution and combativity of the world. It was a direct link with the world revolution. This was an enormous impulse to the struggle of the colonies. Hence, in spite of the weakness of the economic organisational means of the Portuguese proletariat, it found the way to communicate with the population abroad. In France, Italy, Britain, Belgium, Holland, the Portuguese proletariat communicated with Portugal and there was a direct communication of the proletariat of Europe which communicated with Portugal through the Portuguese workers.

From the first moment the population went to win over the soldiers and to establish a close relationship of cordiality, of common sentiments which still must express itself in policy and in the common objective of the development of nationalisation and planning.

Hence the population immediately went to distribute flowers, red carnations, as a symbol of fraternity and socialist objectives. All the soldiers in the trucks and in the tanks were surrounded by and had red flowers placed on the barrels and around the guns. Part of this team of soldiers felt themselves to be in communication with the population. It is very important the fact that the soldiers accepted the carnations, they established a communication with the population which elevated them in their decision to influence the soldiers. The distribution of flowers among the population and the soldiers was to establish a communication, a link between the soldiers, the NCOs, the captains and the people. The soldiers who led the first part of the insurrection saw that now it simply did not correspond to them, because it was a question of giving ideas, developing organisms and programmes. And the people have this. Behind each red flower was a little part of the programme! Unanimously the soldiers accepted the carnations. They put them around their arms, tanks and on their uniforms. This isn't a manoeuvre. There is a part which is a manoeuvre to simulate contact with the population and to maintain authority. They need the population. The population see that they are needed and try to impel them. They are learning to intervene. This is what happened in the Russian revolution. The distribution of the flowers can have a petit bourgeois origin because they are the ones who have the money to buy them but it is a popular initiative. The petit bourgeoisie can begin this but everybody followed it up. It is a means of communication, of adhesion, of fusion and of progress.

The Spínola leadership is trying to win time. There is still an indecisive team. It is a

violent preparation, they are the same soldiers who before repressed and directed fascism in the colonies and now they have to go back. These same soldiers carry out a function which is completely opposed to what they were doing two months ago, representing fascism. Now they repress fascism and they have to allow freedom, all this is because the advance of the pressure is enormous. The captains alone cannot express such a process. They are a reflection of the powerful process within Portugal and outside it, which the proletariat expressed working in Europe and in the liberation movements of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau.

It is necessary to intervene in this struggle in this stage in which Yankee imperialism and European capitalism are going to use all their forces to sustain the capitalist system, capitalist power and, in so far as it is possible, the dictatorship in Portugal. The process in Portugal is short. The Socialist and Communist parties are going to try to say that it is a long stage. No, it is short. But being short there are determined stages and phases because there isn't a team to lead the economy. As there isn't a solid bourgeoisie they are going to have to rely on the socialists and communists. They are seeking the Socialist party, the Communist Party, the Christian movements, the weak tendencies, the right wing and conciliatory tendencies, to try to give them a power which allows them to prevent the advance of the trade unions and the left parties or the lefts in the Communist and Socialist Parties. They are trying to win time, seeking to create cadres to lead the country, to accommodate it and systematise it in conciliation and on the road of reforms within the capitalist system to prevent the trade unions, the left parties and the Portuguese proletariat in Europe weighing to give anti-capitalist solutions.

It is necessary to use all the forces in the struggle so that the proletariat, the left tendencies, left soldiers, the captains who have taken this initiative feel themselves stimulated to go further in the conclusions. It is necessary to pose and to demand that all the cadres, functionaries and teams of the dictatorship must be expelled and separated from the state apparatus. It is necessary to completely purge them. It is necessary to make in Portugal and throughout Europe demonstrations, strikes, meetings, resolutions, movements which are directed and exert a pressure on Portugal, through radio, meetings, demonstrations, by means of the press, visits of delegations, with the objective of impelling the tendencies of the left to decide the next government. To appeal immediately for the organisation of a constituent assembly with the right of all parties to intervene, with a programme of expulsion of imperialism, rupture with NATO, liberation of the colonies, the expropriation of the big land owners and the distribution of the land to the peasants, expropriation and nationalisation of the principle means of production and the development and planning of the economy.

In this stage, it is necessary to make the necessary agreements and concessions in advance in such measures. Although immediately it might be necessary to be based and to support the democratic conquests, it is necessary to extend and diffuse this programme and to agitate for it in an immediately later stage. This means also to prevent that a power can assert itself which gives rise again to a power which can repress or contain the development of the struggles of the masses. The process in Portugal is a military coup, it is not a revolution. But there is an impulse towards revolution. The masses want to change Portugal and nothing is going to stop them.

J Posadas

28.4.74

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# RED FLAG

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# The resignation of Brandt, Yankee imperialism and the organisation of the left of the Socialist Party

J. POSADAS

9th May, 1974.

centre pages

Workers of the World, Unite!



# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## INTERVENE WITH A PROGRAMME FOR IRELAND TO DEFEAT THE PSEUDO GENERAL STRIKE AND ITS OBJECTIVES

The so-called general strike in Northern Ireland is not an action of the working class but a form of coup, or attempted coup, on the part of semi fascist groups stimulated by the repressive forces of British imperialism. It is an action that has nothing to do with working class demands or working class interests.

Industry and essential services have been stopped by a combination of 'lock out' on the part of the bosses and intimidation and terrorism on the part of the UDA, UVF etc. The so-called strike has no real support among the Protestant workers and the vote against the strike by 80% of the workers at Harland and Wolf, for example, shows it. As did the MayDay demonstration in Belfast, in which the Protestant and Catholic workers marched together. It is true that there are workers at the base of the UDA and the UVF, it is also true that both the UDA and UVF have made statements and demands which expressed, in a very limited way, the interests of the Protestant workers on housing, employment, etc. In the present stage of history many movements which begin with bourgeois leaderships are forced to adopt positions that go against capitalism, but the present actions of the so-called Ulster Workers Council can produce nothing to the benefit of the working class. The UWC is a new organisation which, in a way, replaces the old Loyalist Association of Workers, and that only appeared because the 'loyalists' had little support in the trade unions, among the Protestant working class. It is logical, since if they had any support in the trade unions it would not have been necessary for them to create a separate organisation. At the same time, the UWC is directly supported by fascist groups such as the 'Red Hand Commandoes'. Added to this, the 'strike' is fully supported by the Craig and Paisley Unionists as well.

Of course, sectors of the Northern Irish bourgeoisie and big landowners support the 'strike', they have their own interests which are not exactly the same as those of British imperialism but they are very closely linked, particularly when it comes to trying to smash working class organisation and the developing unity of Protestant and Catholic workers.

The MayDay demonstrations, the statements by the Irish trade unions, the talks between the UDA and UVF on one side and both wings of Sinn Fein and the IRA on the other, the strikes in the factories are all indications that the working class is seeking to unify itself. At the same time, the intervention of trade union delegates from England on the anniversary of 'Bloody Sunday', the statement of the vice president of the Scottish NUM calling for the withdrawal of British troops from N.Ireland all expressed the preoccupation of the British working class to intervene in N.Ireland and unify with the Northern Irish workers. It is this which stimulates the repressive forces of British imperialism - the SAS, Special Branch etc - to intervene, to machine gun workers on building sites.

Wilson and the bourgeois wing of the Labour movement are in collusion

with all this. Two weeks ago, Wilson announced in parliament that a 'plot' had been uncovered by Special Branch which involved the taking over of parts of Belfast by the IRA after a campaign of terrorism. Of course, Wilson could not reveal all the facts because of the 'danger to security'. The whole performance was like a theatre, it was nonsense. But it was followed by the action of the Ulster Workers Council, by the sending of more troops and the declaration of a state of emergency. It shows a direct collusion between the bourgeois sector of the Labour government and the repressive forces of British imperialism. Now Wilson poses as a defender of the democratic rights of the Catholic working population and attacks 'those organisations that want to set up an undemocratic state'.

What hypocrisy! The six counties of N.Ireland are a creation of British imperialism, kept under the control of British imperialism by armed force - it has never been a 'democratic state' in the 50 years of its existence. At the same time, Wilson is now in the position of continuing the action of imperialism toward Ireland.

There is no solution to the 'problem' of N.Ireland within the framework of the capitalist system; and it has no solution either separated from the struggle of the proletariat in England. It is characteristic of this stage of advance of the struggle of the masses on a world scale, that whole sectors of the population that are not of the working class are won to the anticapitalist struggle of the proletariat and adopt their programme and methods.

This is the significance of the triumph of the Popular Union in France and the victory of the 'no' in the Italian divorce law referendum. In this country, the same process is expressed in the mobilisations of the nurses, local government officers and teachers.

The workers vanguard, the centres of the proletariat find themselves impeded by the bureaucratic structure of the Labour Party and trade unions. In this sense, it is easier for the teachers, nurses etc to mobilise, but they do so on the basis of a confidence in the workers vanguard. The workers vanguard intervenes, as the AUEW workers did recently, seeking to impel the Labour government to implement its programme and seeking to propel the leaderships of its own organisations into action.

So when Len Murray intervenes in Belfast he is not speaking to the workers of N.Ireland but reacting to the pressure and preoccupation of the workers vanguard which is more easily expressed through the structure of the trade unions. Murray intervened with a certain personal turn to page 4

## For a full discussion of the "Draft Manifesto" to extend the policy of nationalisations

The present struggle in the Labour Party is intensifying under the impact of the world polarisation of class forces, and the immense pressure of the British working class and its desire for fundamental social change. The social victory of the proletariat in the French elections - because this is what is meant by the electoral 'success' of Giscard d'Estaing - which anticipates profound social struggles going toward the taking of power, and the victory of the 'no' in the Italian referendum are very serious blows at the whole European and world bourgeoisie and weaken enormously their decision and capacity of action. The Socialist Parties are no longer determined historically by the functioning of capitalism and its lieutenant, the aristocracy of labour. The British Labour Party becomes more and more an instrument of the workers rather than an appendage of the bourgeoisie. But this does not mean a sudden and complete change in its functioning. Old historically alien teams can remain, the functioning can retain many features of a past period, and in the absence of a firm and committed leadership organising the forces of the left, it is still possible for forces of the right who no longer represent the Labour Party to determine certain decisions and situations. The process of transformation of the social democratic parties into Socialist Parties is not a gentle evolutionary process but one punctuated by sharp conflicts, retreats, sudden advances, problems that remain apparently without a solution for some time - anything in fact but a smooth linear process.

The protracted course of the struggle can be seen, for example, in the fact that although the overwhelming pressure of last years Labour Party conference was toward a left policy and programme

the policy was still largely determined by the right wing team. This contradiction continues but it does not determine the Labour Party, merely the pace and rhythm of change. Although the Labour government does not embark on a wholesale policy of struggle for nationalisations, it is a menace from the point of view of capitalism because it is open to the weight of pressures for anticapitalist steps, as with the control of rents in the private sector, and there is a serious struggle now being waged in the Labour Party which threatens the authority of capitalism and threatens far worse to come in the near future.

In this sense, the conflict over the delivery of the frigates to Chile has been a serious blow at capitalism, accompanied as it has been by the intervention of the trade unions with the AUEW blacking the work on jet engines for Chile and finally the decision that spare parts would no longer be delivered to the Chilean air force. In this issue, the whole question of solidarity with the workers against the fulfilling of business contracts was raised and the right of the Labour Party

has emerged weakened. On the other hand, such is the lack of a consistent left leadership that a draft manifesto is issued in which nationalisation hardly appears, co-management and capital sharing is re-emphasised and some form of state control in industry is suggested in return for state loans. This text does not represent the level of discussion in the Labour Party or in the vanguard. It appears as a compromise between the centre and the right still allowing state interference in the running of capitalism but trying to ignore the question of nationalisation. The right tries to take advantage of the minority Labour government to argue the need to submit the programme to what is electorally acceptable (to right wing Labour supporters!). But at the same time, the depth of the differences is shown by Healy, on the one hand, saying to the CBI that the Labour Party desire to maintain private industry and Benn continuing to draw up plans for wholesale nationalisation.

The turmoil in the Labour Party extends now to every issue. The government sends more troops

turn to page 4

**OUT NOW Watergate and the development of the left in the Socialist and Communist parties**

J. POSADAS

2nd December 1973

The resignation of Brandt is not directly due to economic reasons. The situation in Germany is not such that it would provoke his resignation; there must be a more important motive. It is due to the struggle in the social democracy, it is the right, together with the centre, which is trying to smash Brandt's policy, and the pressure of Yankee imperialism to change Brandt's pro Workers State policy. This is the depth of the matter. It is not the economic situation, which is not in fact serious. Besides, if it was a bad economic situation, there is time to remedy it, to take preventive measures. This indicates that there is an offensive of imperialism and that Brandt has tried to maintain himself on the basis of the policy of agreements with the Workers States. There is also a disagreement with the right in relation to internal policy. The right did not want to allow the workers wage increases, but the government gave way. The government gave a maximum of 8% but the workers obtained 14%. Sectors of the public employees won 14%. There are motives for the fight against Brandt, it is not just this that problem but the direction of his policy. Brandt gave way to the workers, yielded to Moscow, sought agreement with Moscow, and the right is against this policy. This is the depth of the question.

At the same time, the working class tried to exert a pressure on Brandt's government to make him yield, and the mobilised trying to sustain Brandt or at least to encourage him not to go. It will retake the offensive and seek to encourage the organisation of the left.

Brandt's resignation is not a consequence of the spy nor the bad economic situation nor a possible crisis; none of these exist in the immediate or foreseeable situation. On the other hand, it is possible that there was a great pressure from Yankee imperialism and Brandt gave way because the centre and right won in the leading apparatus.

#### THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE AGENDA.

The trade unions and workers parties advance in all this process. The fall of Brandt does not allow a policy which favours capitalism. Capitalism cannot benefit in any aspect of its policy. All this accelerates processes that were already under way; the conscious organisation of the left in Germany. Given that there are no conscious leaderships, that there are no leaderships with conscious foresight, the organisation of the left must be accomplished on the basis of crises, on the basis of processes and splits. The organisation of the left in the Socialist Parties cannot be made from a previous programme because this does not exist. It will be done via splits, reorganisations, regroupments and resignations. This is the way in which the left is being formed. Brandt's resignation will accelerate the formation of this left and render it conscious of the need to function independently of the plans of Willy Brandt.

At the same time, Brandt's resignation shows that if the programme of those who follow moves to the left, it will mean an uprising of all the masses.

The right not only means to limit the policy with the Workers States and to favour NATO, but also a policy against wages, against the standard of living, against employment and consumption. But there will be an immediate reaction of the masses.

Capitalism, in the present situation, cannot determine a policy and then strengthen and sustain it. Brandt went, but this creates an enormous complex of problems for capitalism; as is shown in the reaction of the masses against the cost of living, the lack of work, working conditions, in Germany, as in France, as in Britain, as in all Europe. The measures taken by Yankee imperialism are blind, they are measures to contain the policy toward the Workers States, agreements with the Workers States, and to try to win authority, to win credit with the bourgeoisie to prepare the war against the Workers States, to reanimate the authority of capitalism in Europe against the Workers States and to win authority over the bourgeoisie itself.

# The resignation of Brandt, Yankee imperialism and the organisation of the left of the Socialist Party

Brandt, faced with this, gave way instead of fighting. He did not mobilise or base himself on the mobilisation of the masses, he preferred to give in.

This indicates the intensification of the critical situation of capitalism. In the full spate of the reorganisation of the world capitalist system, seeking to moderate their internal conflicts through the efforts they are making in the ECM, the crisis in Germany increases and deepens the crisis of capitalism still more. It does not favour the domination of Yankee imperialism, it divides the capitalist system even more. The division in France, with Giscard and Mitterand, the division in Italy is clear and open. In France, capitalism confronts the workers parties and the trade unions; in Italy the capitalist system confronts the workers parties and the trade unions; in Germany the big bourgeoisie conflicts with a candidate who counted on the support of the masses, on the big mobilisations of the trade unions; in Belgium there is a government without a majority, a government accused of inactivity because of the disorder of capitalism and the incapacity of the opposition to govern; in Britain a government which is a majority because the others do not have the courage to overthrow it. They are afraid of going in because it would be worse for them, and they are afraid of a new election which would be the worse for them.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY IN GERMANY IS ON THE AGENDA.

In the face of this there is the Soviet policy in the Middle East, which is encouraging Syria and containing Yankee imperialism. This is an indication that the Soviets are conscious that Yankee policy is to make them withdraw from Europe. They know that they have points of support and can go further. Previously, they would not have gone forward in this way with the Syrians because it is a political stimulus which is very, very delicate. It stimulates a policy of resistance, conflict and confrontation against imperialism, which means confronting capitalism. It encourages measures that advance toward Workers States. It is not a policy which submits to capitalism nor which allows capitalism or Yankee imperialism to dominate. The Yankees have a policy that is designed to impose the authority that continually escapes them. The meeting of the ECM, the financial crisis, the crisis of the dollar, and now the crisis with Italy and the import restrictions confirm it.

Consequently, it is necessary to see Brandt's resignation as part of the crisis of the capitalist system, which tries to reorganise the government so that it responds more to direct unification with the Yanks, but which has no perspective of winning. To succeed, such a policy would have to be imposed on the German workers by confronting the trade unions. And the trade union movement has already confronted Willy Brandt. It is a retreat by Willy Brandt; and this shows that it is no longer possible to continue with this policy of agreements, an internal strategy of agreements. New tendencies, groups and regroupments are needed. At the same time, this shows that what has happened with Willy Brandt, as has happened in Britain, is not a new situation. The attempt to make a single party of the communists, socialists and left tendencies shows the process of liquidation of the old forms and old schema of political life in Europe. There are attempts to form new groupings to organise the left to replace the capitalist system. This may take place in an electoral form, but it is with the aim of replacing the capitalist system. Norway shows it quite clearly, Sweden, France

with the United Front, and Italy. Capitalism is trying to defend itself from this process to prevent it affecting the social democracy even more. But it continues to influence and stimulate the Socialist Parties.

The meetings which the social democracy have held in Europe very recently show a whole turn to the left, even if still as a social democracy. The meetings held by the Socialist International, the frequency of the meetings, the meetings on Chile, the condemnation of the coup in Chile, the support to the Chileans and the support of the German government to the Chileans has shown that the Socialist Party feels the influence and weight of the struggles of the masses of Europe and of the German proletariat. Imperialism has tried to contain with measures that avoid a direct confrontation, using any pretext to intervene in the internal struggle in the German Socialist Party, which is yielding, in part, to the need for Germany's development independent from imperialism and in agreement with the USSR, in agreement with the Workers States.

Germany has been the champion of economic and social equilibrium in Europe; but it has also been the champion of agreements with the Workers States, more than any other country. Imperialism has been able to intervene to contain this process because there is still not a fixed tendency developed in Germany. This is imperialism's attempt to intervene. But the struggle of the German masses has shown that they understood from the beginning and have intervened to contain imperialism. And they will intervene again now; in one way or another there will be a reaction from the proletariat.

They will not allow any retreat in the standard of living, wages, working conditions or level of employment. There will be an intensification of the struggles, favourable from every point of view to the organisation of the left, which has to be constructed in every possible way. Willy Brandt could not do it because he had a policy of the centre linked with the right; and partially with the left too - more linked with sectors of the right in economic policy and programme. External policy was against the right, so there was an internal compromise. The external policy of Willy Brandt was allowed and internally there was a policy of alliance with the right. But he had to give way on all the workers strikes, which showed that the German proletariat felt secure.

It is necessary to appeal to the German proletariat to reject any retreat in external policy, any retreat on what it has won. And, on the contrary, to increase the links with the Workers States, the policy of a certain unification of the Socialist Party and trade unions with the rest of Europe,

#### BREAK THE FEUDAL CONTROL OF THE

Trade Union Bureaucracy!

One of the most important objectives to achieve is trade union democracy. It is necessary to break the feudal functioning of the trade unions, to give the masses the freedom to discuss and pose the need for a coherent programme to prevent a future crisis, the outbreak of a future crisis throughout Europe, to guarantee full employment and to guarantee the left's advance to power, to prepare a worker and peasant government. The crisis of Willy Brandt indicates that there are going to be further crises of the capitalist system, in France, Italy, Germany, Britain and Belgium.

What Willy Brandt's government put forward with regard to co-management is a swindle, it prov-

## J. POSADAS

9th May, 1974

and a programme of nationalisations, planning, workers control, functioning councils. It is necessary to eliminate the co-management that Brandt had proposed, which is a complete swindle, and to propose the organisation of workers councils, factory councils, nationalisations under workers control, agreements with the Workers States, demanding the sliding scale of wages, sliding scale of hours, for trade union democracy and the elimination of feudal forms of trade union functioning.

It is necessary to appeal to the communists to support the struggle, not the struggle to sustain Willy Brandt but to sustain this programme, stimulating agreements with the Workers States and the programme of demands.

The resignation of Brandt who did not have the courage to fight and did not appeal to the left or the workers movement shows that this is not the way to form the left or to maintain a policy of sustained progress that maintains employment and the development of the economy, even if within the capitalist camp. What has been shown to be necessary is a worker and peasant government. Capitalism submits every problem of the economy to its need to prepare the anti-Soviet front. Even if it takes place with total intercapitalist competition. Brandt did not have the courage to appeal to the masses to mobilise; if he had appealed to them he would have paralysed the coup against him. He acted with the class sentiment of not wanting to disturb the capitalist system, and this shows that this is not the way. With all the possibilities which Willy Brandt had to support himself on the trade unions and the masses, who would have supported him, he did not appeal to the Party. He was afraid of conducting a struggle in which he would have been supplanted, he was afraid of being supplanted by the masses who would have imposed anticapitalist positions, not just against the right of the Socialist Party. The struggle for the organisation of the left and a consistent programme of agreements with the Workers States, which would have the effect of weakening capitalism and preparing the worker and peasant government, cannot be waged by submitting to these leaderships. It is necessary to impel the organisation of the left to secure a coherent programme supported by the trade unions, on trade union struggles. At the same time, changing the present trade union leaderships which are, in one way or another, compromised with the bourgeois apparatus, with the apparatus of the capitalist regime and which limit the struggle of the masses.

#### THE INTERNAL STRUGGLE IN THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND THE EXAMPLE OF THE SUPER-

riority of the German Workers State.

At the same time, Brandt's resignation shows that he did not want to submit to the right. By not submitting to the right he left the way open for a later impulse that could come quickly, but it is not necessary to depend on him but to construct a left with an anticapitalist policy and programme. This is the basis for the formation of the left. There is the same crisis in the Socialist Parties throughout the world, they are obliged to advance and capitalism cannot advance because it is exhausted. The masses are impelling the Socialist Party in France with the socialist communist united front with the object of making a programme that bypasses the capitalist system. It is necessary to support this measure to abolish what remains of the capitalist system, to overthrow it, to organise the united front with the object of pushing forward the policy and programme against the capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal to the police and army to accept this programme and to prepare the transformation of the structure of the capitalist system, to liquidate their dependence on the capitalist system and to transform it in the form of social and economic organisations which respond to the need for anticapitalist progress. The structure of capitalism cannot allow any advance, however limited, in economic demands and progress. The workers have to win everything by strikes. Every important progress has to be reached on the basis of the overthrow of the capitalist system. It is on all this that the programme of the socialist left in Germany and all Europe must be based.

At the same time, one of the essential aspects which exerts a pressure on the capitalist system in Germany is the existence of the German Workers State which shows the social, economic and political superiority which is a constant press-

ure on capitalist Germany. One of the conditions that imperialism is afraid of in the establishment of a socialist government under the leadership of the left, is the influence of the German Workers State which is superior to what exists in capitalist Germany. Although the economic development of capitalist Germany is more important, the dignity of life is superior in the German Workers State; the German masses see this. Imperialism wants to smash such an influence, hence the pressure to liquidate Willy Brandt. Brandt's last phase was characterised by a constant pressure of imperialism to obstruct his policy. While Willy Brandt sought to lean on the German Workers State for the recognition of Czechoslovakia and Poland and win points of support in the working class and the petit bourgeoisie. But he would not have found sufficient support in the way he was looking for it, because for the petit bourgeoisie to be consistent in its support, it is necessary to transport the superiority of dignity of life in the German Workers State into capitalist Germany.

This is the function of the left in Germany, this, in a very general way, is what the JUSOS are proposing. We appeal to the JUSOS to reanimate their intervention, clarifying and elevating their programme, making it a coherent anticapitalist programme of agreement with the Workers States, a programme of nationalisation, expropriation without compensation, planning with workers control to form a government of the left which advances to a worker and peasant government. It is necessary to supersede the agreement with the Liberals, to win the left Liberals with a programme of nationalisations showing the superiority of production with nationalised and planned property. Not the bourgeois liberal agreement, or liberal social democratic agreement, which means the defence of the capitalist system. It is necessary to develop trade union democracy, all democratic liberties, and in this framework to impose the elimination of all the limitations there are on the right of the communists to be represented in the government, in the judicial apparatus, everywhere; complete freedom for everyone, every tendency that struggles for social progress, but no liberty for the fascists. This is one of the essential points that they must fight for.

The entire capitalist regime is in crisis, in Europe and in the world. The liquidation of Willy Brandt and his resignation without appealing to the masses, shows that they were afraid of being bypassed by a class action and mobilisation. It shows that they are not capable of organising the left, they limit their policy to avoid stepping outside the limits of the capitalist system, while there is a powerful left now that want to progress and capitalism does not have a base.

At the same time, Brandt's resignation shows that he did not want to submit to the right. By not submitting to the right he left the way open for a later impulse that could come quickly, but it is not necessary to depend on him but to construct a left with an anticapitalist policy and programme. This is the basis for the formation of the left. There is the same crisis in the Socialist Parties throughout the world, they are obliged to advance and capitalism cannot advance because it is exhausted. The masses are impelling the Socialist Party in France with the socialist communist united front with the object of making a programme that bypasses the capitalist system. It is necessary to support this measure to abolish what remains of the capitalist system, to overthrow it, to organise the united front with the object of pushing forward the policy and programme against the capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal to the police and army to accept this programme and to prepare the transformation of the structure of the capitalist system, to liquidate their dependence on the capitalist system and to transform it in the form of social and economic organisations which respond to the need for anticapitalist progress. The structure of capitalism cannot allow any advance, however limited, in economic demands and progress. The workers have to win everything by strikes. Every important progress has to be reached on the basis of the overthrow of the capitalist system. It is on all this that the programme of the socialist left in Germany and all Europe must be based.

This is one of the essential ways to influence the petit bourgeoisie, which is the point of support of the CSU, the Liberals and the right in the Socialist Party; and also of the workers aristocracy which dominates the Socialist Party and trade union movement to prevent the influences of the more advanced processes in the Socialist and Communist Parties, like in France and Italy, penetrating the trade union movement and Socialist Party.

Consequently, it is necessary for the trade unions, the Socialist and Communist Parties to concentrate on this task of homogenising the thought of the proletariat vanguard to demonstrate that the German Workers State is superior to capitalist Germany from every point of view.

J. Posadas 9.5.74

**Profit from the victory of the 'NO' in order to advance toward the Government of the Left!**  
**Break the Christian Democracy to construct the Left Catholic Party!**  
**Support the French masses for the victory of the Union Populaire!**

The victory of the 'NO' has been a formidable defeat for reaction, for the Christian Democracy and the bourgeoisie. It expressed in Italy the world wide elevation of the consciousness and maturity of the masses, of their will to progress that defeats every reactionary and repressive measure and that imposes everywhere the victory of intelligence and reason. As cde Posadas said, and as is analysed in the manifesto of 1st May of the International Secretariat of the IV International, it is the expression of the fact that 'the world is ready for communism'. It is the expression, in Italy, of the world wide revolutionary wave that has seen in the last few weeks, the revolutionary movement in Ethiopia, the disintegration of fascism in Portugal, the great victory of the candidate of the Union Populaire in the first round of the presidential elections in France and now the 60% vote for the 'NO' in Italy. The victory of the 'NO' is the victory of the masses in the conquest of a civil right. It has been determined, above all by the objective to defeat the reactionary manoeuvre of the DC(1) in the organisation of this referendum. It has also been a victory on a relatively secondary problem, not linked with the fundamental ones that concern the majority of the population. The DC tried to gain a reactionary Christian Democrat and fascist majority to acquire a social and electoral base for a reactionary policy, to form a reactionary government, based on the repression of the workers movement and the masses. The 'silent majority' that they sought has been exposed as a minority.

They have been helped by the fact that from the camp of the 'NO' have been excluded everyone less than 21 years old - that weigh in social and productive life, who work, who study, who are exploited and participate in the formation of national income, but who the bourgeoisie deny the right to vote.

The victory of the 'NO' is a victory of the proletariat. The working class has determined the molecular formation of public opinion, it has generalised the consciousness of the need to confront this manoeuvre it has seen its reactionary and antiworking class character. Even if there has been no decisive intervention of the trade unions for the 'NO', and because of the timidity of the leaderships, particularly at confederal level, there have only been individual statements, the working class, beginning from its organisms, from the factory and area councils, the factory assemblies, showed that the base called to vote 'NO' as a class. It has unified the reflection of the reactionary manoeuvre with the class struggle in order to raise the living conditions of the workers and to transform society, to put scientific and technological progress at their service, not the capitalists'.

The spontaneous demonstrations of joy of young people that have throughout the country, gone into the streets to celebrate the victory express the deep anticapitalist significance that the masses have given this victory.

The defeat of the Christian Democracy shows that a very large sector of its electors voted against their party and refused to support a reactionary manoeuvre or a rightwing government. So a sharp crisis is announced in the Christian Democracy preparing its disintegration. Exactly as in France, where the elections just held showed the end of Gaullism, this defeat of the Christian Democracy shows that the bourgeoisie cannot count any more upon mass parties that give it a stable support.

The conditions exist to realise the slogan of the Posadist IV International; **BREAK THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY! ORGANISE A LEFT CATHOLIC PARTY!** It is necessary to finalise the break of the Christian Democracy obtained in this referendum, to concretise it with political, programmatic and organisational solutions.

The initiative of the workers movement is necessary. This initiative of the Christian Democracy, of the government and the bourgeoisie cannot be left without conclusions. The government is inevitably going to fall. The declarations of Bertoldi and Giolitti (2) against the government confirm it. It is necessary to organise immediately the mobilisations to overthrow this government; impose a government of the left!

A cast iron united front of the socialist, communist and catholic masses is going to be strengthened in the discussion of the programme, in the organisation of the joint struggle to press forward the present demands of the proletariat. The base of the government of the left, PCI, PSI, left DC - the majority in the country, but also the electoral majority in this referendum - is going to be consolidated. Even discounting the Liberal and Republican (NO) the 'NO' still has the majority. The contribution of women to the victory of the 'NO' is an important part of this progress, it has defeated the DC's attempts to speculate on the so called backwardness of women in order to facilitate its reactionary manoeuvres. Women want to vote for progress, not for reaction!

(....) The bourgeoisie will not remain inert. Its attempts to provide a social base for the coup have failed, but this will not make it give up. It may adjourn it, but it will try again later. This victory of the 'NO' has already weakened enormously the social capacity of the bourgeoisie to make a coup. There is now a world situation more favourable than at the time of the coup in Chile. The 'boomerang' of which Posadas speaks with regard to the effects of the Chilean coup, the counter coups unfavourable to capitalism that there have been, is in full development. It is necessary to take advantage of this world relationship of forces, to take it into account at the moment to act and to intervene in this process.

They are going to try the coup anyway, but in very poor conditions for them. The mobilisations of the masses for trade union demands and for a GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT, the permanent initiative of the class to solve all problems, the full democratic functioning of the factory and area councils, are the concrete means to confront and smash all attempts at a coup.

This is how it is necessary to profit from the victory of the 'NO' and to transform it into a powerful 'YES' for the unity of the working class and the masses, for trade union unity, for the unity of the workers parties and trade unions, for the government of the left, for the worker and peasant government in Italy and for the Socialist Europe.

15 May 1974  
Ufficio Politico del PCR(IT)  
Sezione Italiana  
della IV Internazionale - Posadista

#### NOTES

- (1) Christian Democracy - the ruling party with relative majority.
- (2) members of the Socialist and Social Democratic Parties, the other two parties in the 'centre left' coalition.
- (3) bourgeois parties that were obliged to formally campaign for the 'NO' in order to maintain their authority over their petit bourgeois base.

# SUPPORT THE NURSES' CLAIM! DEVELOP LABOUR'S PROGRAMME FOR HEALTH!

We give our warmest fraternal support to the nurses in their struggle for a liveable wage and we call on the whole Labour movement to make strikes and demonstrations of solidarity, linking the wage claim with the wider discussion of the collapse of the National Health Service and the socialist programme for its reconstruction.

The nurses have shown in their demonstrations up and down the country and in the turn out on MayDay that they want to link with the working class in its opposition to the capitalist system. This is profoundly important because it reflects a further erosion of the social support on which capitalism had previously been able to rely. The nurses and the civil servants with their demonstrations, the mass pickets of the bank clerks in France and the strikes of the police in Germany reflect a whole current of the population which sees capitalism in retreat and incapable of solving any of the problems which the masses have to face. They are attracted by the social power of the proletariat.

The support and solidarity, like the miners offer of help on the pickets, come as no surprise. Every day in the wards and outpatients the working class rely on the skill of the nurses to treat accident victims from the mines, factories, building sites. The working class appreciates too well the skill and social value of the nurses.

Capitalism, on the other hand, insults an SRN with 25 pound and a student nurse with 13 pound before stoppages for 40 hours, shift work and a heavy responsibility. As always under capitalism, the weakest and least organised sectors are exploited most, and now the bourgeois press whines that patients will die if there is a strike. What they don't say is that patients are dying everyday through lack of hospital beds, lack of laboratory facilities and lack of money to pay for prescriptions. The trade unions and Labour movement must mobilise in support of the nurses, as the miners have already offered and as the TGWU has mobilised for the pensioners. But it is also necessary for the left in the Labour Party to use this opportunity to intervene on the whole question of the National Health Service and its future.

The nurses themselves have made it quite clear that it is not just a question of wages. They immediately highlighted the abuse of the NHS by private practice. The small minority of private patients tie up a vast amount of consultants time and operating theatres while working people have to wait for months or years for treatment that should be given immediately after diagnosis. The left in the Labour Party must demand the implementation

of the section of the party programme that calls for an end to private practice in the NHS hospitals. But this is not the only way capitalism profits from the NHS.

The multinational drug companies are currently making monopoly profits from the health service. And the social cost of these profits is enormous, not only the cost of useless drugs that do not correspond to the claims made for them, but drugs that are marketed without being properly tested for dangerous side effects. The callousness of Thalidomide alone is an unanswerable indictment of the capitalist drug industry.

The nationalisation of pharmaceuticals would not only ensure a better, more efficient and safer drug supply industry, but would release money to develop the hospital building programme. It is necessary to nationalise the building industry without compensation and under workers control; the trade unions have to intervene with a plan for hospital building to meet the needs of society.

It is necessary to discuss the internal organisation of the hospitals and the NHS. At present the administration is grossly inefficient and the nurses and patients are submitted to a rigid autocratic structure and the slavish submission to petty bureaucratic rules. The patients have to be incorporated not only in constructive and useful activity in the wards, as they are for example in China and Cuba where the hospitals, particularly the mental hospitals, express the superiority of the Workers State in the collective life, but also in discussion and decision making. We propose that the health service be run under the control, at all levels, of elected committees of nurses and all other hospital staff, patients and trade union delegates. Without a democratic structure the NHS cannot meet the needs of the population. The left in the Labour Party has to raise a campaign of discussion for these demands and mobilise the support of the trade unions to implement them, taking them as part of the anticapitalist struggle.

STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS IN SUPPORT OF THE NURSES WAGE CLAIM!

FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF THE DRUG INDUSTRY WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS CONTROL!

FOR A TRADE UNION PLAN OF HOSPITAL BUILDING, BASED ON THE NATIONALISATION OF THE BUILDING INDUSTRY!

FOR WORKERS CONTROL OF THE HEALTH SERVICE! OUT WITH PRIVATE PRACTICE!

## MANIFESTO

from page 1

to Ireland, another sector demands their withdrawal just as a sector demand an investigation into corruption and another tries to create obstacles to it. Nor can the Labour Party leadership rely on the trade unions to subscribe to a social pact.

The immediate response of the engineers to the attempt to expropriate their funds makes it clear that the trade unions who defeated Wilson's attempt to control them earlier on, will not allow the government to control or divert the activity of the masses; create difficulties yes, but control, no. The intervention of Murray in N.Ireland, however limited, is again an example of the unions carrying out a line that the Labour Party does not.

The process of partial regeneration does not weigh in Britain to the same extent as in France or Italy because however shaken the structure of British imperialism, there are still tenacious links between the labour aristocracy, Labour Party and trade unions which have to be broken. All the immense ties with capitalism revealed in the Dan Smith case show the need for a thorough transformation in the functioning of the Labour Party to allow the free circulation of ideas. When sectors exist who only wish to live off the capitalist system and use the Labour Party for this, it is not possible to function as a Party in the interests of the working class.

We appeal to the sectors of the left in the trade unions and Labour Party to intervene on the subject of the draft programme, stressing the need for a complete and open discussion, calling public meetings on the subject, examining the collapse of the capitalist system and the necessity of nationalisations to develop the economy and improve the standard of living. This is part of the need for a better political life in the Labour Party; similarly it is necessary to discuss throughout the party the question of corruption, the need to break all business interests with capitalism. It is not enough to declare business interests - they must not exist in the Labour Party. It is not possible to discuss and extend the policy of nationalisations without eliminating those sectors who have links with capitalism and no interest in the public appropriation of privately owned enterprise. The cleansing process - as in the Communist Parties - is not going to weaken the Labour Party but only capitalism.

The Labour Party has to be elevated to another stage of activity and programme. Its present minority government is a transitory stage in the development of a much more conscious left in the Labour Party. We appeal to the forces of the left in the Labour Party to develop programmes of political education with an emphasis on marxism, to develop an activity toward the masses, to appeal for organs of dual power, mass factory committees, workers district committees; to stimulate an activity toward the trade unions to use their force to change the Labour Party on the basis of proletarian democracy in the trade unions and posing basic demands such as all wages to rise with the cost of living and the sliding scale of hours; to intervene immediately on this 'draft manifesto', in the Clay Cross conference for example. The functioning of the Labour Party does not correspond to the level of the process, the total crisis of capitalism and its incapacity to reorganise the economy. The programme of nationalisation acquires greater and greater forces in this stage of history because the success of the Workers State is a permanent example, but to use and develop the programme of nationalisations and planning to act as a workers centralising force, requires changing the instrument, the Labour Party into a political weapon and mass leadership, not functioning as an electoral machine.

26.5.74

## EDITORIAL

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*courage but it is a personal courage that acts as a substitute for policy and programme. He could hardly have expected to receive the support of the working class in N.Ireland in conditions of intimidation, terrorism and assassination when the TUC and the trade union leadership in general have never put forward any real policy and programme for N.Ireland and organised no actions in support of the Northern Irish working class. No, he is reacting to the preoccupation of the workers vanguard in Britain.*

*Seen in this light, Murray's action has a particular importance since the trade unions are one of the organisations of the working class with the possibility of unifying the struggles of the Northern Irish workers with those of the working class in this country in an organic way; and with the working class in the Irish Republic. Also, of course, the trade unions are not only a basic and independent organisation of the working class, but the base of the Labour Party.*

*At the same time, all this is going to increase the crisis in the Labour Party and the government itself. It also gives a basis of support to those sectors of the left that seek the means to develop and implement anticapitalist demands in the Labour Party.*

*What is necessary is a policy and programme of the trade unions and the TUC on all the problems of the N.Irish masses. And this has to be discussed developed and formulated in the factories in mass meetings. A movement already exists to remove the troops of British imperialism from N.Ireland. It is a demand that must be discussed and raised immediately.*

*The broadcasts by Wilson and Faulkner last weekend are a preparation to use the troops more directly against the Protestant working class in particular. The role of the troops in all this is clear - they are there for repression. Previously they made a massive armed invasion of the No Go Areas of Derry and Belfast in 'operation motorman'. During the course of the present crisis relations between them and the thugs of the UDA and UWC have been very good. The army asks for the barricades to be taken down and the UWC thugs politely take them down. But the troops are being prepared for action and it is clear what that action is likely to be.*

*However, the army can be decomposed and sectors won to the struggle of the masses; as the constant desertions of the British troops in N.Ireland, the desertions and killing of officers by American soldiers in Vietnam and the actions of the 'young officers' in Portugal show. It is necessary to raise the demand to discuss and organise a campaign for trade union rights in the army - to demand that the Labour government takes this measure.*

### MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATIONS IN ENGLISH.

- \* **THE REVOLUTION IN EUROPE AND THE PARTIAL REGENERATION IN THE SOCIALIST PARTIES.** J.POSADAS (selection of articles 1972-73)
- \* **WATERGATE AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEFT IN THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES.** J.POSADAS 2.12.73.
- \* **SOLZHENITSIN, THE SOVIET UNION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.** J.POSADAS 20.8.72
- \* **PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN SPAIN AND THE EIGHTH CONGRESS OF THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY.** J.POSADAS 5.2.73
- \* **THE TRADE UNIONS, THE PERONIST MASSES AND THE NEW STAGE OF THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM IN ARGENTINA.** J.POSADAS
- \* **THE HISTORIC CAUSES OF THE PARTIAL REGENERATION, THE ECONOMY IN THE WORKERS STATES AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.** J.POSADAS
- \* **THE PARTIAL REGENERATION, THE HISTORIC REENCOUNTER, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL AND THE PROCESS OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN THIS STAGE.** J.POSADAS 27.8.71

## RED FLAG

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# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## THE BRITISH TRADE UNIONS MUST INTERVENE TO UNIFY THE STRUGGLE OF THE IRISH AND BRITISH MASSES

The collapse of the Northern Ireland Executive is another exhibition of the fact that there is no solution within the capitalist framework of society or within the frontiers of N. Ireland for the problems of the Catholic and Protestant masses. The "Executive" composed of the disintegrated forces of unionism and the leadership of the SDLP had no programme or policy to satisfy the masses in any direction. It was a limited concession to satisfy the Catholics. It possessed small powers and lived in the shadow of the brutal regime of the army of British imperialism. The Sunningdale agreement was an attempt to project the fantasy of, at some stage, a united capitalist Ireland and all it could pose for Protestant sectors of small businessmen, petit bourgeoisie, and all those fearful of a perspective of merger with the capitalist south was insecurity economically, socially and politically. Hence these sectors with their links with the aristocracy of labour sought to maintain the sectarian division between Catholics and Protestants but in conditions which transcend these barriers and which do not permit the success of such a policy. Hence the "collapse" of the "Executive" and the false drama of the reactionary "general strike" do not mark a new advantage for the forces of reaction and capitalism in N. Ireland nor do they mark the beginning of a new "nationalism" of the Protestant masses. All this is simply another collapse without a perspective of a solution within capitalism. Direct rule will not help capitalism, all the diplomacy in the world will not help it least of all diplomacy with the South. Cosgrave has no solution because none of the capitalist forces in Britain or Ireland can offer any policy or programme to convince the masses of any perspective within capitalism.

The whole episode of the general strike was in a sense an X-Ray of the weakness of capitalism. It was launched by force and lockout with no objective, but to bring down the Assembly and stimulate fascist sectarianism. These elements also operated in part with the collusion of the army. There was a constant danger that if the strike continued the army would be obliged to intervene more and control would rapidly leave the hands of the reactionary sectors. The strike had no progressive objectives, its objectives were simply to sustain sectarianism. So fragile was this "executive" that it collapsed immediately. But those who went along with the strike, could present no policy save the preservation of the Protestant "ascendancy" (and with unionism totally disintegrated). Paisley and other sectors of the "loyalist workers" were obliged to say that they had no desire to oppress the Catholics. In reality the strike and the collapse of the executive are due finally to the activity of the masses of

Britain and Ireland who have resisted whatever arrangements capitalism has arrived at. The masses have provoked the collapse of unionism. The tendencies towards a united front of Catholic and Protestant workers — an inevitable consequence of the structure of the world revolution — provoked capitalism to organise the sectarian killings and when that failed to stimulate a general strike to divide the working class. The collapse of the "executive" has not solved this problem for capitalism and cannot. Already sectors involved in the strike have called for the withdrawal of British troops, the freeing of political prisoners, the end of internment. None of the Protestant organisations represent the Protestant masses who have very limited means in which to discuss and decide, but when such demands appear it shows that the Protestant and Catholic masses will inevitably and shortly find their way to a common programme to get rid of the army and capitalism.

The intervention of the British army showed all the crisis of British capitalism as a whole. In the first intervention, Wilson as the bourgeoisie complained, showed vacillation. He denounced the organisers of the strike as a handful of self imposed people, thus tending to destroy the myth of the "mass" force of this sector. Furthermore he raised the whole issue of the withdrawal of British troops, under the pressure of the discussion in the Labour party and the British working class who have no interest in the repression of the Irish masses nor in the use of N. Ireland as a training ground for repression of the masses in Britain. Wilson showed the

instability and insecurity of capitalism, and also the pressures from the left in the LP. Murray's intervention however symbolic, was an expression of the will of the British working class to aid the struggle in Ireland, to make it part of their struggle. This intervention will have very favourable consequences both in Ireland, among the Protestant and Catholic masses and stimulates the intervention of the British masses and workers organisations towards Ireland.

The left in the Labour party and in the trade unions has to intervene on the question of Ireland with great force because the struggle of the masses in Northern Ireland is a point of support in the construction of an organised left in the LP and the Unions and a fundamental stimulus to the class struggle here. The growing campaign for the withdrawal of British troops must be accompanied by the appeal for trade union rights in the army and political discussion and education in the barracks. This is a means not only of a more complete intervention towards N. Ireland but deepens the discussion of the role of the army in N. Ireland and how it is related to the preparation of the military coup in this country. This has to be accompanied by the development of a programme for N. Ireland which includes not only the withdrawal of troops and the release of all political prisoners the ending of fascist legislation popular militia based upon the trades unions and mass committees, but a programme of public works and a workers plan of production elaborated by the trade unions and the workers committees in the factories and workers areas. Only

such a plan which to be operated, requires a policy of nationalisations under workers control and the planning of production, can meet the needs of Catholic and Protestant masses in housing, better conditions of work, education, transport etc. This has to be linked with the understanding of the role of partition, and the need to end partition, but on the basis of a programme which gives the basis for unification in a socialist republic, that is nationalisations, expropriation of the big capitalist farms and food monopolies wages to rise with the cost of living, unification with Britain as part of a United Soviet Socialist States of Europe.

As the workers organisations in Ireland are quite small and fragmented, it is particularly necessary that the British trade unions — who have many members in N. Ireland — continue the intervention made by Murray with a programme and policy to concentrate the forces of the working class, north and south of the border, Catholic and Protestant. If the British TUC delegation to the meeting of the European trade unions can support the entry of the CGIL into the organisation, can welcome delegations of Portuguese trade unionists, why not take steps to discuss and resolve the problems of the British and Irish working class? We appeal to the forces in the IRA to seek support in the world structure of the revolution, which constantly destroys the capacity of Imperialism to find even the most superficial answers to its total crisis. The support of the British masses is a fundamental base for the end of capitalism in Ireland and the end of partition. The forces of the "officials" and "provisionals" must abandon the vision of an "Irish" solution — it does not exist. They must stimulate a discussion on Ireland towards the British LP and the trade unions with the object of the unification of the struggles of the British and Irish masses.

## The article on the communist conception of the militant in the Hungarian C.P. paper

This article is raising one of the most fundamental discussions which is taking place today in the Workers States and the world communist movement: The article says: "The petit bourgeois wants to 'redeem' himself rather than the world; he does not want to change the world, but to shape it to his own comfort. And he strives to gain happiness for himself, rather than for mankind. This represents an impasse of the individual. But if it were to become general, it would be an impasse for society as well..." The article goes on: "The inspiring revolutionary outlook for modern man is to make step by step, the increasing wealth of our society serve collective goals."

We salute this discussion and the elevated communist conclusion it has reached. This conclusion is based on one of the most fundamental communist principles on which comrade Posadas has continued, strengthened and developed the IV International as part of the world communist movement. We call on the Labour vanguard, on the Communist Party, the groups, to discuss the role Posadas and the IV International have played in continuing the International Party of Lenin, on the basis of the construction of the militant, whose interest is the Party and the revolution, not his own

interest, and whose Party is structured to serve the most profound historic necessity of the unification of the world communist movement, of the USSR and China, of the Communist, Socialist, Left Christian, Left Radical parties, to finish as Posadas says: with "what is left of the capitalist system."

Today, as is confirmed by this article, whole sectors of the Communist movement reach the conclusion of the necessity to return to Marxism, to the communist conception of the militant, to unify the world communist movement. This is what cde. Posadas analysed as the process of the 'Partial Regeneration'. This means that tendencies in the Communist Parties and in the Workers States, reach conclusions that Posadas has defended, maintained, and developed, thanks to the International form of the Party and the structure based on the scientific organisation of life and thoughts in one word, on marxism.

In order to reach the leadership of the CP, this tendency in the Hungarian CP has had to struggle with the "petit bourgeois mentality". This declaration by the Hungarian CP is expressing the elevation of a sector of the Communist Party which struggled inside of the CP and which triumphed without breaking the

Party, or damaging it, on the contrary, raising it as a whole. This means that it has felt the immense force of the world revolution, the victory of Vietnam, and of the Portuguese masses, the dignified life of the masses of Vietnam. This tendency in the CP feels also that there is in the Soviet Workers State a process which favours it which sustains it, which allows it to appear, to triumph over the conservative tendencies in the Party, and to develop its thought. Otherwise, it would not have such a confidence. Already this discussion is going on in the Soviet Union itself. Breznev at the Komsomol, has spoken of the necessity for communist relations in the Party, the end of routine, of relations of bargain, of commerce between individuals. This discussion is arising now, because the Party to build communism is absolutely necessary in this stage.

However, the construction of communism takes more than the will to install new relationships in the Party. This stage is the one of the total collapse of the capitalist system and the preparation of imperialism for war against the Workers States. The Communist Parties cannot construct the organs of the new society

# THE ELECTIONS IN FRANCE, THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE SHARPENING OF THE CLASS AND REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

It is necessary to interpret the elections in France within the world framework of the class struggle. They are elections which affect capitalism and the world working class and the Workers States and form part of the world relationship of forces. The attitude of Giscard d'Estaing and the French bourgeoisie are not only motivated by the elections but by their concern for the future of capitalism. This behaviour and this reaction must be taken as part of the concern of world capitalism, expressed through French capitalism because the elections are in France. They show their degree of concern and the evolution of capitalism's sentiment of worry and defeat. It is not an ordinary presidential election. It is a very direct confrontation in the class struggle, class against class for definitive decisions.

The most striking aspect of this election is that capitalism has lost its domination of the course of the process. Previously it resolved its conflicts with the working class electorally, trying to smash it by means of elections so that it would submit to its will. These elections show that the popular will is no longer capitalism's, even on the electoral plane and with fraudulent laws that do not allow the population to express itself, capitalism has lost control.

Capitalism entered the elections divided. The working class entered the elections united and it influenced and won over a large part of the population of non proletarian origin, exploited sectors working for wages in offices. This shows conclusively that the bourgeoisie can no longer exercise a normal control by means of elections, the administrative apparatus, by imposition or the respect for law. No! People reason, judge and decide according to their own reasoning.

It is a great loss of the old power of capitalism, of the equilibrium of its democracy which consists of those with the electoral majority continuing to impose their domination. It shows more and more that even in their camp, in the bourgeois democratic camp the working class can attract a very large part of the population to achieve an electoral decision. Hence the panic of capitalism. There are various examples; Britain, Germany and now comes Italy. Capitalism is losing even on its own terrain where they hoped to be able to count on their influence over the petit bourgeoisie and on the fact that they prevent sectors that are decisive in production from voting. Young people of 16 to 21 years and the immigrant workers who participate in production alongside the French workers have not voted in this election. There are

## THE PROLETARIAT ATTRACTS THE POPULATION SOCIALLY.

The working class judges and feels its power. It does not feel defeated, it feels that even in the parliamentary terrain where the enemy, capitalism, has the legal means to regulate the form of the elections, it has had the capacity, the decision and the historic force to attract the population. It has felt an enormous power, it has felt that it is the victor. Even if it has not been able to make the united front and its parties triumph, it has seen that its Parties can win, it has seen that it can make the united front and impose it, and that it has attracted an enormous part of the population; two million more votes than in the last election.

The working class feels its enormous power. At the same time, the elections show the crisis of disintegration of the capitalist system, which is a direct product of the world class struggle, beginning from the progress of the Workers States and the struggle of the masses of Europe, Vietnam, Latin America, and most recently in Ethiopia and Portugal.

The proletariat feels its power, it is in communication with the population and feels its effects seeing that it would have won but for a small margin. But it also feels that these elections are a swindle. It sees by its side the young workers from 16 to 21 who work and are decisive in production; they work but do not vote. Whereas the old parchments of the bourgeoisie who have nothing to do with production or the economy and who exploit production, they can vote! Such a conclusion has elevated and is going to elevate the decision of the working class to show that this elect-

seven million young people and about 1½ million immigrant workers who intervene directly in production, 30% of capitalism's votes come from utterly useless people. They are useless people, ancient parchments.

The coalition with which Giscard d'Estaing won is a heterogeneous coalition of opposing bourgeois interests, with one sector directly representing Yankee imperialism while the other sectors are more linked with interests in France and Europe. This is going to be expressed later in an infernal dispute which is going to paralyse them, also with regard to a sector of the Gaullists more linked to the population, to small and middle capitalism and the internal market. There is going to be a collision of interests which is going to produce a great crisis within the bourgeois apparatus. There is going to be a constant disequilibrium and crisis. Whereas in the Popular Union there is going to be a constant progress of internal maturity and the capacity to lead and decide. They feel sure of victory, the decision and the future. Giscard d'Estaing's triumph has no future. This weighs on the bourgeoisie, as is already shown by their state of disintegration.

The masses are going to take this into consideration, they are going to feel their superiority compared with the bourgeois coalition, its bourgeois leadership. They are going to weigh to attract sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants and small traders. At the same time, they are going to weigh on lower layers of the bourgeoisie that feel pessimistic about this process and are not going to intervene actively and coherently to defend the capitalist system. They are going to look for individual solutions, which without attacking the existence of the capitalist regime, are going to weaken its structure and its internal functioning. These are pessimistic layers on the verge of defeatism.

If the Popular Union had won electorally it would have meant a more advanced aspect of the same process. More advanced, but the same process. It would not mean a different process but a more favourable relationship of forces.

ion is a swindle and a lie. It is going to throw itself into the social struggles, to seek to form organs to impose what the elections have not allowed it to impose. That is going to have an immense weight.

The working class of the whole of Europe are going to see these results, to see the swindle and trickery of these elections. In Germany in particular an enormous number of nazis, direct agents of the nazis, have the right to vote and decide in the elections, whereas the communists do not have the right to hold public office. Why? Because they are communists. The nazis have the right to vote, to participate in the elections and decisions but in France the young people from 16 to 21 cannot vote.

The working class is not going to feel that it has been beaten, it does not feel beaten. It feels that its communication with the population has had an immense effect, attracting 2 million extra votes. These two million votes for the Popular Union are not the result of the internal bourgeois conflict. They are the direct result of the pressure, of the influence, of the authority of the working class which has shown itself capable of resolving problems while the bourgeoisie is incapable. This has deepened the crisis, the internal conflicts of capitalism and is going to increase the power of the working class. The population has seen the capacity of the working class in Rateau and in LIP, it has seen its constant mobilisations, support to Chile, to Portugal, to Rateau and LIP. It has seen the attitude of the proletariat, it has seen that it

is capable of resolving all the problems of the country.

The proletariat has also seen that capitalism is completely disintegrated and divided; it is a heterogeneous body that voted for Giscard, and even then they only achieved a one percent majority. The working class and the petit bourgeoisie feel that it is a swindle. The behaviour and the social life of the population show that capitalism has an authority that corresponds to its numerical weight in the elections, and it is the will to change and to progress toward socialism which has triumphed. The proletariat sees that in the other camp there is only finance, the bourgeoisie, the mentally sick and the old parchments. Those who have won have nothing to do with production, with the progress of the country, with science, technology and work. It is the proletariat which produces and creates, whereas these are useless people, agents of the bourgeoisie who decide electorally. The working class is going to understand that it is necessary to take another road to triumph. It is going to unleash great social struggles and impose

changes. This is going to have an effect on the army, the police, the administrative apparatus in France, throughout Europe and the entire world. The working class is going to emerge strengthened by such conclusions.

All the working class is going to feel that the achievement of the French proletariat is fundamental and an example; the unity of the left, the unity of the proletariat, of the petit bourgeoisie of the trade unions and the parties. The proletariat of the whole of Europe has seen that it is the Popular Union, the unification realised through the Popular Union and the Common programme, and the anti capitalist points which it contains which has determined the more important course of the activity, and that the unity between the communists and the socialists on an anti capitalist programme, has led great sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is lying when it says that certain sectors of capitalism voted for the Popular Union as reaction against Giscard d'Estaing! It is the product of the defeatism, of the pessimistic sentiments of all these sectors, who see that capi-

talism has no future and who seek to link themselves with the Popular Union to contain the triumph of its left wing. They see the least evil for them by supporting the Popular Union. This shows the authority of the proletariat, otherwise these sectors would not have voted, they would have abstained.

It is the proletariat which has led the other sectors of the population by persuading and convincing them. Through the CP, the SP, the Radicals through the United Front, all these sectors have been attracted by the proletariat. It has not been a question of a class desertion, but of a small sector who oscillate between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In the course of the oscillation, they felt the authority of the proletariat and not that of capitalism. Otherwise they would have voted for it, or would have abstained. There have been no abstentions. All those who voted for the proletariat, voted this time. Capitalism won by using all the deceitful people who gave in voting the only strength of which they are capable.

## J. POSADAS

19th May, 1974

It is necessary to take account of the world process favourable to the proletariat and the process of disintegration of the capitalist system. The triumph of Giscard d'Estaing with less than 1% advantage in the votes is not going to mean any equilibrium for him. It is going to produce immediately an internal struggle within capitalism, a product not of a divergence of interests, but of the aggravation of this competition under the impact of the intervention of the proletariat which has shown itself ready to take power. This is what has made the intercapitalist crisis more acute, each capitalist power seeks to save itself and make its own interests prevail. Pessimistic sentiments have developed in various layers of capitalism.

Part of the votes of the Gaullist petit bourgeoisie which went to the proletariat were not the result of the despair of these sectors, but of the

## Discuss a workers' plan of production at the Clay Cross Conference

We salute the Labour Party comrades of Clay Cross for their previous struggle to implement the decisions of the Labour Party by resisting the attempts of the Tories to increase the level of exploitation of the working population by raising rents. We also salute them for their initiative in organising the May 8th. Conference which allows the intervention of delegates from the Labour movement, from the Labour Party and Trades Unions, from the Communist Party and from ourselves the Trotskyist/Posadists.

It is clear that in conditions of a Labour Government, faced with all the problems produced by capitalism in its final stage of decay and decomposition on the one hand; and the mobilisations, strikes and demonstrations by the working class — and large sectors of the population who seek solutions to these problems — on the other, this conference can play an important role. It can provide the basis for a series of factory gate meetings, local conferences of the Labour Movement, meetings in the workers areas which would allow the intervention of all the population to discuss ideas to formulate demands and programmes which will support and stimulate the Labour Government.

In the short life of the present Labour Government every problem posed Ireland, what to do with Concorde, arms supplies to Chile, inflation and the rest — have resulted in a crisis in the Labour Government and in the party itself. This is because the Labour Party has a structure which is linked directly with the capitalist system, it has a large sector of the leadership which is directly linked to the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is a party which is geared to reforming capitalism in a situation where there is no solution to any problem within the framework of the capitalist system. At the same time this Labour government has to try to find a solution to these problems.

This 'Clay Cross Conference' itself results from the contradiction between the level of mobilisation and consciousness of the working class, and all those sectors of the population which are now intervening in the

struggle; and the lack of a party and a leadership which is capable of leading the struggle. There are sectors of the left of the Labour Party and the Trade Unions who, clearly, want to take anti-capitalist measures, want to implement the decisions of the Labour Party conference to nationalise important sectors of the economy but who fear the loss of votes from sectors of the petit bourgeoisie to use repressive and military measures against the Labour Government. The constant crisis and discussion in the Labour Party now over Ireland is an expression of this. The workers vanguard however — expressing itself through the Trade Unions — sees that what British Imperialism is doing in Northern Ireland is a preparation for this country. It seeks to impose a solution to the 'problem' of Ireland.

What determines and feeds the consciousness and militancy of the workers vanguard is not simply the balance of forces in this country but a process in which all humanity supported and sustained by the existence of the Workers States advances in a struggle to finish with what is left of imperialism, capitalism and all forms of oppression and repression. The 'agreement' between Israel and Syria is part of this process. It is not an agreement but a defeat for Yankee imperialism and the Israeli bourgeoisie. At the same time the Arab revolution has gained, through the intervention of Syria directly aided and support by the Soviet Union — a victory.

The structure of the Labour Party — and the trade unions on which it is based — is not immune to the world process and the struggles in the L.P. — on Chile, on the removal of troops from Northern Ireland express this. It is part of a change in all the Socialist Parties — in France, Germany Italy etc. — from being Social-Democratic to being Socialist which means moving from a position of maintaining the capitalist system to taking measures which are anti-capitalist.

The Labour government has already taken limited measures which do not favour capitalism and which are of benefit to the working population; the

limitation on the rise in food prices and the rent 'freeze' for example. To 'freeze' rents has a some importance because the building of luxury property and office blocks is still an area of investment for the bourgeoisies.

The bourgeoisie at this time have little, or no confidence in their own system. They see no profit in investing in industries which fulfill the needs of the masses or, for that matter, any kind of productive investment. Faced with the problem of inflation which is of their own making, leading sectors are favouring 'liquidity' which simply means moving money around and investing it where a quick profit can be made. It is a move toward pure speculation because they feel that no fixed interest is safe.

Capitalism cannot develop the economy and it is necessary to impel the Labour Government to invest in the essential industry, the industries like food, construction etc. which are necessary for the life of the population. For example, the proposal made by Alf Allen (Chairman of the TUC) that the Labour Government should create a 'special agency' to invest in the Co-op, so that it can compete with the other big food producing and distributing enterprises, is an attempt to answer these problems. The same is true of the Labour governments proposals to reform 'company law', to give the government a measure of control over big capital. They are, however, measures which express a problem, express a pressure of the workers vanguard to control industry and to use it for the benefit of the population; but they are proposals which are still within the structure of capitalism and give no real solution. The proposals on 'workers participation' by the Labour Party and the TUC is another aspect of this. It is a proposal which does not mean workers control but even the fact that it is posed damages capitalism. It is necessary to discuss this and to impel a discussion in the Trade Unions for a workers plan of production.

This conference has to base itself on the balance of forces which exists in the country and on a world scale. The

bourgeoisie fear an election even when the present Labour government is, in the Parliamentary sense, a minority government. They see that referendums, elections — all their own theods — go against them now. The recent elections in France resulted in the unification of the working class and great layers of the population around the Popular Union and its programme. The divorce referendum in Italy resulted in the mobilisation of the masses not only on divorce but on all the problems of life posed by capitalism. What these experience show is that the working class centralised around even the most limited Parties and leaders can, on the basis of a programme for the advance of society, on an anti-capitalist programme attract and organise large sectors of the population which once provided the social base of the bourgeoisie.

It is necessary for this conference to discuss, without limitation, the problems and tasks of the labour movement in the context of all the world experience — Portugal, France, Italy, the Middle East and, above all, the developments in the Workers States. To discuss, to take resolutions on a programme of demands, based on the Nationalisation of major industries under Workers Control — and without compensation — for the Labour Government, the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. In this it is necessary to recognise that, although the Trade Unions are the fundamental base of the Labour Party, they also have a role and function independent from it.

From this point, then, it is possible to organise a series of factory meetings, Factory gate meetings — meetings and discussions in the Workers Areas, the Universities, Colleges, hospitals which will allow all the population to intervene. In this way this conference can play a role in organising all the forces which, using the Labour Party and the Trades Unions as the best instruments which exist at the moment, are advancing towards the elimination of what is left of Capitalism and towards the construction of socialism.

authority of the proletariat. It is a question now of maintaining this authority by means of mobilisations. It is necessary to open a general discussion in all the trade unions, in all the workers areas and factories to prepare for great struggles, great mobilisations and strikes for the programme of the Popular Union. The Popular Union has a programme which was not able to win the elections, but which it is possible to impose without being in the government because it has shown that it can attract socially.

It is necessary to add the seven million votes of the young people and the millions of votes of the immigrant workers who were not allowed to vote. That gives a measure of the social weight the proletariat exercises over the whole of society, and which is going to be shown now in the struggle. This weight is going to be reasserted. The proletariat is conscious of its authority. It did not use it fully because of the errors committed by the Popular Union which did not use this force by mobilising the trade unions; they did not call for mass mobilisations as was done for LIP and Rateau. They made a mobilisation of 80,000 for LIP, why not do it again? It is necessary to do this immediately. It is also an error to have played down the effect of the 1st May in the elections. Such an attitude deprives the working class of part of its capacity of action and authority.

All the world process is favourable to the proletariat and against capitalism. Those that have won electorally are the losers, they are on the defensive! It is not a triumph that is going to allow them to take the offensive, to impose important measures favourable to capitalism. They are going to try and they are going to try to repress. As an immediate measure they are going to try to influence the right of the Socialist Party and Communist Party in order to contain the pressure of the working class and the struggle for the policy and programme of the Popular Union, to limit the demands and struggles of the Popular Union and the dispute with the bourgeoisie for power. The great social struggles which are approaching mean that the masses are now going to impose directly by the class struggle what they hoped to obtain by going to the government and by parliament. And they are going to do this. All the petit bourgeois sectors who voted for the Popular Union, voted for this programme and they are going to support it! The class struggle in France has been radicalised to a much greater extent than before.

This election is part of the world process. Capitalism has not had the conditions to be able to develop or extend itself. It has not had sufficient authority to attract, it cannot resolve any problem. At the very moment when the elections were taking place in France, Watergate continues in the United States, capitalism continues to decline, while the struggle of the proletariat progresses throughout the world. All the world process of the class struggle is favourable to the proletariat. Capitalism does not have a single initiative which allows it to maintain its power in equilibrium and

INCORPORATE THE CAPACITY OF YOUTH AND WOMEN AS A DECISIVE FORCE OF THE LEFT.

The other fundamental aspect is that the young people must participate. They made a decisive intervention in this electoral struggle. Even without being able to vote they had an immense effect on the population by their interventions, the mobilisations of the students, universities, trade unions and among the state employees. They were not able to decide electorally, but they decided socially. They won, and caused part of the Gaullists to vote for the Popular Union. These were not won as a result of individual or group reflection. They were influenced. That is what led them to reflection. Important sectors of the petit bourgeoisie went over to the Popular Union because the mobilisations of the young people, including those between 12 and 16 had an immense effect on the population and on the thinking of the Gaullists. They saw that the young people were interested in the development of the country, that they did not stay confined to the problems of being young pe-

decide the course of history. It is constantly obliged to be on the defensive. Portugal shows it; it was their last resort for Europe in this stage. It is necessary to draw the conclusion that the perspective is, 'France, Europe and the world are going toward socialism!' It is necessary to reactivate the programme for socialist Europe in the Popular Union. It is necessary to make great agitations and mobilisations: 'For a socialist Europe! For a socialist world!' The solution to France's problems has a close and direct relationship with the world process. It is necessary to stimulate the intervention of the proletariat toward the petit bourgeoisie to influence it and show that what is resolved locally in France is in fact a world problem and the world factors are decisive; the social, economic and political world crisis of the capitalist system — and the social, economic and political world progress of the masses and the socialist countries. It is necessary to declare directly, 'We want a socialist France!'. We want to use democracy in favour of a socialist France to find a solution to the economic problems for the benefit of the French people!

The mobilisations of the proletariat show the proletariat's greater authority over society. All the mobilisations of the proletariat increase its authority over part of the population, the young workers, students and 12 to 16 year olds. It is a very important part of the population which has to be considered active, not passive. The mobilisations of the students and school students influence thought, sentiment, human relations, intelligence, the capacity to think and decide. They are part of the active population! It is a sector which is completely with the left, and it cannot intervene electorally.

Capitalism is a small entity which only survives by leaning for support on the rules of the capitalist system, thanks to which, only those who are of interest to it are allowed to vote. It is necessary to see now that all the young people weigh in the social struggle, develop mobilisations on the united front of workers, peasants, students with a plan of application of the Common Programme and push forward a campaign of agitation throughout the country for the Common Programme. The Common Programme gives the solutions for France's economic crisis! We have not won the elections, but we won! This is the sentiment of France! This is the sentiment of joy of the French people!

Capitalism did not have the strength to intervene. It is necessary to show this, so that all the timid leaders of the Popular Union lose their fear. Capitalism does not have the strength to hinder the advance of the left, the triumph of measures going toward socialism, NATO does not have the strength to intervene. It is necessary to call for, NATO out of France! and to declare: For a socialist France! For a socialist Europe! United front of all the Parties of the left in Europe to throw capitalism and imperialism out of Europe! These are the conclusions of this electoral result.

ople or children, they intervened with the decision and maturity of adults. They are part of the development and capacity of French society which capitalism does not use, it despises this force and considers the agitation of the young people as if it were for the most vulgar reasons. No! The motivation of the young people is determined by the social interest that they have in intervening in all the problems of the country; to finish with exploitation, to finish with injustice, arbitrary actions and arrogance. Youth, from 12 to 16 and from 16 to 21 — without having participated in the vote — took part in the decision of the vote. They were unable to determine electorally but socially they weighed and determined. They act according to the sentiment of unanimous solidarity with the working class for progress. It is necessary to make them weigh and participate in this new stage.

This is what the trade unions, the CGT, the Communist Party and the Popular Union have to

# FRANCE from page 3

do. They have to make all youth participate, it is going to cause problems for some of the leaders of the Popular Union because of their agitation, their decision, their capacity, their resolution to advance and to take positions more and more to the left. But it is natural, the example of the young people is useful to attract and impel other sectors of the population. They see that youth is concerned with the resolution of social problems, not individual problems.

The Popular Union must understand these pressures and satisfy them. The young person of 12 to 16 or 16 to 21 is involved in a struggle they are attracted to by the desire, the necessity to solve social problems. This shows an immense maturity, which is not given by the capitalist system but by socialist ideas. It is the struggle of the masses which is going to mature the young people. Otherwise they would live concerned with their own problems of relations with adults, puberty and adolescence. Instead of that they are won to the desire to participate socially. How can they put such a force on one side? They have to be incorporated. They are an effect of the world process of the revolution. They represent a force that capitalism cannot utilise and which is not employed.

It is necessary to take account of capitalism's intention to use the right in the Socialist and Communist Parties, and to combat this. All youth must participate and the Socialist and Communist Parties and the trade unions must lead a life of discussion with them, so they participate in the programme of struggle, of political, social and economic activity and they have to be in the leadership. There has to be an intense political life in the trade unions, the student centres and the workers parties. It is necessary to see that youth and women participate, to put women in the leadership of the trade unions, workers parties and the student movement. It is necessary to press forward an intense political life, to explain the necessity for the solution of a socialist France, to make everyone intervene democratically. It is necessary to realise that the world process is going to favour this perspective in France and not capitalism.

Imperialism's manoeuvre in Germany, which liquidated Willy Brandt to prevent the continuation of the Ostpolitik, has already failed. And this failure is going to become more and more accentuated. The existing world structure does not allow any retreat. But it is not only a question of the economic structure. This is fundamental, but the essential aspect is the spirit of people who do not want to retreat. The young people of France, the children and youth from 12 to 21 have this understanding and vision. It is necessary to make them participate.

Even without a conscious leadership, the world process has a unified structure. There is a combination of influences between the Workers States, the struggle of the masses of Asia, Africa, Latin America, the proletariat of Europe and Japan. And all this has a great influence in the United States. The masses in the United States observe the elections in France and are educated by this example. They see the role of the proletariat and follow this experience. They are soon going to make all this weigh in the United States, they are going to see that Watergate cannot be resolved by the bourgeois summits, but it means a democratic social progress preparing the fall of North American imperialism so that the war which they are preparing causes the least damage possible and so that it can be overthrown with the rest of capitalism as soon as possible.

It is necessary to agitate around the slogan 'Imperialism out of Europe!', 'Yankee troops out of Germany, out of Europe!'. The less weight imperialism has in Europe, the more the proletariat is going to progress and be in the conditions to exercise its influence and hegemony over the rest of the population. The perspective is to struggle without waiting for the next elections, to carry the programme of the Popular Union into the social terrain, to apply it by means of struggles that unite it to the programme for socialist Europe.

The conscious development of factory councils is necessary. It is necessary to communicate this to the population, to propagandise this explaining the reasons they are necessary, to show the unity between the functioning of the workers councils, the student councils and the economic programme. Showing that the councils, far from harming the functioning of the economy, favour and develop it. It is necessary to show that these organs are needed for the development of the economy considering the decrepitude of French capitalism, and of all those who voted for Giscard.

The proletariat of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the entire world followed the elections, they received this education. They feel more sure of this weight which they represent. And this is going to stimulate a more conscious, more continuous and more decided intervention in the class struggle for power. It is learning to exercise its influence, to exert pressure, to see how to profit from an electoral situation as a means to go to power. It is learning to elevate the trade union struggles to political and programmatic struggles for power.

It is a very great example which shows the weakness of the capitalist system and the enormous progress of the revolution. The proletarian vanguard gives its assent and support and generalises its acceptance throughout the population. The world proletariat is going to receive the effect of this, transmit it and make it weigh everywhere in the world to impel the struggle.

The trade unions and the Parties of the Popular Union must call meetings and public discussions in which all the population intervenes to discuss the application of the programme of the Popular Union; the programme which is capable of overcoming the difficulties which the population faces as a consequence of the crisis of capitalism.

We believe that the comrades of the left groups must draw the conclusions from their erroneous attitude. If they had voted for the Popular Union in the first round, while maintaining their criticism, they would have allowed the Popular Union to be a very great centre of polarisation to attract and to decide many more people to vote. But their attitude of attacks, criticisms which were unnecessary and unjust (because they did not make revolutionary criticisms as a class party with class objectives) their aggressive criticisms were not able to stimulate the understanding nor attract discouraged petit bourgeois sectors. They could not compensate for this attitude by declaring that they were voting for Mitterand in the second round. If they characterised Mitterand and the Popular Union more or less as a bourgeois party in the first round, how can they change their mind in the second round? The comrades of the left groups must understand that it is necessary to correct such an attitude and such political conduct.

Our interest and common objective — for the left groups, the Posadists, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the Popular Union — is the progress of France toward socialism. The best route is in discussion. But the masses are with the Popular Union, with a leadership which wants to make socialist measures advance. These are the conditions which exist, these are the centres. It is necessary to stimulate and promote a discussion within the Socialist and Communist Parties to draw these conclusions, raising the necessity of a consistent programme of the left, uniting trade unions, parties, population; the Common Programme of the Popular Union, based on the mobilisation of the masses which will include the preparation for the civil war that capitalism can unleash.

The attitude of the comrades of the left groups has not favoured the understanding nor the concentration in the Popular Union and the trade unions: On the contrary, it has provoked dispersion and insecurity and sown doubt. It is not possible to compensate for that with appeals to vote for the Popular Union in the second round. The comrades of the left groups have a large part of the responsibility for the missing votes (they took 370,000 in the first round) that could have led to electoral triumph. Comrades of the left groups, with all our sentiment, with all our communist

passion, we say to you, you must correct yourselves because the conduct you are adopting is not revolutionary. You must maintain the criticisms of the Popular Union and the Communist Party that you feel necessary; but you must do it with the objective of impelling the understanding and the progress of the struggle against capitalism.

For capitalism to win it has to push aside an important part of the active population, youth from 12 to 16 and from 16 to 21. They are an active part of the population even if they do not intervene in production. They engender ideas, social thought and will that prepare their incorporation in production.

Capitalism also pushes aside the immigrant workers who amount to more than 4,000,000 people. Who says that capitalism is not in retreat? It is dead! The comrades of the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the left Radicals, CGT, CFDT must consider this process and see that imperialism is powerless to contain the advance of the revolution, even by means of atomic threats and war. The Soviet Union must understand this process as it develops, support and collaborate with

## FRANCE WANTS CHANGES TOWARDS SOCIALISM.

The closeness of the vote has given the proletariat an idea of its own strength, it has strengthened its decision to triumph and its authority over the rest of the country. It feels that it has organised and orientated half of the electoral population to vote for the programme of the Popular Union. This electoral result shows the immense authority of the proletariat. It is a form of indirect organisation of dual power. It is not directly exercised as such but it is expressed through the effort to be the electoral majority.

The proletariat is going to draw the conclusions. It is going to experience this powerful sentiment of confidence and to throw all its force into the great social struggles, into the strikes and mobilisations to obtain the enormous demands of the workers movement — wages, conditions of work, all the progress and gains of technology, cybernetics, automation for the benefit of the population, better relations with work, defence of the physical well being of the population — the normal struggles of the workers movement in the struggle for the programme of the Popular Union. It is necessary to unite this programme with the Popular Union. This form of dual power which is not expressed directly but which exists in the consciousness of the proletariat, must be the basis for the leadership of the Popular Union to take account of the immense power that it represents, and the weakness of capitalism. The proletariat is making its strength felt, it is going to exert a pressure on all the workers movement, the factories, workers districts, the Parties, so they use this enormous force and authority and this nascent form of dual power. It is necessary to take this into consideration, to accentuate it and support it, to allow the great development of the struggle for the programme of the Union, linking it with the struggle to go to the government, preparing the conditions for a progress of the proletariat toward a government of the left, toward power. This is the activity which it is necessary to press forward.

## Hungary from page 1

with just good will. They need the form of the Party — the International form — the programme, the policy, the objectives, for the construction of communism on a world scale. This passes through a struggle in the Communist Parties against the conservative, routinist, self motivated tendencies. Dantzig and Stettin in Poland showed this; it is a whole concrete structure which has to be overcome in the Party, at the same time as the world communist movement unifies. The declaration of the Hungarian Communist Party shows that a process is begun there, which is going to have to pass through the struggle against the organisms of the bureaucratic power and privilege. The recent reversal of the policy of the 'economic reforms', by which the Hungarian Workers State had made in the past all sort of concessions to private property, means that there is a great struggle started which involves the necessity to return to marxism in the elaboration of the programme, the policy, the objectives, of the Party, and which is not finished.

it.

As for ourselves, our behaviour consists in maintaining our objective criticisms of the Communist Party, the Popular Union, to impel them with fraternal criticism destined to mobilise an instrument of progress. One cannot try to find another. It is necessary to be based on the instrument that exists, to impel them to gain confidence and to arm the instrument of the Popular Union, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the CGT and CFDT so they acquire confidence in the consistent application of the communist method.

This is a logical and sensible attitude, to see that the Communist Party and the Popular Union go to power, and in their march toward power resolve the problems of progress, of the maturing advance toward the construction of socialism. All the problems of the class struggle, of the civil war, of the atomic war, can only be resolved in the elevation of the struggle. This is why the attitude of the Posadist comrades is the most dignified. We call on the left groups to adopt this attitude in the future and in the immediate struggles in France.

It is necessary to address the army and the police, to appeal to them to support the programme of the Popular Union, to show them that electorally it has organised half the population to vote for it. It is necessary to incorporate in the balance the young people from 12 to 21 who did not vote, and particularly youth from 18 to 21, and the immigrant workers who did not vote. Taken as a whole this means an absolute majority! It is necessary to include all these forces in the calculations, to address the army and the police, to make them feel the necessity of the programme of the Popular Union to resolve the problems of the economy and the country. This is the real France!

The proletariat is not defeated. It lost electorally with a minimal difference of less than 1%. It has experienced its own immense power, it feels that it has attracted the votes of the population through its struggles. It is going to continue to intervene with this conviction and assurance. The Popular Union must count on this force of the proletariat, base itself on it, mobilise it, make it weigh on the whole population by means of assemblies, mobilisations, meetings, discussions in the factories, factory assemblies where the students and peasants are invited to intervene, as the Italian proletariat has done. It is necessary to organise factory councils, district councils as the leadership of the country, as the power to push forward this will to change throughout France. France, the French people want changes!

The French people want profound changes of structure, to transform all the capitalist countries toward socialism, to advance to the left, to socialism. It has already shown this in its great movements in the small factories like LIP and Rateau. These are the conclusions of these elections. The proletariat expresses this sentiment. It is going to show this, it is going to show its will and decision in the next great struggles.

J. Posadas 19.5.74

As Posadas says in the document "Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and the struggle for socialism": "The correct attitude is to discuss, to show that he represents individual bureaucratic interests against the development of socialism. The solution is Soviet democracy, the development of the Soviet Union (and the other Workers States)", and the extension of the socialist revolution throughout the world, to support concretely the transformation of the whole world, by means of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, as the Vietnamese did". It is the stage of the final settlement of accounts with imperialism. Imperialism is preparing for war against the Workers States. In this, the most elevated Communist International, the re-encounter of the world communist movement with the marxism of this stage, with Posadism, and the open functioning of the Posadist International inside of the world Communist movement, are needed.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## LABOURS PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS DEMANDS THE FULL INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES

The statements of Wedgwood Benn and Eric Heffer on the question of nationalisations, on the necessity for the Labour government to carry out the policy of its electoral manifesto are both a reaction to the working class—and the majority of the population now—who seek to impose their own solutions to the problems posed by capitalism in its final stage of decomposition; to the necessity of developing the economy in such conditions. It is not just British capitalism which is decomposing in every aspect but the whole world capitalist system, economically, socially, and politically. Italian capitalism, for example, is in a complete state of collapse, with an economy which is bankrupt and with the social weakness which is expressed in the fact that even in areas where the Christian Democracy has an electoral support, the majority voted for the 'NO' in the 'divorce' referendum.

In this country, 'serious' bourgeois economists are now talking about a 'slump', in the near future and there is a 'crisis of investments' with major enterprises—like British Leyland—which are unable to expand: The social crisis of capitalism, of imperialism, expresses itself in the fact for example, that all the political parties with a petit bourgeois base are breaking up. The Radical Party in France, with the right represented by Servan Schreiber who was prepared to be in the Giscard government until recently; and the left of the Radicals in the Popular Union. Even then, capitalism finds no stability, Schreiber has now been thrown out of the government because he opposes the nuclear tests of French imperialism in the Pacific. The exposure of corruption in the police, in the government departments, in all the capitalist world, is now a norm: The world image of imperialism is of 'Watergate' at the centre surrounded by thousands of mini-Watergates.

Now, all the world makes a comparison between the corruption and decomposition of capitalism and the economic, political, and social advance of the Workers States; and it is the Workers States which provide a pattern for the future of humanity. Imperialism prepares to launch the war against the Workers States and the world revolution, but, as a system, it has not the strength, the social support, or the leadership to do so openly.

On the other hand, the recent statement by Gretchko, in which he pointed out that Yankee imperialism had not changed its "anti-communist" nature, that it prepared the world war, shows that the Soviet Union prepares for the "final encounter" with confidence. The 'detente' now represents little more than a diplomatic manoeuvre on the part of Yankee imperialism, to give itself a little more life, and it is an expression of its profound weakness. The Chinese leadership invited Heath for a 'visit' and the Chinese masses demonstrated against Heath, and denounced the visit. In the Yunnan province, for example, the demand was raised for the removal of the vice-president because he organised a banquet for Heath. A sector of the Chinese leadership may want to make an alliance with Heath, but the Chinese masses intervene against Heath, against British imperialism, as the miners and the rest of the British working class have done: The banners in Shanghai which called for the unity of all the world proletariat expresses this. The intervention of the Chinese voters finds its echo in an article in 'Pravda' on the 5th anniversary of the 1960 World Congress in Moscow—which talks of pro-

posals made for "the further ideological and political consolidation of the World Communist Movement" and for the "enhancement of its role in the world". It goes on to say that the Soviet Communist Party will give full support to this. Breshnev has also intervened in this discussion calling for a world conference of Communist Parties without any exception!

This is the process of Partial Regeneration, as it expresses itself in the intervention of the leadership of the Soviet Union in the world communist movement, and all the anti-imperialist movements, in which a sector of the leadership advances because it has to, but other elements begin to do so consciously.

The world balance of forces has to weigh in the discussions and the decisions which will be provoked by the statement of Benn—made at Notts miners' Gala—that his 'department' is investigating

the running of the big monopolies, the massive subsidies they have received from the state and comparing them with nationalised industries. It is an attempt by a sector of the Labour government to plan the economy on the basis of more nationalisations. The Workers States demonstrate that nationalisations and planning are the only way to develop the economy. The problem is that the Labour Party does not have the structure which allows the intervention of the force that can carry out such a programme—the masses. None of the proposals made in the last period on "workers participation" on investments in industry, on nationalisations, allows for this. The proposals by the TUC for a fully integrated transport service with the nationalised docks and the nationalisation of all but the smallest transport fleets has the same limitation.

The workers vanguard, the nurses, the local government officers; all the population mobilises.

The left in the trade unions and the Labour Party must base themselves on this force; organising a series of local Conferences of the Labour movement which allows the intervention of the workers in the factories and the masses in the workers areas together with the trade union branches.

Capitalist industry has absorbed massive subsidies, without developing the economy in any way. Even on the present basis the nationalised industry contributes far more to the economy. A whole process of discussion; of meetings in the centres of the proletariat, is necessary on how to develop the economy, how to impel the trade unions to intervene—as the Italian trade unions are doing—in the planning of the economy.

This process of democratic functioning, which allows the intervention of the working class and all the masses, will make it possible to organise a National Conference of the Labour movement. The left of the Labour Party and the trade unions, must intervene in this on the basis of a programme of nationalisations under workers' control, and on the experience and on the force of the process of Partial Regeneration in the Workers States.

## THE FLIXBOROUGH EXPLOSION IS THE RESULT OF THE CRIMINAL NATURE OF CAPITALISM

The recent explosion at the Nycro Caprolactum plant at Flixborough is not the result of negligence or human error, but is a clear example of the criminal nature of capitalism. Disasters like these are not accidents but the logical consequence of the organisation of production under capitalism at this stage, of its need to concentrate capital, to rely every day more on the Chemical and Petrochemical industries in order to develop its large scale production and be more competitive. But the benefits of this competition are not passed on to the masses in the form of cheaper commodities, but are simply to accumulate capital, most of which isn't even reinvested; Capitalism does not utilise all the enormous technological and scientific advances of the last period. If it cannot harness them for the purpose of making or increasing profits, then it has no interest and acts as a brake on progress. The worst aspect of this form of production is the complete disregard for human life, for the workers involved in production and the people who are obliged to live in the proximity of plants like the one at Flixborough. The huge Chemical, Petrochemical and engineering industries increase constantly the number of workers killed or maimed.

The explosion demonstrated the grossly inadequate safety precautions in these industries and the fact that there are no forms of control or protection against these firms. The Factory Inspector-

ate, even if they report dangers and risks for the workers and nearby communities, have no real authorisation or powers to take measures to prevent such accidents. It is, however, insufficient for the Labour government to simply propose more stringent measures and the introduction of the Health and Safety at Work Bill, because what is on trial is not one or another firm, but the system as a whole. What happened at Flixborough was only a concentrated example of everyday life under capitalism. This can be seen in all sectors of industry, from mining, to transport, to North Sea Oil exploitation, to the drug industry, all forms of production under capitalism are carried out with the criterion of profit and not in the interests of society; and in this stage not only does the development of capitalism not coincide with the needs and development of society, but it is all the time in conflict with, and a brake on progress.

This explosion emphasises the need for the Labour Party and trade unions to intervene with a full scale plan of nationalisations under workers' control, with a plan of production in the interests of society as a whole, for all progress of science, technology; automation to benefit the workers by shorter working hours, cheaper goods, to improve the working conditions but also to improve the quality of life for the whole of the population. It is relevant to take the example of the Italian

trade unions who call for a plan of production and investments in what is socially necessary for society, control over the siting of industries and the right to control the country's economic policy. This is an important example for the Labour party which is in a position to impose a full plan of nationalisations together with the trade unions, functioning under workers' control.

Out of 130 trade unions, only three of these have safety officers in the factories and even then this form of protection is absurdly inadequate. The enquiry being carried out by the TGWU must put forward a series of proposals for the Labour government and must insist on safety committees in all factories made up of workers, not full time officials, and with full power to hold up production at any moment if the safety measures do not satisfy them. But at the same time it is important to emphasise that within the limits of capitalism it is impossible to have any acceptable safety norms, and that the running of production under capitalism means that the workers are often ignorant of the dangers involved in the work they are doing. For this reason the trade unions must put forward a series of immediate demands, workers' control and factory committees, safety committees and organs of workers' control, but at the same time the struggle for these demands has to be accompanied

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28.4.74 J. POSADAS

**The world process of the socialist revolution,  
the army, the masses  
and the collapse of fascism in Portugal**

The events in Cordoba express the class struggle within Peronism, the crisis of growth of the Peronist movement, and the development of the struggle of tendencies. The uprising of the police in Cordoba, is an attempt by the right to smash the Peronist left, relying upon the support of Peron, although this is not direct or indiscriminate. The fact that they had to utilise the police, to deliver a subversive blow in Cordoba, deepens the corruption of the political relations between the governing team, the police, the army, and opens the gates so that tomorrow, a coup can be made against the government. The masses see that there are no democratic rights, that it is not sufficient to elect a candidate because the police arrives immediately, and throw out the people who have been elected. This stimulates them to organise, as an organism, as a Party, and it stimulates the Trade Unions to intervene as a force. It deepens the process which, from every point of view, was necessary. The Peronist masses have to go through the experience that they need an organisation independent of the government.

The people who organised the coup in Cordoba, aren't going to remain in Cordoba. They are going to try to continue in the same way. In the general perspective, they are losing. The policy of Peron towards Cuba and towards the Workers State cannot be sustained by a government of the right. It is absurd. Completely without sense. The policy of Peron has nothing to do with what he put forward in the 40's, including the period from '49, when he broke off relations with the Workers States. The police which Peron put forward, could not be carried out if it was a government of the right, neither Bolivia, Chile nor Brazil, could make this policy. Besides, pushing forward such a policy with Cuba, stimulates the Latin-American masses, the petit bourgeoisie, to give a 'Cuban Solution'.

It is not possible to stimulate this with a policy of the right. There is an internal struggle with Peronism, the right has had to make a police subversion in Cordoba, because it does not have the social strength. Besides they made the coup, and afterwards it was posed that in 6 months new elections would be held. This is already a beginning of a rupture in the internal equilibrium in Peronism. It is a blow to the masses, but the masses are seeing that they have to seek another solution, that they cannot wait for their leadership to advance. Obregon Cano expelled the Chief of the Police, for having ordered the murder of 5 peasants. The Chief of the Police opposed this measure of the governor and led an uprising of the police arresting the governor, the vice-governor and his ministers, and demanding his removal from the national government. It is a coup d'etat, and the Peronist vanguard, the leaders, the militants, have already seen that they cannot wait on promises, that they have to impose by force. They see a government elected democratically, which takes measures against the police, because they assassinate peasants—it is perfectly legitimate to do so, it is its responsibility—, and the police rebels. These are very arrogant steps, of an antagonistic confrontation which show that there is no ideological divergencies, nor political divergencies, but that there are social divergencies, antagonistic divisions. Everybody is going to see this, and it is helping the Peronist masses to mature.

The right is going to utilise all the police and para-police forces, to deliver blows because it doesn't hold correct positions, it does not have social, electoral, political, or trade union support. It was the police which had to deliver the coup. It is a coup d'etat. The problem is posed for Peron whether to accept this. If he prepared and allowed it, tomorrow, it will go against him. The left is going to free itself from him, because it is going to see that although the external economic policy of Peron is important, (the internal much less), he is not going to be able to complete this policy because, the right is going to lead. This process is going to intensify. There is a struggle at the top, a struggle of political tendency. The favourable declarations of Peron in relation with the USSR, the agreements with the Workers States, cannot relate to this policy. It is against. Sectors of the right are going to sabotage it, and destroy the economic plans. Neither could Peron do this, if there was not a wing of the army which supports him. With the policy directed towards the Workers States, the meeting of Tlatelolco, he could not push forward a policy of the repression of the left, because it could not be tolerated. It stimulated the right, but it goes against all the policy of independence from the Yanks.

Latin America can advance in the margin of

# THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE PERONIST GOVERNMENT AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN ARGENTINA

the capitalist system. They can advance to some extent within the capitalist system, but the economic conditions do not allow them to compete. They have to unify. The Peruvian bourgeoisie clash with the Chilean, with Argentina, with the Brazilian, they cannot unify as a capitalist country. The Peronist masses show that they do not want terrorism. They do not want it. They want to advance with their organs, and the resistance of Obregon Cano and Atilio Lopez, is very important. The Peronist proletariat put up with 18 years' repression and in the course of these years, it became structured with the world revolution. The triumph of the masses in the elections in Britain, in Ethiopia, the declaration of Gelbard in Cuba, influences this. Obregon Cano said: I am the governor and I want to govern. And the Trade Unions supported him fully. Cordoba is empty, totally sealed off, and paralysed. Now, there is not a trade union leader, bureaucrat, a trade union tendency, there is a political tendency within Peronism where we participate. The CIA wants to overthrow Peronism to intimidate the rest of Latin America, and when Campora and Obregon Cano confront Peron, do not accept the decision of Peron, it shows that there is nothing lost, that the right is not omnipotent, but that Peron is going to have to give an explanation in a short time, a measure to satisfy the left. The agreement with Cuba is not enough. It is necessary to realise that it is Campora who posed in relation to the attack of the right, "if they want to judge me, they have to judge the 6 millions Argentinians who voted for me". And he said this to Peron also. It is a warning which shows a political struggle. We participate in this political struggle, our objective is not one trade union post or another, but the trade union post for the struggle in Peronism, to organise a marxist tendency.

If the police made a coup d'etat like that in Cordoba, it shows what these people are preparing,

## NUS Conference

### The struggle and demands of the students must be linked to those of the masses

There is now a move by the right of the student movement to reverse the resolution taken at the last national conference, which decided that they shouldn't have the right to speak at students' meetings. This resolution of Conference, was expressing a class position from the part of the students. There should be no right to support the regime in South Africa, to support the Junta in Chile, for these are against the interests of the exploited masses, and therefore, against the interests of the students. However, it is necessary to raise the discussion above the preoccupation for grants and how to counter the right with amendments by mobilising to the maximum the opinion of the students in support of the working class and the labour movement. In this way, the problems of grants and of democracy in the student movement can be transcended without being eluded. It is clear that the class struggle is taking place in the student movement as well as in the working class, but it is necessary to incorporate the problems of the students with those of the working class so as to give a class solution to the student problems. It is not possible to find an answer in a discussion that limits itself to grants and to counter the right wing. One of the most elevated functions which this conference could play at this time, is to become a source of ideas to organise discussions in the whole of the student movement on the basis of incorporating their demands into those of the working class, and diffusing ideas in the whole of the Labour movement on how to change the structure of society.

The demand for better grants beyond the offer is absolutely correct. The students are demanding the right to have dignified conditions of life, to finish with the exploitation of the students, of the women students, of the immigrants; to finish with discrimination. They want the right to control what sort of education there should be and for what purpose? For the benefit of the masses or for the benefit of capitalism? The students already see their struggle as part of the working class struggle. This was shown at the time of the miners' strike, when they gave every kind of support to the miners which they could. This means that the students see the working class as

but they are preparing a defeat for they do not have any strength. They have to use the police. They cannot utilise the army! This shows what they are going to prepare and the defeat which they are experiencing. The right advances because it has the apparatus. But the masses are against. This process has to take place. We must organise, develop the ideas, affirm the programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda, which is in process. In spite of Peron and in spite of the repression. This is what it interests us to see. Peron did not win authority with this. The left will try and seek and will still seek to impel Peron. On this road, he can advance quite a lot. But it is not a solution. The masses have to go through a whole series of experiences, at the same time as there is this uprising of the police, there is the trip of Gelbard to Cuba, which is a very great impulse to anti-imperialist solutions, it is against the right. The meeting of Tlatelolco, does not favour the right, it is against it. The external policy of Peron, cannot be separated from the internal policy. He cannot pursue the policy with Cuba, with the Workers States, and with the significance of Tlatelolco, with a reactionary internal policy. It is absurd. Because then, the right takes power, and liquidates the external policy. It is a contradiction which has to be resolved in a short time, and the right does not have the strength to resolve it. Hence, the blows by the police like those in Cordoba, because it does not have the social or political strength to do otherwise. They are clandestine blows of very little duration. An important proof, without it being determining, is that after having thrown out this government of Cano, Lopez could have formed another govern-

ment, and they would have to have elections. This means that Peron in place of giving power to the right, allows new elections in which the right is going to lose again from every aspect. When the elections are allowed, even though it is within 6 months, it is because it has not been possible to give power to the right, and this can be seen in the fact that they have appointed as a caretaker-governor, someone who is not of the right. They have made a momentary compromise to push out the right, and try to put in another leadership. Peron cannot continue without defining a policy. He makes an agreement with the Soviet Union, with Cuba, takes up a position of criticism of imperialism in Tlatelolco, and an internal policy of repression. Our work is to help the Peronist vanguard to mature in this process. This is what is important. That it is now involved in repression, does not mean to say that the government of Peron is finished. But at the same time, Peron is receiving the organised reply of the left, of Obregon Cano, of the radical left, of the leadership of the Radical Party, which rejects the gangster attitude. Hence, Peron speaks now of ordering the intervention because if he does not, he has to treat this as a normal form of government, and they can do it to him. It is a decomposition. He called Congress and the first meeting failed. It is possible that there was intimidation and it succeeded, but now, it has failed. As we analysed, it is a struggle at the top. It is a struggle of political tendencies. Campora had an interview answering the accusation about allowing marxist infiltration. He said: "I have done what it is necessary to do, I fulfilled my duty of president, and if you don't like it, ask the

leadership of society, the force which can change it, and resolve the problems of all the exploited masses. We call on the students to discuss in this conference, beyond the problems of grants, how to become a focus of ideas for the whole of society, to show how the nationalised planned economy is superior. We call on them to explain publicly and to organise meetings to discuss the superiority of the Workers States over private property. The nationalised planned economy, even with a bureaucracy is what provides the basis for a dignified standard of life, and the elimination of the dispute of man against man in order to survive, and the elimination of the bureaucracy.

The students have the opportunity which the workers have not, to think, to acquire theoretical and scientific knowledge, and to interest themselves particularly in ideas. They can, and must put this to the service of the working class by intervening with ideas of the way to change the system of production. Marxism is the basis of these ideas. And also the concrete expression of Marxism is the Workers States. We call on the students to discuss the texts of Posadas, and to discuss the Workers States, the very great progress of such countries as Albania or Bulgaria, compared with Greece for example. It is necessary to diffuse as much as possible the idea of the scientific planning of the productive system, by which intelligence can be released, and superior human relations installed.

There is a genuine anti-capitalist sentiment among the students, and a great combativity as the various occupations have shown. This means that the students are sensitive to the balance of forces in the country and the world, which is favourable to the masses, the workers and the students. This is what Portugal shows, and it is necessary to discuss Portugal in the Conference, so as to make the world ascent of the revolution weigh in the student movement through its consciousness of the link there is between their campaigns and the class struggle. It is necessary to discuss the maturity of the Portuguese masses who have never resigned themselves to fascism, but awaited the opportunity to smash it. They have known how to combine the gun and

the red carnations, and how to utilise the rebellion of the organisms of the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state, so as to advance in their struggle towards a government of the left. This maturity of the proletariat which influences all the population, must be discussed within the context of the similar processes in France and Italy whilst the capitalist system is in its Total Collapse. The world 'is ready for Communism'. This is what Posadas said about the world situation today. The students must discuss this. This is the way to resolve the problems posed by the grants, by the right wing, and to make all the forces of the left weigh so as to assist the left in the Labour movement to apply the programme of nationalisations. This is the way to utilise all the forces against the right wing. The comrades students must discuss in this conference, and diffuse in all the workers and student movement, the ideas of how to impose nationalisations, how to unify the left of the Labour movement with the Trades Unions in order to do so. The main function which this conference could play, is that it can be a centre of elaboration of marxist ideas.

We call on the left groups, on the Communist Party, on the students, to adopt a clear marxist perspective in relation to how to change the structure of society and impose nationalisations. It is necessary to open the universities to the workers, to the population, to put the universities at the service of the masses. To put the scientific preparation of the students at the service of the elaboration of marxist ideas. We call on them to discuss our texts, the texts of comrade J. Posadas, which are the marxisms of this stage, to stimulate the left of the Labour movement, to link it with the students and the working class, to call on the Labour left to use the university as a means to debate and organise on the basis of the mobilisation of the students, the trade unions, the factories, to impose nationalisations. For this, the texts of Posadas are irreplaceable, for they give the basis for this discussion to take place: The consciousness of the fact that "The world is ready for Communism" and the over-riding authority of the Workers States in this stage.

## J. POSADAS 7th March, 1974

6 millions Argentinians who voted for me." It is a position of combat. This is also against Peron, and it is a political struggle which is organising the Peronist left.

Campora works as a political leader who is going to defend himself. The left tendency is on the march. This is what the police coup in Cordoba tries to intimidate. And it did not intimidate anything, because Obregon Cano came out saying that he was the governor, and he was going to act as such. Although he has not been allowed to act now, it means that there is going to be a fight. He did not speak like a coward by saying "The general retired me, do not support me". Nothing of this. The struggle is advancing.

There is going to be a very great crisis among the Peronist masses, because these, like the middle sectors of Peronism, are going to see that reason and intelligence are not enough. But that it is necessary to liquidate the arrogance of power. The masses put up with the bourgeoisie for 18 years. They are not now going to allow these blows. The right has this strength from the apparatus, it does not have the force of reason, it does not have a social base. Hence, it made a clandestine blow with the bourgeoisie. Otherwise, it affirms the power of the right and of the apparatus. The method of using the police, to attack the house of the governor, shows a very profound crisis of the government of Peron. It is opening the road to the intervention of the police as a factor of political decision. It is a crisis within the Peronist movement, and the Peronist base says that "it is a struggle of bandits who attack the house of the government." The Peronist base is not going to support Peron, they are going to say: "This is what the oligarchy used to do, what difference is there between the oligarchy and this?" This stimulates the left, stimulates a great number of militants, affirming the necessity to confront Peron and the government of Peron, with more advanced measures, imposing them because they would not be able to expect that he would accept, and respect the democratic liberties. They made Bidegain, the governor of the province of Buenos Aires, resign, because he could not stop the attacks on the barracks. What is he going to do with the police which attacks the governor's residence. Is it the police that decide the policy of the government? This perverts all relations and is going to impel the left to affirm itself in the need for a stable political leadership. This, the right cannot have, although they deliver blows. They are going to continue giving them, because they still control the apparatus.

A number of the soldiers are going to be against, they are going to say: "It is the same gangsterism as before." The right is going to unite with the oligarchy. But the nationalist soldiers who are doubtful are going to be against, and are going to say, "They are using the same force as before, where is Peron?" This is going to intensify all the internal struggles favourable to the left from every aspect. Not immediately, because the right has the apparatus, but it shows that a government of the left is necessary, a government which respects the popular will, the trade unions, and which does not open the way to the gangsters. The right says: "Obregon Cano is a marxist government". What has the government of Cordoba done? All the measures, the policy, favours the population. Is this marxism? It is impelling people to be interested through marxism. The world is not homogeneous, undoubtedly. In Spain, there is a 'turn about', to seek agreements with the bourgeoisie, and to be able to negotiate, they have to be concerned with repressing, to be able to develop the economy, and in Argentina, there is this coup. And in the middle of this, there is Ethiopia.

They made a police intervention, and a series of arrests, which is going to produce an infinitely more profound reaction than could be deduced. The masses see that they do not have democratic

rights, and that they have to defend themselves as they defend themselves in front of the army

They made a police intervention, and a series of arrests, which is going to produce an infinitely more profound reaction than could be deduced. The masses see that they do not have democratic rights, and that they have to defend themselves as they defend themselves in front of the army, and to create there a nationalist layer. The attack which they have made on marxism has not had any effect. The masses see that marxism is, that it defends the increase in wages, democratic rights, the development of trade union power: if this is marxism, it is good. They made declarations against 'marxist subversion'. But the government of Peron makes an arrangement with the USSR and defends Cuba publicly. It is not a manoeuvre of Peron, Peron made a manoeuvre but he could not resolve the contradictions and the base of this is the maturity of the Peronist movement, which has already acquired the consciousness that it is capable of resolving all the problems and intervenes to resolve the problems from the class point of view and this clashes with the fact that Peronism is no use for this. It is necessary to assist the understanding of the necessity for the organisation of a movement which is based on this level above all, in the trade unions.

It is necessary to have the patience to intervene in this process. It is not a question of proceeding to attack to break with Peron but to persuade. It is necessary to reject these measures, but by persuading the masses, and explaining, showing that when the police have to take clandestine measures like those in Cordoba, it is because the army did not wish to intervene. There is a series of contradictions in the development of Peronism which they cannot resolve with arrogant measures nor with repressive interventions. They can take measures, but they are completely unstable. The proof is the fact that they have to have elections in Cordoba. The Radicals and the Left Peronists are 70% of the votes there. They have to seek other measures, they have had elections, because they made a compromise. If not, Peron, would have given power to the right. What the police have done, corresponds to it in this way and they are going to react, they are going to increase the independent action of Peron, of Peronism, and they are going to go against the right. They are going to attract and to appeal to the nationalists of the army.

This intensifies and develops a crisis which inevitably has to proceed in this way, because it is in this process that the Peronist masses have to go through their experience. There is no other way. The right wants to smash, disintegrate the youth, so that, individually, as a group, they can be submitted to 'verticality', whilst the political activity of the youth shows that there is a progress, an advance and it is seeking to organise as a sector, as a tendency of Peronism with a class programme. They have to go through this experience now, they have to see that with Peron, they cannot do this. They can win and impel Peron, which is a support which can be of important significance, but the struggle against the right was, and is, inevitable. The class struggle in the Peronist movement has intensified and is going to intensify. (As was analysed in the bulletin "The resignation of Campora, and the failure of the counter-revolutionary attempts of the CIA and the Peronist right"). What is happening now, shows it. The youth is not intimidated, the Trade Unions are not intimidated, they are not disorganised, the activity is not paralysed. The youth, does not have a leadership, they are not unified, because still, they do not have a centre, they do not have political confidence, and a class programme, because the immense majority are sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. And each one acts in his own area, without a programmatic centre.

The experience which the movement has to make, is to show that under Peron, it is not possible to put forward a class socialist programme, because the Peronist right prevents it, and Peron balances between both sectors. When he has to decide, he decides with the right because it is linked with capitalism. The youth, the sectors of the left are not intimidated and have given battle. They fought from the programmatic point of view, politically, organisationally, constitutionally, from the governmental point of view. It is a tendency. It is not resistance of a trade union group, of a sector, an industrial plant. It is a tendency which in all the aspects of organisation—without a homogeneous leadership, without a homogeneous policy,—struggles because it feels that if it does not, there is going to be a retreat. It is opposed to the right in every way, it is opposed to imperialism. This allows it to resist, but still, it does not have organisms, programme, leadership. They have to undertake this experience which is inevitable.

We do not have the strength to substitute for this. The Communists have taken flight, they do not intervene in any way, nor did they before. The Communists before were with the fascists. They supported all the fascist organs of the "Liberators". Now, the Communists still do not intervene. It is an inevitable process and the Peronist left has to pass through all of this, for a period. It is important that it isn't demoralised. It does not go back to zero and begin from there. From the position that it has, it realises that it has, it realises that it has to sustain the conquests of the trade unions and the government. In this uprising of the right, they dissolved the leadership of the CGT of Cordoba, of the Trade Unions. The right appointed these leaders but the masses and the CGT of Atilio Lopez did not recognise them. And they are going to wage the same struggle as they did before with the "Liberators".

There is a difficulty which makes their understanding quite difficult. Peron has a policy towards

the Workers States which confuses. It is important, it is right, it is necessary to support it. With this policy, he tends to attract the petit bourgeoisie to make them feel that it is not reactionary, because he pushes such a policy internally and allows this game with the right. Neither can the right go any further. Peron cannot allow it to go much further. If he allowed the right to go much further, to push the process backwards, all the policy with Cuba, with the Workers States, with Yugoslavia and now with Czechoslovakia would be dissolved.

It is a phase of this class struggle within Peronism, in which the left is going to learn to organise, to advance, to produce leaders, to make stable organisms and to pass from an empirical functioning, a paternalist functioning under Peron which is a bourgeois regime—to a revolutionary programme and leadership, to a class position. This is the experience which it has to go through. It is doing this, it does not retreat to zero, but it is going to advance from where it is and it is going to impel. Hence the resistance which was made in Cordoba is very important. The left is not dispirited, it feels that it has been hit, but they are not destroyed. Hence they continue. This creates a very great crisis for Peron.

Instead of feeling intimidated in the other provinces, these are going to defend themselves. They are going to see that Cordoba was a model to do the same elsewhere, the right want to intimidate and impose. The right has seen that they resisted, have been able and have succeeded in making the government react and intimidate the government itself. This is a boomerang which is going to animate all the other provinces; Mendoza, Tucuman, Salta, Misiones.

The resistance to the arrogance of the government, to the right and to Peron shows that people are learning already and within the country, the boomerang is at work. It is learning how to resist the right. The latter has not been able to

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# The Flixborough explosion is the result of the criminal nature of capitalism

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by the struggle against the capitalist system. There is no hope of reforming the system, capitalism in its present state is incapable of giving any more to the masses.

Capitalism has to concentrate on large scale production, on the large Chemical, Petrochemical and engineering plants with its resulting pollution and poisoning of the environment, water and food. Pollution is a phenomenon of this stage, the increasing use of chemical products which contaminate everything. Capitalism can use no other means of production but it is possible to eliminate these forms of production. Improvements in productive methods should mean better working conditions and less hours for workers as well as better conditions of life for the whole of the population, and not an increase in exploitation, as it is under capitalism.

The trade unions should put forward a plan of production for the textile and all other industries to discuss what is to be produced, for whose benefit and for what use in society. The fact that the Nycro factory was part owned by the National Coal Board, a nationalised industry, is another example of the utilisation of state industries by private sectors as a source of low price raw materials. What is required is nationalisation under workers' control, a completely different kind of nationalisation to that of the past. All the workers should be able to participate fully in the running of the factories, in discussions on production methods, conditions, the quality and also the usefulness of what is being produced for the community.

All the great advances in science and technology which are not being fully utilised by capitalism or that are being misused are having a profound effect on sectors who, until recently, were a base of support for capitalism. Scientists and technicians who want to produce for the benefit of society find themselves restricted by budgets, disinterest or criminal refusal by capitalism to use scientific advances for this end. Even within the United States, where scientists and technicians are a well paid elite, there exist anti-capitalist currents who can't accept the conflict which exists between human intelligence and the utilisation of science. All these sectors can be included in the anti-capitalist struggle, but their incorporation must be seen as a political task which needs a programme which can win them over and give them a better perspective than that offered to them by capitalism. It is important that they coordinate with the trade unions to put forward a programme of production of energy, electricity, nuclear energy, to produce energy at low cost for the benefit of the population.

Capitalism is allowed to build plants of highly explosive or inflammable materials wherever they like with very few controls imposed on them, and they are answerable to virtually no controlling government body or agency apart from local planning committees. Because of the brutality of the system and the complete lack of any social responsibility, they put plants right next to houses and communities. The Labour party should have intervened much more than it has done on this explosion. It is not sufficient for an MP to travel to the scene of the explosion for a half an hour visit and then go away. The NEC of the Labour party should have issued an immediate statement condemning such events and put forward a series of measures, both immediate and long term, to prevent such criminal events recurring and pledging full support for the local people in their struggle to prevent the plant being rebuilt.

In Flixborough the reaction of the population to the explosion was immediate and with the same level of militancy and social indignation

as the people of Hirwaun when a gas storage plant was to be built next to them. For this reason it is important to link the safety and workers committees in the factories with area committees which involve the whole of the community in developments which directly concern them so that they can discuss and decide on what takes place in their area. There should be a full and public tribunal. The enquiry being carried out by the TGWU should be opened out into a public enquiry by all the trade unions, which should take the form of a popular tribunal where all the population of the surrounding areas can discuss and contribute their ideas and proposals. In this way transform the enquiry into a denunciation of capitalism, its brutality and its total disregard for human life, with concrete proposals to terminate with the conditions which led to Flixborough.

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# The contradictions within the Peronist government and the class struggle in Argentina

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intimidate the workers movement. Hence the government of Peron has had to send to Cuba a delegation with the secretary of the CGT and now Ceaascu arrives also with a trade union delegation. It tries to develop the trade union sector to release itself from the right later. It is certain that this trade union sector now serves the bourgeoisie but not the oligarchy. Peron tries to develop a trade union group so that later, it will serve the national bourgeoisie, which is inevitably going to have to confront Imperialism. He is not fully a servant of the capitalist system but has to make a series of measures as with the workers states which advance towards positions which are anti-capitalist.

The class struggle in Argentina is advancing and intensifying. The Peronist youth which has no programme, policy, or leadership trusted in Peronism and in the Peronist movement and has to pass from "verticality"<sup>2</sup> to internal democratic discussion, to democratic resolutions. We are the only ones who have supported them to understand.

Peron is going to have to take some measure to remain in a good light with the youth and with the trade unions, if there is not a rebellion. The Peronist masses confront the police and say: "We believe that we were confronting Ongania but it is Peron. We did the same as with Ongania, we made trade unions, meetings, we discuss." But Peron has an advantage which is quite big; his external policy has quite an effect. And it is going to have much more. At the same time this effect cannot organise the right.

The perspective is an intensification of the class struggle in which the right has only bombs, guerrillas, attacks, terrorism, but nothing more. Hence it is necessary to give great importance to the policy of Peron. We have appealed to the comrades of Cordoba to defend democratic rights but at the same time to declare support to the external policy of Peron, to the policy of Tlatelolco, towards Cuba, towards the USSR, towards Rumania, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. The government has signed quite a lot of good agreements and delegations are going to go from the workers states to install themselves in Argentina to teach. This has much weight, there are agreements with seven workers states, among them Cuba and the declarations of Gelbard in Cuba are good. This weighs on the Peronistas.

In front of the uprising of the police in Cordoba, the workers movement, the petit bourgeoisie is going to say "Where is the legality of Peron? Where is Justicialism, the truth, justice? Democratic rights, where are they? Who says that the police determine? The guerrillas, they say, kidnap and what is the police doing?" This is going to give an immense stimulus to a struggle more elevated than that of the guerrillas. We are going to appeal for a political fight not a guerrilla fight. It is necessary to show that the demo-

cratic rights are the mobilisation of the masses, of the petit bourgeoisie towards a united front to impel this policy of Gelbard. It is necessary to support critically this external policy while we maintain independence, to support the declarations of Gelbard and the policy of Gelbard with Cuba and with the Soviet Union.

The policy of Gelbard with Cuba cannot tolerate repression and a government of the right. Such a policy is not convenient to the right. When they have to use the police it is because they do not have another means. They do not have social force. They have to utilise arrogance which in part, is also to impose on Peron. It is necessary to realise that Obregon Cano was going to liquidate the chief of police, not liquidating him without communicating with Peron. To liquidate the chief of police means to plan against the repressive police; it's the continuation of the line of Campora.

The Peronist left has to learn to organise. It is going to be hit, it's going to be shaken. This is going to produce insecurity, but in this way it has to learn. It does not have any other solution than this. The Peronist left proceeds to function and proceeds to try to attract, proceeds to work as a leadership being a minority in the leadership at the summit and at the top. And it is stimulated to do it. These are experiences which afterwards are going to take place in Peru, Ecuador, Mexico, in a series of countries; experiences which have to be assimilated. They are not movements of worker origin, communist, socialist, but nationalist and bourgeois. But this cannot be maintained on the strictly bourgeois plane. The right is reactionary, counter revolutionary and for Peron to repress from within, he has to allow and support the external policy. The force that wins is the external policy because it is the force that corresponds to the force, to the will of the masses and unites the external policy with the masses. This is going to go forward. For now, the right dominates the top sectors, nothing more. Hence it is necessary to know how to wait to be able to intervene later. It is very important for the experience of all our teams.

Whatever might be the result in Cordoba, they are fighting. It shows that there is a wing which feels that it is an organism to fight. This experience has to be gone through inevitably. To pass from dependance on Peron to an independent functioning, to hold positions, to confront Peron, this demands time. The left forces are going to learn now, that it is necessary to have a movement which has to be independent of the right, has to be independent of submission to the centralisation around Peron, without breaking with Peron, seeking to be independent, in the action of submission to Peron. This is very important. It is one of the necessary ways for the independence of the workers movement in Argentina. It is the form which the process of maturation acquires. Their

attack on us is caused by the fact that we provide ideas, consciousness, organic forms to this process of independence of the Peronist base. The action of Cano gives a very important precedent, because it is going to impose directly, the right of the left to exist publicly in the Peronist party.

When Cano does not say "I respect Peron" but declares that he is ready to retake office, he is declaring that he is ready to retake office, he is confronting Peron and this is going to have quite an echo. This confirms that the solution over Cordoba was a compromise and not a direct concession to the right. Peron yielded to the coup but in allowing elections, the left has been given the possibility to recover the government in Cordoba and affirms consequently the right of the left to function publicly in the Peronist party. They are giving form to a movement which has no leadership nor class objectives but which is a bourgeois mixture with some anti imperialist principles and with the support of the masses who want a "national socialism", but socialism. And the type of socialism which they want, is nationalisation and the planning of the economy.

They have given a blow but there is a progress in the struggle because this is going to precipitate the crisis. The declaration of Cano is going to stimulate the base of the trade unions to see that they do not have to accept a decision although it may come from the government of Peron if this is against democracy, justice, truth. This has to be fully taken into account.

This has to be taken as a progress on the road of the organisation of the left in the public form in the Peronist party.

J. POSADAS. 7 March 1974

- 1 Tlatelolco. Meeting in February of the Organisation of American states in which no agreement was reached between the Latin American countries and Yankee Imperialism.
- 2 "Verticality"—name given to the Peronist movement where decisions are taken at the top and handed down, without discussion.

### Correction :

The article by cde J.Posadas 'Democracy, Nationalism and the class struggle in Greece' published in Red Flag no. 213 should carry the date 24th March 1974, not 13th April 1974 as was printed in the centre pages of Red Flag.

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# The anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, the inter-bourgeois competition and the new government in Brazil

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J. POSADAS 18th April, 1974

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## LABOUR MUST DEVELOP A UNITED FRONT WITH ALL SECTORS OF THE POPULATION IN STRUGGLE

The proposals by the Committee of the twenty major capitalist countries to alleviate the crisis of the Italian and Danish bourgeoisie are a further element in the inflationary spiral. The introduction of the gold standard is not going to provide the European bourgeoisie with the means to solve its total crisis. It is simply a measure that allows the state to enter the ranks of the financial speculators without creating any new basis for an extension of production. It is a measure designed to provide the European bourgeoisie with some breathing space while it prepares a solution outside the economic sphere, a military solution. It is an element of delay in the war against the masses due to its vacillation after the victory of the masses in Italy in the Referendum on divorce, after the assertion of the left in France and the collapse of fascism in Portugal.

The Italian and Danish bourgeoisies are on the verge of collapse under the sustained mobilisations and strikes of the working class, while the Common Market is incapable of providing capitalist Europe with even an economic and social progress. The EEC is incapable of offering a perspective of dignified life to millions of workers, students and peasants as it is not interested and doesn't have the capacity to develop the economy in the underdeveloped areas like Northern Ireland, Brittany or the south of Italy. On the contrary, the massive concentration of capital is creating more unemployment, and is causing the disappearance of sectors of small enterprise in industrial production, commerce and agriculture.

Incapable of taking any real initiative to develop the economy, capitalism takes refuge in speculative activities in the economic camp and in delaying tactics on the political front, while trying to prepare its forces to launch the war against the Workers States. In this way Kissinger's peace negotiations in the Middle East have the objective to gain time in order to prepare the atomic war, to prepare an offensive in order to contain the development of the revolution in the Middle East and to prepare the mass murder of the Arab populations. Thus the objective of Kissinger's negotiations and of Nixon's trip is to prepare the conditions for a reanimation of Yankee imperialism.

The working class is the only class capable of giving a solution to the social crisis that lies behind these manoeuvres. In a situation in which bourgeois democracy is no longer sufficient for capitalism to maintain itself in power, and when, therefore, the ruling class tries to prepare reactionary coups d'etats in different ways, in a situation when the world structural crisis of capitalism cannot provide the masses with any acceptable solutions, and when capitalism must try to impose a worsening of the standard of living of the population, which it is not capable of doing by peaceful, parliamentary means, it prepares a react-

ionary and violent solution, such as in Ireland. In such a situation, only the working class, its parties and the Trade Unions can give a solution to this crisis, a solution in the interest of the masses. For this

the social contract, giving guarantees that the masses will not profit fully from the election of the Labour government. The bourgeoisie is not taken in by manoeuvres, it does not behave on the basis of opinions or principles, but rather on the basis of class interest. The bourgeoisie is already preparing to sabotage this government because it sees that it cannot use it to stop the struggle of miners, nurses, local government workers and teachers. On the contrary it sees the unification between miners, dockers and nurses, which is an extension of the same unity of the masses that defeated the Tory government. This disintegrates the electoral perspectives of the bourgeoisie and paralyses the Tory party into lukewarm opposition, while the CBI organises the extra-parliamentary opposition against any proposal of implementation of Labour's programme.

The labour movement must not decide its policies on the basis of an alliance with the bourgeoisie.

### next week: **KISSINGER, MESSENGER OF DEATH, THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND THE WORLD CLASS STRUGGLE**

reason the working class, the Labour Party and the Trade Unions can and must act as a revolutionary centre in the campaign for the extension and implementation of Labour's programme. To defeat the reactionary manoeuvres that lie behind the murder of Kevin Gately at the anti-National Front demonstration in Red Lion Square and the explosion at the Houses of Parliament.

It is therefore fundamental not to separate the campaign for an extension of the programme of nationalisations from all anti-capitalist struggles and not to concede any pause in the mobilisations of the working class. It is an illusion to hope to quieten the bourgeoisie with

Much more important than a circumstantial alliance of this type is the development of a united front with all the sectors of the population in struggle. The campaign for the extension of Labour's programme that Benn is developing in the Labour Party, must be developed as a means to develop firm links between the Labour movement and all sectors now struggling for better wages, in order to prepare the conditions for a revolutionary transformation of society. Nurses, teachers, and local government workers are sectors that, in part, have supported the Tory Party in the past and that now are moving away from it because they see the failure of capitalism in organising society.

The way to consolidate the alli-

ance between the Labour movement and these sectors is not through concessions to the bourgeoisie or 'Social Compacts'. This unity can only be constructed on the basis of the struggle against the rising cost of living, for a living wage without having to work overtime, for pensions that allow a living instead of just survival, for the utilisation of

all national resources for the collective good, for nationalisation under workers' control. These sectors of the population must see that the Labour movement doesn't only offer a just programme, but that it struggles concretely, now, immediately, to implement it, that it is capable of giving a line and applying it, that it can transform society. The initiative now lies with the left, because this programme and this policy can only be applied with the active intervention of the masses, not on the basis of parliamentary deals. For this reason all the sectors

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## The Scottish miners Conference

All the force and determination with which the miners intervened in the struggle which resulted in the overthrow of the Tories and a Labour government in office, expressed itself at the Scottish Area Conference of the NUM. The resolution passed by the Conference, demanding an immediate wage increase of £20 a week, is more than just a rejection of the 'Social Pact', of a voluntary incomes policy, it is an intervention of the miners—through the structure of the Trade Union—to weigh on the Labour government. Mick McGahey reflected this in his 'Presidential address', when he said that the Labour government has to be audacious and that the intervention of the miners, previously, had not been to put a Labour government into office to carry out Tories' policies.

Clearly the discussion and the preoccupations of the miners were not centred on simply higher wages or improved working conditions—although both these demands were discussed—but on how to organise an industry which is already nationalised for the benefit of the workers in the industry, and for the population.

A great deal of the discussion and the interventions—both from the delegates and the leadership—expressed the preoccupation of the miners to impose workers control. As one delegate said, "There must be workers Control combined with the demand for the nationalisation of the companies which supply machinery to, the miners and of all the coal distribution companies," which are still making a profit from the cheap coal supplied by the nationalised mining industry. This shows that the miners seek to intervene to centralise and to plan the industry

in a rational way. Thus, the will and the preparation of the workers' vanguard to intervene in all the problems posed by capitalism in its present—and final—stage of decomposition, to struggle for power, finds its expression through the existing structure and leadership of the Trade Unions.

When Tony Benn spoke at the Manfield miners' Gala on the Labour Party 'green paper' on the programme of nationalisations, it was, in part, to seek a base of support in the miners and through the miners, in other sectors of the working class. In a sense, Benn and the workers' vanguard face the same problem in different forms. On the one hand Benn tried to implement a programme to develop the economy, to plan it without having the means—a nationalised economy—to do it, and on the other hand, the workers' vanguard seeks to intervene with a class solution to all these problems without having at this moment the necessary democratic structure and leadership in the Trade Unions or in the Labour Party. However the discussion raised at the Scottish Area Conference particularly the one for the end of NATO and the end of all divisions in Europe in the workers' movement, is a sharp contrast to Callaghan's defence of the 'Common Market'. These show that the will of the miners, as the expression of the will of the vanguard that has not yet intervened with its full industrial strength, is finding the political and programmatic means to weigh in the Labour Party and make sectors advance, sectors which like Benn, seek to support themselves on the working class.

The workers' vanguard poses another solution to the 'problem' of the Common Market which is the unity

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Centre pages

## The Paris Commune and the current process of the class struggle

J. POSADAS 23. 5. 74

# The anti-imperialist struggle of the masses, the inter-bourgeois competition and the new government in Brazil

The new president of Brazil, Geisel, does not represent a transformation of the preceding government, but neither is he a continuation of it. The changes in Brazil are not determined by the fact that the new government has a better line, that it is more democratic. It is necessary to define what interests this government represents, what these slight changes are due to. The changes that exist, arise because there is an advance in the struggles, because the petit bourgeoisie has not improved its standard of living. If the standard of living had improved, and the Brazilian miracle had been a real one, repression would continue because it would have political and social authority. If capitalism in Brazil must seek to make changes,—to develop the economy and to seek points of support—it is because it is going towards a catastrophe. Capitalism has not strengthened the economy, not only because it has not developed agriculture, but because it has not developed the harmony of the internal market. There is insufficient consumption.

One way to measure the internal market, it is to note the level of consumption of the population in relation to essential needs, those that are less essential and luxury products. There has been an enormous increase in the production of luxury goods, but the consumption of articles of prime necessity, has declined. Thus, conditions have improved a little in Sao Paulo, a little in Recife, in San Salvador Do Bahia and a little in Rio de Janeiro and Porto Alegre. But in the rest of the country, this increase in consumption has not taken place, not only because foodstuffs are in short supply, but because they export them and they do not produce any more than that. In 6 years, there has not been a transformation because the standard of living has not increased in Brazil. If capitalism had increased the internal standard of living, there would have been a base to intervene and to produce internally. Instead, the population of Brazil increased, reached almost a hundred million, but consumption did not increase. Production which had a relative increase went in exports.

Brazil shows that there is not a structured progress of the capitalist system, but an artificial expansion of certain sectors, which inevitably, smothers the economy, because to develop, the country needs internal consumption. The country develops production and everything is destined for export. Moreover, the capi-

## IT IS NECESSARY TO DEVELOP AN INTERNAL MARKET IN BRAZIL

The bourgeoisie in Brazil see that Argentina is making a policy to favour its own internal market. It has a rival in front of it, and tends to rectify its policy, seeking to install a government which can gain access to the internal market, hence they liquidated Delfin Neto\*. They are seeking a policy which allows a competition with the Argentinian bourgeoisie, because they hope to capture the South American market, and it can do this. Argentina has given a loan to Cuba of \$1,200 million and has given to the Cubans a consignment of goods, to the value of \$200,000,000. Argentina

tal which comes into Brazil is not invested in local consumption. It is hot capital for exports, takes the profits for itself and invests in other countries. Then the country doesn't develop—only the capitalists develop, who have made investments in the country.

An undeniable, irrefutable way of measuring the market, is to see how much meat, milk, eggs, shoes, clothes, how many machines, are utilised. A statistical study of the various needs of consumption of various strata of the population, should be made.

Even Geisel,—and also Peron—to develop the economy, has to develop the internal market. To increase the internal market, it is not possible to expect 'miracles' to come from the capitalist system. It is necessary to nationalise, to plan, otherwise there is no increase in internal consumption. There is a formal increase, a routine increase, but not the increase which allows the extension of this consumption. However this is the most important thing to achieve. One of the reasons which has caused changes in the government, is the reaction of the petit bourgeoisie, of the peasants, of the workers movement, which they do not take into account. Before, it was the same, there were the 'quebra-quebra' movements in Santa Caterina, in Parana, the occupations of the land of the 'Posseiros', in Rio Grande do Sul, and in Porto Alegre. There have been continuous movements and the usual in Brazil, were the famous 'quebra-quebra' and the 'Posseiros'. Two years ago, in Santa Caterina, and in Parana, there were conflicts with the army. Twice the army has fought with the squatters. These are normal movements. All this movement shows that in Brazil, the economic progress of which the bourgeoisie speaks of, does not exist. Before this could be tested economically and financially, the squatters, the peasants, the 'quebra-quebra' and the workers already showed that discontent was increasing. And these strata of the population are very close to the petit bourgeoisie. The government is losing authority. The national bourgeoisie feels its loss of authority, and sees that its market is diminishing. This wealth has accumulated in some of the so-called millionaires, and the participation of the national bourgeoisie has proportionately diminished.

recognised Cuba before Peron was in the government: Campara did this as soon as he entered the presidency in May '63, establishing also economic relations with N. Vietnam and N. Korea. The Brazilian bourgeoisie was interested in the development of its own internal market, in the financing of the internal market, it sees that this is a road. The Yankee corporations also see it, as they have an interest in the internal Brazilian market. And this is what has made the government change, not the democratic attitude of Geisel.

They made these changes, pen in hands: "How much money should

we put into this? How much should we profit? How many investments should be made?" This is not the result of open discussions in Parliament or among the bourgeoisie. They are calculations made by financial circles. But there is the pressure of the bourgeoisie to enlarge the internal market, which it sees is collapsing, whilst it sees the struggle of the masses advancing and the unification of workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie. Hence they find this way out. On this road the concessions of Geisel can go quite a long way; not going very far from the point of view of democratic liberties but yes, in concessions to the petit bourgeoisie, giving them support, because the bourgeoisie needs the extension of the internal market.

The bourgeoisie has an interest in the internal market,—and sees that this market is diminishing and that it does not accumulate capital. Now, it seeks to exert a pressure to maintain the market, and the social calm, to provide work, and full employment, to elevate the level of internal consumption. This is the discussion which has taken place with Delfin Neto. Otherwise, they would not have thrown him out, because he was known as the Erhard of Brazil. At the same time, they are seeking the way to contain the internal mobilisations. It is true that they repress, but much less than before. They have just appointed a minister of foreign affairs, the former ambassador of Brazil to Argentina, who had a very good relationship with Peron, and a Brazilian/Argentinian Front against Yankee imperialism is not excluded.

It is necessary to show the example of Cuba, and in part of Peru, and the progress which the Workers States are making, as with the present effort of Honduras, Nicaragua and Guatemala are besieging Honduras, because it is nationalising some enterprises and increasing trade with the Workers States, because it recognises the Workers States, and they have brought workers into the leadership of the nationalised enterprises, have distributed the land to the peasants, and organised cooperatives. Nicaragua and Guatemala threaten Honduras so as to end this policy, since if this policy lasts for another year, there would be a revolution in Nicaragua, and this time, Somoza would not escape, they would bury him and all the others. Brazil cannot be considered as a country in itself. It is an error to speak only of Brazil, it is necessary to write about Brazil, comparing it with other countries. Brazil became the champion of the anti-communist, anti-Cuban front, Brazil was always opposed to Cuba, but now, it makes no scene when the Latin American countries recognise Cuba. Brazil must be taken within the context of the world process, which is reflected in the Latin American context, which is one of retreat from imperialism and advance in the struggle of the masses.

It includes the struggles in Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, in Ecuador, Peru, in Colombia and in Venezuela has just declared its coming recognition of Cuba, and together with Argentina, it will demand the elimination of the economic blockade

of Cuba, and the recognition of Cuba. It is necessary to see Brazil in this situation. The Brazilian bourgeoisie has not been able to strengthen itself socially. It has strengthened itself militarily and socially but only partially. There is a new advance in the petit bourgeoisie above all, which mobilises the proletariat. When the government allows the return of Goulart, the president deposed by the coup d'etat in 1964, it is not only because they seek his support. The return of Goulart means a certain support, a search for agree-

## THE NEED FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BRAZIL INCREASES THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN THE BOURGEOISIE

This government of Geisel cannot reflect the changes which have to be made and the competition which has to be made with Argentina and the rest of Latin America, because the old apparatus is still there. There is an agreement, then it is necessary to expect great internal struggles. The return of Goulart to Brazil is not simply because he is a bourgeois who has property. They have allowed him to return, because he can intervene in the internal struggle and they are seeking his support. A very great internal struggle is in preparation in a short stage, hence Goulart returns to Brazil. He did not return because

his 10 years of being proscribed were over. If they wanted, they could have extended it for another 5 years. Goulart was recalled before, and it is possible that the ban will be removed from the others so that they can return to Brazil. There is a process of some concessions in which they give very little to the masses, and there is a certain rectification and re-structuring of the economic apparatus, and an agreement with sectors interested in the national development of the economy, to be able to compete with Argentina. They need these agreements to increase the base of support for the

inevitable struggle which there will be with Argentina. This is the perspective.

The Brazilian communist party, is disorientated by this process, it does not understand it and it is not prepared. It does not have the understanding of this type of process. It has a rigid conception: "bourgeois imperialism", or a pact with the "democratic landowners", or it considers that the lot of them are "gorillas". When there is such a diametrical opposition between Peru—where the Peruvian CP called the soldiers a gang of "gorillas" 6 months after the coup—and Brazil—where the Brazilian CP proposed a United Front with the "democratic landowners"—it shows that the communist party does not have a conception of the way in which the class struggle is waged. Then the errors of the CP, cannot be taken as errors derived from an orientation or from a determined policy, because they have no notion of it. Even from the return of Goulart, the CP draws the wrong conclusions.

The concrete fact is the following: why do they allow Goulart to return, while they could keep him outside? And what does Goulart represent? Economically, he has importance, he is a landowner, he has

## J. POSADAS 18th April, 1974

investments and houses in Brazil, but before, they did not let him return, now they do. Why? The economic importance of Goulart is not fundamental. There are others who run his property and his investments. The government is seeking political and social support for the struggle which is coming very shortly. It is necessary to intervene in this process, not supporting one or the other sector, but understanding the direction of events to be able to weigh. It is necessary to explain and to win authority among the intellectual sectors, the petit bourgeoisie, the communist party, the socialist party, and other tendencies, appealing for a programme of democratic demands, and of democratic liberties, of wage increases, for the sliding scale of wages.

## THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ARGENTINA INFLUENCES BRAZIL

Brazil has debts amounting to \$14,000 million. And investments are almost equal to sales. The total debt of \$14,000 million, shows that it is a weak economy. Certain sectors expand, but it is weak. The central question is that the Brazilian bourgeoisie sees the Argentinian bourgeoisie, adopting a policy which allows development. This stimulates tendencies to see that if they do not do something, everyone is going to suffer, proletariat, peasants, and petit bourgeoisie. It is not a question of a democratic opening. Thus as with the economy of Brazil now, they are forced to make concessions, and the Yanks cannot invest any more as before, nor can they dominate the world market as before.

the government, what importance has he? He has the importance of being the political representative of a tendency of the oligarchy, of the landowners, of the peasant producers, linked to the free sectors, more linked to the petit bourgeoisie, closer to the peasant and worker currents. It is a link which unites Goulart to these sectors. Goulart already discussed this before he returned. Otherwise the return of Goulart is outside all norms. They would have got rid of him. It is no problem for the government. They have the so-called '5th Article', which they can use for anything.

## THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF ARGENTINA INFLUENCES BRAZIL

The comments in the international bourgeois press, reflect the concern which exists in Brazil, in confrontation with Argentina, despite all the problems which exist in Argentina. The concern is due among other things, to the fact that Argentina has increased its trade with Ecuador. Before, it sold to this country \$10 or 12 millions of exports annually. Now, it has reached \$14 million annually. Before, it had a very small trade with the Andean market, now it has doubled its trade with the countries of the Andean market. Through Cuba it will increase all its trade with these areas, with the exception of Chile. The Brazilian bourgeoisie sees this. Argentina has opened up an im-

portant Latin American market, which was the natural market of the Brazilian bourgeoisie. It is not the world market, because Argentina does not compete with the Brazilian bourgeoisie on the world market. The Brazilian bourgeoisie exports coffee, soya beans, some industrial products, but in general they are not manufactured products, above all from the big imperialist enterprises. Instead, Argentina, exports semi-finished goods, and goods that are finished in the country of export, including Cuba. Now, they are exporting cars, typewriters, refrigerators, domestic equipment. Argentina, is now exporting to Cuba. The Brazilian bourgeoisie sees this, they see that the Argentinians have opened up a market.

The next almost certain victory of Lopez Michelsen in Colombia will consolidate this, because he will make an alliance with Argentina and also with Venezuela. The Brazilian bourgeoisie sees that it is on the periphery of all this, and for this reason, it has stopped its function of being anti-communist. All in an instant. When everything indicates, thanks to American investments, that Brazil would eat all the communists, they stop doing this and reject the anti-communist pact which Chile was proposing. These are the economic and social motives. The investments of Yankee imperialism in Brazil, have been undertaken for a quick

# THE PARIS COMMUNE AND THE CURRENT PROCESS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

J. POSADAS 23rd May, 1974

The commemoration of the Paris Commune which is important and fundamental is a means at the same time to insist on the Commune of Today, the situation of the world and of each country, to impel intervention in this process of crisis in the capitalist system and to help to develop the left inside the Communist Parties and outside the Communist Parties.

There is a profound crisis in capitalist society which is breaking down. It is not a collapse which happens suddenly but a process of the destruction of the capitalist system. All its links are weakening. The crisis of capitalism in Europe is part of the crisis of world capitalism. Capitalism should have produced fascism and war, they don't have the strength to produce fascism, there are not the historic conditions to do this. They need to launch the war and they are going to do this, but they cannot choose the moment in which they want to do it. They are obliged to depend on forces which they neither dominate nor control. They constantly lose authority and the capacity to weigh over the petit bourgeoisie. Countries which a short time ago were colonial and semi-colonial are incorporated into the process as Revolutionary States and become independent. They weaken the world structure of the capitalist system, the form of relations, of structure, of dependency of the backward countries with the capitalist system. The former equilibrium of the system has been destroyed and it cannot dominate as before the colonial and semi-colonial countries. It cannot

dominate even quite small countries like Peru. It cannot do it because even when Yankee imperialism has considerable strength, these states as is the case with Peru, have an indirect force which is superior. They don't have it from themselves but from the world: the Workers States, the struggle of the masses of the world, the Revolutionary States which form a front, a block. Without a programme, without any organisations, they work as a block which weakens and increases the weakness of the capitalist system as a whole and this weakens as a consequence the structure and superstructure of the capitalist system without which there is no capitalist system. The superstructure is the Church, Judiciary, the intellectuals who express the capitalist system, the base on which capitalism rests to communicate with the rest of the population.

All this weakens the capitalist system. In weakening it, the revolution can advance and finds the forms and the means, the most sensible means to progress. As for example, Portugal where an apparently powerful fascist apparatus with experience, tradition and practice—a fascist structure—was overthrown in a few hours. It wasn't conquered by an organised movement, specifically, it was overthrown in a few hours. The force that overthrew fascism was a combination, the army was in a sense the precipitant but without the support of the population it couldn't have done this. Without the crisis provoked by the struggle of the liberation movements of Angola, of Guinea Bissau and Mozambique, the army would not

have had the decision to intervene, it would not have had, it would not have created the captains ready to do this; nor also without the world development of the revolution, not only of Guinea Bissau, Guinea Bissau is a result of the world development of the revolution. There is a world structure which did not exist in the period of the Paris Commune and situations that were worse than those in which the Paris Commune took place, as for example Portugal now, today triumph. The fighters of the Commune lost but the Commune returns "every road" and besides everywhere throughout the world. And the Paris Commune today is no longer the Commune of before, in which was incorporated the heroism, all the revolutionary passion, all the drive for human progress of the Communards. For the first time in history, in the Paris Commune all this human passion was shown in the most concentrated form in the most direct and superior way. On the basis of the revolution of 1848 but now directly the proletarian revolution, the Commune showed that heroism is part of the progress of humanity. Class heroism, not individual heroism determined by the progress of humanity. Children and women who up to that moment were insignificant in life, participated for the progress of humanity. Between the children of the Paris Commune and the old people of the Paris Commune, there is a complete and direct connection. There are changes in action, there is a more elevated consciousness, today there is a social development which is much more pronounced

which allows them to intervene, but already the Paris Commune demonstrated that humanity can triumph over all the difficulties and that the human being tends to intervene as a participant in the actions of society, of history. When this does not happen today, it is because human beings are not allowed to do so, when they can, they intervene.

Capitalism says that the children, the child of ten is incapable of thi-

ness socially, but it is not like that. Between a bourgeois, a worker and a petit bourgeois, the children of the workers and petit bourgeois family would bury the bourgeois and elect the others, that is if they are going to be elected to deal with the problems of justice, of distribution and are going to distribute well, are they going to provide justice. If they say they have to study, to decide, then they will study. Even making mistakes in the first stage, because they don't have an idea of the forms of deciding, they are determined by the sentiment of justice, of equality and also of love. They have not yet developed the bellicose sentiment, the sentiment of aggression and competition, they haven't had the time to do it, because this is acquired in capitalist society. Then they show a noble desire, the purity of children who want justice although they don't succeed in expressing or achieving it.

In the elections in France, in the elections over divorce in Italy, the children have intervened discussing, militating and taking position on the role of the Popular Union and for the divorce law. In Rome, in Naples, in Paris and Marseille the children in the workers areas, and in the schools leave their games to help spontaneously our comrades in the distribution of leaflets, reading and discussing them. Children of 10 discuss in the streets and in the school: "Why can't we vote? We want to vote against the bosses and against the bourgeoisie." This shows that our proposal that children should vote is not an extravagant proposition. It is the children that are asking to vote. Demanding to vote is a clearly declared thought of children who want to weigh socially. When they abandon their games and interest themselves immediately in the problems of politics, they want to intervene and to weigh. And it is because they are thinking socially, they are in the most prepared conditions to intervene in the social and political struggles and to give very good ideas. Humanity is ready for Communism.

Capitalism says that the children, the child of ten is incapable of thi-

the Paris Commune which unites it to the present even though it has been superseded by the Russian Revolution and the 14 Workers States is that the Commune began a task and did not abandon it. It showed one of the most complete and most beautiful principles of human heroism: to begin a task knowing that they were going to die and they carried through this task to the end. They were secure that they were living through a fundamental experience, a lesson which humanity was going to learn from. Hence Louis Michel in the name of the Commune declared before the Tribunal which was trying her: "We will return through every road". And we add and everywhere. The Commune will return everywhere, because it left a necessary experience for humanity just as 1905 was a necessary experience for the Russian Revolution. Having begun the task the Commune did not dissolve, did not disperse, it fought to the end. It communicated to the rest of history, to the future invincible security of the proletariat: once the task is begun, it is not abandoned, once an action has been decided upon there is no doubt, there is no vacillation.

Even with the differentiation in forces, with few resources with less possibilities with the imminent defeat, with the imminent massacre of all of them, the communards do not stop. They taught in this way that one of the essential bases of communism is the objective struggle for the human being. Not for oneself individually but considered as a human being. The experience was necessary to give security to

humanity, it was necessary to do this and the Commune completed this task. The Commune made many mistakes but in one thing it was not mistaken and this gave the force of security and confidence in history and this lesson in which it was not mistaken, was the necessity to carry through a task and not abandon it. The bourgeoisie had to assassinate them, all of them and they did not desert. When they escaped it was in spite of the fact that the enemy had occupied all the places and buildings. There was no desertion. This showed to the enemy the class security of the proletariat which attracts the population to fulfill a historic function and they did this. It gave a security that the proletariat would not desert, that it would assume historic responsibility for the actions which it undertook. The Commune showed this and it gave security for the strikes later and the great parties, the party of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party. The will, the decisions, the security of the Communards although not directly, was part of the character of Lenin communicated through the history of the struggle of the proletariat of France and of Europe and in consequence also of Russia.

Today, we are not in this situation. The Russian Revolution showed what it was necessary to achieve. The errors of the Paris Commune were overcome. The proletariat had to learn. Still it is learning, because it does not have a leadership but has learnt this historic conclusion: once an action is undertaken, it must not be abandoned. The proletarian to page 4



# BRAZIL

profit, that they are hot money investments as they are called. This is one of the conditions of the so-called multi-nationals, the same as the old imperialism. At the same time, they look to stimulate a sector, to aid, to elevate it, to dominate the country politically, to weigh on the army, but it failed. It is necessary to draw this conclusion, and it is also part of the boomerang of Chile. The boomerang was supported on the logical, necessary process in the world, in the fact that imperialism has not succeeded in holding Latin America under its control. The assassin junta which took power in Chile, has assassinated 30,000 people, and the Chilean economy is in pieces, in pieces! . . . The basis of this process, is that the productive apparatus is paralysed, because the population does not want to work, does not work, does not consume, and does not die of hunger, but neither does capitalism find the stimulus to invest. This disintegrates all the productive apparatus. It is the same in Brazil. The present crisis in Chile, is due to the refusal of the masses to produce, despite the fact that the junta exerts a pressure on them, and seeks to repress them. All the apparatus of production is disorganised. The bourgeoisie have lost confidence, consumption has fallen. The market is disorganised.

Before it was determined by the government which stimulated purchasing power. Capitalism does not have the strength to be able to stimulate the market, and return to a complete functioning of the capitalist system. They must re-organise the market from the beginning. The Yanks with their investments protect, but they cannot invent the economy, and they do not have the money. Yankee wealth is not as it was before.

It is the capitalist structure which is collapsing because it is dismantled. The capitalist structure has disintegrated. They can make the economy recover as in Brazil, they have productions of phosphates, metals, (which function but less than before), but they have also to face the sabotage of the proletariat and the lack of confidence of the bourgeoisie which does not invest and which does not have any interest in doing so. This is part of the process of decomposition of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie sees that this will not last much longer, it does not have any confidence. The struggle of the top of the assassins, is the product of this insecurity. If they were secure, there would not be a struggle, the most powerful would conquer. If there is a dispute with the most powerful, it is because they are not secure of winning tomorrow. It is a symptom of decomposition. It is necessary to take this process in Brazil very concretely. Next to Brazil, there is Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, and Ecuador, who are progressing and advancing constantly. Yankee imperialism had the means and the base to exercise the function which it wanted, that is, to organise a team which, under the pretext of anti-communism would negate democratic liberties, imposing a dictatorship as a base for the preparation of the war. The result is that Brazil refused to enter the anti-communist pact. Why? Because the Brazilian government has to base itself on the petit bourgeoisie, it must permit certain liberties, establish certain relations with the petit bourgeoisie. On its borders, there is Argentina, where the government at the same time as it does repress democratic liberties (it is not a complete and bloody repression as before) dev-

lops a foreign policy which opens the door to economic development. This is part of the boomerang of Chile. It is the structure of the

## IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE WORKING CLASS ORGANISES ITS OWN ORGANS OF STRUGGLE

Another aspect of the boomerang, which affects Brazil with enormous force, is the death of Pompidou—he died at a bad moment for them—and the possibility that the Popular Union might win. And even if it does not win, it opens up a process of a very great elevation in the class struggle, which tomorrow will win, because it undertakes a necessary task in history: The Worker United Front, the United Front of Socialists, Communists, left Radicals, and the Trade Unions, are the basis of the organisation, of the functioning in the Union of all the forces of the workers movement, of the petit bourgeoisie and of the peasants, which means, henceforth an enormous progress for the future struggles of the proletariat. All this weighs on Brazil. Brazil should be the Greece, the Spain, or the Portugal of Latin America. Instead it is hardly a Turkey. And in Turkey, Ecevit now annuls sentences for political prisoners and proposes nationalisations.

Among the aspects which it is necessary to observe in Brazil, is the form which the organs of struggle of the working class assume. The fact that the workers organise factory committees which are quite decided, that in one week there were demonstrations of 2,000 textile workers, in a period of complete repression, occurs because there is a toleration on the side of the government. And because there is a level and a structure which they cannot impede. It is necessary to see this very clearly because, it will be a very important symptom that will have a very great influence within the government whether to make concessions or to repress.

The tendency to form factory committees is a very elevated form of the process. The vanguard, which observes the course of the struggle in the world seeks to do the same thing. In Argentina, an immense number of factory committees have been organised, who throw out the bureaucrats, and replace them with new leaders. Peron has to respect them, and in Mexico, the same thing is happening. Consequently, it is necessary to observe this process very clearly, because it will be one of the bases for the progress of the struggle in Brazil. There is no tradition of organisms of the working class. The CP has shown itself very weak. The new organisms are an incipient force, and are very mixed with bourgeois and petit bourgeois influences. The government will seek to prevent the workers movement striking to contain it, but the world process is going against them. The boomerang of Chile is world wide and it goes against Chile, against Peron, and against Brazil. There is a process of elevation of the struggle of the masses and a destruction of all the capitalist apparatuses. Europe is an example of it: France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, are all in question. The five axes of the capitalist system in Europe, are under pressure whether the government is linked to the masses or under the perspective of a government of the left. There is a whole process of crisis, with Kissinger about to be liquidated, and Nixon accused of being just a thief.

Organisational conclusions must be taken for the activity in Brazil, but also conclusions in relation to organisms. We have to be based on those organisms that already exist, that

world which mobilises the masses, chains the hands of capitalism and does not allow it to decide.

is factory committees, and these should be linked to the peasants: democratic liberties, and trade union organisation for the peasants; distribution of the land; reduction of rents, for medium and small tenants; alliance (with separate organisms) of the agricultural workers with the small owners and small tenants. It is necessary to appeal for the United Front for social and economic demands, at the same time for the nationalisation of the principle sectors of the economy to develop the country showing the example of Argentina, of Peru, of Ecuador, of Mexico, of Venezuela, and very soon of Colombia. This is the general process in development. The necessity of an agreement on this programme should be discussed. There should be an agitational activity around this programme. It is not excluded that the CP may accept this, but if we take the example of the attitude of the CP of Argentina, i.e. considering that they do not have a position, it is possible that they would support a bourgeois sector which promises democratic liberties.

Changes are being prepared in Brazil. There is an internal agreement between various tendencies who are preparing changes, otherwise, Geisal would have accepted the anti-communist pact. As he has to place himself more and more on the plane of the internal market, changes must be made. The changes will not be determined by him. This means that he does not have the strength to impose a policy of repression that is more severe than previously, because the economy of the country is suffocating and dying. And he has seen what has happened in Chile. The economy is suffocating. Hence, he has to seek ways to concede. Hence, Goulart has returned, because he is a means to contain the process. At the same time, all the rest that we know, shows that it is a government much the same as before, a little better, but as before. It means that the apparatus is containing the process and it is the military apparatus particularly which has to answer the problems, and there is an internal struggle. The TU struggle, the workers and peasants' alliance with the petit bourgeoisie has to be elevated, to provide an impulse for these struggles and to derive advantage for this situation, including in the programme, the democratic bourgeois demands. But the programme has to go beyond bourgeois democracy, uniting it to a series of measures to nationalise and develop the economy, to develop agrarian production to hand over the land to the peasants and to develop investments in the countryside.

## editorial

*in the Labour Party that traditionally look towards capitalism are now incapable of limiting discussion and action within the apparatus. Capitalism has nothing to offer but war and destruction, it can show no successes, it can only produce criminal explosions of petrochemical plants, pollution and a broken down transport system; on the other hand the Workers States have no problems of employment or inflation. The Labour Party must utilise this example in the campaign for its programme in order to offer a concrete*

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## Paris Commune

ariat showed it clearly in the defence of the Soviet Union. Coping with Stalin, coping with the Nazis 7 kilometres from Moscow, the Soviet masses defended Moscow and Stalingrad, and they smashed Nazism. If they worked in competition with Stalin, to take revenge, Nazism would have triumphed. The proletariat then, showed that it was the constructor of history and of socialism. Otherwise it would have shown that it was a weak and insecure class, which doubted and vacillated. But in defending Moscow and Stalingrad, the proletariat showed that it fulfilled and continues to fulfill, as in the Paris Commune the conclusion of Marx: "The proletariat will be revolutionary or it will be nothing". This was not an arbitrary statement of Marx, it was a necessary conclusion of history, through the role of the proletariat in the economy and in society. The proletariat shows this security and shows it also now, in the fact that the proletariat does nothing, absolutely nothing against the workers state.

In the isolation of the Soviet Workers State, in 1936, when world capitalism was in a condition to launch the war against the Workers State, it did not do it, because of its own contradictions, and the fear of the proletarian reaction fundamentally impeded it. Of the two factors, the most important was the fear of the proletariat's reaction, that the proletariat was going to oppose. Thus, capitalism never succeeded in making a crusade against the Soviet Union. It tried to launch one but the world proletariat was against and prevented it.

The Paris Commune, "returns through every road," and everywhere, but it has grown, it has learnt lessons, it has assimilated experience, it has become extended and it has been applied. Today we live the experiences of the Paris Commune and we have 14 Workers States. Without the heroic action of the Communards, as without the heroic action of the revolutionaries of 1848, these Workers States today would not exist. It is the experience which humanity has gathered and which is expressed in the texts of Marx, of Engels, of Lenin and of Trotsky. But also the world experience of the proletarian vanguard, even without texts which gathers together and centralises this experience develops it and communicates it, to the working class and the class communicates it to the population and gives security. The petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry have confidence in the proletariat: when the proletariat learns from an action it does not abandon it. As a class the proletariat needs a representative, the Party. And the Party must show that it is secure, secure in the decision to fulfill its historic objective.

At the same time as we speak of the heroism of the Paris Commune, we recall two fundamental principles: once an action is begun it shouldn't be abandoned; it is necessary to have a programme and a revolutionary objective and a party to lead the action. It is the party which does this. The most important

*perspective based on the force acquired and the levels achieved by the working class on a world scale.*

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task today in part continues from the experience of the Paris Commune; it is necessary to construct the party. In France and Italy the party exists, the Communist Party with the support of the proletarian masses. In these countries the best of the proletariat is in the Communist Party, it is not a party prepared to take power but it is a party, it is the party which exists, a party which wants to go to the government but is not ready to go to power. Hence it vacillates and doubts. Hence it does not use the triumph of the referendum in Italy, nor the conclusions of the feeling of victory of the masses after almost fifty percent of the votes in the Popular Union in France.

The proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie see and feel the vacillation of the Communist Party. In France, the proletariat resolved on the day following the election, "how can the day go by and we haven't done anything?" On the next day, in the meeting which our party held in Renault, there were 500 workers. All the communist militants with our presence, were saying to the Communist Party "We want mobilisation, we want the Communist Party to organise this triumph". Their presence in our meeting was this, through us, they directed themselves at the Communist Party.

It is necessary to prepare and to discuss among the militants of the Communist Party on the necessity to develop the party to go to power, to prepare to advance to power, to take power. This task must be carried out immediately. These are the fundamental conclusions, these are the principal problems which unite the commemoration of the Commune of Paris with the present day. Long live the commemoration of the Paris Commune which is a base of progress and of the construction of humanity! Long live the Bolsheviks who continued and who with Stalingrad demonstrated the force and the historic pride of the proletariat which has never abandoned positions once acquired! Long live the present struggle for power, for the IV International and the Commemoration of Trotsky which forms part of the heroism of the Bolsheviks and the Paris Commune! Long live the IV International!

## miners from page 1

of all the European workers movements including the Workers States. This is what the miners are expressing. It is a discussion which the miners are conducting on an entirely different level to the discussion carried on by the present leadership of the Labour Party on whether Britain should stay in the Common Market, or get out of it. To end the divisions in Europe demands the unity of the workers movement both through the trade unions and the workers' parties. The conditions exist for the organisation of a Conference of all the European Workers Parties and Trade Unions, including those of the Soviet Union. In a limited way, the last meeting of the 'European TUC' which included the CGIL—the Italian Communist Trade Union Centre—shows this.

All the discussions and resolutions of the NUM Scottish Area Conference—on nationalisation, on Workers Control, on the planning of the industry and on Europe,—expresses not just the miners' struggle, but that of all the working class, which poses now, the necessity for a new structure and a revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party.

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

## Kissinger, messenger of death, the Middle East war and the world class struggle

J. POSADAS

2nd June, 1974

The policy of Yankee imperialism in the Middle East has the object of winning time. It's Yankee imperialism which arms Israel, which give it strength, which dominates it, which provides it with loans. If Yankee imperialism ceased to support Israel, it would collapse in a week in a complete economic crisis. It wouldn't have a cent to pay anything. Everything which Israel does is supervised, supported and led by Yankee imperialism. Israel is its indirect representative so that peace in relation to Israel is a farce. It is not a peace with Israel, it is with Yankee imperialism which is the force which dominates and gives the orders, and through Israel, imperialism blackmails and makes agreements with the USSR or with the Arab countries. Israel is a counter-revolutionary centre of Yankee imperialism in the Middle East. This is the reason why it exists. The immense majority of its inhabitants are people who were not born in Israel. They are all people of different nationalities. At the same time it has technicians trained outside Israel. Israel is an invented country.

To sustain this war, Israel does not have the industry, nor the wealth nor the financial capacity. Yankee imperialism sustains it. Israel does not have the economic capacity to wage such a war. It has aid and support from elsewhere but the essential support comes from Yankee imperialism. When they sign a peace treaty, when there is an agreement, when there is a violation of a treaty, it's the Yanks who are making the decisions. If the Yankees oppose, there is no signature. There is no doubt about this, it is just like Saigon, it is not Saigon which makes a resistance about making peace, it is the Yanks who control all this.

The trip of Kissinger is a parody, an hypocrisy, because he is making a diplomatic manoeuvre to sustain Israel, to make it appear as a sovereign country, which it is necessary to respect. Even if it was a sovereign country—which it is not, it is a Yankee agency—what about the Arabs, aren't they sovereign? The peace which has been signed is on the basis of what? There is a violation of frontiers, a change of frontiers and a penetration of territories. It is necessary to return these territories and what is being discussed is their unwillingness to return them. The Yanks are winning time with this, they make concessions, they advance, they take territories and

then afterwards, they make concessions and keep what they had, because it is a preparation for something much more important, for the war. They define Israel as a base essentially for launching missiles to contain the revolution in the Middle East. It is the function of Yankee imperialism as the gendarme of the whole world.

The peace which Kissinger signed is a farce. It is simply to win time, to manoeuvre, to maintain Israel in the political arena to be a counter revolutionary centre. It has nothing to do with a sovereign country, or with mediation. The Yankees are mediating over nothing, they are the ones who represent a particular side.

There is a dispute between the CIA, the Pentagon and the North American government, but they are all faces and facets of the same cube. They are all part of the same Yankee imperialism which is dividing into tendencies and into organism which have distinct interests, modes of interpretation and links with the world and differ amongst themselves. The CIA sabotages the plans of Nixon because they want a more audacious policy, a more decided policy to subdue the Soviets and make them yield. Yankee imperialism which in this case defends its global interests and sectors of finance capital, require an end to the war. It is not a question of peace, or of handing over territories but to stop the war, to win some land to see if they can find the time to control the Egyptians to utilise them, to make them coincide in aspects with the Israelis and at the same time to prepare the war. It is difficult because if the Egyptians accept an agreement with the Israelis, they will have a very great internal crisis and besides an uprising in the rest of the Arab world. Hence imperialism tries to manoeuvre, to win time, to incorporate Egypt in their area of influence in such a way, as to contain through Egypt the pressure which the struggle against Israel demands, which is the struggle for the Arab revolution. Kissinger is seeking a false peace, he is seeking to win time in the preparation of the counter revolution and the atomic war. He is preparing the death of millions and millions, hence he is the traveller of death. He isn't going to make peace. It's a complete lie to maintain this.

The proposal of Kissinger is to win time to prepare the atomic

war, to prepare offensives to contain the development of the revolution in the Middle East. To prepare the killing and the massacre of the Arabs and of the populations in Revolution. Hence Yankee imperialism is not interested, and is not preoccupied with the number of dead and assassinations which Israeli imperialism is responsible for, as for example in the Lebanon. The objective of Kissinger is to prepare the best conditions for the reanimation of Yankee imperialism. There is a complete conflict within the leading Yankee team, over the methods, the time, the stage for the war, for the development of superior actions. They are contained by the

presence of the Soviet Union, by its military presence and its integration in the Middle East. The interest of imperialism is to unleash the war. It is playing a game of deceit as though seeking peace, but the real interest is to win time. If imperialism did not want to give arms to the Israelis, there would be no problem. Israel is a launching pad for Yankee imperialism, to contain the revolution in the Middle East, to launch the revolution and for the atomic war. Kissinger is preparing this and all his visits are the visits of a messenger of death, because he is preparing the conditions for this, acting as though offering peace and winning time to prepare

the war. If they were seeking peace, they would simply force Israel to withdraw from the occupied territory. They have to accept the development of the Arab revolution, hence they are preparing assassinations for tomorrow.

One aspect is the struggle of the Arab bourgeoisie, another is that of the struggle of the Arab peoples who see in Israel an agent of imperialism. The Arab bourgeoisie wants to make a negotiation for class war as they did the last time. Hence the agreement of Kissinger, "the peace which will succeed", "the Miracle" is a complete lie. It is simply a truce with the object of

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## THE CAMPAIGN FOR NATIONALISATIONS MUST BE DEVELOPED IN THE FACTORIES

The discussion over nationalisations is now the central issue in the Labour Party and the trade unions. Essentially it is raising the issue of the expropriation of capitalism, because what is being discussed is not the feasibility of a nationalisation of a particular industry within the continued existence of capitalism, but nationalisations as the only way to progress in the development of society. Even if the last Labour manifesto was very limited in the number of sectors that it mentioned for nationalisation, the depth of the discussion is quite clearly a society based on whether we continue with the imbecilic irrationalism of private property, or a society which develops harmoniously with collective objectives. British capitalism realises that it is not in the position to stem this discussion, that it cannot win the argument, that it cannot determine the reaction of the Labour Party and that the force and progress of the world socialist revolution does not allow a world reaction favourable to capitalism. Hence as with the rest of the European bourgeoisie, its most decided sectors are more concerned with organising a coup than with a serious effort to win back sectors of the petit bourgeoisie from their support to the proletariat as the leader and organiser of society.

The decision of the British proletariat to stimulate the struggle to overthrow capitalism is the necessary basis to impel and develop the struggle over nationalisations. The conference of the Scottish miners essentially was a preparation for major class encounters, an appeal to other sectors of the working class to prepare for struggles, making it clear that the proletariat is not going to endure the crises of capitalist society, that it intends to resolve these problems by the elimination of capitalist society. This is the essence of their decision to weaken, damage and overthrow British capi-

talism. This decision of the proletariat to pursue its class objectives finds support in the increasingly militant sectors of traditionally conservative petit bourgeois sectors. The last NALGO conference is very significant in this respect; here the leadership was unable to carry support for the social compact and unable to call off strikes in the London area—it was a complete rejection of conciliation with capitalism.

The discussions at the conference of the AEUW also have great importance as tending to impel the intervention of the trade unions as a whole towards the Labour Party. The support for nationalisations, including the banks, is based particularly on the inability of capitalism to sustain investment and develop production, is going to weigh in the orientation of the Labour Party and at the same time the fact that there was a discussion on the need for joint British and Irish trade union action towards N. Ireland is a demonstration of an increasing preoccupation of the vanguard with Ireland although only palely reflected in this meeting. The support again from "white collar" unions such as NUPE, NATSOPA, and the GMWU for nationalisations is further evidence of the weight of the proletariat in the decision to advance on the programme of nationalisations.

What of the intervention of the left and the LP and the unions so far in relation to the debate on nationalisations? The manner of arguing the case is more forceful and it would seem that Benn proposes to wage a campaign of meetings on the subject. The need however is not simply to discuss nationalisation as though it were a shopping list for legislative enactments, but linking it above all to the direct mobilisations of the masses, and the need to confront by occupations the immediate crisis of capitalism in the form of inflation and a lower

standard of life. The major sharks who run capitalism are not going to respond to the struggle over nationalisations simply by verbal polemic. The tactics of capitalism are quite simple. They know very well they cannot develop production, even the car industry, a key sector of capitalist economy is undergoing a world wide recession. In practice they are going to add to the problems that exist objectively from the capitalist system, as they did with the three day week. They are going to aggravate difficulties, stimulate nameless fears over nationalisation and prepare the way for military and police action against the proletariat and its allies. Hence the incessant manufacture of explosions and the maintenance of N. Ireland as a base for future targets—the British working population.

In other words it is essential that the discussion over nationalisation is placed in the context of how far the bourgeois state apparatus is going to put up with nationalisations however much supported by an elected Labour majority.

Not only is there the problem of new nationalisations but how about the reorganisation of the existing nationalised industries? They can no longer be run as mere supplements to capitalist industry, with a capitalist management structure. It will be necessary to pose a different type of investment structure related to the general needs of the population, not the exigencies of private property, and complete control by the workers in nationalised industries.

The TUC has already taken a very important initiative in nationalised industries by posing the need for an overall transport planning authority. This is a striking example of the unions going outside purely wages and conditions problems and entering into the discussion of fundamental social problems. Like the "green bans" in Australia, it shows

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**Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and the struggle for socialism**  
J. Posadas. 14.2.74.

# THE STAGES IN HISTORY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

(extracts).

The essential condition is to measure, to analyse constantly the objective progress of the objective process. This objective progress is shown now, in a programmatic form, in the combativity, the alliance, the united front of the masses and of the influence these have on the Workers States. In its turn the development of the Workers States influences the world process. It is not an uninterrupted process, constantly advancing, but a process which is delayed, varies, retreats, or just maintains itself. This is because the forces which lead are not stable consistent leaderships, but leaderships which have to combine the interests of groups, of sectors, of a local interest, with the general interest of revolutionary progress.

The impulse of the revolutionary process is superior to all the leaderships, because it is based on the will of the masses of the world, who want to change society, and because the economic conditions, the immaturity of the economic process, scientific process, constantly develop, and demand a leadership which responds to this need which requires collectivisation, planning, and the nationalisation of property. Private property cannot respond to this: to be able to plan requires the collective use of property. On this basis there is a very great force, which combines with the will of the masses, who want to overthrow private property. The masses are the representation of this process. There are not two independent forms of the process. It is a single process which combines at the same time, the development of the economy, the progress of technology (which can transform and develop a hundred times more the economy, compared with how it functions now) with the will of the masses to change. The existence of the Workers States is the basis of this process even in a limited way. This is an uninterrupted process.

The course of history is determined by this combination of the process: development of the Workers States, of technology, of science, of the economy in the capitalist countries, and the will of the masses to change society. The masses represent this process, this advance, this progress of history, of the economy, science, technology. They represent it, since they feel impelled to impose throughout the world, a regime which eliminates dispute, war, which eliminates the consequences of life through conflict, possession, private property.

The leaderships of the communist parties, of the Workers States, do not answer consciously to this necessity. They answer in a distant way, but they have the support of the masses. This support is verified because there are 14 Workers States, which in front of the masses of the world, show that this is the form of progress. The masses of the world accept it. The proletarian vanguard communicates to the rest of the class this interpretation of the process, the understanding of the historic function of the Workers States and elevates, leads, organises the masses of the world in this understanding. The masses of the world in any country, are ready in a short period to struggle to advance to superior forms. It is not like this everywhere, but this is the general norm of the process.

Hence, the experience of Ethiopia, which from a very backward level of struggle, without political parties or trade unions, nor with organised

forms of the masses, advances now directly to demand democratic rights: Freedom for political parties, freedom of discussion, distribution of the land, elimination and hanging of all the ministers who were all thieves, and establishment of ministers who they can control. These are forms of intervention which show a very great audacity on the part of the masses, when they do not have previous experiences which allow them to understand. They do not have activities, experiences or practice, and yet they go directly to these conclusions. This is the influence of the world revolution of Eritrea, Somalia, South Yemen, and of the existence of the Workers States which has reached them.

This is the norm of the process. And what at the same time characterises this norm is the will of the masses of the world to unite, to seek a coordinating centre, to unify this will to struggle and progress. This has been shown throughout the world. Imperialism has to respond, to confront this process, and it seeks the war. As it cannot launch the war when it wants, as this is its intention—as it was before in the intercapitalist struggle—and as it cannot determine the moment, how and when, it is obliged to have to answer, to accept and to respect the advancing progress of the revolution, which is expressed in the struggles of the masses of the world, in the backward countries which advance and in the existence of the Workers States. This changes the plans of imperialism, it causes it difficulties, destroys and alters its plans, so that it cannot launch the war when and as it wants. At the same time, as it does not launch the war as it wants and when it wants, the factors of decision are concentrated in fewer and fewer hands; within capitalism there are factors of internal discord, internal dispute, internal conflict in the heart of the bourgeoisie which feels that the war is coming, the class war of the final settlement of accounts, and that it is the end of them. Hence, it hesitates and is mortally afraid. There is no extension of the stages for the overthrow of capitalism. Where do they extend to? In Greece, where have the stages been extended? In the Middle East, in Europe, in Latin America? The attack which they have just made in Argentina, is a blow against the left, but it is not a triumph of the right, because it is going to oblige the left to have to organise as a class leadership. They have to go through this experience.

There are no stages which are extending. The stages are very short. There has not been a world war, but there has been a war in the Middle East. The masses of Ethiopia did not take power, but they were obliged to go through a stage of a process which is very profound, and all that imperialism could do is to contain it. The revolutionary struggle is maintained. The class struggle, the revolutionary struggle, the struggles of the masses to overthrow imperialism increase. Throughout Europe, there is a profound, total crisis of capitalism which seeks an electoral solution, together with coups. If capitalism cannot launch the war, and is obliged to postpone constantly the stage towards the war, it is not because it wants to, but because the revolutionary struggles are imposing themselves, and it can launch the war at any moment. What it is necessary to see, is that the class and revolutionary struggle ad-

vances constantly and wins and influences the Communist Parties everywhere; in Greece, and Turkey, also. The class struggle continues and the revolution advances, progresses and influences the Communist Parties,

## "THE CLASS PEACE" AND THE PROGRAMMATIC ADVANCE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The agreement between Egypt and the Yanks, is an agreement which allows a penetration of the Yanks in the Middle East, but with a very great resistance, as was expressed in the declaration of Iraq which declared: "Only the alliance with the Socialist Countries will be able to allow the development of the Arab countries." There is now a crisis of the Arab countries in the form of a social, programmatic and historic character.

Kissinger makes an agreement with Sadat, and re-establishes diplomatic relations, but the vice president of Iraq makes an agreement with the USSR. There is a deepening of the struggle. There are no long stages. On the contrary, there are preparations for very short stages. While Sadat yields to imperialism, Iraq and Syria make arrangements with the USSR. The meeting of Gromyko with the Yanks was not to make a division of influence with the Yanks. It is an agreement, but it is not favourable to the imperialists. The agreement between the USSR and Iraq is that favourable to imperialism? What interests Gromyko is to intervene in a process in which they see that they alone can contain what has happened. Yankee imperialism does not want the Soviets to intervene, so that they do not create complications. And if the Soviets intervene and are going to persuade the Syrians to make agreements, it is because the Israelis have to yield. Syria cedes to the Soviets, not to the Yanks. It is not an agree-

ment favourable to imperialism. It is an agreement which the Soviets could not impede and they have intervened to maintain the authority of the Worker States in the Middle East.

It is a process which indicates a very favourable advance of the revolution. But it also indicates the attitude of Gromyko in Syria, which, even although it reflects the line of interpretation, is a blow against the Yanks.

It is certain that there is a negotiation for the Syrians to accept an agreement, but on what basis? In Syria there are 1,600 co-operative enterprises and 16 collective granaries of the government. The principal industries are nationalised: Gromyko has gone to support this and Iraq. This is a very great weight of the USSR in the Middle East, in two of the principal countries which it is going to influence powerfully, the rest of the Arab countries, including Egypt.

The turn to the right in Egypt, does not have a solid social and firm base. It is quite an important change: they are trying to return to private property, a number of very important enterprises. But they do not have the social base to sustain this. This is part of the policy of Kissinger, of the class arrangements with the Israelis. Capitalism arranges its peace in Egypt, which is a class peace. Meanwhile Israel makes a series of important concessions, Egypt has to bring sectors of the right out of prison, bring back all those

who were thrown out, and recognise the Yanks. They have made important concessions. They did not make concessions to Israel because there was no reason to, and there was no way to do it, but they made concessions to imperialism. It was a class war and a class agreement.

Hence the crisis in Egypt is the crisis in Israel. The crisis in Egypt is not expressed in the form of struggle of positions, because there is no democratic liberty to do so, but the liquidation of a layer is part of the crisis. There is a very solid base to dispute or at least to discuss to defend a more advanced programme towards socialist measures, although now the tendency dominates which seeks to animate capitalism partially,—not absolutely and in everything—by seeking to impel the Yanks so that they intervene with capital investment, with aid, hoping in this way, to achieve an equilibrium favourable to the Yanks. But it does not possess a social base, which can make it durable. It is a transitory relationship. Still they continue to be dependent on the arms of the Soviets; arms, munitions, and also, technicians. This is not being broken or overthrown.

The attitude of imperialism is not firm. They went to negotiate at all costs, to arrange these problems at the top, trying afterwards to arrange with the Soviets, more important relationships, and to win authority in the United States, to show themselves as "achieving world peace". In this sense, there is an agreement with the Soviets, but an agreement which cannot last. The Soviets show that they do not subject themselves to agreements, as Krushchev did. The visit of Gromyko to Syria is not an agreement with Kissinger. He went to impel the conscious resistance of the Syrians, who would not be able to resist the Soviets. Without the Soviets, Kissinger would dominate. The dam

which the Soviets have constructed in Syria, has an immense importance in irrigating very important areas and it can be a base afterwards of industrial developments. The So-

## 2nd March, 1974 J. POSADAS

viets are stimulating the resistance of the Syrians.

## THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE RESISTANCE OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE AGAINST THE ASSASSIN JUNTA

... On a world scale, imperialism is suffering defeat after defeat. It does not have any triumphs in Latin America, or even Argentina. Because, together with the repression in Cordoba, which has been resisted and where the government has had to weaken, to make an agreement, it has an external policy which is very important and very profound. The loan of 1200 million dollars to Cuba is very important.

They are resisting Peron politically, which is going to have very great consequences. It is going to have consequences throughout the rest of the Workers Movement in Latin America, because the left forces are going to see that it is possible to resist Peron without damaging his external policy. The external policy of Peron is a correct policy. We drew up a resolution as a leadership, in which we proposed to support the government of Obregon Cano and Lopez. At the same time, we appeal to Peron, showing the incoherence of his policy, which remains in the hands of the right. And at the same time we support the external policy of Peron of relations with the Workers States, with Cuba, with the intervention in Tlatelolco.

As important as this, is the process in Mexico, in Guiana, and in the Caribbean. There is a very important process towards the left, for the liberation of Dutch Guiana from imperialism. The policy of the Peruvians of sending a delegation to Cuba, is going to have a very important effect. In the whole world

process, no blow delivered by capitalism has succeeded in containing the development of the world revolutionary and workers movement. On the contrary, there is a progress of the Workers States in alliance with Latin America, Asia, and Africa.

The junta of assassins in Chile does not represent anything. They are there simply to assassinate. When they make all these plans—like the declaration of Pinochet in Brazil for an anti-communist front—it is because already there are reactions on the part of the bourgeoisie who see that they are on the road to catastrophe. They want to act like Brazil: to invite German, Japanese, North American capital to invest. But to invest in what? They have to create a market, they have to spend half of what they receive on armaments. Five hundred million dollars which the Yanks gave them went on arms. If they do not buy armaments and create new fields of investments, the investments they have already, will go.

In six months, they produced an economic catastrophe. They have assassinated 30,000, they have 30,000 political prisoners, and they do not control anything. This means an enormous resistance throughout the Chilean population, which is expressed in the fact that 75% do not go on military service. They assassinated Toha, and at his funeral, 3,000 people turned up confronting death, assassination and repression. And the assassin Junta was not able to repress openly. Just as they weren't able to at Neruda's funeral.

This is to say, that they meet a very great resistance. The resistance is increasing, and the struggle against them is going to continue. They are going to have to have an army which becomes smaller and smaller, or open the way to the participation of the Christian Democrats, the National Party, and the participation of the Trade Union bureaucrats. They have no perspective. The mentality of all these people is outside the norms of civilisation: outside civilisation! They are carrying out a task which the Yanks regard as a rehearsal. A rehearsal to apply a policy which would correspond to a situation a hundred times worse than fascism, because they would liquidate also sectors of the bourgeoisie. It is the preparation for the war.

The Chilean people has not allowed itself to be intimidated: Vietnam is there. The struggles of the masses of Italy and France are there. The struggles of the German proletariat are there. These idiots, these imbeciles, these assassins, cannot take this into account. They think that they can intimidate. But who do they intimidate? Pinochet has to go personally to Brazil, to weigh in for an anti-communist front; the scales did not move...

The whole of the world situation shows a very great advance of the relation of forces favourable to the world development of the revolution, to the development of the struggle of the masses against capitalism and the weakness of imperialism and imperialism. The most important factors which bring this out are: the triumph of the miners of Britain, the triumph of the Labour election and the general strike in Ethiopia. These are two aspects although not the only fundamental ones of this process. In a very limited, very distant form another aspect of these tri-

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## FOR A DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL LIFE IN THE FACTORIES

Inflation which has now reached the level of 16% a year in this country is one of the most acute symptoms of the total and continuous crisis of capitalism. It is the result of massive—and unproductive—expenditure which capitalism and imperialism is forced to make on arms, on repression and on the preparation for the war. British imperialism, for example, is spending millions of pounds on repression in Northern Ireland. The Tories attempted to answer the crisis of capitalism by limiting wages and trying to limit the trade union rights of the working class. Even then they expressed all the weakness and vacillation of the bourgeoisie in front of the struggle of the working class in the 'threshold' agreements which were designed to give a support to the most backward sectors of the trade union leadership. It was a manoeuvre which failed on every level; it did not prevent the struggle, of the miners and railwaymen, which resulted in the Tories being thrown out and now 8 million workers are receiving limited wage increases under the 'thresholds'. Large sectors of the working class, at BLMC, Plessey, and in the newspaper industry have taken hold of the residue of 'phase 3' and are using it to impose that all wages rise with the cost of living. It is not expressed programmatically

in this way but this is the significance of the present struggle.

The struggle to impose 'threshold' agreements before the end of the 'pay board' is the reaction of wide sectors of the working class to the crisis of capitalism. They are, demonstrably, not prepared to pay for the crisis of capitalism; on the contrary, it is a struggle to make capitalism pay for its own crisis. The leadership of the Trade Unions—Murray of the TUC included—without calling for, or organising demonstrations, strikes and mobilisations are, nevertheless, urging the Trade Unions to demand and impose threshold agreements.

It is a struggle which is going to become more generalised and, in its turn, to deepen the crisis of capitalism. BLMC, for example, are now refusing to pay the 'threshold' increases and are threatening redundancies.

It is a fact that BLMC has a shortage of capital, of investment and that sales are down by 25% with a resulting loss of £17 million in profits. This is an expression of the decomposition of the capitalist system. They can't afford to pay £40 million in wage increases but the refusal of BLMC and Plesseys to pay is, primarily, part of the offensive which the bourgeoisie are launching against the working class

and against the Labour Government. It is a political offensive which demands a political response from the workers' vanguard.

The working class, the workers' vanguard in the factories, have all the experience and the previous victories of UCS, of Fisher Bendix, and other factory occupations to base themselves upon, and the organisations in the factory, the Shop Steward Committees in particular. However it is still possible for capitalism to impose sackings and factory closures even when factories are occupied. This is the experience of Bryants Colour Printing; the works were occupied for a long period there, but the leadership never raised the level of the occupation beyond looking for a new owner. The result was that a new boss was found, and within two weeks it was closed by force—and the workers thrown out. The slogan for nationalisation of all companies about to be closed under workers' control and without compensation is therefore, absolutely necessary, as well as for the nationalisation under workers' control of the 20 firms which have been "named" for state intervention. The way the Conservatives have violently reacted to only a threat of opening the books of the 20 firms by the Labour government, is only a pale reflection of the violence capitalism will

use to defend its privileges and power. The Labour government will have to lean further on its workers' base in order to carry out measures of state control. If the system of private ownership—the basis of the economy today—cannot provide a human standard of life, for the workers, their families, the population, then down with private ownership! Already sectors of the Labour Party are sensitive to this.

Benn is not the direct representative of these sectors, but he exists and their search for a closer tie between the working class and the Labour Party when he addresses mass meetings of aircraft workers, the Nottinghamshire miners' Gala, or the AUEW Conference. It is absolutely necessary for the Labour Party to link itself with the working class, to mobilise it, organise it in the factory in its support so as to finish with the egotistic and inefficient system of private ownership.

We call on the Labour Party, on sectors like Benn, to make — starting from the issue of the threshold—a whole campaign in the factories, for discussions on the shop floor, during working hours and in the factory premises. This means a political life in the factory, of discussions, the elaboration of ideas and the means to do this. The existence of Shop

Steward Committees is already a gain of the working class which has given the possibility for factory occupations. But in order to answer the needs of the present struggle, the level of the present confrontation, the workers have to weigh directly from the factories in support of the Labour Party. This means discussions in each shop and section on a programme of demands for all the wages to rise with the cost of living, equal pay, workers' control, that all the profits of automation to go to the workers, for the application of the Labour Party programme. A whole political life in the factory. In other words, the elevation of the Shop Steward Committees to function as factory committees with delegates from each shop and department elected by the workers and subject to instant recall.

As Posadas has said in the text: "The function of the factory, area, and school councils in the struggle for power," 3.1.74, the meetings in each shop, the meetings of the factory committees, of the delegates, must have the significance of conferences—conferences in the factories—in which all the problems are discussed, the programme of all the wages to rise with the cost of living, work sharing without loss of pay,

for the profits of automation to go to the workers under the form of higher pay and less working hours, for the immediate formation of factory safety committees with the power to stop the factory or the mine at any moment' on the basis of lack of security, for workers control, for the application of the Labour Party programme, for the immediate nationalisation of all factories about to be closed under workers control and without compensation.

In refusing to pay the 'cost of living increases', BLMC and Plessey are breaking the law as it stands. The bourgeoisie have taken the struggle outside the parliamentary arena, outside bourgeois legality. This is determined, not simply by the programme of the Labour government, or the proposals by the trade unions leaderships for the nationalisations and limited forms of workers' control; but, by the fact that the working class, through factory occupations, shows that it is prepared for a struggle for power. It is the democratic political life in the factories, the construction of factory committees, which will provide the impulse for the development in the trade unions and in the Labour Party, of a leadership which is prepared for this struggle

the conflict between the CIA, Algeria, Syria and Iraq. After the war in the Middle East, it is the government of Washington which are divergences on how to conduct the preparation for the war, in support of Israel to contain the Arab revolution. Nothing more.

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## KISSINGER, MESSENGER OF DEATH, THE MIDDLE EAST WAR AND THE WORLD CLASS STRUGGLE

winning time while they see what they can do later. He has simply been a minister of Israel, he was appointed for this policy and for no other. The agreements over Vietnam were not his either, they were already arranged.

This policy which Kissinger makes is in the name of Yankee imperialism and for Yankee imperialism. It is a treaty which was made to win time, to renew, to change or to modify the war plans which the advance of the revolution imposes, which the struggle of the masses imposes and the progress of the Communist parties. This is the whole picture. Kissinger hasn't won any peace. What he has succeeded in doing, is simply the exchange of a small area of territory, so as to continue as before and to prepare new conditions for the launching of the war and counter revolution. There is a very profound crisis in Israel. The essential base of the crisis is the internal disagreements of the governing team of assassins, agents of imperialism in front of the resistance of the population, the increasing growth of the opposition in front of the war by the countries of the Middle East. Also sectors of the bourgeoisie understand that they are instruments in the hands of imperialism which before they accepted, but now they shows a very great advance of the relation of forces favourable to the world development of the revolution, to the development of the struggle of the masses against capitalism and the weakness of imperialism and imperialism. The most important factors which bring this out are: the triumph of the miners of Britain, the triumph of the Labour election and the general strike in Ethiopia. These are two aspects although not the only fundamental ones of this process. In a very limited, very distant form another aspect of these tri-

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instruments of imperialism. This is united with the intervention of the Soviets in the Middle East.

At the same time now, it's becoming worse for the Yanks, because the Soviets intervene. The Soviets are in Libya, in Algeria, in Iraq, in Syria. The position of the Yanks is in much more danger than before. If they have succeeded in attaining a certain influence in Egypt, they have not succeeded in dominating it. There is a pressure of the nationalist layers who are not in agreement with deals with the Yanks. Hence, there is a constant resistance and they do not break with the Soviets. The nature of the process, prevents the Yanks achieving at the same time, the support of the Egyptians and the Israelis, because this clashes with the interest of the masses who see in Israel a counter revolutionary movement. The nationalist petit bourgeoisie, characterise it in this way. On the other hand, the Egyptian bourgeoisie seeks an agreement with Israel to prevent the revolution. But in doing this, there is a great pressure of the petit bourgeois masses of the proletariat and of the peasantry, who are against the agreement or the cessation of the war against Israel because they see that Israel is an imperialist base. Hence, revolutionary positions are developing in Egypt, in Iraq, in Libya and Algeria, and they advance in a very powerful form. This is only a transitory arrangement to win territory for imperialism.

The Soviet have won much territory, much authority and even diplomatically, there is a very great advance of the Workers States in its connections and relations with the countries of the Middle East. They have firm and solid bases in Libya, Algeria, Syria and Iraq. After the war in the Middle East, it is the Soviet Workers State which has advanced. There is a very great progress in the authority of the Workers State which forms part of the structure of the final settlement of accounts. The Soviet bureaucracy has made concessions, has allowed a progress of the counter revolution but it has not made a policy favourable to the counter revolution. It is the limitation of Soviet policy which prevents it having more effect. It is not a policy antagonistic to the needs of the revolution. Soviet policy is on the line of necessity although not completely. It allows them an agreement with the Yanks, and a certain delay and limitation in the progress of the struggle of the masses in the Middle East. This is convenient to the Yanks because they can't do anything else. But as opposed to a past period, when the Soviet bureaucracy made treaties at the expense of the revolution, today the Soviet do not make agreements at the cost of the revolution. They are supporting the development of the revolution in the Middle East. This is an influence which neither the Yanks nor any capitalist forces can eliminate. It is a great progress in the world relations of forces favourable to the world development of the revolution.

Success does not belong to Kissinger. Success even in a modest way has been achieved by Soviet diplomacy

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## KISSINGER, MESSENGER OF DEATH.

macy which has obtained solid links in the Middle East. The agreement and the links which the Soviet Workers State has established with Libya, Algeria, Iraq and Syria are infinitely more important than anything Kissinger has obtained. He has secured a truce with a layer of the Egyptian bourgeoisie and nothing more. It can be broken at any moment and he has not been able to delay the nationalist progress in Egypt which would be the fundamental interest of Yankee imperialism. Meanwhile, the policy of the Soviets, based on support and agreement with the revolutionary states and the nationalist movements, has achieved very profound links, alliances, agreements and projects in common. This includes Libya, Syria and Iraq and the Soviets in part have not been dislodged from Egypt. The world revolution of forces are favourable in every aspect to the Workers States. Even at the cost of not having progressed more, Soviet policy is not one of betrayal or passivity, but of a cautious progress in alliance with the revolutionary states, with the countries of the Middle East. This is a part of the progress of partial regeneration.

The Communist Parties of the Workers States, particularly of the Soviet Union and China, must appeal for the mobilisation of the masses with the object of creating organs of control. It is necessary to appeal to the Egyptian masses to intervene, to weigh, to decide on the policy of Egypt, to oppose the concessions to Yankee imperialism, to make a plan of production, of agrarian reform, of distribution of the land, of nationalisations. They must oppose every denationalisation which they are trying to organise in Egypt: on the contrary they must maintain and accentuate nationalisations. It is necessary to develop organs of workers control, factory and peasant councils. Democratic liberties must be extended, breaking the conception and the functioning of the Socialist Union of Egypt, which is a protectionist party which prevents the development of democracy, and which represses. It is necessary to appeal against repression and for full democratic liberties.

At the same time it is necessary to take into account that the Soviet Workers State is strengthening the ties and relations with the most advanced countries of the Middle East, Egypt, Libya and Iraq. This is going to influence very powerfully the revolution in the Middle East. It is necessary to appeal to the Communist Parties, for a front with these countries with an anti-imperialism and anti-capitalist programme. It is necessary to appeal to prepare the war to expel the Israelis maintaining self determination for Israel; to appeal that Israel unites with the Arab countries in a federation with the right to self-determination; to appeal for a programme and a plan of industrialisation of all Arab countries based on nationalisation and planning with workers' control; to appeal to the Communist Parties and to the World Communist Movement for support to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist campaign to expel imperialism from the Middle East and to overthrow capitalism which is making the war.

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umphs is the strike in Germany, the triumph of the strike of the German public employees, in which 90 of the police voted for the strike. The vote for the general strike of 90% of the police had an immense echo within Germany! And the proof is the panic of the right of the SPD which voted for the liberals in Hamburg. The loss of votes of the socialist party in Germany is not a retreat of the working class but a question of the right going over to the other side. It is a cleansing made by means of the elections. It is not a retreat of the socialist party or an advance of the bourgeoisie. They are the votes of the bourgeoisie who were in the socialist party and pass over to the bourgeoisie. The strikes continue even more than before in Germany, and the triumph of the workers continues throughout Germany with successes in better conditions of work and better human conditions which are part of the achievements which are advancing throughout the world communist movement.

At the same time this vote affirmed the left which has influenced and is going to influence the liberal youth which is to the left. There is a left in the Liberal party which is quite important. The liberals are not a strictly bourgeois wing. They are of bourgeois origin, bourgeois composition, but the youth of the movement and some of the liberals themselves transcend their origin and go over to the anti-capitalist side. It is not only a phenomenon of Germany; in Britain also this exists. The liberal youth of Britain are on the left and opposed the agreements which Thorpe made with Heath.

This crisis of capitalism in Europe is very important, one of its expressions is the attitude of French imperialism which to defend itself has to confront the competition of the Yanks, although it is not against them.

In France, the post-Pompidou solution is being prepared. Two candidates made their appearance, Giscard d'Estaing and Chaban Delmas. Chaban Delmas represents "Gaullism of the left". They are preparing a sector of the left within the bourgeois sector which means making a policy of a certain independence of the Yanks to be able to develop capitalism. But now the conditions of de Gaulle no longer exist.

They are seeking how to confront the pressure, the movement, the growth in the authority of the proletariat. This has to be taken into account.

French capitalism in order to save itself has to compete with the Yanks and also internally, competition increases. It feels that internally the layers of the petit bourgeois population are won by the Popular Union, to solutions which are not capitalist. The policy of French imperialism tends to contain this, but also prepares for blows against the masses. The whole of European capitalism sees the coup as a possible solution. But all the proofs made show that to organise coups they have to act as in Chile. It is in their mind to do this.

Italian capitalism, German capitalism, French capitalism, British capitalism seek to launch coups. If they do not launch them, it is because the masses have defeated them but they have not abandoned such attempts. Hence it is very important to maintain caution, the foresight that capitalism seeks to launch coups throughout Europe and at any moment. Britain, Germany,

France, Belgium, Italy are all in crisis at the same moment. And none can give a solution to the right. All were defeated. They do

### THE CRISIS OF THE LEADERSHIP AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEFT IN THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES

All this process favours and develops in a very eloquent form, the left tendencies in the Communist parties, in the Workers States. In the Workers States, it is much slower. It's the same bureaucrats who have to proceed to make changes or give way to new layers who want to advance. On the other hand in the Communist parties, it can have a much greater influence. The Italian Communist Party had to yield to the general strike of the 27th February in Italy, because if it did not, they would make it without them. The leaderships of the trade unions thought that they would not make the government fall, but it fell. The vanguard sees this. It's been the same in the rest of the world. The vanguard sees that it has been the force which decided in Britain, that it would not be intimidated and would support itself on the general strike of the miners to weigh and force Wilson to change. The appointment of the ministers of the left by Wilson is at the same time as a concession to the trade unions and the left and also a measure to contain. But this is not the epoch for containing. He wants to contain but the relation of world forces do not favour any such policy. On the contrary, they are going to impel the British masses, who feel very firm, including the liberal masses, the liberal sector which is to the left and close to the Labour Party. It is going to stimulate the left tendency in the Labour Party.

In the Communist parties they are discussing that it is necessary to advance to power. Even in an inter-penetrative way, the Communist parties tend to advance to power. The socialists also. All the process leads to the conclusions and inclinations towards the left, even without a programmatic formulation and organisation. There is a left development which is not organis and dif-

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## editorial

the unions partially representing the will of the proletariat to lead society. But this only underlines the point that the intervention towards society cannot be conducted either in the Labour Party or the unions on the basis simply of discussions at the top with the issue of documents and the speeches by well known figures of the left. The bourgeoisie are going to mobilise, it is necessary that the proletariat is mobilised to give mass support to the programmes of nationalisations, transport planning etc, put forward by the mass organisations.

The campaign over nationalisations has to be linked to the actual struggles of the workers, taken directly into the factories, linking nationalisations firmly to workers' control and without compensation, intervening in the strikes at Plessey, in the struggle against unemployment in the car industry. At the same time it is impossible to allow capitalism to unload its crisis on the masses via inflation—there must be a sliding scale of wages and hours. The fight over threshold agreements is a reflection of this need. The struggle for nationalisations has to be waged here. If the right wing Labour voters abandon the party

not accept defeat, they have to put up with it, because they do not have any other solution; they do not have material means; organisational means to oppose, but they are preparing military blows. But also the military blows are condemned to defeat.

fuse, it has no centre or leadership, above all, because in the Communist parties the struggle of tendencies has never been allowed.

The right was always a tendency and functioned as a tendency organically. It is the left which does not function as a tendency, not because it was impeded but simply because it was never organised as a tendency. It is the first time that it has had to organise itself and its positions are more or less near to the party but not the same. But the right knows what it wants and it wants a progress of the right. Now there cannot be any right in the Communist Party. It cannot exist, it is completely displaced. There can be sectors of the right but they cannot appear or triumph. It exists but it cannot appear and weigh as before.

In this stage of history, the development of the struggle of the masses of the capacity, the experience of the masses and the verification that Communism is possible, elevates, animates, gives security to layers of the Communist Party and its base, together with the proletariat, with the world proletarian vanguard, with the masses of the world, with the development of the struggles for a revolutionary leadership. It is a stage of intensification of the total crisis of capitalism, of the advance of partial regeneration, in which all the process, world and national, goes towards the left. The Solzhenitsen case, the meeting of the Communist Parties in Brussels, the discussion in the world communist movement, the cleansing in the Workers States, the delegation of the Italian Communist Party to Hanoi, the criticism of the CPSU of the Spanish Communist Party, the criticisms within the Chinese Communist Party, the attitude in relation to Yankee imperialism, the internal discussions in the CPSU and the resistance to a policy of agreement with the Yankees or to

in an election, a fighting programme could easily substitute by winning over the mass of the petit bourgeoisie and the many sectors who ignore elections, because they see that the major decisions are taken in capitalist society irrespective of elections.

The discussion over nationalisation develops against the deepening world crisis of the capitalist system which cannot expand production or develop the world economy and is completely submitted to the preparations for the war against the Workers States and the world revolution. Within Europe alone economic collapse has practically overtaken Italian capitalism, whilst in France Giscard d'Estaing can only offer more austerity—that is more for the workers. The masses have shown in all their actions they will not tolerate capitalism a minute more than they have to. The limitations do not lie with the masses but with the existing leaderships and the absence of the mass organs, factory and workers districts committees which as organs of dual power allow the masses to intervene and give their opinions without obstruction.

The masses see constantly before them the superiority of the Workers States which show a constant progress in the economy, in planning, in the constant improvement in the standard of life and at the same

investments with the Yanks and the Japanese in the Soviet Union, all confirm the advance of the internal discussion and the development of the left wings.

It is not only the maturing of the masses and of the Communist Parties, but the structure of the economy, the development, social, scientific, technical, of all the Workers States, which demands for its development, continuity and expansion, the power of intelligence and reason which are the forms of Soviet democracy.

Economically the Workers State shows itself to be superior and capitalism is in a complete crisis and cannot expand. The forms which Yankee imperialism assumes today are to dominate the world to be able to survive. And this clashes with the rest of capitalism in competition with the capitalist sphere and also it clashes in an antagonistic form with the struggle of the masses and the Workers States.

There is no condition which allows the foresight to project the persistence, the continuity of the capitalist system and the continuity of the Soviet bureaucracy. Capitalism is going towards a process of disintegration and prepares the atomic war to try to deliver the last blow and is defeated. In the Workers States, the masses, the development of the economy, the development of intelligence and reason, the development of the proletarian vanguard, influences the Communist parties and develops leaders and tendencies as a whole with the vanguard which are the forces which are going to impel the revolution, to reinforce the Workers States. They are bureaucratic structures which it is necessary to break and this costs something. They are structures which dominate the economy, justice, the army, the trade unions, the life of the nation, of the countries, of the Workers States. It is necessary to break this structure. This requires time and a process of crisis in the Communist parties, of discussing perspectives, and of advancing to elevate the confidence, the security and in consequence to advance in the formulation of a correct policy and programme. This is the stage in which we are living.

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time, there is a social progress in the Workers States with the elimination of the Solzhenitsins and the Furtsevas and now in China the attack on all the rightest sectors behind Chou en Lai is advancing rapidly. It is with this comprehensive social vision that the struggle over nationalisation has to be waged, using boldly all the experience of the Workers States. What countries have inflation, who has unemployment, whose standard of life is falling? The capitalist countries. What countries constantly advance in output, science, technology without all the lunacy of capitalist competition, and despite bureaucratic mismanagement? The Workers States. Just compare India with China. The immense superiority of the latter economically and socially is evident. Capitalism has finally led to Chile which has endured a bloodbath and economic ruin caused by the same imbeciles who used to criticise the Allende regime for "inefficiency". An aggressive class against class campaign in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, will find a tremendous echo in the working class but this has to be linked without any electoralist prevarications with the open appeals for the organs of dual power, workers' control in the factories and a campaign for trade union rights and unhampered right of discussion in the armed forces and the police.

# HISTORIC EFFECTS AND LEVELS OF THE PARTIAL REGENERATION IN THE YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT AND PARTY

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## NATIONALISATIONS AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE PREPARATION OF THE COUP DEMAND MASS COMMITTEES & MOBILISATIONS!

The Nixon Breznev negotiations are a desperate initiative of a sector of Yankee imperialism to gain time before the final encounter, the inevitable atomic war. They have been preceded by the brutal struggle in the Middle East where all the assassin mentality of imperialism in massacre after massacre perpetrated by the Zionist stooges of Yankee imperialism, shows itself, but where also the ties between the Workers States and the Revolutionary States determine the process. Yankee imperialism prepares for war in the worst conditions and this is true of the bourgeoisie as a whole in their internal and external policies. A series of confrontations are developing in Europe which are calling into question the entire capitalist system. In Italy not only does the economy have to be bailed out by juggling with gold but politically the principal party of the bourgeoisie, the Christian democracy, enters into a phase of disintegration with the removal of left members from the CD executive, all of which tends to destroy the capacity of capitalism to maintain links with sectors of the urban petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry and working class not convinced by the Communist Party and Socialist Party. In this sense Italy, in a more obvious way exemplifies the total putrefaction of capitalism, its irremediable and complete crisis. But the underlying process is the same throughout Europe, one in which the bourgeoisie cannot conciliate with the workers movement as a whole and in which their principle hope for the future, the European Common Market, is collapsing in ruins and recrimination. British capitalism has continued its economic decline in the Common Market. Its productive and investment capacity stagnates, the capitalist world drifts into recession and chaos made more intolerable to the masses who see clearly another perspective—nationalised property and planning the Workers States. No theoretician or economist of capitalism can provide a perspective—only feeble adjustments and generalised scepticism. No leaders or theoreticians of any force or authority are produced by capitalism at this stage. They cannot even pretend to a John Stuart Mill. Hence their profound internal disagreements, pessimistic gloom and preparation to end parliamentary

democracy, which no longer serves their interests.

They cannot discuss, they have no answer to Marxism, and hence their only response can be violence and intimidation. This is the way British capitalism thinks. All its masks have fallen. All its ideologists of any note are dead, all it has left are the limitations of the workers' leaderships and a military apparatus. And the latter for all its sinister capacities is semi-demoralised and deprived of its once imperialist authority.

It is not by chance that at the very moment when the discussion on nationalisations begins to develop and polarise still further the classes that the military, scarcely bothering to conceal their purposes, make a display of strength at Heathrow. In this they try to intimidate. In the most recent demonstration a student was killed, as part of the same policy. But this is not going to deter the British working class who in all their actions irrespective of the leaderships who do not represent their will or decision show they want socialism whether it is in the miners' charter or the rejection of social compacts or the immense pressure for nationalisations. The Liberal proposal for a coalition of themselves and the Tories has deepened the crisis in the Liberal Party and further disintegrated the forces of capitalism because the base of the Liberal forces are against capitalism. The Tories totally devoid of a programme to mobilise support are obliged to talk in terms of "national" governments. Ultimately the only national government suitable to the bourgeoisie is a military one. All their historic impotence is clear in these discussions. The right wing in the Labour Party even with its Levers and Healy cannot conduct a struggle with any force against nationalisations—even Healy is obliged to speak of the crisis of capitalism and the need for a massive programme of public ownership. The general crisis of the CBI is the crisis of disunity of the capitalist class in front of the workers and the conflicting interests of big monopolies, small and medium capitalism.

In view of the depth of the crisis of capitalism, how must the forces of the left in the Labour Party intervene in this stage? What is the balance of interventions so far?

The exposure of capitalism has been conducted quite effectively. The way in which capitalism regularly extracts vast sums from the taxation of the masses to maintain its system of exploitation, because long ago it lost its own capacity to develop the economy, has been extensively publicised for the first time. The collapse of Court Line and its nationalisation is hardly an advertisement for the dynamism of capitalism. The capitalists find it impossible to find any logical arguments as to why they should not be expropriated. Their reaction in front of discussion about taking over the biggest monopolies is to become hysterical and they have to base themselves on trying to frighten the petit bourgeoisie with stories of loss of individuality and the "chaos" that will ensue if the Socialists "take over". In this situation immensely favourable to the forces of Socialism and immensely unfavourable to capitalism, the forces of the left have to be audacious, much more audacious than they have been until now (a point referred to by McGahey at the Scottish Miners Conference). To do otherwise is to give capitalism a time and opportunity which objectively it does not possess.

It is particularly necessary to develop a whole series of didactic campaigns throughout the country to link the struggle over nationalisations with the struggle against NATO and against the Polaris bases. The uproar over the atomic tests in parliament is again a distant reflection of the decision of the proletariat to finish with the economy and the military preparations of imperialism. This discussion is as fundamental as that of nationalisations and has to be linked to it. The struggle for nationalisations means the end of the capitalist economy, both its military and economic objectives. British capitalism in NATO is part of the forces against the Workers States and the advance of the world socialist revolution. This discussion also has to be taken into the factories, otherwise the discussion over the anti-capitalist programme is limited, incomplete, and the total vision of the world process does not weigh sufficiently. The replanning of the economy for Socialism demands the end of the military budget submitted to the interests of NATO, and the planning of the

world counter-revolutionary war led by Yankee imperialism.

Benn has made an appeal to the population in the ruined sectors of the country, ie parts of Wales, Scotland and the Northeast, to support the state planning of investment in those areas. This is good but how is this support to be given, how organised? how are these sectors to weigh? Surely the best way to develop the left in the Labour Party is to rally support with mass meetings in the workers' centres, particularly the key sectors of the class, the main engineering factories, the dockers, the steel workers, and in this also weighing in the trade unions, the base of the Labour Party.

It is urgent that the experience of Chile is brought into the discussion in the factories, in parliament, and throughout the Labour Party. It is absurd that the left in the Labour Party do not raise this issue of Heathrow. Totally absurd. The British Army is just as brutal and its top echelons are just as devoted to private interests as the thickheads in the Chilean Junta who cannot see beyond the end of their guns, and whose conspicuous failure to find a solution for capitalism confirms that capitalism cannot win by coercion in this stage of history. The head of the police talks about destroying the protection

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### The MINER'S CHARTER: A STEP TOWARDS A WORKER'S PLAN OF PRODUCTION!

It is a measure of both the advance of sectors in the Labour Party and the crisis of leadership in the Labour Party and Government that whilst Tony Benn is proposing a programme of investment for regional, industrial development—linked to a programme of nationalisation—the government is also proposing the creation of 'parliaments' in Scotland and Wales. 'Parliaments which are bourgeois in their conception and which would not, even on this basis, have any economic or legislative power. The idea of 'devolution', the attempt to find local solutions has some basis in the reality of the traditions, customs and language of the 'regions' and, in particular Wales and Scotland. The votes gained by the nationalists in the last elections were, in the main, from petit bourgeois sectors which did not, at that moment, see in the leadership and electoral programme of the Labour Party the weight of the proletariat but which reject capitalism. However the real drive for 'devolution' comes from the local bourgeoisie who look to their own interests and this is also another expression of the decomposition of capitalism and the breaking-up of the centralisation of the bourgeoisie. However the idea of 'devolution' is completely alien to the working class which does not launch 'Welsh' or 'Scottish' strikes and mobilisations.

The Miners Charter produced by the Scottish Area of the NUM, for example, is not a programme for Scottish miners, or for the development of the coal industry in Scotland; it is a programme which shows clearly the character of the working class. The Miners Charter is a programme for the miners and the development of the mining industry nationally.

In his intervention at Buxton recently on regional development, Benn made appeal to the people of Wales, Scotland and the North to take part in a debate on how to develop the regions. This shows that Benn is seeking a base of support for the implementation of a programme for the development of the regions which the setting-up of a national enterprise board and, correct as it may be, for more investment in the regions does not answer. The Miners Charter shows very clearly where this base of support is and that the working class is preparing their own programme, an anti-capitalist programme and the means to impose it. At the centre of the Miners Charter is the question of workers' control of the mining industry because this is what the demand for an elected workers safety representative—with power to over-ride the management—means; it poses the question, what is the role of management.

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# Historic effects and levels of the partial regeneration in the Yugoslav Government and Communist party

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The congress of the Yugoslav Communist League, following the line of previous discussions, shows a very great, very accentuated progress of the Partial Regeneration in the Workers States. The essential line of the Congress, is an impulse to the re-annihilation of the Yugoslav Workers State in Communism. It raises a series of points in support of Communist relations. It is not a complete regeneration, but it opens the way in this direction.

The resolutions of the Congress in some points are fundamental for the Partial Regeneration of the Workers States. It is necessary to take them as an example and as a base, which is going to influence the rest of the Workers States. They cannot arise in a peculiar or particular form only in Yugoslavia, if there does not exist a general process. It is necessary to take into account that Yugoslavia rebelled against Stalin, confronted Stalin and all the other Workers States, and broke away. On the other hand, now, instead of breaking away, it goes towards the Workers States. In the earlier period, it could resist the isolation through the world process of the revolution, and through the maturing of the Communist vanguard, which never accepted the destruction of Yugoslavia. The world advance of the revolution, allowed it points of support and the authority of the Yugoslav was — and is — immense. The process of degeneration was very great and it almost reached the point of return to capitalism. But the counter revolution was contained some years ago. Now, the development of programmatic decisions is reanimated that transform the previous conditions and favour a revolutionary and democratic advance in the functioning of the Yugoslav Communist League, and of the Yugoslav Workers State.

It is necessary to recall the struggle of the students and the workers who mobilised against the bureaucrats, the technocrats, the arrogant officials, the clique of the party; against the absence of democracy in the party and self-management; against arrogance in distribution, against private enrichment, the bourgeois policy. A sector of workers and students pushed forward all this activity. They were insulted, vilified, castigated, expelled from the party, attacked and accused of being counter revolutionaries. The proletarian vanguard was not intimidated by these accusations, and continued their task of regenerating the Yugoslav Communist Party. The struggle of the proletarian vanguard and the students was enormous. They ended up throwing administrators out of the windows, and putting the portrait of Tito as a guerrilla by the side of Marx saying: "Tito, this is how we want you". The heroism of the Yugoslav proletarian vanguard and of the students, with a very great sector of intellectuals supported by the old leaders of the party, has a point of support in the world advance of the revolution. They were successful even if not completely, and they had a very great success after an internal crisis of re-composition, rectification, reorganisation, of the Yugoslav Communist League. The nationalist bourgeois tendency was expelled, the careerist, the technocrats who planned for themselves,

who robbed for themselves, who had annulled the party, who made of self-management a system where only the workers worked, who had broken the Federation. In place of the Federation, each country worked on its own account, and they made a division between poor and rich countries. The conditions were developing, accentuating and being created — they were indeed mature for the counter revolution, to return to capitalism.

This work of the workers which lasted 5 years, had revolutionary consequences. Today, we have arrived at this congress. This shows the very rich and very lively experience. The proletarian vanguard was the essential base for the support of this reform, of this return in general principle to marxism. It is a return to marxism. It is not completely a return to the essential principles of marxism, but it is quite a marked return to the principles of marxism. It opens the road for the return to complete marxism. It is a process of partial regeneration, very accentuated in its essential aspects. It is not complete, but it is on this road. It is necessary to take

## The Workers State is a historic necessity

It means that when the structure of the Workers States is correct, it has the capacity to generate the force to sustain it. This is the first principle. And the second, is that the Workers State is a historic necessity. Whoever wants to destroy it has to show that there is something superior. It is not possible to go back. All those who believed, who dreamed that capitalism could support itself on Yugoslavia and now in China, Yugoslavia is a decisive example which disintegrates and disorganises the aspirations of imperialism to want to base itself on a Workers State, to go back. Yugoslavia showed that even being the Workers State closest to capitalism, a small base and the existence of the proletarian nucleus was sufficient to maintain Yugoslavia in the camp of the Workers State.

The reforms which they have just made, are not motivated only by the existence of the Yugoslav Workers State. It is the influence of the world proletariat, the world struggle of the proletariat, the 14 Workers States, the 16 Revolutionary States, the development of the revolution in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the development of the struggles of the proletariat in Europe, the very great progress of the Communist and Socialist movement throughout the world, the progress of the unity of the workers movement through the Popular Union, the progress and the experience of Chile. This is another boomerang. Chile did not disintegrate the regeneration of Yugoslavia, but affirmed it. All the world advance of the revolution, the triumph of Vietnam, the advance of the struggle of the world proletariat which is influencing North America, it is the decrepitude of capitalism, the corruption, the disintegration of the capitalist system; everything as a whole has worked to support the struggle of a small proletarian nucleus, and of the Party in Yugoslavia and has sustained its strength, sustaining the Workers

into account that there is a very great divergence in the Workers States. There is not a principle, a concrete experience, which can act as a basis of support as was the Russian Revolution in 1917. an example to other revolutions. Here, it is not the case. The Soviet bureaucracy broke the centralised experience of the Soviet Workers State, gave a false, individual image. Unities which come together instead of a centre which divides itself to be able to function better as is the unification of the Workers States. The Workers States, among them Yugoslavia, did not have examples to follow. Stalin wanted to impose himself arrogantly, by force, but instead of provoking ruin and destruction, the Yugoslav Workers State succeeded in maintaining itself. In spite of the fact that a bureaucracy was generated, the same as that of Stalin, who, in defence of his interest sought an alliance with capitalism, this small proletarian nucleus, this small proletarian weight, the revolutionary students and intellectuals of the party, were sufficient to win, to return to the development of the Workers State.

State. It is the same effort which the Soviet proletariat made in 1941, when it defended Stalingrad and Moscow. The world forces of the revolution, inspired them, prevented capitalism from concentrating, increased competition, the internal difficulties and contradictions in capitalism, and allowed as a consequence the proletariat to utilise more force, to coordinate on a world wide scale its forces, to smash capitalism. Not in the form of a coordination, planned by a leadership, but with a class struggle, and the proletariat maintained itself unalterable and intransigent.

It is on the basis of all this that the Yugoslav Communist Party has been able to take these resolutions. At the same time, they provide fundamental conclusions for the development of the Workers States towards socialism. Because the fundamental aspects which Stalin had perverted which, even in a simplified and less obvious form, still exist in the Workers States, including the Soviet Union, as the market economy. This congress has resolved not to subject itself any more to the empiricism of the market, but on the contrary to control and dominate it by submitting it to a plan. It declared against the separation of the proletariat as the ruling class: to be not only a proletarian state, but led by the proletariat, to make the workers participate in the leadership, so they participate more in the management of the factories. To make a programme in which it is the workers who manage not the intellectuals and the technocrats. To liquidate all the technocrats, and throw them out of their management positions! And the only ones who can remain are those who can show that they are Communists and that they struggle for Communism. To eliminate all the bureaucratic apparatus. Undoubtedly these are the resolutions which have to be fulfilled and developed, but above all, to develop the activity to elim-

inate the weight of the technocrats. Still they do not speak of eliminating the technocrats but the influence of the technocrats. Tomorrow they will have to eliminate them also, because they are unnecessary. To plan the economy, there is no need of technocrats.

## The Party is superior to the State:

The Congress declared for the elimination of personal gain, for the liquidation of the technocrats, the re-incorporation of the proletariat as the ruling class and its effective function in the trade unions, in the Party, and the functioning of the Party, and not the state, as the force which determines the policy. The State implied and implies the representation of bureaucratic interests of the republics. On the other hand they are returning to their original base. The party plans and determines and the state applies. The party is superior to the state. It is an immense progress of the revolution.

The Congress resolved also to struggle for and to support every struggle in the world against capitalist oppression, against imperialism. (They did not say against capitalism but it is the same.) Against the multi-national corporations; to accentuate the links with all the Socialist countries of the world, which is different from what they were doing before; to stimulate the countries of the so-called third world to struggle for the socialist economy, and to declare that to progress these countries have to take a socialist road.

## Yugoslavia has the historic force to regenerate

This partial Regeneration is very deep. It passes through Yugoslavia, because this is one of the weakest links of the bureaucratic camp. Before, it was Czechoslovakia in an aspect; in which they wanted to return to capitalism and they did not have the strength. Here, they wanted to return to capitalism and had a party which regenerated itself. In Czechoslovakia, this is not so. Soviet troops still have to be there. In Yugoslavia there are no troops; there, the party regenerates and returns in general principle to the sources of Marxism. It has to develop them, but it returns to the general principles of Marxism which will have an immense echo tomorrow. Hence, our salutes to the Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, as a very great event for the development of the struggle for the conscious Partial Regeneration. What has just happened in Yugoslavia is a step towards the conscious Partial Regeneration. They are programmatic reorganisations from the beginning which will have an immense effect favourable to the development of the economy, the role of the proletariat, Soviet democracy, and the impetuous development of the links of Yugoslavia with the Workers States and with the countries of the so-called third world. At the same time it poses objections with regard to the independence of the Workers States in relation to each other, that is, "each one has its own character". It is a natural consequence, as with all

the other Workers States. At the same time, it poses other principles, one of the most fundamental and essential for the development of the Workers States: it poses unconditional support to all the struggles against imperialism, and unity with the countries of the so-called third world. They return to the teaching of Marxism in the schools to the compulsory teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin. They return in general to the principles of Communism, which, although they have not applied it constantly, develops on these lines. Even self-management: they advance in the problem of self-management, giving to it a much more collective and non-individual character. They give a greater weight to the workers so that they can decide on self-management, on distribution, on prices, on work, on quality. They are depriving self-management of its administrative bureaucratic aspects which allow the technocrats to appropriate the benefits of collectivised and centralised production.

It is the party that was planned and it is the workers who must plan and manage. The technocrat does not plan the economy as a whole but manages production in one or other aspect. The workers can do this.

All these conclusions were proposed in two texts on Yugoslavia written four years ago, including the forms similar to that which are now adopted at the Congress. Some of them are in the texts of Trotsky, but not in this precise form.

It is an immense progress in the Yugoslav Communist Party. Undoubtedly, it is a resolution which it is necessary to fulfill. It does not mean that it is already achieved, but it is necessary to do it. But it also means that there has been a reaction. And this reaction marks a base of reaction of world forces favourable to the development of the world revolution, and to Trotskyism and Posadism. If not, this would not happen in Yugoslavia. It is not a chance event in Yugoslavia, but it is a symptom. It is a thermometer which indicates the level which the Partial Regeneration has reached. Besides in Yugoslavia there has been a series of previous conditions, among them the work and origin of Tito, his historic security which allowed him, even reaching the level of the break, not to break, but to assimilate and understand the errors so that afterwards, he could overcome them, when he succeeded or achieved understanding.

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All this is an enormous impulse to the Workers States. Yugoslavia has a very great authority in the Workers States, because it resisted and defeated Stalin. All this authority confirms that having resisted the pressure of Stalin, without being absorbed by his bureaucratic apparatus, they would attain these consequences and these results. It will have immense consequences favourable to the development of the political revolution. This is a form

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of the political revolution. It shows our just and correct conception. The more the process of the revolution advances, it renders less cruel, eases the process of the political revolution.

Partial Regeneration is the form in which, in general, the process of the political revolution takes place. All these changes that they have made to advance in the political revolution, eliminates the bureaucratic power. They still do not suppress the bureaucratic functioning which allows norms like self-management. Still it allows norms in which the life of the masses is not determined in a strictly Soviet form. But it is an immense progress which feels the basis to weigh and influence in the other Workers States. Yugoslavia could not have advanced in these lines had it not received the impulse, the relations, the conditions of the other Workers States. If in the other Workers States the conditions of the time of Stalin existed, Yugoslavia would not have been able to do this. When they do it, in full preparation of imperialism for the war, it is because the conditions for Partial Regeneration are mature; because the economy, science, technology, the development of Soviet society demand such conclusions.

Within the conclusions and corrections of the Yugoslav Communist Party, there is the need to elevate the role of the working class, of the dictatorships of the proletariat. To do it today means to impel the Workers State to eliminate the workers' aristocracy, the technocrats, the bureaucracy, to eliminate, and to give way to the working class. The reconstruction and the corrections are still not complete between the process of the political revolution, which takes the form of the Partial Regeneration and the IV International.

We salute with all our Communist joy this progress in Yugoslavia, which even if, in part, limited, develops the forces and the conditions for a powerful development for the conscious regeneration in a later stage of history.

The Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party marks an unequal progress. It is a congress that shows that the conditions for the Partial Regeneration advances in a constantly elevating form and progresses without interruption. It has a content, a programmatic form, the weight of a party which shows a resistance in front of Stalinism, in front of imperialism, and showed the firmness of a small nucleus. When it achieves such a measure, it is a proof that all the unity of the Workers States forms part of the centralisation which Yugoslavia shows. All the requisites which are necessary for this advance in Yugoslavia exist in the Workers States. Otherwise, it would not happen. It is the weakest link of the bureaucratic chain. It shows at the same time that all the Workers States will have to discuss today or tomorrow, the rectification of the line of the liberal opening, for a line of centralisation of more intervention by the Party by the trade unions and more Soviets democratic rights. Yugoslavia has shown this. And expresses a necessity which is felt throughout the

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# The relationship with children and the unity of humanity

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The world is constructed in the education of each child. One must not speak to the child to impose but persuasively, so that he may develop the ability to reason. Afterwards he will do it on his own account. Otherwise the child obeys and a series of orders develop in the mind which is the basis of fear. If he is convinced by means of persuasion, of explanation, he develops logically.

The relation with objects, with parents, has to be logical. If a logical relation and structure is established with things, the child finds out what is repudiated, what must not be done, what is not necessary. The child does not have an organised experience, he has to live it. If he does not reason, he develops a bellicose attitude, a contradictory attitude with objects.

The mother has to begin by being logical, always to be logical. Then there is no conflict. And a woman without being a mother or a man without being a father, all in the future will feel themselves to be fathers and mothers responsible for all the children in the world. They may not have children, not be responsible directly but the children will be the children of humanity. We think in this way without breaking the unity of the family; on the contrary the family is becoming increasingly an instrument of the revolution. It is unified to make the revolution. It is necessary to think and to transmit to the child persuasion as against bellicosity, because children do not know how to organise their energy, so that it can be canalised. Instead of punching and breaking things the child will seek harmonious sounds which compensate for and are united to thought and that stimulate it. Harmonious sound stimulates thought, develops noble and just thoughts; like a good colour, because in this way harmony is established with the origin of our structure and allows the generation of good ideas.

Everything which is atavistic communicates; colour, noise, sound, because we are from that. Colour, sound are created but they have atavistic antecedents. They are linked with the mind, hence in humanity there are memories of ancestral activity. This is where we came from. We are still not able to investigate everything because it involves millions of years. Tomorrow humanity is going to be able to dedicate time to study this.

We have to be ready to resolve all the difficulties which arise. They are considerable but they can be resolved. Our ideas correspond to the need for the progress of humanity. Contradictions and conflicts can arise in the activity but they are not central. They are not the norm nor the line. When faced with a quantity of problems what dominates the mind? what organises the sentiment, the consciousness, the will? revolutionary activity.

It is necessary to propose a programme of preparation, of observation of the child. The majority of mothers know little about children. The proletarian mother knows quite a lot. In the majority of cases it's because they are afraid of knowing themselves, their mistakes and errors. There is still a sentiment of egotism and individuality. They are not only protecting the child but also themselves. They feel somewhat negated as a woman or lost in the function of the mother; they want to be a revolutionary leader, speaker, writer. They can be this at the same time. It is necessary to prepare theoretically and politically.

It is necessary to have a plan of conscious preparation, above all of cultural capacity. This allows one to confront and overcome this problem; a revolutionary cultural programme. It provides a method of interpretation of everything, including the mother and the child. Then it is possible to see the ability which exists and which is still not utilised, because it is not organised and there still exists preoccupation with secondary things.

One must not impose on the child and say, "Look, you don't do this". No doubt from time to time this may have to be done, but the best way is to win a general authority, and then the child sees that the mother or the father has a strength and capacity which he does not. Then he thinks about the mother without depending on her, not saying "Give me your hand so that I can walk". No, he is going to say, "Mama give me your hand, so that I can accompany you". It is simple, very simple.

All the ambience of history favours this. One example is the games of children. Games of children are no longer bellicose games, the struggle of one against the other. They are games of creation, construction, of overcoming, and as part of this the games over Vietnam and the Middle East.

This discussion is one of the bases to construct Communism. The essential base is the human relationship. The problem of the economy, of distribution, of production, of productivity is important. For now, it is essential. But humanity has seen that with present technology, with all the electronics, cybernetics, automation, everything can be resolved. All the raw materials necessary for transformation exist. The problem is the human relation. The more we advance in the understanding of family life, of the party, of the trade union, the more we progress in the sentiments, in the relations of socialist conduct, in the sentiment that it is necessary to progress, to eliminate forces that impel human beings to struggle among themselves, we create more solid bases for the construction of socialism, we contain the bases of the bureaucracy, we elevate the capacity of the population for self-government, as it will be in Communism. Engels says in Communism there would be no distribution, there would only be a place where people go to take out what is necessary. This eliminates one of the most stupid functions of life: trade.

From custom and method we say "the education of children". In reality, it is not the education of children, it is the relation with children. Education is a form of relation with children established by private property, to submit the child to the experience of the adults, imposing what capitalism imposes on adults, on the family, to prepare the child for exploitation. What relation do we have with children? Instead of being a relation of father, of adult, with the child, based on imposition on being bigger, and with more strength, there must be a relation of persuasion, of identification with the child and then the child sees it's simply a question of not possessing the strength, which we have. Then it is possible to transmit experience to the child and organise his development.

It is not necessary to transmit information in the form of precepts through daily conduct.

The child has to be elevated to feel the security that he is going to learn very well as in Vietnam, as in the Middle East; that if he cannot determine problems, it is because he does not have the strength, the experience, but the father, the brother, the comrade, yes. Then he has trust in the other. It is not dependency, but the unification of the human being as a species. This must be the conduct with children, to develop with children, the form of understanding, of feeling, of working, of determining in whatever moment, what is necessary for the objective development, Communist development, of life. Thus the child of two has the capacity of a young man of twenty.

The treatment of the behaviour with children means to save humanity a relatively great deal of time in energy and strength. Humanity has to dedicate a very great part of its preoccupation to children, to elevate them. To be identified with them is a time which humanity dedicates to raise and increase confidence in humanity. The child does not see then, a conflict, a mystery in the life, in the relation between human beings. He sees a result of the maturing of humanity, understands the link, the dependence on the economy, the possibility of a liberation from the imposition of the nature and economy. This liberates the father and the child from the imposition of conflict, of competition which comes from the commercial relationship of the capitalist system. It allows the generation of thought, sentiment, organisation, a structure in family life which elevates the capacity for thought, to observe and foresee. It is an energy, a capacity for action which is unified and homogenised. They are identified in the progress of humanity.

The children understand this, are included in it. Educated in this ambience, they feel attracted because they find it logical. Part of the games of children originate because they do not understand what is happening, above all in violent games. Identified with life, one is violent when necessary against capitalism, to eliminate what impedes human fraternity.

It is necessary to integrate the children in all the tasks of the house, with explanation, and persuasion; to have the object of speaking to them, not to take them as a secondary aspect but to do it with the most elevated passion. The child feels thus integrated in the life of the adult, sees that the difference between the adult and the child is through experience, capacity, means, muscular development, intelligence, but now he assimilates experience and regulates behaviour as part of humanity. He does not develop the egotistic sense, the competitive sense which is the product of class society, transferred into family life. It is necessary to integrate him in everything, talking about everything, talking to him with the utmost consideration, as you would with an adult.

In this way the child feels integrated and respected. He won't see himself as an inferior being with particular objectives, activities or a particular life, but rather that there are things that he is not able to do, but that he lives the same life as an adult, entirely.

What they call childhood has been a creation of private property. If the stupid doll exists, it is because private property and class divisions still exist. The children in Vietnam don't need dolls any more. Life helps them to realise that it is more useful to be interested in life than in dolls. Dolls and other toys are a form of stupidity created by private property and today by the capitalist regime.

It is necessary to educate oneself in order to integrate the children into all the life of the house. One should be concerned to talk, reason, and develop a relationship in which he sees an example. The example will be decisive for children for a very long period. For this reason the example of Vietnam has such an effect over children even if they don't see the consequences of Vietnam in their house. The children live this because they see an incorporation of children into life. They want to live, they want to feel and at home they are not allowed to because of work and the family life. They feel attracted, before they were attracted by fantasies; now there is the Middle East, Vietnam, the struggle of the masses in the Trade Unions. Today's child intervenes in strikes, with posters, being active, making propaganda, intervening with passion, in order to convince and to persuade. He doesn't do it as something he is told to do, but as something who participates actively. He does it with the emotion, the warmth, the passion to argue, to convince, learning to regulate and develop in this participation.

The stupid toys alienate him from the life that he sees developing in the class struggle and to which he is attracted to intervene. This stage of history is very fertile for this.

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## The relationship with children...

For children, logical behaviour from the father and of the mother is fundamental. The child soon learns to see when the behaviour of the parents is the product of a mood, of arrogance or superiority. He has to see a logical behaviour in everything. Including with objects: it is necessary not to throw them around, or treat them roughly in temper, be logical in everything. Then, the child will develop with the capacity to think logically and he will find bad behaviour stupid. The child is not bad, no children are bad, they may behave inadequately, but no children are bad. They cannot have sentiments of perversion; when they develop in that way it is because they are educated in that way by capitalist society.

It is necessary to maintain a logical, reasoned functioning at home. The attitude towards reality, towards the family, towards objects and towards distribution must be just, equitable, reasoned. It is not as they say: "It is necessary to answer the whims of a child". The caprice of a child is the result of a stage of combat with the family, because they see that type of relationship. If he sees another type of relationship he will reason. When in every family there will be a type of behaviour, of relations developed by reasoning, the child will learn that the difference between adults and children is only a matter of age, but that knowledge doesn't depend on age: he can gain time. There will be a difference in physical strength because we cannot impose this on to nature as yet, but in intelligence he can develop as much as an adult. He understands that we are stronger than before.

Children see in singing, persuasion through music, human relations, the sweetness in relations. It is necessary to achieve this type of relationship at home. Gradually, but it is necessary to do it.

The child is the product of education within the system of private property. Under the capitalist system, those who can do more, can gain more. Under other systems, such as the slave or feudal system it was the same. Family relations depended on this. Private property developed the family in this way. In a previous age, even when there was slavery, under the Asiatic mode of production, they did not have this type of relationship. They had relations that were superior to the feudal ones, tribal but collective. There were forms of state, such as in Germany before the invasion of Europe, forms of life, of social and economic organisation which were superior to the feudal ones: distribution without depending on property. The state distributed property. There wasn't the individual form of property that came afterwards.

But that wasn't what determined the world's economy: it was private property. Private property extended and developed in all types of human relations, the image of property and the form of materialisation of production: commerce. It produced the problem of dependence, authority and domination; the same in the family, from father to child. It is not that the father is bad and so is the child, they are both consequences of this type of relations. We raise our understanding and we develop with our companion, with the children, a Communist relation and communication. In such a way that the family thinks as a whole. By thinking as a whole it elevates the capacity to think because they will save energy and preoccupation that now they must dedicate to family problems created by capitalism, they will therefore think integrally. This gives an enormous human solidity that transmits confidence, and feels the most important conclusion, that we are not like this because we were born like it, or because the human being is like this, but because we are the result of the forms of property, of the forms of production, of social relations determined by this.

The causes for such a type of relationship are getting clearer, they are not motivated by mystical reasons, but by concrete ones. By changing the causes, one changes the relationship, but as we already understand it, we can change as of now. The capacity of the family to think is strengthened and the child is incorporated. The child does not have the experience, the capacity of an adult, but the adult does not have the purity, the objectivity, the natural warmth, the natural happiness of the child. All these qualities are necessary for this stage of history. By educating the child we elevate his capacity to think without waiting for him to communicate warmth or objectivity. We have these qualities, as well as children. It is our duty to communicate to the children our maturity in such a way as they can understand it. It is not possible to put 500 kilos on a shelf that will only hold 100 kilos. It will fall. It is not possible to demand from the child a capacity of thought that he hasn't got. But we can adapt our thoughts to those of children, as the objective is concrete and practical action: elevate the capacity of thought, the unity of the basic cell of this type of society, the family, that will continue to be so for a long time. Raise the capacity, the reasoning, the relationship of the family with society. This eliminates the interior antagonism, the life of interior dispute that creates family problems, and elevates the family to think as a whole. This is the fundamental objective.

## editorial

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of law and jury, and the police kill a student. Are the people who think and act like this going to put up most urgent that the weakness in the with Socialism? Are the army leaders armed forces of imperialism is utilised with NATO and the defence ised. All this has to be explained of the "free world" really going to and all the resources of the prolesee the major parts of the economy tariat prepared for this so that this nationalised? without doing any preparation weighs in the army, so

thing? No, they will act or try to act as their Chilean colleagues, but history does not repeat itself and the organisation of a coup in Britain to hold down a massive proletariat is a daunting operation which makes it and act like this going to put up most urgent that the weakness in the with Socialism? Are the army leaders armed forces of imperialism is utilised with NATO and the defence ised. All this has to be explained of the "free world" really going to and all the resources of the prolesee the major parts of the economy tariat prepared for this so that this nationalised? without doing any preparation weighs in the army, so

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## The Miner's Charter..

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Logically, if the miners propose that their representative can override the decisions of the management on safety then the miners feel that they are perfectly capable of making the decisions, of running the industry. This is not an attitude which comes simply from the miners themselves, or from the leadership of the Scottish Area of the NUM but from the whole working class and from the vanguard.

However, the 'Charter' does not deal only with workers' control in the pits; on the contrary it is a programme for the planning of the industry, under workers' control and the planning of the coal industry as part of a fully planned, national economy. This is the significance of the demand for a guaranteed market for coal, of a planned level of production. It is not possible to do this without planning the whole economy and to plan the whole economy means the elimination of capitalism and the construction of socialist forms of production. Capitalism cannot concede, is not capable of conceding even the minimum demands of the Scottish miners on wage increases, on the 4-day working week, on guaranteed wages when sick, or ill and on guaranteed employment for miners. The 'Charter' says, in part, that there is a necessity for a revolution underground in order to give the miners reasonably good working con-

ditions with hot meals, hot water for washing and hygienic lavatories. This is to demand a complete transformation of the industry and that requires a revolution without doubt. The language of the Charter is not, by any means, accidental. In fact, this programme of demands is an aspect and an important expression of the preparation of the working class for a struggle for power. This has expressed itself in the most direct and programmatic way in the trade union recently. The AUEW voted in favour of a programme of nationalisations which included the banks, the TUC has proposed measures of workers' control, and a programme for a fully nationalised, planned transport service. At the same time the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Workers—which includes major unions like the AUEW and TGWU—has adopted proposals formulated by a 'working committee' of the Confed., the TUC and the Labour Party for the nationalisation of the aircraft industry. What is necessary now are meetings and discussions in the factories, in the pits, in the trade union branches and shop stewards' committees on a Workers Plan of Production, drawing together all the demands, proposals and programmes of the trade unions; of the workers' vanguard on nationalisations, on workers' control.

The rejection by the Scottish Executive of the Labour Party of the proposal for a 'national parlia-

ment' saying that it served no purpose and that the strategy of the Labour Party is for a "fundamental and irreversible shift in the balance of power in favour of the working people and their families" shows the way in which the struggle of the working class finds its expression not only in the Trade Unions but directly in the Labour Party. The conclusion that Benn, Heffer, all those sectors of the Labour Government which seek to implement the programme of the Labour Party—and the left of the Labour Party also—have to draw is clear. There must be a campaign towards the factories. The 'debate' which Benn proposes cannot be carried out in 'special conferences', or with meetings in which the working class can listen but not intervene or discuss.

NO! it must be meetings in the factory with the Labour Party militants and leaders intervening on the programme of the Labour Party but which stimulates the discussion and the intervention of the working class, which allows the working class to weigh directly in the discussion and, by this means, in the Labour Party, in the decisions and programme of the Labour Government.

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Posadas' Document on Portugal 28.4.74.

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## Historic effects...

Workers States. It is the course of history and it is no longer the struggle of the liberal tendency, of the technocrats, who struggle to win, but it is a stage to throw them out. And it is necessary to see the consequences once they start throwing them out. Because this is going to be accompanied with the preparation for the war.

The road of the political revolution is correct and Yugoslavia shows it. It is not the only Workers State which is taking this road; in Cuba they have taken resolutions which, also, approximate to this. The development of the Workers States

forces them to yield like the right of votes in elections to the 16 year old, and the organisation of local committees, which even if limited in their function, are organs of power, which are going to develop the possibilities that, afterwards, they might be organs which extend the functioning of their power to include planning.

This is going to influence China, and all the Workers States. It is going to contain the process of bureaucratisation and it is going to animate the more constant, effective intervention, the reanimated inter-

vention of the proletariat, to weigh in a more direct form towards partial regeneration throughout the Workers States.

Whilst imperialism prepares the war, the masses of the Workers States including Yugoslavia, achieve the historic task of accentuating Partial Regeneration, returning to norms and measures fundamental for the reanimation of the Workers State. This is going to show itself in a powerful advance of the economy, and it is a measure which is going to animate the world revolutionary and workers movement. Not immediately, but through a process which has to be accentuated and to express itself later. Undoubtedly, it is combined with the struggle of the bureaucratic sectors which are powerful in Yugoslavia. But already in animating the proletariat to play the essential function, this is going to be felt throughout the world, within and outside the Workers States, so that the proletariat is going to return to be able to weigh directly as a class. This is a process which is advancing. It is not defined or terminated. The resistance of the bureaucracy is going to be enormous. But the proletariat is capable of putting up with a whole process of corruption and disintegration of the Yugoslav Workers State and maintain the essential basis, and the Workers States are regenerating

There is a very accentuated process of regeneration, and this indicates that the Yugoslav workers feel the strength and have the historic force to regenerate. And to advance to achieve total regeneration. It is an immense confidence for our struggles for the Communist Parties, for the Workers States, for our historic function. This has to be confirmed and sustained. And it is necessary to salute this historic re-encounter with the Yugoslav Communist Party. J. Posadas

## editorial

that the objectives of the masses penetrate the army. And for this the struggle for trade union democracy in the army and the police is essential.

The forces of the left must base themselves on every initiative of the class, everything that presses forward against the inert and barbaric system of private property. The miners' charter, the student demonstration against the killing of Gately, the decision of the Scottish Labour Party against bourgeois devolution and for socialism, the struggles of the teachers and NALGO, the resolution of the engineers for meetings of Irish and British trade unionists, the actual strikes of the masses, all these measures have to be publicly supported by statements and resolutions in the unions and the Labour Party and the factories. This develops a mutual trust and deepens the discussion, establishes a link between the struggle for nationalisations and the daily struggles of the masses.

It is fundamental that in the next stage a permanent functioning

of the masses develops in the factories and the workers' districts, with delegates open to immediate recall, and where all the concerns of the masses are fully discussed, all the problems of education, housing, transport etc with a permanent communication between factory, trade union, Labour Party and workers' zones. In Chile as the crisis mounted the masses began to find their way to such organs in the *cordones industriales*, it is necessary to learn from this experience and also from the present factory councils in Italy and the experience of May 1968 in France. The forces of the left must assimilate all this and prepare to intervene with a comprehensive political programme and policy in these organs, anticipating in this way the reaction of the masses and the plans of capitalism.

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# RED FLAG

Weekly Organ of the

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

## THE ACTIONS OF THE HOSPITAL WORKERS ARE A FURTHER SUPPORT FOR LABOUR TO CARRY OUT ITS PROGRAMME

When in this country the nurses and hospital staff decide to take direct action against private beds in hospitals, it shows very well the level reached by the struggle of the exploited masses in Britain: it is a programmatic level and it shows also that the masses are not prepared to wait for years for the Labour government to apply its programme. This is the result of the gains made by the British miners who were supported by the whole working class and petit bourgeoisie when the Conservatives launched an anti-Communist campaign. This has been done by the British working class and masses. But fundamentally, it is the world which weighs in Britain. It has always been a fact that private patients in hospitals, particularly in hospitals paid for by the masses, as most of them are today, was a crime against civilisation. The private patients are the concrete expression of the individualist functioning of the capitalist system. The masses are posing: "These are the hospitals which the masses paid for: the masses must have priority there, not a few who are—more often than not—not in real need of treatment but who can afford the money when those who have contributed with taxes to the service, are dying whilst on the waiting list." This is criminal. The staff in the hospitals always saw this. But today, they feel they can do something about it, whilst yesterday, they could not. The struggle in Britain has reached a level which the capitalist system cannot make retreat. This structure which has been reached, is preserved by the powerful force of the miners and the rest of the working class.

It is this structure which the capitalist system in this country cannot break, for it has world roots and it influences the world. The most important examples of this, are to be found in the Workers States themselves. Recently, the Soviet Communist Sergei Mikoyan wrote in the Soviet Review "Latino-kaya America", that in Chile, the government of Allende should have based itself on the mobilisations of the working masses. He posed the struggle of the masses in Santo Domingo, Vietnam, Bolivia, Chile, etc . . . , as being not for material motives, but for superior human relations. This represents an advance not simply in one sector of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but it is the expression of the elevation of the structure of the CPSU, as a whole. In order for these conclusions to be generalised

throughout the Party, the political revolution is necessary. However, Sergei Mikoyan is not simply repeating phrases. He makes a whole intervention which is world-wide in its vision, which is Marxist, and this could not be achieved without a qualitative advance in the whole conception and life of the Party. His article is on the line of Posadism. It means also that the CPSU is going to feel the necessity to increase the ties between the Communist Parties to launch initiatives for the unification of the Workers States, of USSR and China in particular.

The article of Sergei Mikoyan is fundamentally the expression of a gain in consciousness of the world Communist movement, that it is necessary and possible to intervene now for the construction of Communism. This means better, more dignified human relationships. Humanity struggles for Communism.

In its advances; the world Communist movement; the Workers States give objective support, consciousness, programme and audacity to the British working class and masses. This is why the hospital workers, the nurses, NUPE, and now the radiography sectors, find the force to intervene on their own, without waiting for the blessings of the Labour government. They pose in their struggles: this system is unacceptable. We take action, and we are not ready to wait another year. They can say this today, because they feel this is giving support to the Labour Party programme. If they did not do this before, it was because there were not in this country the relations of forces there are today. The miners' strike demonstrated the favourable balance of forces there is.

There is a structure in the British Labour movement which has broken through the isolation—in which imperialism was maintaining it—and which is opening itself to the struggle for the nationalised, planned economy—the system of the Workers States! This is what the struggle by the hospital workers shows:

The various conferences that took place recently in this country, the Miners Conference, the Engineers Conference, the one of the Confederation of Shipbuilding, and all these have shown that the working class is not letting its government—the Labour government—be damaged by their militancy. The recall of Sydney Vincent—NUM—from the Labour Party National Executive, and his replacement by a left winger is an

expression of this. The working class doesn't submit to the vacillations and lack of leadership in the Labour Party. Without damaging its party, the working class is intervening to make within it a new leadership, by showing that it has itself in its own ranks, the will and the leadership in order to apply the Labour Party's programme. The British masses do not live submitted to the possibility of a military coup. Besides, they feel that already there is in the structure of the world Communist movement, in the structure of the Workers States, a conscious, programmatic, and audacious advance which protects them from the attacks of the bourgeoisie.

There is the possibility and the necessity for the Labour Party to base itself on the confidence

of the British working class, seeing the total incapacity and impotence of capitalism, on a European and world scale, and the force of the Partial Regeneration.

The crisis of capitalism in this country is deepening.

Already, the car industry is running down rapidly, signs of massive cuts in the labour force are showing. This has to be seen at the moment in the sacking of 10% of the clerical staff in BLMC, and the threats made by British Leyland of redundancies.

In order to attempt to resolve their crisis, the capitalist class will have to introduce mass sackings, to encourage the concentration of industry on a large scale, as Peugeot and Citroen are doing in France. Inflation is increasing continuously. These are the responses of the capitalist class.

## Communique of the Conference of the International Executive Committee and Extended International Secretariat

In May, the Conference of the IEC and the extended IS of the IV International Trotskyist Posadist, took place with the participation of comrades and delegates from 15 countries. The central objective of the Conference was to discuss on the basis of all the previous documents and texts of Posadas of the IV International, of the texts of the 4th World Conference of the IV International, the present stage of this gigantic process of the permanent world socialist revolution, and with this the centres which determine, the process of Partial Regeneration in the Workers States, the Communist and Socialist Parties, their dynamism and depth of influence on this process; the changes in the USSR, Cuba, Yugoslavia, in all the Workers States, which express the absolute necessity of the Communist progress of humanity, the need for the unification of the world Communist movement, the Sino-Soviet unification as the most powerful instrument of progress, which humanity has, the world united front of all the workers' organisations, political and trade union, of the Workers States, of the Revolutionary States, to finish with what remains of the capitalist system.

The central exposition of the Conference of the IEC and of the extended IS, was elaborated and presented by Cde. Posadas in the name

of the leadership of the International. The exposition of Cde. Posadas developed and deepened the discussion on the present stage of Partial Regeneration and of the Historic Encounter, the strategy and the tactic of the IV International in its functioning and influence, as the Trotskyist Posadist wing of the world Communist movement, in this stage of the total crisis of capitalism.

Capitalism is exhausted. And progress comes from the Workers States, from the Revolutionary States, from the unceasing struggle of the masses which inflict constant defeats on capitalism, on imperialism, as in Ethiopia, Portugal, France, Italy, Japan. The Conference of the IEC and of the extended IS, discussed the present phase of the total crisis of capitalism, which is shown in every aspect—economically, politically, financially and socially. In the crisis of disintegration, capitalism is shackled and surrounded by the struggles of the masses and the progresses of the Workers States. A great layer of the petit bourgeoisie, the technicians, is won by the proletariat, and entire layers of capitalism, are pessimistic, become passive, and are partly paralysed. This is the result of the advance of the revolution, which disintegrates the enemy, as was expressed in the army and shown by Portugal. The structures which capitalism has created for the de-

The Labour government has to intervene now, on the basis of the mobilisations of the working class. To the problems posed by the lack of services, the government must foresee that this situation will tend to get worse, as capitalism invests less and less, and is even prepared to let the Labour government invest in private industry, even at the cost of the state taking a share in the ownership of the firms. It is not enough to just accept this from the capitalist class, for some of them are even asking for this! It is for them the lesser evil. There must be nationalisations without compensations and under workers' control!

The Labour Party left, the sectors in the Labour government and in the unions which seek to advance must seek to deepen the discussion on the programme of the Labour Party. They must seek the ways to reach the working class, through mass meetings in the factories and in the trade unions, on the basis of the conclusion "make capitalism pay for its own crisis!" Full support to the hospital workers' struggle for the elimination of a system

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fence of private property, are broken and disintegrated. The incessant victorious struggles of the masses of the world, daily impose defeat on capitalism, acquire more and more profound conquests, programmatic gains, in the struggle for power.

Neither economically, or socially, or politically, can capitalism compete with the social advance, the technical, scientific capacity of the Workers States; nor with the progress of the world revolution. These conquests of the masses advance continuously, and the masses of Portugal show this. The texts of Comrade Posadas analysed—and developed the central exposition—that the masses of Portugal lived politically and united to the world revolution. The world revolution weighed in Portugal and the masses without parties, without trade unions, influenced the army and the captains. Together with the struggle of the masses of Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, they overthrew Portuguese fascism. In France the masses, from below, have imposed the historic conquest of the United Communist/Socialist/Trade Unions front, on the basis of a programme, which even though limited, has an anti-capitalist content. This historic conquest, which is the road towards power, is already irreversible. It has been expressed with complete power in the

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# The Communist parties and the programme for the global progress of the socialist revolution

Extended International Secretariat of the POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

Report to the Conference of the International Executive Committee and

12th June, 1974

J. POSADAS

## Communique of the Conference

from page 1

At every stage of the historic process, it is necessary to have an observation, an analysis of its totality, assessing the forces which intervene, and the essential factors, how they develop, and what is the decisive weight which determines the course of history, attracting the less advanced sectors.

Outside ourselves, there is no organisation in the world which is concerned to make a balance, a world analysis of the process of the revolution; how it develops, its inter-influence, the development of the weight of the Workers State, the weight of the Revolutionary State, and how all this affects the proletariat of Africa, Asia, Latin America, Europe and Japan. What lessons are to be learnt, what concentration of forces determine this process, what policy must be put forward before a situation of total crisis, the complete crisis of the capitalist system, from the economic point of view, up to Watergate. It is a complete crisis, not one of a single phase, or of a single aspect of capitalism; there is not one link or aspect of the capitalist system, which is untouched by the crisis. It is

### A WORLD PROGRAMME IS NECESSARY FOR THIS STAGE OF THE REVOLUTION

What is happening in the Workers States? There are corrections in the Workers States, changes, reorganisation of leaders, and of the economic and social programme. What is happening in China? China is isolated from the world movement of the revolution. It intervenes with delays, superficially. It does not have any initiative. It is in the rear-guard and it dedicates itself to attacking the Soviet Union. What is happening in Latin America? What are the forces which promote the progress of the revolution in Latin America? How does it affect the Communist and Socialist Parties, the nationalist movements, the left Catholic movements, or the soldiers? Does this process have an effect on them, or do they remain passive?

It is necessary to observe closely this combined world process to draw programmatic and political conclusions; to assess whether it is necessary to revise the policy or to reaffirm it, what programme, tactic, what dynamism and what stages it is necessary to foresee and orientate. There is a world structure which determines the course of history. Fourteen Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, powerful Communist, Socialist and nationalist movements, in Italy, in France, Germany, Belgium, Britain, Japan and Latin America. Is this whole process without influence on history, is it a particular, partial process of each country, or is there a structure of the world, which determines in each country the course of the process of the revolution? It is necessary to discuss, as they discussed in the epoch of the Communist International. Today, this is not discussed by the Communist Parties, by the Workers States, they avoid this, because they do not have a leadership which understands, which represents this process.

in a total crisis and it does not have a single initiative in history. What it leads to is war, the invasion of countries, and the sale of arms. It does not have a single initiative to answer to the advancing course of the progress of history.

The Workers States have initiative and the masses of the world also: Portugal, Japan, Niger, Mexico, Argentina. In any part of all the continents, the masses, the Revolutionary States, the Workers States, have the initiative to extend, to impel, to generalise economic, social, political, revolutionary progress. What is the revolutionary stage in which we live? Is imperialism going to answer by war or accept this retreat and this crisis? What is imperialism seeking in the combination of alliances, of agreements with the Workers States, with the Soviet Union: To promote the war? What is it seeking? To live internally, to live in the future in this way, or to go through this stage? What is the intention of imperialism? What does it want? Is it preparing war or peace? It is preparing war. No regime abandons history without utilising all the forces it has, to sustain itself.

One cannot intervene in this stage of history without a global programme, understanding that the course of events in France, Italy and Europe, is part of the world process, which feeds the crisis of capitalism in every country. It is not a crisis which comes from France or Italy, it is a worldwide crisis, which stimulates France and Italy. The Communist and Socialist Parties, the nationalists and the left nationalists, are they based on this process to answer it? Very distantly, yes. For example in the meetings of the Communist Parties in Brussels and in Lyons, they tended to answer. But from these meetings, a global programme of interpretation and of action for this process, did not emerge. Commentaries emerged from each country, in which every participant of the Communist Parties, drew conclusions for his country, and in a very distant way. They did not bring a global appreciation of the process to find support in this and its influence in each country. History is united, it is not separated, it is totally united.

The force which has defeated Nixon and Yankee imperialism, which surrounds them—they are surrounded—is the world course of the revolution. It is the masses of Portugal, the captains of Portugal, who express the stimulus, the impulse, the enormous pressure of the revolution, and at the same time, the disintegration of the capitalist system. This has not come from within Portugal, it comes from the relation of world forces, a relation which begins in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, the struggle of the guerrilla and the revolutionary movement, and it extends in the struggle of the masses of Vietnam of the Middle East, of Latin America, of France and Italy. This contains capitalism, reduces its forces, prevents it from acting freely, shackles

it, and crushes it. It prevents capitalism from making plans; the comedy and the running about of this puppet Kissinger shows this. The process did not come from Portugal, it came from the world and as part of that, from the masses and the guerrilla movement of Angola and Guinea Bissau.

In this process we can support ourselves on forces which we do not have nor the Communist Party, but which exist in the world. They are forces which confine capitalism, shackle it, and prevent it working and coordinating its forces. And this allows consequently, very backward countries like Portugal to develop a revolutionary insurrection. The process is not automatic, but this is the dialectical development of history. In Mexico, sufficient forces to make a Peasant and Workers movement do not exist, but in the rest of the world, yes. In the rest of the world, capitalism does not have the capacity to function within Mexico by means of investments and military interventions and pressures. The sectors, the layers on which imperialism can exert a pressure, resists and rejects it; that is the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry or the weak sectors of capitalism. Otherwise capitalism would have controlled Mexico. Mexico is an interrupted revolution as is also Bolivia. The first time that we made this historic definition (that of the interrupted revolution) was because the world conquest of the revolution was defined in Mexico and in Bolivia as agrarian reforms; nationalisations of fundamental sectors of production, of the banks, nationalisation of the mines in Bolivia, organisation of the COB, workers and peasant militia. In Bolivia the masses were not able to impose the nationalisation of the mines further, but capitalism could not return them to private property. The force of the mining proletariat of Bolivia,

### THE PORTUGUESE MASSES ARE INFLUENCED BY THE WORLD PROCESS OF THE REVOLUTION

This is the present situation. There is a world process, which daily and continuously shakes and terrifies the capitalist system, and makes it retreat. Continuously, the expressions and the conclusions, the situation of the retreat of capitalism appear. And this becomes more and more profound. It is not a problem of strikes, but of organic and programmatic forms as in Mexico and in Argentina, where they have made agreements with the Workers States and recognise Cuba; they are programmatic conquests, which come from sectors of capitalism, influenced by the process, and won by the revolution, Catholic sectors, nationalist sectors, and also sectors in the police and in the army. The structure of the capitalist regime, is continuously weakened and disintegrated. World imperialism does not have the economic, social, and political strength to confront this process, otherwise it would already have prevented the advance of the means and forms of the revolution. As it cannot prevent them, it prepares the

war. When it breaks out, depends on a series of circumstances. Imperialism feels that neither economically, socially, or politically can it compete with the Workers States, nor with the progress of the world revolution, the conquests of the masses. Capitalism feels that it cannot dominate this process, nor control it; it cannot invest, and it prepares the war. The masses of Portugal came as a surprise, suddenly the captains rebelled and the masses said: "If the captains come into the streets, we can". They showed their security and confidence and at the same time that they were living politically and were united with the world revolution. They came out with flowers, with arguments, and with the flowers, there was a little programme. The programme was, to win over the soldiers, it is the usual tactic of people. Nobody taught them, there was no party, or trade union. Capitalism believed that there was no political life, that people lived, overwhelmed and crushed, without thinking, and afraid. Capitalism thought that everyone lived concerned only

with themselves, submitted to fear, thinking just how to get through this stage. And when the masses rebelled, fascism collapsed. It did not just fall, it was overthrown. All the support which fascism had, collapsed. It was not just a blow which overthrew a government but the whole structure of fascism collapsed. The people who had been suppressed had the capacity to distribute flowers and also, arguments with flowers.

This is not a sporadic, or chance event coming about through the idiosyncrasy or the customs of Portugal. It is the behaviour of the masses. It shows the depth with which the masses have lived. Oppressed with fascism, they lived politically. They assimilated the process of the world, and supported and sustained by the world process, they utilised the opportunity to make this leap. If a party existed, which had organised, they would not have had to wait for the opportunity. The Party would have organised the opportunity. And they waited for the opportunity as the masses, not individually. And unanimously they made the insurrection. They could not do this because they had been called together, there was no trade union or party that could assemble them. Even if they had been called together, they would not have achieved such unanimity. When it exists, when everybody comes out in the streets, it is because they were waiting for the moment. They adhered to, and were fused to the world process. And with the intervention of the captains, they came out. The captains were not an invention, but a reflection of the process of the depth of the influence of the world revolution. The captains did not live politically, and yet they organised a type of Party. Why? If they had seen in the Portuguese people submission and backwardness, they would not have been stimulated to rebel. When they rebel, it is because they felt that the people were going to come out in the street. They are not a representation or a substitution for the Portuguese people, but a reflection of what these people are, as was visible before, and now. In Portugal, the masses, without party, without trade union, without an organic functioning, but with a movement, lived the world process. Individually, collectively, as families, they sought the way to connect, to speak, to communicate to elevate the influences. The captains saw all this and it is a lie that the captains were isolated from the population. Isolation would not have allowed them to see all this process. When they rebelled, it was because they expected the reaction of the masses. They were not saviours, and in not having a party, in not having an instrument, they were an expression of this process. The process took this form, and when the conditions are ripe for the process of the revolution, it finds the means to progress. This was visible before. In our text on Greece, we said: "The world process of the revolution, the struggle of the masses in Angola, in Mozam-

bique is undermining fascism in Portugal, and soon it is going to be overthrown. It is going to find the means to overthrow it." ("Democracy, socialism and the class struggle in Greece", 24.4.74). Before, neither the trade unions or parties, nor

organic functioning of the class, existed. We were confident that this process was going to find an echo among the soldiers. The confidence of the soldiers had been undermined in the fascist state. The process influenced them.

### THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE 'NO' IN ITALY

The events in France and in Italy show in a decisive and indubitable way, that it is not a question of the election for the No—nor of the election of Mitterrand. If Mitterrand wins, or has a great success in the elections, or now with the triumph of the No wins, what is going to happen? Is capitalism just going to say: "What a pity that I lost!" Capitalism is not going to accept that the whole structure of its apparatus is shaken. Capitalism is already thinking how to answer to a triumph which is going to shake the pillars of what remains of the capitalist world. Even although Mitterrand does not win,—the No in Italy wins by a long way—what is capitalism going to say in front of this? It is not going to remain in silence, it is not going to admit defeat. It will not accept the electoral result, because the triumph of the No or of Mitterrand, or a big vote of the Popular Union in France, means that great layers of the petit bourgeoisie are won to the proletariat. Other sectors of capitalism are pessimistic, defeatist, and passive: they do not contribute to the triumph of the proletariat, but they do not add to the power of capitalism. This is the result of the advance of the revolution. It disintegrates the enemy, makes them insecure, feel weak and broken. All this exists, and is visible, in France, in Italy, in Britain, and Germany. Capitalism feels that it is being disorganised, and the political basis on which it supports itself, has been destroyed. The public dispute between Giscard d'Estaing and Chaban Delmas, and the fact that a sector of the Delmas supporters vote for Mitterrand, does not only have an electoral importance. It means the pessimism of very important layers of the capitalist system, as a direct product of the actions of the masses, not a product of economic or of financial speculation or interest, but a direct product of the weight of the masses. The demonstration on the First of May disintegrated the enemy, made them insecure, and full of fear in the future. They do not have confidence in the continuation of the capitalist system, so, they compromise and seek a solution in the lesser evil.

In Italy the Messagero voted for the No. Great sectors of the Church voted for the No, and they are conscious that voting in this way is helping to organise the forces of the opposition. It is not only a vote for divorce, but a social comparison. And the defeat of the government is not only electoral, it will have much greater consequences than an electoral defeat, because it means the weakness of the capitalist apparatus, a disintegration, and the very accentuated expression of the lack of confidence of bourgeois sectors in the capitalist government. This

increases, sustains and impels forces opposed to capitalism, although they do not propose to overthrow the capitalist system. All this exists and it is global, not only in Italy and France, it is in Britain also. It is a global process, the force of which, the essential basis of which is the world relation of forces between capitalism and the Workers States together with the world masses. It is in an unequal form, whether in Portugal, in Italy, in France, Argentina, Mexico, Britain or Germany, and this has to be answered globally, with a global programme against the capitalist system. There is the most favourable situation to progress up to a certain point, even in an interpenetrative way, and electorally. The advance of the revolutionary process,—which the masses are making—weakens capitalism and attracts, influences, layers of the population, petit bourgeoisie, peasants, and technicians. Less powerful bourgeois sectors, are disillusioned and pessimistic. Without entering into the area of defeatism, they do not incorporate themselves into the political activity of the capitalist system to support it. It's every one for himself, and they struggle on their own account, weakening the structure of capitalism.

The Workers States are in a process of rectification, of correction of programme, of policy. The recent case of Solzhenitsyn, as that of

Watergate and the crisis of capitalism

sectors of the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie, the peasantry and part of the workers aristocracy, of confidence. Watergate occurs, because they cannot do anything else. They invest most of what they have in the war, in armaments, technological devices for the Moon, or Mars, to prepare the war. This is the process. When there are countries so remote from history, suppressed and smashed like Portugal, who rebel and immediately pass from submission to handing out flowers saying: "Long live socialism," it is because the programme exists, with the flowers. Instead of expressing sentiments of vengeance, of rancour, without abandoning the hatred for capitalism and fascism, the population learns the technique of the tactic. The flower is the technique of the tactic. It is directed to persuade and to win, not to subdue or to throw out. Together with the slogan "Long live Socialism!" they form unions, the party, and impel the Communist Party into the government.

When a people, like the Portuguese, after 50 years of dictatorship rebel and reach the most ele-

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magnificent action of the Italian proletariat which attracted the rest of the population. In an election which did not resolve any essential problem, the will of the proletariat was expressed, of the Communist vanguard, of all the masses to overthrow capitalism: the proletariat shows its desire to triumph and to impel its leaderships to take power; the proletariat shows in its struggles, its desire to lead society, the decision, the attitude, the resolution to lead society.

The Conference of the IEC and of the extended IS of the IV International (Posadist), analysed and discussed the need for the world Communist movement, in the Communist parties, to develop particularly the understanding of the historic function of the proletariat in the economy and in society. The exposition of Cde. Posadas showed how the proletariat could not aspire as a class to substitute for capitalism, for private property. Its relations with production, with the economy, and in consequence with society, determines its collective consciousness, develops collective conceptions, collective solutions for the whole of society, fraternal sentiments, and consciousness, Communist solutions and relations. Today, there are 14 Workers States which are the material expression of Marxism. And the world proletariat sees such a function. Already there is a structure of the world, which determines the course of history: there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States and powerful nationalist, Socialist and Communist movements. It is a structure which gives a form in every country to the process of the world socialist revolution.

It is such a structure which determines the changes in the Workers States and in the Communist parties, the crisis of revolutionary growth, the process of Partial Regeneration and Historic Re-encounter, the essential basis for the revolutionary development of this stage of history: "The world is ready for Communism, but there is no leadership," says the manifesto of the First of May of the IV International. This was the essential theme of the development of the discussion in the Conference of the IEC and the extended IS: "The world conditions exist and are ready for Communism. The productive forces and the producers rebel," as defined by Comrade Posadas. The uninterrupted process, the advance and extension of the world Socialist revolution, acquires new forms which did not exist in a previous stage. These are hybrid forms of the process, whose content is uniform but whose forms of expression are multiform because there is no conscious leadership of the masses. There is a very profound progress of the nationalist movements particularly in Latin America where there is a progress of class tendencies within the nationalist movement which advance towards the revolutionary programme, towards the Marxist conception, and impel the Communist Party into the government.

When a people, like the Portuguese, after 50 years of dictatorship rebel and reach the most ele-

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# The Communist parties and the programme...

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vated levels; when countries as backward as Niger advance immediately to the most advanced levels; when countries like Libya advance in this policy, it is not because they have the economic, scientific and industrial conditions. They did not have them, but these existed in the rest of the world and the masses of these countries are based on this process, are influenced by this process, particularly in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, etc.

A global planning of the policy to put forward must arise from this analysis, for example in Italy, the No wins, but the No is a negation, which leads to an affirmation. The No negates the attempt of capitalism to use an instrument around which to concentrate, and have the possibility of intimidating and launching a reactionary policy. The triumph of the No is going to influence forces independently of the limitations of the leadership, and the plans of the masses will by-pass the leaderships. The elections in Italy for a referendum over divorce is of very little importance. From the social point of view, it is of less importance than a municipal election. It does not resolve any problems of the economy of work, conditions of work, wages, transport, it does not resolve any problem. In a sense it is an abstraction, but everybody voted. Why? Everybody voted and was passionately involved with the vote, although it concerned a totally secondary problem. And there was a larger number of voters than in other elections. The masses voted because through this, they saw unification and centralisation. And the No showed the magnificent centralisation, and the will to take the elections to unify as a class, and to communicate to their leaders: "We are ready to go much further than this". But the masses did not show this with the vote on the No, they showed it earlier in the factory councils. They showed their will to triumph, in an election over divorce, which was transformed decisively, not only for the masses, but for capitalism also, which had to resort to such a measure.

In France, the same occurred in relation to the presidential elections. The clandestine meeting with Nixon had after the funerals of Pompidou (with d'Estaing) had no result. There is a concentration of forces not for the elections only. This is only the immediate form which the decisive confrontation of classes assume. Otherwise it would not be like this, because the leadership tried to avoid it, but there is a decisive confrontation. Capitalism has to put up with the present state of the elections, where one bourgeois candidate accuses the others of being incapable, a swine, an agent of imperialism and a thief. And when it comes to the left, they do not find antagonism or conflict, but a United Front that has not come from the leadership of the Parties, but from the base. This was achieved earlier in the factories, in the strikes, on the first of May, on the sixth of December, when the general strike took place and the demonstration in Paris. The United Front was established before, and now advances and seeks expression programmatically. An indirect form of this programmatic expression is the occupation of LIP, and afterwards, the occupation of Rateau, but it is not

the only one. Earlier, there was the Sud-Aviation factory in May 1968. They are continuous expressions where the proletariat shows its decision to lead society, not to quarrel over a better salary, a better wage, or better conditions of work, or better distribution; this exists, but it is secondary. The fundamental decision is to lead society.

In these elections, the French proletariat which attracts the petit bourgeoisie, and neutralises layers of the bourgeoisie, will succeed in winning part of the sectors that vote Chaban Delmas, to vote for Mitterrand. This is an indication of the disillusionment of the capitalist apparatus. The proletariat will do this; it is the conduct of the LIP and RATEAU. But in their turn, LIP and RATEAU are the expression of the conduct of the proletariat in other strikes, in other movements. In spite of the resistance of Seguy, of the CGT, the proletariat shows its concentrated class uniformity. It showed publicly: "I want power, I want to lead society, I lead it better than capitalism." When capitalism, divided as it is, has to confront the masses, this is seen by the petit bourgeoisie, the basis of the capitalist apparatus and it appears as mean, small, incapable, and without a solution. This then depresses layers of the petit bourgeoisie, makes them feel insecure, and allows the proletariat to be influential. Although the proletariat does not exercise a decisive electoral influence, this process allows the decomposition of the homogeneous structure of capitalism. Capitalism is homogeneous, and in a certain sense, more than the proletariat, because it is unified by private property. In the proletariat there are differences between sectors and tendencies which clash and which in revolutionary stages, unify; whilst with capitalism this is not the case, it is unified by private property. This action of the proletariat weakens capitalism and shows clearly that it is weakened. In the face of this, what global policy does the Communist Party push forward? The Italian Communist Party hardly mentioned the elections in France. It speaks, it refers to them, but hardly at all, and does not take them as a centre. It does not refer to LIP or RATEAU or to the demonstrations which took place on the first of May in France.

The proletariat shows its desire to advance, and to impel the leadership to triumph. Mitterrand reflects this, and d'Estaing reflects the impotence of capitalism which feels that even winning the elections, they would just scrape through, but all the social consequences which are going to develop afterwards, in these two great countries Italy and France, will remain. In Germany, imperialism got rid of Willy Brandt, that is to say that it was an offensive of imperialism but an offensive which to succeed has to change all the policy which Brandt stood for, to change all the policy to confront now, the maturity of the proletariat, the advance of the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie which the proletariat influences. This has no perspective, but what is the global policy for this situation? The meeting of the Communist Parties in Brussels and Lyons did not discuss this, but it is necessary to discuss it together with the Workers States.

It is necessary to develop a strategy to be carried out by the Communist Parties and the world Communist movement has to discuss this. It has to have a global conception of this process, a global strategy and this allows it then to operate in a conscious form, to foresee the course of the process, to provide a policy for the world. Now the Socialist and Communist Parties and the Workers States have a different policy in front of the same situation. The French Communist Party has little interest in Italy and the Italian Communist Party has little influence in France. The Communist and Socialist militants don't have a global dominion of the process, they don't have a global orientation which allows them to orientate, to convince, to organise in their place of work and the areas where they live. The Party cannot be a genuine representative to extract from present conditions, the best conclusions for the progress of the struggle against capitalism.

This is a global process, not a struggle which is simply a sum of the struggles of the various countries in a concentrated form. It is a global process which is the foundation of the different conditions for each country, and the essential line which unifies them is the fact that capitalism is exhausted and does not have the capacity to continue. The masses of the world want power, they have shown it in Portugal, in Yugoslavia, Italy, Japan, France, Germany, Britain, Belgium, Argentina. In any part of the world, the masses show that they want power. Capitalism is exhausted, it does not have any initiative, everything that it does, is to prepare the war, to justify the war, or it makes a joke of preventing war with Kissinger. The proletariat have initiatives which influence the progress of humanity.

It is this global observation which has to be used to be able to intervene in the Communist parties, to develop the left in the Communist parties, to impel and to help them to advance in an internal struggle which exists in a concealed form, not direct or declared. It is a struggle which goes forward under the impulse of events, but which inevitably has to go towards the structuring of a programme. The necessity of the observation, of the understanding of this process is for this task.

**Il Messagero - A Rome newspaper, where the print workers and journalists who were on strike in defence of freedom of the press, interrupted their strike for two days prior to the Referendum in order to campaign for the 'No'.**

## editorial

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of crude, selfish, brutal and individualist human relations. For the left in the Labour Party to come out publicly in support of the decisions of the Miners and Engineers Conferences! This has meant very directly: no wage ties! No productivity deals, no restrictions on the betterment of the conditions of life of the workers! For the workers to control directly industry, as they have a much better conception of how it should be run! Run for the masses, for the safety of the workers, for the end of the outrageous and criminal accumulation

## Communique of the Conference

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The Conference of the IEC and the extended IS, discussed the strategy and tactics of the IV International (Posadist), to intervene globally and with each section in the process of Partial Regeneration and Historic Re-encounter; to deepen the intervention in the Communist Parties, in the Workers States, in the nationalist movements; to orientate and weigh in the organisation and the development of the left in the Socialist and Communist Parties; to elevate the intervention of the whole of the International working objectively in the public interest, functioning as the Trotskyist/Posadist wing in the world Communist movement, in the world revolutionary movement, with our own texts, and positions to orientate the Communist vanguard to develop fraternal relations with the Communist movement, the Socialists, the nationalists, the Catholic sectors and to constitute an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front in the unconditional defence of the Workers States, to finish with the capitalist system!

These world meetings of the leadership of the IV International (Posadist) discussed together with the tasks and fundamental problems of the world revolutionary and Communist movement, the activity of the sections of the IV International, the progress of all the sections, the global progress of the functioning and the influence of Posadism within the world Communist movement, as part of it, as the Posadist/Trotskyist wing. There is the need to elevate, to extend, to deepen this activity in the process of partial regeneration and in the advance of the historic re-encounter, with the programmatic and tactical tasks of each section as part of the centralised world functioning of the International. The discussion developed with the most complete fraternity and Communist passion, and was itself part of the central task to elevate incessantly in all the sections the theoretical and political capacity of the militants of the International.

The Conference of the IEC and extended IS of the IV International approved unanimously the central exposition presented by Comrade Posadas, and all the additions and interventions which took place in the course of the meeting itself, and saluted with all fervour, fraternity and militant decision, the application of all the resolutions, and saluted Comrade Posadas for his theoretical, political and organising function in the leadership of the International and as the essential

part of the thought and the leadership of the world Communist movement in this stage of history, as with all the texts in preparation for the Conference and the theoretical elaboration from the IV World Conference up to this meeting. It saluted all the sections, their enormous global and particular progress, the Latin American Bureau, the Argentinian and Mexican sections for the very great progress of their influence, in the advance and the organisation of Marxist understanding, in the decisive sectors of the revolutionary nationalist tendencies, the Chilean section which maintained its functioning and activity under the repression of the Junta of assassins, the progress of the Italian section and its intervention in the triumph of the proletariat, and the masses in the May referendum, the French section and its intervention in the historic triumph signified by the approximately 50% vote for the Popular Union, all the European sections, and the other sections in the rest of the world.

The Conference which functioned as an inseparable part of the world Communist movement, sent its salutes and the most complete expression of its fraternity and Communist joy for the uncontrollable progress and global progress of the permanent revolution in the world, to the proletariat, to the masses in the Communist Parties and in the Soviet Union and in all the Workers States, the world proletariat which has already organised and extended the relations of Communism in its daily life, to the proletariat and to the masses of Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, unified in United Front of the immovable resolution to overthrow capitalism and construct Socialism, to the masses and proletariat of Portugal, to the proletariat and the Communist vanguard, to the masses of Italy and France, to the world revolutionary and Communist vanguard, to the nationalist, left Catholic vanguard, revolutionary soldiers, who are won and are united to the movement and the decision of humanity to overthrow every oppression and repression, to establish fraternity and human dignity and advance towards the world construction of Communism. The Conference of the IEC and extended IS of the IV International (Trotskyist/Posadist) closed its session sending these salutes and singing the International with an appeal and a Viva, for the unity of the world Communist movement.

of the goods which the workers produce, and which are kept in stores until such a time when more profits can be made! Away with this! Immediately! For all the wages to rise with the cost of living, all the profits of automation to go to the workers under the form of less hours, more holidays, and increased pay!

Not one worker to be sacked! Full support to the workers of any factory to be closed, with occupations and calls for factory occupations! The Labour left and the left in the trade unions must open a discussion in all the factories, in the areas, for this programme and the entire programme of nation-

alisations; to deepen the ties between the masses and the Party and open the way for the transformation of the structure of the Labour Party.

Such an initiative by the Labour left would open the way to the massive intervention of the British trade unions and workers, the miners, the engineers, and other sectors like the hospital workers directly in the Party. These are methods of fundamental importance to increase the support of the Labour Party in the country, to carry out and extend the policy of nationalisations and social transformation.

# The historic significance of the elections in Sardinia

J. POSADAS

20th JUNE, 1974



Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

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## THE NEED FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

J. POSADAS

## OUT WITH N.A.T.O. FROM PORTUGAL AND CYPRUS!

## For a united front of the Labour Party, trade unions and the population to fight for Labour's programme

The re-occupation of the former Fisher Bendix just a few months after the end of the last occupation shows that the proletariat, once it has begun an action, does not abandon it. This is the force that constantly stimulates and elevates the discussion in the country and in the Labour Party on the need for the nationalisation of all the means of production, distribution and exchange. The intervention of the workers at Fisher Bendix shows that the working class intervenes with the consciousness that it is not possible to develop the country with capitalist laws, programme and policy. For this reason they fight, instead of accepting passively the receiver and the dismantling of the factory.

Capitalism wants to dismantle and liquidate. The workers oppose this and ask why should they waste the wealth that they created, because what is in the factory was made by them for the progress of humanity. They have occupied the factory because their interest is not simply in wage demands, but to utilise the factory for a greater development of the country, for the development of humanity. For this they defend their factory and its machinery; capitalism has no interest in this and throws it away; the workers defend it.

The second closure of Fisher Bendix within a year shows how fragile are all hopes in the success of negotiations and agreements with individual capitalists or with the bourgeoisie as a class. The ruling class is not prepared to make sacrifices in the interest of social peace. On the contrary, all experiences of work, struggle, and life of the working class show that the bourgeoisie is preparing for much more violent confrontations with the masses and with the Labour government. The CBI threatens economic pressures and active sabotage against the Labour government in the same way as capitalism, on a world scale, is not preparing for peace but for war. For this reason less than a week after Nixon's visit to Moscow, with the declared objective of limiting the arms race, both the USA and USSR explode an atom bomb. Although capitalism negotiates and

gives concessions at the same time, it is preparing to strike back. The experience of the workers at Briant Colour Printing Works, who after months of occupation and of work-in, and after having accepted a new boss, were sacked overnight without any warning and without being able to return to their work-places, must be discussed at Fisher Bendix and by all the Labour movement. It is necessary to demand the nationalisation without compensation under workers' control of all industries about to be closed. It was a mistake of the leadership at Briant's not to raise this demand, and it should not be repeated. The trade unions must intervene, mobilising all their forces in defence of the workers at Fisher Bendix, treating this not as a local dispute but as an important part of the struggle for the defence of the right to work at the beginning of a period of recession in which capitalism will try to shut many factories and increase unemployment. For this reason it is important to win this fight in order to stimulate the whole of the movement. The AUEW should mobilise all its forces to develop measures of support and a discussion in factories throughout the country, with a mobilisation at the same level as the one in defence of the AUEW funds in the fight against the Industrial Relations Act. To demand from the government the nationalisation of the factory and to prepare, together with the Labour Party, a plan of nationalisation of all factories about to be closed or about to make redundancies and publicly supporting all anti-capitalist measures of the government. This occupation is a point of support for the Labour Party in order to extend the campaign for nationalisations, showing the incapacity of capitalism to develop the economy and the will of the working class to intervene as the leading class.

It is therefore necessary to organise public meetings, with ample possibilities for discussion, jointly with the trade unions and open to the political forces of the workers' movement with the objective of finding support in this movement. This cannot be a struggle only between Benn and the CBI, the working class must

intervene with all its force and its ideas. It is necessary therefore to discuss all work-ins and occupations since Upper Clyde, discussing the reasons for this movement, that in a short time has involved tens of factories and work places, that therefore is not the product of parti-

cular local conditions, but that develops because the population as a whole supports these measures. The workers at Fisher Bendix must take full advantage of this by opening again the factory to the population and the political parties, calling for mass delegations of nurses, local

government workers and other sectors in struggle, mass delegations from nearby factories, with a programme of discussions, developing a campaign showing the injustice and inefficiency of the capitalist system and calling for the implementation of all the Labour Party conference resolutions. To develop in this way a living united front between the Labour Party, the trade unions and the population which overcomes the limitations of the apparatuses. This would prepare the way for a gigantic united front of all exploited sectors around Labour's programme.

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## THE CONDITIONS IN PORTUGAL ARE RIPE FOR A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT



The resignation of the Portuguese prime minister Palma Carlos, Almeida and the other right wing elements in the council of state was an attempt to precipitate a situation in which Spínola would be able to eliminate the left—the Communist and Socialist Parties—from the council of state and to establish a government consisting of the right wing 'ministers' and senior officers of the Army. However when Spínola actually dismissed the council of state he found no support for anything but to reform it with the left and with Concalves—from the Movement of the Armed Forces—as Prime Minister; and Concalves is by no means from the right! In the few weeks since the overthrow of the fascist regime of Caetano by the Movement of the Armed Forces, the right have tried to establish some kind of stable, bourgeois government and to develop the economy along capitalist lines. Almeida, as minister for 'economic

coordination', produced a plan which included within it measures against the masses, against wage rise and against strikes. The intervention of the masses against this was immediate and, for example, 10,000 civil servants demonstrated in Lisbon against inequalities in the proposals for wage increases and this measure was immediately withdrawn. It is true that the 'economic programme' of Almeida also contained measures of subsidies for smaller capitalist concerns but with it proposals for partial state control over certain major industries such as steel and those industries concerned with 'national defence' which would not strengthen the bourgeoisie.

In order to stabilise themselves the Portuguese bourgeoisie have to develop the economy and, on that basis, find support in the army and among the middle class sectors, but they are incapable of doing it and the

programme of Almeida shows this. It is not determined, however, simply by the fact that the Portuguese economy is one of the weakest in Europe but because, in this stage of the permanent world crisis of capitalism, the Portuguese bourgeoisie finds no support from outside the country and very little within it. Spínola's appeal for 'economic aid' at the time of Nixon's visit to the Azores received no reply and it is a measure of the decomposition of capitalism and imperialism on a world scale that it did not. Neither has the Italian bourgeoisie received any support in the depth of a financial crisis which reflects the complete economic, political and social collapse of Italian capitalism. In this, as in every other respect, the world balance of forces, the concentration of capital in the face of the struggle of the masses, the existence and development of the Workers States and the preparation by world capi-

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# THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTIONS IN SARDINIA

from page 1

## Portugal

### J. POSADAS

20th June, 1974

Sardinia shows the sentiment of Italy. And it is the place which could be considered least suitable, least prepared and the centre which can least communicate the state of will and decision of the working class. The proletariat is very small and has little weight, there is a large number of shepherds, almost half the population speaks Sardinian. There is no real contact and communicative cultural, social, linguistic relationship with the rest of the country. They have an island mentality, and there are mafia interests, caste interests. The weight of the big landowners and the church is very great. All the conditions exist to form a barrier and not allow the influence of the proletariat. But nevertheless the proletariat has entered Sardinia and influenced it powerfully.

When such an election with such success of the left happens in Sardinia, and such a marked advance of the left takes place, it indicates the influence of the proletariat in Italy and of the world. Two events particularly have influenced Sardinia, the vote for the referendum and the mobilisations against the assassinations of Brescia. But when Sardinia responds in this way, it is not Brescia or the referendum which decided, it was ready for this. This allows the people of Sardinia to declare their position, but all the conditions were prepared, if not, the results would not have been shown in the elections. Normally it is a regional election, in which the local interests weigh, and people vote for regional interests. It is not an election which is affected or influenced by the larger interests of policy, of investments, of the economy, of the most important forces. These are elections for local interests, and when, despite local interests, which are in the hands of the Christian Democracy, of the mafia, of a whole gang of mafia, the proletariat succeeds in imposing its influence, attracting and counteracting the weight and the leadership of the Christian Democracy, when the proletariat succeeds in making itself felt, and the influence of the proletarian struggles penetrate Sardinia, it is because the country is ready for complete transformation and changes. If not, there would not be such an influence because Sardinia is the place in Italy, least open to influence. Nevertheless the influence of the proletariat in Italy, and the rest of the struggles of the masses of the world, including France, Latin America, Asia, the Workers States, has reached Sardinia.

This means that the masses of Sardinia live the daily life of struggle, and if the comrades of the Socialist Party had intervened in the elections in United Front, with a common programme, the votes would have increased by 10%. And a complete collapse would have taken place in the Christian Democracy. Thus, we measure the achievements, seeing that the workers' parties did not share a common programme. They did not appear as a United Front, with a common programme for local changes. If the Communist and Socialist comrades had intervened with a common programme for local transformations, nationalisations, workers' control, factory councils, distribution of the land, expulsions from NATO, had they

intervened in such a United Front, the votes would have increased by 10%; not 3% which is the increase to the Socialists compared with the last elections, but by 10%. They attracted the whole of Sardinia. When in an isolated region, isolated also through the dialect, the influence of the world penetrates everywhere, it is because already the conditions are ready for social transformations. This conclusion has to be the basis by which to measure what is happening in the Communist Party, and also in the left of the Christian Democracy. One is not guided by what the leaderships of the left Christian Democracy or the PCI, or the PSI say, but one has to be guided by the significance of the elections in Sardinia.

When the proletariat of the world, the struggles of the masses of the world, the proletariat of Italy succeed in weighing in Sardinia, despite all the obstacles, because it was an election which was not representative and they voted massively, it is because the masses wanted to show that they wanted to take power. They showed it in the referendum, and they showed it in the mobilisations for Brescia. In the course of one month, the proletarian

made three demonstrations of their attitudes, which were decisive and resolved. Such conclusions have to be expressed and such decisions have to be expressed within the Communist and Socialist Parties.

The conditions have developed for an advance to the left. There is no possibility for any government of the right. For some time, we have reiterated, this is not the stage for a government of the right or of the fascists. There are no ways for the right, there is no solution to the right; we said this. The comrades of the Communist Party 'Unita', said after Sardinia, there is no solution to the right. But they have not drawn the conclusion. They hope that the Christian Democracy is going to become disorganised, is going to disintegrate, and they hope in this way, to win over the left, break the right, throw out the right from the Christian Democracy, and then to be able to make a policy that is more left. They are making this policy, but it means a very long wait, a distant perspective, and it gives the possibility to the enemy to reorganise, to make attacks, to slow down the process. Decisive steps have to be taken now, so

that the enemy can be deprived of the possibility of re-taking breath and recuperating.

The comrades of the PCI speak of reforms, who can make these reforms? Can the government make them? The bourgeoisie? The Christian Democracy? The workers' parties and the trade unions can make them, and it has to be posed that only the trade unions and the workers' parties can introduce reforms. A government of the left can make these reforms opening the road to nationalisations, to a much greater progress which prepares much more profound reforms. Had they prepared a programme of reforms saying that the workers' parties and the trade unions could apply them, they would have increased their votes by 10%. Undoubtedly, this is going to produce a series of reactions in the Christian Democracy, and attacks. They have tried to make various provocations, and right up to now, they have only hurt themselves. All the blows which they try to give, have only resulted in collapse. They do not have strength or support. We have to be based on this conclusion.

In the Communist Parties, they are discussing all this. It would be

absurd to think that the comrades of the Communist Party do not live these problems. They live them integrally. They have doubts about drawing the necessary conclusions, because there is no party prepared to do this. The masses have resolved to do this, and the bourgeoisie understands that the comrades of the Communist Party have not shown any interest in canalising this, to orientate a government of the left. Thus the government tries to negotiate with the trade unions. It opposes the trade unions to the party or seeks to impel the trade union bureaucracy to contain the party. It seeks to yield the least possible, hence it tries to solve this stage, at the top. Hence *Correra de la Sera* and *Il Messaggero* pose that a policy which takes into account the opinion of the Communist Party is necessary. It is a policy which, without being defeatist is close to defeatism, it is a policy of pessimism. They feel that they do not have the strength nor the economic capacity, nor the social, or political, or military capacity.

The comrades of the Communist Party must have a great concern to discuss. The discussion is not visible, because there is no internal

life to stimulate the discussion. When the trade unions are to the left of the parties, and take resolutions and the trade union leaders are to the left of the parties, it is because they express the concern of the vanguard, of the militants, of the trade union cadres, who are Communists and Socialists. They are not militants and leaders who are far from the Communist and Socialist Parties, they are these cadres. When the crisis in the SCIL and in the UIL, and the Social Democrats impels the Socialists in the crisis against Vanni, it is because they are seeking to contain the rebellion in the trade union base, which is Communist and Socialist. They do not do this in the Party, because there is no life in the Party. But the masses show that they do not break with the parties, they try to use the trade unions to exert a pressure on the Party. Meanwhile, in the trade union field, the masses have destroyed coexistence, the social pact, the historic compromise. They have defeated it, and they have forced a change in the sense of the historic compromise, and they make a policy of opposition to capitalism. And in the trade union field, the masses oppose their leaderships and force them to change and in the political field, they vote unanimously. It is a massive election which they have carried out in Sardinia, and if they had an attitude of opposition, of confrontation with their leadership, an attitude of critical reaction, of the base and of the cadres towards their leadership, there would have been an electoral abstention in Sardinia. But there was a massive vote and a very great increase in Communist and Socialist votes. Two years ago, in the national elections of 1972, the Communists increased their vote by 1½% which is a great deal, and in relation to the previous regional election, they increased by 7%. And the Socialists from 1972 till now, increased by 3½%, while the Christian Democracy went down by 3%.

The proletariat voted massively, and it is seeking to weigh on its leadership. It shows an immense political resolution, and an attitude of political maturity. This cannot help but show itself in the Communist and Socialist parties. If the proletariat of Sardinia voted by 5% more than in other elections, and after elections in which the fascists increased their votes, constantly defeats them, if the proletariat in spite of protesting and opposing its leadership and forcing it to change, votes massively, it is because it has a very elevated maturity, and seeks the way to exert pressure on its party. If it has not done this until now, it is because there is no political life in the Party, but now, it is going to seek the way to make itself felt through the trade unions, through the factories and assemblies.

The development of a left is inevitable, it is not organic, it does not have a leadership nor has it a programme so that it can be an organism, but yes, it is going to advance, and the tendency is going to grow and the inclination to see that there is the possibility to go to the government of the left now.

There were three important events in one month—from the 12th of May till the 17th of June, the referendum, Brescia, and Sardinia. Three events in which the proletariat massively, showed its readiness to weigh, to decide, to attract the country. As politically the leaderships of the parties did not respond to the will of the masses, these acted through the trade unions. But when they can, they demonstrate also politically in the elections in Sardinia.

The masses are rebelling in Italy, in France, and throughout the world. There is a relationship which is more and more frequent of confrontation between the base and the leadership, between the militant cadres and leaders and the leadership. There is no break, but confrontation, in which the base of the Party, wants to impel the Party to go further. As this is not allowed in the Party, they do it in the trade unions, hence the crisis in the trade unions, and the crisis with Vanni. This is a means of liquidating the wing conciliatory with the management, and it is not going to remain there only, it will give a very great impulse to cleanse the CSIL and CGIL. Such a conclusion could only appear in this stage and not before.

It is a beautiful stage which prepares great conditions for the immediate future, the road towards the left advances, with very great force, impulse and impetus. The Communist and Socialist leaders vacillate before this solution. They are obliged to exert a pressure on the government but very delicately, so that the government yields in part. Capitalism cannot yield, it is not in a condition to yield. The only hope of capitalism is to make a coup, and it has not launched it yet, although it had and has the intention, because it feels that it is losing. The possibilities of the coup disintegrate, because there is resistance in the petit bourgeoisie, in the workers, in the peasants, and in part in the Christian Democracy, and the planners if the coup feel that the masses are going to answer with the revolutionary counter coup.

This crisis is not going to stay where it is, this government cannot resolve anything, there will be a constant process of crisis towards the government of the left. A government of the left will impel enormously the struggle of the masses, stimulate the Communist, Socialist Parties and the trade unions. One has only to look at the world situation to analyse the very great deficiencies of capitalism. Capitalism does not have the capacity or the means to resolve problems, least of all in Italy. The interest and the duty of world capitalism was to resort to the defence of Italian capitalism, to give it money, so that they could invest and develop the economy, and they could not do it because they have not got any. World capitalism has money but not to invest in Italy. It cannot do this, because it competes with Italian capitalism. And besides the problem is not to invest but how, when, and in what conditions? Private property has a limit, if it in-

vests for a market that does not exist, it has no interest. It is just an investment which leads to a loss. Then capitalism looks elsewhere, whilst the concentration of finance capital controlled by the Yanks, increases. Italy cannot develop from a capitalist point of view. If it invests in Italy, it will be done by the so-called "multi-nationals", which will be Yankee, British, French, German capital, and its development will be very small because there is no possibility of a market. On the other hand, the liberation movements increase, which limit and reduce the possibility for the development of capitalism as with Portugal and which is opening the gates to Spain, Greece, and Turkey.

The process of crisis of the capitalist system advances on a world scale, and reduces as a consequence, its possibility of intervening on a world-wide scale. The Communist Parties don't seek support on these conditions, the masses, yes. Hence in Sardinia, everybody voted, and the Italian and world masses voted in Sardinia. Such an election can be local or national, because it happens in a particular place, but it is also world-wide, because all the struggles of the masses of the world, and the progress of the revolution, which orientate the thought of the workers, of the petit bourgeoisie, of the peasants, and of the lower layers of the bourgeoisie also, can intervene in the elections. These last sectors do not contribute to the triumph of the proletariat, but neither to sustaining the capitalist system. They maintain it from the point of view of capitalist competition, but they do not give ideas or stimulus or structure to sustain capitalism.

They live and vegetate. The crisis cannot be contained either now, or tomorrow, or in the past. A constant course of crisis will continue and the only solution is the govern-

ment of the left, and the process will go towards this. It is a process which is going to increase. There is no perspective that capitalism is going to recover its territory, can recover, or dishearten the proletariat, or make it retreat. There is no perspective that capitalism can recover lost territory, or dishearten the proletariat. This is going to influence the Communist Parties more than now.

It is necessary to make a policy and give a perspective for the accentuation of this process, which in general, in very elevated lines, or in the most pronounced way, is expressed by the Yugoslav Communist Party, which shows what is happening in the heart of the Communist vanguard, which wants to return to the Communist conception. It is not an activity peculiar to, or special to the Yugoslav Communist Party. It has happened in Yugoslavia, but if it has been centralised in Yugoslavia, it is because the Communist world is weighing and deciding to advance on the road to Communism. It is not possible to make the Yugoslav Communist Party advance, as against the rest of the Communist Parties who are backward! It was the only party which confronted Stalin, it was alone and isolated. It reached the borders of going back to capitalism and the proletariat—a small proletarian nucleus,—maintained the Party within the bounds of Marxism. On this basis it recovered and now it returns to impel the whole Communist world.

They are going to do the same in Italy, and history does not allow it to adapt, and history means the Communist masses, the masses of world, and the crisis of the capitalist system, which does not allow an adaptation of the Communist Party with the capitalist system. It is obliged to advance, it is necessary to count on this.

## TROTSKYIST PRESS

- ALGERIA:** *Revolution Socialiste*, organ of the Groupe IV Internationale (Trotskyist)—Clandestine.
- ARGENTINA:** *Voz Proletaria* organ of the Partido Obrero (Trotskyist)—Casilla de Correos 2938—Capital Federal—Argentina.
- BELGIUM:** *Lutte Ouvriere* and *Arbeidstrajd* (in Flemish) organs of the Parti Ouvrier Revolutionnaire (Trotskyist)—Boite Postale 273—Charleroi 1—Belgium.
- BOLIVIA:** *Lucha Obrera* organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist) Casilla de Correo 644—Oruro—Bolivia.
- BRAZIL:** *Frente Operaria* organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist)—Clandestine.
- BRITAIN:** *Red Flag*, organ of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist)—24 Cranbourn Street, London, WC2.
- CHILE:** *Lucha Obrera* organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist)—Clandestine.
- CUBA:** *Voz Proletaria* organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist)—Mont 12 apt 11 piso 2—La Habana—Cuba.
- ECUADOR:** *Lucha Comunista* organ of the Partido Comunista Revolucionario (Trotskyist)—Apartado 3276—Quito—Ecuador.
- FRANCE:** *Lutte Communiste* organ of the Parti Communiste, Revolucionnaire (Trotskyist) Roc'Heongar—63, rue Hugo, 92 Courbevoie—Paris France.
- GERMANY:** *Arbeiter Stimme* organ of the Gruppe Revolutionärer Kommunisten (Trotskyist)—P. Shulz—6 Firm—Postfach 16708—Frankfurt/Main, W Germany.
- GREECE:** *Kommunistiki Pali* organ of the Revolutionary Communist Party (Trotskyist)—Clandestine.
- ITALY:** *Lotta Operaia* organ of the Partito Comunista Rivoluzionario (Trotskyist)—Piero Leone—Casella Postale 5059—00153 Roma Ost.—Rome—Italy.
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- SPAIN:** *Lucha Obrera* organ of the Partido Revolucionario (Trotskyist)—Clandestine.
- SWEDEN:** *Kommunistik Kamp* organ of the Revolutionära Kommunistiska Gruppen (Trotskyist)—use address of British Section.
- URUGUAY:** *Frente Obrero* organ of the Partido Obrero Revolucionario (Trotskyist) Zulm Nogara—Gral Flores 2515—Montevideo—Uruguay.

## Nationalisation of the press must be an integral part of Labour's programme

*The Discussion Paper just published by the Labour Party, The People and the Media, is a marked advance in the thinking and understanding within the Labour Party on the role of the press and the media and the tendency towards concentration and greater control by the monopolies. In this country, 3 newspaper corporations control 90% of all national and local newspapers and of these, three own 80%, which in the majority of cases are controlled by the Chairmen and their families. These monopolies have managed to squeeze out all competitors and made it virtually impossible for any newcomer to break into their market. This concentration is the inevitable tendency of capitalism in this stage, which needs to concentrate both its economic and political forces in order to utilise them to the fullest in their struggle against the working class and the advance of the revolution.*

*However, it is futile for the Labour Party to bemoan the fate of the 'independent' newspaper, because a really independent press has never existed under capitalism. The press and the media have always been wielded as a weapon to defend the interests of the dominant class, and it is only more blatant and overt in its intentions today because capitalism has neither the force nor the resources to afford an illusion of democracy. The bourgeoisie has always needed the press in order to try and influence public opinion and to mould and portray a certain image of its strength and domination in society on all matters, politics, science, culture, art, on all aspects of life. But in this stage the working class and the masses are no longer impressed by this, and see instead the utter collapse of capitalism, its social and political disintegration and also its poverty of ideas and lack of perspectives for the future of humanity. What influences and stimulates the working class and petit bourgeoisie far more is the world advance of the revolution and the leading role and initiatives being taken by the working class. People are more influenced by intelligence and reasoning and by what they can see happening all round them than by the distortions and lies put out by the bourgeois press.*

*In order to struggle for a free press it is not possible to try to fight this concentration and to go back to the days when there was a proliferation of 'independent' newspapers, but to decide into whose hands the press is going to be concentrated. The Discussion Document doesn't pose the need for nationalisation, and yet this is the only means of ensuring that the press is truly democratic and representative of the interests of those sectors which play a decisive role in the economy and society. In its last conference, the National Union of Journalists passed a resolution calling for a genuine free press on the basis of the nationalisation of all newspaper plant and machinery, under workers' control and with free access to all groups within the community'. This resolution is more advanced than the proposals laid down in the Discussion Document and should be taken as a point of support for the Labour Party to take up this proposal, which reflects the decision and feelings of the workers in this industry. In the same way the ACTT (union of*

*cinema and television technicians) have called for the nationalisation under workers' control of their industry and for it to be put at the service of the building of Socialism. How is it possible to advance if not on the basis of a nationalised press? If the Labour Party is prepared to nationalise all the fundamental sectors of industry, how can it draw the line when it comes to the press and 'news' media. This is a sector which can be a fundamental instrument of the working class and must be put under state control and linked to the rest of Labour's programme of nationalisations.*

*The closing of the three Beaverbrook newspapers in Glasgow shows that capitalism is not interested in keeping newspapers open as social assets, and close them down as soon as they cease to be profitable. The Labour Party should immediately nationalise these concerns and all newspapers about to be closed and operate them under workers' control as a first step towards the full nationalisation of the newspaper industry. This must include the newsprint and all allied industries, in order to take them outside the control of capitalism. The move to introduce a differential price system for newsprint, favourable to the small press and disadvantageous to the big monopolies, is an important initiative. This industry cannot be left in the hands of capitalism, which creates artificial shortages in order to increase its prices and to force out the smaller concerns by charging prohibitive prices.*

*What justification can there be for the press remaining in the hands of the big newspaper proprietors? Who do they represent? By what right do they push their opinions on us as though they stood aloof from and above society, when in actual fact, far from doing that, most of them have very concrete and direct interests to defend. Most of the newspaper owners do not confine their interests to the press, but also have financial links with all sectors of capitalism, from oil to banks, airways to commercial television, and defence of these interests is what dictates their newspaper policies. Nor can the press afford to remain independent when it is completely dependent on revenue from advertising in order to survive.*

*Only the working class can make the 'news' media play a valuable role in society, utilising the press and television for the diffusion of ideas and culture and for the progress and benefit of humanity. Capitalism uses the media for the suppression of ideas, this is its objective. It hampers and censors any ideas or developments which conflict with its class interests. For this reason the Labour Party and the Labour movement must not confuse the idea of a free press with the bourgeois conception of freedom. There are no sectors of society which stand immune from the class divisions in society and who can give impartial, unbiased reportage and analyses of events. But whereas the working class represents progress for humanity, the bourgeoisie is an obstacle to this progress. By what right do they impose their opinions on the rest of us? We have no interest in allowing them to go on airing their views. Just as they contribute nothing to the wealth of the economy, in the same way they produce nothing in the way of ideas or sentiments which are of benefit to humanity. We are concerned not just with the taking of power but also with the construction of socialism, the development*

talism—led by Yankee imperialism—for the war expresses itself in Portugal. There is no solution for capitalism towards the right and, at the same time, they cannot adapt themselves to the process.

It is clear that the intervention of the army in Portugal, in the new council of state is not going to be in support of the bourgeoisie. How could it be? It was the movement of the armed forces, which launched the coup that smashed fascism and opened the war for the intervention of the masses. Since then there has been a constant mobilisation of the masses, strikes, factory occupations, demonstrations and the links between the soldiers and the masses, established in the first days, has been strengthened.

This doesn't mean that the army can substitute for the workers' parties, for the trade unions, or for the organisms—the factory committees and committees in the workers' districts—but it will be difficult for the bourgeoisie to use the army as it was used against the masses in Chile. The Portuguese army is disintegrated; in Mozambique for example, soldiers who are supposed to be fighting the guerrillas simply continue to act as they acted before the final overthrow of fascism in Portugal; they discuss and play football with the guerrillas. The movement of the armed forces was for democracy and the soldiers see that the bourgeoisie can neither establish nor ensure even bourgeois democracy. However it is not—anywhere else—the army which determines the process, it is the masses. In Portugal the masses have established, from the very first days, a structure of relationship with the soldiers in strikes, demonstrations and mobilisations. The intervention with the red carnations was a programme, a direct appeal towards the army, a means of winning the soldiers to the struggles of the masses. There has been a process of discussion, of a political life in the streets, in the barracks, in the factories and in the workers' areas.

It is a weakness of the leadership of the Communist Party that it still does not base itself fully on these forces. It is clear that they are going to continue to participate in the council of state, in the government for the next period and it is possible for certain gains to be made; the complete independence of the former colonies of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau for example, but the Portuguese bourgeoisie is not simply going to sit still and accept this situation. They are not going to surrender, to disappear voluntarily but they are going to continue to manoeuvre, to try to impel sectors of the army to launch a coup against the masses. The organisation of a special army force—"COPCON"—to "deal with civil unrest" is a proof of this and, even if it is not clear if the control of "COPCON" is in the hands of the left or the right of the army, it is a force which would be used in a coup against the masses.

The force of the proletariat, of the masses which is expressed in the gains made by the Communist Party in the local councils is not expressed fully in the policy of the leadership of the Communist Party in the government. The continued acceptance of a long period—perhaps until next March—of preparation for "democratic elections" serves nobody but the bourgeoisie. There is the necessity for a programme, for an

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# THE NEED FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

J. POSADAS

5th FEBRUARY 1974

The most urgent and imperious need of humanity is the unification of the Workers States. The principal element of culture and progress of human civilisation, demands this: the Workers States have to be unified. This has to be the fundamental conclusion for the world Communist movement—the unification of China with the Soviet Union is necessary. And also the unification of China, the USSR, Germany and the United States; but still one cannot pose this in relation to the United States because it is capitalist. But the Workers States, yes. And it is necessary to struggle that they do this, to see that in the world Communist movement, they discuss the need for unification, not as a slogan for the first of May, but as a permanent programmatic concern that is uninterrupted: Sino-Soviet unification, unification of all the Workers States, political and social planning of the economy, military planning. This is the most important objective to attain and also the most important measure for the progress of humanity.

The crisis of imperialism which is preparing the war demands pre-occupation but just as important is how to foresee the process on the basis that capitalism now no longer decides in history. It is the Workers States that decide. In the world Communist movement, in the Communist Parties, in the trade union movement, in the Socialist Parties, it is necessary to pose as an essential slogan: unification of the Workers States! This is the most powerful impulse for the progress of humanity. We do not remain subjected to or allow ourselves to be intimidated by the difficulties arising from the powerful weight of the bureaucracy of each Workers State. More powerful than all these, is the revolutionary struggle of the masses, the progress

of planning, of the conscious utilisation of science in the Workers States.

The world proletariat, the proletarian vanguard, the Workers States reach the same conclusion: the unification of China and the USSR and of all the Workers States is a historic necessity, Soviet democracy has to be applied and the Communist Parties must unify to stimulate the task of overthrowing the capitalist regime. It sought to reply with the meeting of the Communist Parties in Brussels and Lyons, there they were unified but it was a very short unification. And the programme to maintain such a unification did not emerge. It was a meeting which did not conclude with a programme, the common programme was missing, and it is necessary that the Communist Parties of Europe unite with an anti-capitalist programme.

Objective necessity tends to unify the Workers States, it is the structure which forces them to advance seeking to coordinate and homogenise their policies. This perspective has to be foreseen. It is not the result of our proposals or anything that Trotsky proposed. We propose it, because we are the conscious expression of this unconscious process of history, but the Workers States through their structure need to be united. If the USSR was united with China, they would make 1,000 times over the progress that they are making now. They do not unify because the Chinese bureaucracy and the Soviet bureaucracy do not want to, not because of structural impediments in the Workers States. There is no Soviet democracy, if it existed in China, the first thing the masses would say, is that it is necessary to unite with the USSR. This would rise as a natural thing in the mind

of the Chinese and Soviet masses.

The dignified attitude of the world proletariat is shown by the fact that they do not make any serious criticism of the lack of unification between China and the Soviet Union. They do not push forward a campaign of opposition or attacks, but they try to impel. As there is no organised political life, they cannot weigh organically. It is necessary to see that this is resolved, that the Communist Parties, the trade unions, and the workers movement discuss. One of the forms of support to the Popular Union in France would be the unification of China and the USSR.

The division is the product of bureaucratic struggles not of historic necessity. And this should be discussed in the factories, in the CGT (Confederation Generale du Travail) and in the assemblies. They are not separations motivated by economic interests or political or social needs, but because the leaderships have bureaucratic interests. This is one of the most urgent tasks of humanity which will exercise a decisive influence on the orientation of the revolutionary Marxist party in America. If today in the USSR and China, they called demonstrations in the factories and meetings to discuss the unification of the Workers States, the problems of the economy and the world policy, and brought out resolutions in the factories, the authority and the weight of the world revolution in the United States would be increased a thousand

The unification of China and the USSR is the most powerful instrument for the progress of humanity. It is the principal task which has to be developed in the world Communist movement.

J. Posadas

## Portugal

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intervention by the Communist Party, by the workers' movement for immediate democracy in the army, for full trade union rights, for the right of the soldiers to function politically in the barracks. In part this latter already exists and the proposal for the election of officers, whatever limitations it may contain, is an indication of this. At the same time organic links have to be made between the organisation of the masses and the soldiers. The conditions are ripe for this but it cannot be done on the basis of simply defending the gains already made; it has to be done on the basis of a programme for the development of the economy, based on a programme of nationalisations, of expropriations of the 'multinationals' and the big estates, and for a government which represents the actual balance of forces which exists; the balance of forces expressed in the fact that when Spínola proposed

in the council of state to give Carlos Palma more power he was defeated by 18 votes to 3. It is necessary, then, to pose the demand for a government of the left, of the Communist Party and the trade unions.

The audacity to demand a government of the left by the leadership of the Communist Party, of the workers' movement has to be passed on the mobilisations of the masses—consciousness that the Portuguese masses have already demonstrated—and on the balance of forces within Portugal but, above all, on the continuous mobilisations—in strikes, factory occupations, meetings, demonstrations—of the proletariat and the

masses. The smashing of fascism would not have been possible if the world process of the revolution had not weighed in Portugal and, in its turn, the struggle, the triumphs of the Portuguese masses has encouraged and stimulated the struggle of the world masses. In the most immediate sense in Europe, in France, in Italy and in Spain. It is necessary for appeals to be made by the leadership of the left in Portugal for support from the Workers' Movement in Europe, from the Communist and Socialist Parties, from the trade unions and, above all, from the Soviet Union and the other Workers States.

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## NATIONALISATIONS

of Marxist ideas, the deepening of fraternal and Communist relations and the bourgeoisie is alien and opposed to all this.

The workers in the printing industry in this country and elsewhere have completely rejected the right of the bourgeoisie to propagate its views and have shown how the working class intervene, not in their own interests but in the interests of the whole of society. When the bourgeoisie have tried to publish views which the print workers disagreed with, there have been immediate strikes and either the offending articles, cartoons, or advertisements have been withdrawn, or else the unions have insisted on printing their statements of refutation alongside them. Also in Portugal, immediately after the overthrow of Caetano, one of the first actions of the working class was to take over the fascist newspapers, throw out pro-Caetano editors and owners and run the presses themselves. One of the most elevated examples of the consciousness of the working class was seen in Italy in the strike of the journalists and print workers in *Il Messagero*, a right wing Roman newspaper, against the increasing control of the press by the right wing, and calling for a free press. They interrupted the strike for the two days prior to the referendum on the divorce in order to campaign for the 'No'. The working class have far less respect for the so called freedom of the bourgeoisie than their parties do, and when necessary intervene independently to prevent the bourgeoisie functioning.

In this country it is fundamental for the Labour movement that the Labour Party has a mass daily newspaper which will propagate its views and proposals, campaign for its nationalisations programme and denounce the campaign of intimidation and attacks on nationalisations being made by the *Aims of Industry* and the Tory press. There is no daily newspaper of the Labour movement, except the *Morning Star* which has a very small circulation, and the Labour Party and trade unions need a paper which puts forward and campaigns for Marxist ideas, open to all tendencies of the Labour movement. The bourgeois concept that articles and reports have to be written by professional journalists as though they were some sort of elite with particular literary capacities has to be discarded. What determines the quality of an article is not the form or the literary style, but the social responsibility of having something to say which is what determines the force of what is actually said. For this reason the Labour and trade union movement must intervene directly in the press with their views and analyses, producing a paper with a high political level. Obviously this poses the need for a high political and theoretical level within the Labour Party itself, which can only be achieved by a better political life and functioning of the Labour Party and the organisation of a current prepared to struggle for these objectives.

**FOR THE NATIONALISATION OF ALL NEWSPAPER PLANT AND MACHINERY WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!**

**FOR THE FULL NATIONALISATION OF THE CINEMA INDUSTRY AND TELEVISION UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!**

**FOR STATE AND LOCAL BROADCASTING TO BE UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL!**

**FOR ALL THESE DEMANDS TO BE INCORPORATED IN LABOUR'S PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS!**

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## editorial

expressing the real Will of the country, and not limiting the initiatives of the Labour Party to parliament.

While in the country and in the Labour Party the anticapitalist forces are strengthened, Mayhew leaves the Labour Party on his own, without any force or movement to support him. If he had any force he would announce his intention to stand again at the next election in East Woolwich but he knows he doesn't stand a chance. The Labour Party is still full of MPs of this type who represent only themselves. If they represented a real force, a current of opinion within the Labour movement, why don't they organise any demonstrations, meetings, mass reliefs? Even Taverner, despite having won a seat, has not organised a movement, on the contrary all active forces within the Labour movement want Socialism, reflecting the will of the great majority of the population. In this way the speeches in favour of consensus politics by Wilson at the weekend, need to be explained: whose consensus? That of the forces in society that are alive, that can provide the only solution to the crisis of this system,

or that of the walking mummies that make up those silent majorities that at decisive moments are always shown to be minorities? Throughout the world all the bourgeois parties with a certain popular electoral base are undergoing massive defeats. The latest is the humiliation of the liberal-democrats in Japan which is the result of the enormous advance of Communists and Socialists against a massive intervention of the big corporations in support of the bourgeois candidates. Japanese capitalism concentrated all its efforts, vast sums of money, in this electoral campaign and it failed dismally. United to the defeat of the Conservatives in Canada this defeat of the Liberal Democrats shows how the attempts of the bourgeoisie to reverse the trend with massive campaigns on the same lines as that of the *Aims of Industry* are destined to failure. Capitalism is not going to halt its social crisis with advertising campaigns. Their objective is to stimulate and reanimate the Conservatives' forces within the Labour movement. The Labour movement must answer, elevating the programmatic content of all its struggles.

# The decisive historic importance of the electoral progress of the Communist Party in Japan

J. POSADAS

Centre pages

10th July, 1974

## THE LABOUR MOVEMENT MUST DEMAND IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL BRITISH TROOPS FROM CYPRUS

The struggle inside the Labour Party which, in the last days, has shown itself with renewed intensity in the statement of Jenkins and the reaction of the left to it—and in the appearance of some form of organisation of the right wing Labour MP's—is an expression of the fact that the crisis of capitalism on both a world and national scale is reaching the structure of the Labour Party. Jenkins speaks as a representative of the bourgeoisie in it, but he speaks from a position which is outside the structure of the party. The fact that his speech was not distributed by Transport House—which is 'normal practice' with speeches of Labour ministers—shows that, without there actually being a structural change in the Labour Party, the left has strengthened its position and it becomes more difficult for the right to use its bourgeois structure. This doesn't mean that the class struggle is—or can be—determined inside the apparatus of the Labour Party but it does reflect the balance of social forces within the country. This, in turn, is an expression of the balance of forces on a world scale which is entirely favourable to the proletariat, the masses and the Workers States. However the fact that the structure of the Labour Party does not now entirely serve the right wing, does not mean that Jenkins, Prentice and the rest are likely to follow the

for the right wing because it raises not only the question of the development of the economy but the whole question of the role of Britain in the world strategy of imperialism—led by Yankee imperialism—to confront the Workers States and the advance of the struggle of the masses. However, to a great extent, this discussion inside the Labour Party, and the Trade Unions is still limited to a discussion on the economic advantages and disadvantages of British membership of the EEC but it is increasingly more difficult for the discussion to be continued on this level. Jenkins and the whole chorus of support from Prentice, Williams, the bourgeois press and the Tory Party does not simply defend the EEC, but pose the question of the "Western Alliance" on the military level and it is a further indication of the weakness of the right wing at this moment that they have to use the bourgeois press to carry on this struggle. At the same time it is a weakness of the left that whilst it opposes membership of the EEC, it still does not link it with the role of NATO. It is not possible to ignore the role of British imperialism in Cyprus, for example, when at the same time as Callaghan is negotiating for a 'peaceful' solution in Cyprus, the number of British troops on the island has been doubled. It is true that the coup, stimulated by the



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## THE NEW CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN GREECE AND THE UNITED FRONT FOR DEMOCRACY AND SOCIALISM

25th JULY, 1974

J. POSADAS

The failure of the coup of Imperialism in Cyprus, the fall of the reactionary military wing in Greece, shows that capitalism cannot organise any process with the security to triumph. The interest of Yankee imperialism was to use the circumstances of a coup in Cyprus to throw out Makarios, to form a movement for dictatorship, to impose this also in Greece, to increase the dominion of a military sector in the dictatorship and to stimulate also in Spain, in Belgium and in Turkey, a process to contain the influence of Portugal.

Imperialism sought to animate the bourgeoisie in these countries, these military sectors, to confront, to intervene, to cut short the revolutionary process, and to prepare in this way, the best conditions for the war. This was their intention. The reaction of the Soviets in an immediate form, — even without having intervened directly — in a diplomatic form, with the movement of the fleet, was to communicate that they were going to intervene and to stimulate the intervention of the masses.

The intervention of imperialism was a counter revolutionary intervention. They sought to stimulate in Greece, the reactionary wing of the dictatorship, to take power into their hands, and to make an alliance with the right. They see that in Greece there is a nationalist military sector which is waiting, which is not organised or is afraid, does not have the strength, does not have the resolution to intervene, and there is no political organisation which stimulates it to intervene more openly. Imperialism tries to contain this wing in Greece, and to impel the reactionary military sectors. The fall of the reactionary military wing, shows the weakness of this sector, that it could have been overthrown before, and that now a big step forward can be given to advance in the struggle against imperialism.

This coup in Greece was made

without the Soviet Union appearing visibly. It is an artificial movement which does not have historic force to triumph. It was made furtively. They broke all the resistance and unleashed all the contradictions among themselves. But without the intervention of the Soviet Union without the presence, the declaration, the threat that the Soviet Union was going to intervene, Yankee imperialism would continue its line. What prevented it doing it? The 10,000 students who mobilised in Greece? They had mobilised before also. The movement of the Turks?

They had also moved before. The Yanks were afraid. And the Turks mobilised because they felt they were being by-passed? Or because the Soviets were going to support them? The Turks invaded Cyprus because they have the Soviets on their side, otherwise, they would

They would have delayed an invasion. The Yankees could have intervened. The Israelis also! What prevented them intervening? Israel is a wing of Yankee imperialism, why did it not intervene? Until now they have pushed forward their policy without thinking about the peoples, the demonstrations, or protests? They did not care a damn. And this time is important that a few Turks intervene. Why? Because behind the Turks there were the Soviets who gave signal. And they felt that behind the Soviets there was more than the Soviets, there was the development of the revolution, throughout the Mediterranean including Italy, including France! Hence Giscard emerged crying "Viva Karamanlis". Thirty planes for Karamanlis, my best friend." He did not send them to re-establish the truth, but to protect the capitalist system in France which was in danger in Cyprus and in Greece. Behind all this, they saw the Soviet intervention which was stimulating and had no other remedy than to impel the Communist parties and the masses to overthrow the existing capitalist powers. It radicalised all the class struggles in Europe. Hence Imperialism moved in this way. Hence they had such an unhappy conclusion after more than two thousand had been killed by the assassin Sampson. This shows that they had a

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### THIS IS NOT THE EPOCH OF FASCISM, IT IS THE EPOCH OF THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

16th May, 1974

J. Posadas

example of Mayhew at this moment and leave the Labour Party. Rather, they are going to continue, even from a position of weakness, to fight within it, since it has already been demonstrated to them by the experience of Taverner that the only strength which they have comes from what remains of the bourgeois structure and apparatus of the Labour Party itself.

One of the most important aspects which has provoked this attack by the right wing is the fact that the National Executive Committee (NEC) has taken the decision to call a 'special' two-day conference to discuss membership of the EEC. It is a fundamental defeat for the right wing because the result of such a conference would be, without doubt, a decision to withdraw from the EEC. It is a fundamental defeat

Pentagon, has badly misfired and the end result of it has been the weakening of NATO in the Eastern Mediterranean. Portugal is also virtually lost as a NATO base. But NATO is still an instrument of imperialism and a constant threat of war against the masses.

The left of the Labour Party, sectors of the trade unions and the workers movement in general have protested against the attacks on the masses of Cyprus but no intervention has been made by the left of the Labour Party demanding the withdrawal of British troops and bases. The left in the Labour Party has to be aware that the campaign which is being launched by the Tory Party, by the CBI—and the 'Aims of Industry'—and by the right wing against the policy of

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## THE IMPERIALIST FARCE OF NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS

4th July, 1974

PAGE 4

J. POSADAS

# The decisive historic importance of the electoral progress of the Communist Party in Japan

10th July, 1974

The electoral victory of the Socialists and Communists and of the Komeito<sup>(1)</sup> too, but particularly the advance of the Communists, points to a sharpening of the class struggle in Japan. The small losses of the Social Democrats are of no importance. These elections are a very acute sharpening of the class struggle, expressed in an electoral form. This is going to develop in strikes, factory occupations, discussions, struggles against imperialism.

When in such a short time there is such a consistent and great concentration, such a constant progress and advance of Communists and Socialists—nine seats more for the Communists, almost doubling their representation and three more for the Socialists—it is because there are historical changes in the population who are seeking a solution outside capitalism. This is due not only to Japanese problems, but to world wide factors, that influence it. The population lives intensely. Sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, of the peasantry, civil servants, technicians, administrators, and a young proletariat of peasant origin recently incorporated in industry, are won by the world process of the revolution and by the struggle of the Japanese proletariat. This can only happen when there is a very great world wide advance. In two years, the Communists have won four million votes. This means that in the heart of the class there is a polarisation of decision that is caused, not by Japanese problems, but by world problems. Japanese problems influence but they are not fundamental. In Japan there is work, employment. In comparison with the previous history of Japan there is a higher standard of living. But the decision of the masses to improve their conditions with their intervention in the problems of the economy and society is even greater. It points to a deepening of the class struggle that is going to find expression at other times. In this moment the elections, with the victory of Communists and Socialists, indicate this.

This is going to produce consequences within the petit bourgeoisie on top of the concrete, direct consequence that Tanaka<sup>(2)</sup> has lost the absolute majority. It is going to shake the power of the Prime Minister, that is to say, the power of the bourgeoisie in Japan. Japan is one of the fundamental bases of imperialism in the Far East. It is the centre. It is the India of the Far East.

This victory of Socialists and Communists puts in question the domination of imperialism. Not immediately and completely, but it puts it in question in the minds, the conclusions, the thoughts, of the capitalists as well, who see that they are going to lose power. This is going to influence all the other countries in the Far East, including Thailand. The very great advance of the Communists and Socialists in the Japanese elections coincides with the advance of the struggles in Thailand, where a part of the students are again mobilising all the population. Everyone intervenes, but

the students give the political line. Workers, peasants and soldiers have joined in. The struggles grow, they restart at a much more elevated level.

This is going to find an expression in Japan in a short while in struggles against imperialism and for a programme of much more elevated demands and of advance towards power: Socialists and Communists to power! It is necessary to pose the need for an advance towards power. This questions all imperialist domination. These very elections do it, because they show the security of the Japanese alliance, and the very rapid advance of the Japanese masses: it is not accidental, but profound and conscious. There is no crisis in Japan, no unemployment, except the normal unemployment of capitalism, it is a growing economy that invests and exports capital. When, with these conditions, Japanese imperialism cannot solve the problems of political domination, it is due to the maturation of the masses who fight against it, impelling the Socialists and Communists. And the Communists more than the Socialists, which points to the programmatic class orientation that the masses seek. It is not the conciliatory policy of the Communists that has attracted the votes, but the will of the masses to impel them towards government. This creates better conditions, more favourable, for the struggle for power in the Far East and it creates great difficulties for imperialism, particularly for Yankee imperialism. It is also going to create difficulties for its policy in the Far East, in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia and everywhere.

It has not been the policy of the Japanese Communist Party, supporting the demand for the reclamation of the Kurily Islands<sup>(3)</sup> from the Soviet Union that has gained votes. Had it been so, it would have been a nationalist vote and it would have been expressed in a different form other than in Communist votes. On the contrary, they voted Communist against this policy. The Japanese masses have no nationalist interest in a few islands which the Soviet Union has developed and brought to life, while Japanese imperialism always kept them under feudalism. It is absurd, astonishing. The masses of the Kurily Islands measure according to their progress in history and they see that the Soviet Workers State has brought them to life. Despite the bureaucracy, with a very limited, bureaucratic leadership—that is improving—they have seen themselves brought to life. Capitalism is incapable of doing this. For this reason it has not been the demand for the restitution of the island which has won votes for the Communist Party as capitalism is going to try to show. On the contrary, the result showed the maturity of the proletariat, which is winning the petit bourgeoisie to anti-capitalist, not nationalist positions.

There is a growth of the struggle throughout the Middle and the Far East. This finds a more conscious

and organic expression in the elections in Japan. This has not yet found a programmatic form, but such a force is not the product of chance, but of a conscious attitude, as there is no crisis, no unemployment, no constant mobilisations. Without doubt, when there is such a concentration, it is because the masses receive the world influence of the revolution, on top of what they learn in the struggles in Japan.

The attitude of China, and the struggles in China, where there is a certain state of paralysis, show a process of preparation for later struggles, that at the moment are hidden behind the struggle over Confucius, that does not reveal the true struggle. What programme, what policy, where are they going, what alliances do they want, how to solve the problem of the economy, the Soviet democratic relations? They do not discuss any of this. They discuss in an abstract and indirect form, which is alien to the depth of the problem.

Confucius has nothing to do with this, nor Lin Piao. Which policy, which programme? When they do not discuss this it is because a very profound discontent and a great will to solve the problems of growth of the Chinese economy as well as Soviet democratic relations. The Japanese masses feel this. Japan is an indirect expression of the developments in China. But it is the whole of the world process that stimulates these forces.

The Communist Party must consider this conclusion. They have another example that is not the product of chance. They are the various Communist parties that are growing: in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Japan, Latin America. It is a growth accompanied by a widening of the struggle against imperialism. In Latin America, there is Argentina, Ecuador, Peru, Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, Panama, Honduras, Costa Rica. In Africa there is an advance of the struggles against imperialism.

The same in Europe. The Communist parties must take into account that this is not merely an electoral advance. It finds an electoral expression because it does not find any other way.

If the trade unions and the workers' parties in Japan made a United Front with an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme they would receive such support that in a few years they would even have an electoral majority, and they would so help the political maturation of the Japanese masses. It is necessary to take into account that not more than four years ago, Tanaka's power seemed to be unquestionable. He has been brought down in only four years. Why? The conditions of life have not deteriorated. It is a problem of consciousness, of elevation of the political understanding of the masses. It is the world revolution, through the Japanese proletariat, that wins all the other sectors of the population. For six years

there has been a constant growth in the concentration of the masses, whilst the Japanese economy has not deteriorated sufficiently to justify a desperate reaction of the masses looking for work. It is an elevation of the level of consciousness of the masses. The Communist parties must think of this in order to make a programme of development of their policy to go to the government, and from the government to advance to abolish capitalism. It is necessary to take this attitude of the Japanese masses together with the struggles developed by the Japanese proletariat against Yankee imperialism, when it threw it out of two of the main islands. This attitude is the product of the whole of the world relations which are favourable to the growth of the anti-capitalist struggle, which finds an expression in this way.

Japan is one of the most solid capitalist countries, where they have more capital, a stronger currency,

a developing industry, foreign investment. Despite this, the party of the capitalists is constantly losing votes. It shows that the electoral reaction and orientation of the masses is not determined by trade union reasons or by immediate demands—although these exist—but above all by the elevation of their consciousness and the desire to change the political and social leadership in Japan, which means to get rid of capitalism. This is the conclusion that it is necessary to draw.

It is necessary to make a programme of investments, of planning of investments and of the economy, for better working conditions, for an alliance to throw out imperialism. Out with Yankee imperialism from Japan! Out with all the subsidies paid to imperialism! Out with all imperialist troops! Out with the imperialist bases! For an alliance of the Japanese masses with the masses of all the Far East, with the Chinese! For an anti-imperialist and

anti-capitalist programme! It is necessary to call for a revolutionary cultural development, with the intervention of the masses. Call for an anti-imperialist United Front of all the workers' parties, Socialists, Communists, including movements such as the Komeito and the Social Democrats. Making a programme to prepare for the growth of the struggles of the Japanese masses. It should not be limited to the electoral campaign or the hope of new elections without taking any new initiatives. It is necessary to give a programme of capital investments, development of the economy, nationalisation of the banks and the commanding heights of industry. Out with imperialism and its military bases from Japan, Asia and all the world! For productive investments for the development of the standard of living of the masses, trade with all the Workers States, recognition of all the Workers States, of North Vietnam, and the Revolutionary Provisional Government of South Vietnam. This is the programme that expresses the will of the masses to vote for Socialists and Communists.

The Communist Party must develop a programme for a United Front, beginning with the trade unions, with nationalisations, planning of production, production under workers' control, for workers' councils in the factories, in the neighbourhoods, in the countryside. Make appeals to the peasants to organise, for the expropriation of the large landowners, for a planning of the economy for production based on the needs of the masses, under workers' control. A United Front to go to the government, even electorally, and from the government to power. Make appeals to what there is of the Japanese army: call on the United States, explaining to them why they have to go, and that they have to help themselves to go in order to free the Japanese people. This is the meaning of the elections in Japan.

This is the meaning for all the Communist and Socialist parties, that when the electoral results in Japan are so clear and obvious, it is because the masses vote on the basis of the consciousness that they want to change world history, that they want to intervene directly in order to make changes. Capitalism is incapable of any progress, even individual progress, and the masses feel capable of stopping the diminution of the standard of living of humanity, finishing with the war and with all the massacres carried out by capitalism.

The Japanese masses show this. This leadership of the Communist Parties must understand this. This victory of the Communist and Socialist Parties in Japan—but particularly of the Communist Party—is a warning that the masses are prepared to take the lead, to change society, to transform society, overthrowing capitalism. This has the greatest significance. It is a world course, and on a world scale it finds support in places as isolated as Japan, with social and economic conditions that do not justify these conclusions. Such a rapid and great advance of the Communists shows the very de-

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plan of the Chile type. The result was a boomerang. And the Soviets will not allow a new Chile. These are the conclusions it is necessary to draw from these facts.

The Communist parties must see that Imperialism cannot dominate, that the Communist parties can go towards power in France, in Italy and the Yankees cannot intervene. If they intervene what will happen will be a Greece and a Cyprus. After having a dictatorship where they dominate, they fight among themselves. They kill the opposition, they have thousands of prisoners and then they have to liberate them all in a few hours. The same assassin junta has to declare "we were mistaken". And now these same assassins say that they are for liberty! This is through the Soviet intervention.

Soviet intervention exists because the Soviet Union has no other remedy than to support, sustain and defend the world process of revolution because it is a question of the final settlement of accounts. Hence the masses in Greece came out immediately in hundreds of thousands to celebrate the fall of the dictatorship. On the other hand when Karamanlis arrived there was hardly ten thousand people and five thousand cars which showed that the public that waited for him was the bosses! That is to say no one waited for him! And all the youth, all the students, all the workers who demonstrated against the dictatorship and because they left Cyprus all cried "death to Yankee imperialism". What unified the masses of Greece was not Karamanlis nor the government, not the freedom of the prisoners but their common will against Yankee imperialism. Against it three hundred thousand people were united, shouting without interruption "death to imperialism! death to imperialism!"

This government came out to contain a process towards the left, a union between a nationalist sector of the army which sought the opportunity to intervene and which was going to intervene, and the Greek masses. Hence they came out to give a premature blow. Hence they liberated everyone; after having put a thousand people in goal—the majority of them of the left—they liberated them all. What was the change? What social and economic conditions had changed? None! What changed was the intervention of the Soviets which stimulated the intervention of the masses. The Communist parties have to understand this.

The Soviet intervention stimulates the intervention of the masses and contains imperialism. This shows the immense weakness of imperialism which, in a region where there are three members of NATO—the Israelis, the Greeks and the Turks—

decided social sentiment of the proletariat vanguard, which attracts the rest of the population to change the political leadership of the country. They want a Communist-Socialist government to overthrow capitalism.

10th July, 1974 J. POSADAS

## The crisis of capitalism in Greece

is incapable of maintaining the unity between them because of the crisis of capitalist competition. On the other hand, the intervention of the Soviets imposes on them the fact that they have to rectify their positions and Kissinger himself who supported and sustained this coup has now to appear against it and has to speak publicly against it. And even the bourgeois press of the United States and of France said: 'you lie, you supported this! Now he says he is against it, because everything has come unstuck!' When they have to change expression it is because they feel that there is an intervention of the masses and of the Soviets! And the intervention of the Soviets is not only a question of arms, and Soviet ships which are decisive—but the mobilisation of the masses in France, Italy, Germany. This is what they fear. This is what they had to stop. The Soviet fleet in the Mediterranean, has enormous weight and importance. Without the intervention of the Soviets, imperialism would have invaded the whole of the Mediterranean, now through Greece, and would have come to an agreement with Turkey. On the other hand, Ecevit basically was sustained by the Soviet intervention, otherwise, he would have been liquidated. Ecevit was against annexation whilst the vice premier wanted to leave the troops in Cyprus. Ecevit posed that the troops return because he wants a change in Turkey. The other wants to impede these changes and makes the diversion of the invasion of Cyprus. Karamanlis went to contain the revolution in Greece and throughout Europe.

Imperialism utilised in the Middle East the arrogance of Israel. Why did not they utilise this in Cyprus which is infinitely weaker than the Arab countries? If they did not use it, it is because of the Soviet intervention. There was not an important intervention of the masses nor of the opposition parties. They were all taken by surprise. The Communists, Socialists, Papandreu, all of them. None of them counted on the fact that the Soviets would be forced to intervene. They cannot as with Stalin, negotiate and distribute the world. It is stupid to believe this. It is stupid to believe as do a whole series of movements, that the Soviets are going to negotiate the division of the world as before. The policy of Breznev in accord with the Yankees of seeking an agreement is an interpenetrative policy which tries at once to win time, while it seeks to advance weakening and disintegrating the capitalist system. It is an erroneous policy but one which is not in favour of capitalism. It is erroneous because it gives time but it does not favour capitalism, does not allow it to be established. The defeat of the dictatorship was determined by the world relation of forces favourable to the revolution in which is included the Soviet intervention, not public, but shown in diplomatic measures, making imperialism feel that it was going to intervene and to stimulate the intervention. All this shows the immense weakness of imperialism, and it is necessary to draw these conclusions.

We appeal to the Communist Par-

## This is not the epoch of fascism, it is the epoch of the world socialist revolution

Fascism is not a movement, whose development only obeys the interests or the organisational decision of capitalism. Certain historic conditions are required that already don't exist and cannot come. Fascism is a residue of society. It is not a force with capacity of initiative, attraction and organisation. It lacks intelligence. Fascism has no force. It cannot be created just because capitalism wants it: certain historical conditions are required.

Fascism in 1921/22 found a base in the conditions produced by the defeat of the proletariat in Europe, by the material poverty of the Russian revolution, the lack of means and the isolation of the revolution, and the non existence of a revolutionary party in Italy, of the mass revolutionary party. The Italian Socialist Party was a small party. It took a great many votes, but it was a party integrated into bourgeois society. In full crisis, the Italian workers in Turin, Leghorn, Milan and Genoa showed that they wanted power. They made factory councils. Their origin was not Italian, as they were started in Germany and the USSR, but they were immediately adopted by the Italian proletariat. They showed that they wanted power. There was no communication with the rest of the country and there was no party. The Communist Party was very weak. The Socialist Party had no interest in taking power. The bourgeoisie was exasperated and it tried to conciliate in parliament with the Socialists and Communists in order to contain. The bourgeoisie feared the fascist solution. It understood that the installation of fascism meant a very large economic burden on production, as it meant the maintenance of an economic apparatus useless for production, without any value, while the political parties intervened

in production. Therefore it tried to avoid it. Furthermore the bourgeoisie realised at the same time that fascism was in the interest of the policy of big capital. Therefore all the remainder of the bourgeoisie feared fascism. For this reason the Liberals were against, because in supporting fascism they would have only carried out a policy in the interests of big capital.

The Communist Party was very small. The Socialists had greater numbers but were incapable of taking decisions. They did not have the programme to confront this situation. They did not make any appeals to the masses for any mobilisations or strikes, when this was the only way to confront fascism. They were prisoners of a reformist and conciliatory conception. Thus fascism triumphed. Furthermore the petit bourgeoisie was exasperated, without work, under pressure from the high cost of living; it was exasperated by the war and it lacked security in the future because it saw the disintegration of the country. They saw that the trade unions and the parties in Italy were not solving its problems. They hoped for a government that would give them work, that would raise production and put order into the country. The bourgeoisie was incapable of doing this, and as the Socialist Party would not do it, the fascists took it upon themselves to do it. They based themselves on the large number of unemployed, taken as they were, and not as representatives of the working class, and above all on the petit bourgeoisie. Then they attacked the trade unions and the Socialist and Communist Parties. They accused them of being responsible for the backwardness of Italy: the same as Hitler did in Germany.

This was possible because these

conditions existed. There were not mass Socialist or Communist parties. There was only one Workers State, surrounded by the capitalist system, without economic means, and without the possibility of militarily confronting the capitalist system. The Workers State was isolated, and it was necessary for the workers movement to make the transition from Socialist parties to Communist parties. They lacked experience. The Socialist parties were the old conciliatory Socialist Parties. The experience of the Soviet Union was still very fragile. The Soviet Union showed that power is taken through the Party, and the USSR could do it because Lenin had formed the Party 20 years beforehand. While in Italy and Germany, it was necessary to pass from Socialist to Communist Party, and from here to gain the class. A certain historic time was necessary. Capitalism saw the danger and it launched itself in Italy before the Communist Party could become a mass party, and before the factory councils in Turin and Leghorn could be extended to the rest of the country and could attract the peasantry and the petit bourgeoisie. Before this, fascism profited from the indecision of the Communists, the weakness and the conciliatory policy of the Socialist Party. It won the petit bourgeoisie, promising employment, a 'Great Italy', a great development of Italy. Fascism found support in these conditions in order to survive the crisis of the Italian capitalist system.

Today there are not these conditions. Today there are 14 Workers States, and the masses of the world see that the only possible solution is the Workers State. The incorrect policy of the leaderships of the Workers States and the Communist parties does not affect the historic significance of the authority of the

Workers States: it diminishes it but it does damage it, does not eliminate it. The petit bourgeoisie has been won to the revolution; the technicians, the planners, the administrators of capitalism as well as the peasants have been won directly to the revolutionary movement in all large countries. In Europe, almost all governments have to depend on Socialist parties and many depend on Communist support; what margin does this leave to the fascists? The bourgeoisie cannot mobilise the petit bourgeoisie by attacking the proletariat and presenting a programme to solve the social problems. It cannot, it has no force for this. On the contrary, the trade unions are strong, the workers parties are strong and the Workers States show the way to solve the crisis of capitalism, so the petit bourgeoisie is won to an anti-capitalist solution. Fascism has no possibility of becoming a mass party or movement. Fascism was never a mass movement. It was a movement that impeded the organisation of the masses. Fascism is made up of small groups, supported by high finance, and above all by the immobility, the conservatism of the Socialist parties, of the youth and weakness of the Communist parties at that time. It only won in Italy, Germany, Spain and Portugal.

Today there is no fascist danger. There are fascists, they are storm troops, they are murderers, but they cannot make a mass movement. The mobilisations and demonstrations of the fascists, the lootings, the assaults, the bombs they put, are done by small groups, protected by the state apparatus, by big capital. Even so, the real base that allows their mobilisation is the fact that neither the Socialists, Communists or the trade unions answer. If the CGIL and UIL in Italy, if the Socialists and Com-

munists answered, the fascists would only last 24 hours. A small action of the workers movement would smash them all. If the CGIL said "the Fascists put in a bomb in such and such locale of the Communist Party, tomorrow at 8 o'clock we call on all the population to smash the fascists" they would smash them! Today's fascists do not come from the exasperated petit bourgeoisie. They are paid individuals, at the service of big capital.

The solution in Italy, in Europe, is not fascism or reaction. What force has the right got? Have they any social strength? None. They have a considerable economical, military and police force. The Yanks have more than that in Vietnam, and who won? The Yanks have a military strength in Europe, and so have British, French, German and Italian capitalism. Are they going to win? The advance of the revolutionary struggle, of the weight of the workers movement, disintegrates the enemy camp. It does not annul its military strength, but it doesn't allow it to be utilised. Anyhow, it's a fight that is going to be resolved with arms. It is necessary not to have illusions. They are preparing juntas of assassins in various parts of the world for the atomic war. Juntas of assassins to make them entirely dependent on Yankee imperialism. This is their objective. They are doing exactly the same as in South Yemen. This is their force. They have no social or political force. It is the same in Chile with the junta of assassins, where imperialism won but cannot consolidate its power. They have no social strength. Capitalism has no strength, it has only military force, but it cannot use it when it wants.

16th May 1974 J. POSADAS

# THE IMPERIALIST FARCE OF THE NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS

The agreement on arms limitations signed in Moscow is a lie. It is a lie to say that such agreements have any importance. They don't guarantee anything. Imperialism can sign anything that comes to mind, without having to respect anything. They have sufficient weapons for the nuclear war. Their promises not to make any more weapons have no value. The weapons they have are already sufficient for the nuclear war, and they will do it.

These agreements increase the illusion that they mean peace. It is a lie! What about the rest of the world? Imperialism is still in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. It is trying to make war in Latin America, and in the Middle East. Where is this peace? The Israelis, in the name of Yankee imperialism, with Yankee weapons, are murdering people with impunity. What does it matter if they say that they are not going to make any more nuclear weapons? What about those they have already got? Does it, perhaps, mean that they are not going to make war, that they are not going to kill? What about what they are doing now? These agreements are simply a pretence to allow Nixon to gain authority in the United States, in order to show that he can reach agreements with the Soviet Union. They are agreements without any value. The class struggle continues, the war actions of imperialism continue: they are completely false agreements.

The masses, the Workers States, must not take them seriously because they have no value. They sign them simply because of their own political interests, in order to gain authority and nothing more. They did it in order to pretend to the people that they are concerned with peace. Imperialism is making war everywhere. It is a pretence without any value. One should not believe in these agreements nor in any other agreements signed by imperialism. Imperialism signs agreements and pretends to comply with them because it wants to gain time. It signs agreements and it breaks them the following day. The only way for the masses to sign real agreements is to take power, to overthrow capitalism. All agreements that imperialism signs are temporary. They last as long as it is convenient for it, for political, social or military objectives. Nothing more. One should not trust in any agreements made by imperialism. Even less so, with military agreements. They have already signed something like 15 agreements on the limitation of nuclear armaments, on the reduction of production of nuclear weapons and they carry on as before. While they sign all this they support the dictatorships in Chile, Israel, Iran and they have got Watergate.

We call on the Workers States and the Communist Parties not to believe these agreements and to openly refute that these can have any favourable consequence for the masses or for world peace. It is a lie! The proof of this are the constant wars that imperialism is making and the weapons that it has in sufficient numbers for the atomic war. It is necessary not to recognise these agreements. One should not believe that these agreements mean that imperialism is not going to be counter revolutionary, that it is not going to try to smash the masses. One should not imagine that it is not going to make war. They are going to do it all the same, even with agreements. These agreements must not be considered as very favourable for peace, for the containment of war. It is an agreement made for the convenience of imperialism, in order to gain political authority at the time of the crisis of Watergate. The Soviets—to whom the policy of Nixon is more convenient than another one unknown to them—make these agreements, that are an indirect support for Nixon.

It is necessary to appeal, to say NO to the agreements. Make appeals for the destruction of all nuclear weapons of Yankee imperialism! Destroy all the nuclear weapons of the capitalist system! Don't destroy the weapons of the Workers States, because these don't defend backwardness and exploitation as the imperialists do. They defend progress. Out with all policies of stockpiling of weapons, out with all war policies of imperialism! NATO out of Europe! Destroy all the power of imperialism, otherwise it is going to make war. All the money invested in atomic weapons, in nuclear bases, should be put at the disposal of the life of the masses, of production, food supply, help to the under developed countries and elimination of all weapons of the capitalist system.

We call on the Workers States to make a united front of all the Workers States, to make an agreement of China - USSR. For a united front of all the Communist parties, of the trade unions. For a world united front against capitalism! For a world mobilisation in order to expropriate imperialism, to nationalise and plan the economy and to develop it according to the needs of the population!

## The crisis .....

ties to intervene, appealing for the mobilisation in Greece to overthrow the government of Karamanlis, and to make a government of democratic action even with sectors of the bourgeoisie with full democratic and political liberties, and with a programme of expropriation, of development of production and of expulsion of NATO from Greece and Turkey, and to appeal to Turkey to make an agreement against imperialism. Appeal for the expropriation of the big landowners, to nationalise the banks and to make a programme of planning and development! Full democratic rights for all the masses, for the trade unions and parties! Appeal for an agreement to overthrow imperialism in the Middle East and also in Cyprus. Appeal to Cyprus for a unity with the Balkan countries of the Middle East with the object of overthrowing imperialism in the region. Unity on the basis of the state ownership and planning of production; not remaining only confined to measures of political liberties, or of national independence, as they say, but advancing towards an economic planning which guarantees the development of the country and the intervention of the masses.

The present mobilisation of the students, of the workers, of the peasants, is all going against the dictatorship. It is necessary to make an appeal to the Socialists, to the Communists, to the Radical tendencies of the left in Greece, to make an insurrection, to make a united front and to pose a programme of demands, of democratic rights, free speech; press ideas, together with increase in wages, better conditions of work, a plan of state ownership, and of the planning of production and appealing to the masses to impose an agreement in the Mediterranean against imperialism, to overthrow it from the Mediterranean. This must be accompanied by appeals for a plan of internal mobilisations in Greece to develop the struggle for these objectives. We appeal to all the parties for such an action. It is necessary to intervene! Karamanlis must not be allowed to continue! Karamanlis is the least evil for imperialism. It places Karamanlis there to make a centre for co-ordination with the bourgeoisie including the bourgeoisie of Turkey and throughout the Mediterranean. Imperialism is seeking to contain the process, to have some basis of political support including agreements with the king. Independently of the return or not of the king, — because he has many divergences with the other sectors of the bourgeoisie — they are seeking to establish a bourgeois power which gives certain democratic concessions to prevent a step to the left, because the army as much as the masses are ready for a very great impulse of the left.

It is necessary to appeal for internal mobilisations in Greece, to appeal to the Communists, the Socialists, the left Radicals, to the Nationalist sectors of the army, to the trade unions, for a united front to overthrow imperialism, to develop the economy, for democratic rights to develop Greece socially. The only way to do this is by overthrowing imperialism and nationalising the principle sectors of production. It is not possible to have democracy without economic development, without the participation of the masses. If the economic power remains in the hands of capitalism, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the landowners, with the Church, with imperialism, it is impossible to develop Greece. If capitalism develops constantly there

is an advance towards dictatorship, dictatorship, dictatorship. The only way to develop Greece is by developing the economy and depriving those who make the dictatorship, and war, of economic and financial powers. Imperialism is weak and it has to be deprived of this strength. It is trying to incorporate these new forces to try to impose the dictatorship again.

Every bourgeois government has maintain itself inevitably by means of the dictatorship and repression against liberties. The fact that there is constantly the development of coups and retreats, is because capitalism has no strength. But neither do the masses have leadership.

It is necessary to make a united front of workers parties, trade unions, workers centres, peasants, intellectuals, students, to impel the programme for the economic development of the country, for the benefit of the population, which can only be done by nationalising the sources of production and planning production under workers control.

The problems of Greece are not finished with, or resolved, nor those of Turkey, or Cyprus. Imperialism is waiting for the moment to affirm the coup and to install a government of the right to maintain military control over these countries and prevent an inclination to the left.

It is necessary to appeal for a united front of all the tendencies of the left with support including that of sectors of the bourgeoisie of each country, for democratic liberties, but independently of the bourgeoisie whether in Cyprus or in Greece; otherwise, imperialism is always in the position to retake positions and to win time. We appeal to the Communist parties and Socialist parties to increase together with the trade unions and the workers States, the united front with the programme which shows that it is possible to advance and to establish now in Greece a government of the left which prepares the conditions for very elevated advances in the struggle to eliminate the capitalist system and in socialist measures even with civil war, which capitalism is going to make.

All this shows also the farce of the United Nations and of the capitalist countries. Within a few hours under the threat of the Soviet Union, the Greek troops had to stop the massacre which they were making. Why do not they do the same in the Middle East? This shows the concessions they made and the test of strength in which the yanks had to yield to sustain themselves. We also make an appeal to the workers States to take the same steps in the Middle East as they took in Cyprus.

Imperialism has no strength, capacity for action, nor points of social support. It has to do everything in a clandestine way. The Soviet Union through the historic programme which it represents and through the structure of the process is forced to intervene and is going to intervene. It is a stimulus to the struggle and to the resistance of the masses. Without the presence of the Soviet Union, imperialism would have given a blow throughout the Mediterranean. It means that in all the struggle of the masses, it is necessary to count on the intervention of the Soviets. Even with divergencies, with differences, within the bureaucratic sectors of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union has to intervene and is going to support, has to support, every progress of struggle against imperialism. Not openly, not directly, not without interruption but the historic line of the Soviet Union is this. It is necessary to count on this process.

## editorial

continued from page 1

the Labour Party and the growing strength of the left in it, is combined with preparations by the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state to intervene with other—and stronger—methods. The continued use by British imperialism of troops in Northern Ireland and the maintenance of troops and bases in Cyprus, is part of this and so is NATO. There is, then, the necessity to raise the demand for the complete withdrawal from NATO. The Labour Party and the trade unions have to demand the immediate and unconditional removal of all British troops and bases from Cyprus; calling for strikes and demonstrations in support of the right of self-determination for the masses of Cyprus. Out with imperialism from Turkey, Greece and Cyprus! Britain out of NATO! For all military expenditures thus recuperated to be put at the services of the masses, as a step to make a plan of development of the British economy that does not simply confine itself—as the Healy budget does—to make some mild and ineffectual reforms of the capitalist system.

The fact that the right wing of the Labour Party launches its campaign at this time, is not simply because of the programme of the Labour Party for nationalisations, for the withdrawal of the EEC, or because the left is now making advances, but because there is the beginning of an actual change in the structure of the Party, which precisely rejects types like Mayhew. The resolutions put forward for the coming Labour Conference express in a general way an increased preoccupation for the structure and the functioning of the Labour Party. The ACTT<sup>+</sup> resolution expresses the preoccupation to link the programme of the Labour Party as decided by National Conferences with the necessity for regional Conferences of "protest and action" for it to be implemented. This goes in the direction of discussing the necessity for the Labour Party to use the mobilisations of the working class to apply the programme. The government's support for the workers co-operatives at Triumph Meridan, Scottish daily news and IPD, is a success for the workers at the three industries concerned and it expresses how this Labour government does not and cannot simply act in the interests of capitalism; at the same time, it is from the part of the government an action which still tends to contain the movement within the limits of parliamentary struggles.

It is necessary now to demand that these enterprises—and any others threatened with closure—are nationalised under workers' control and to combine this with discussions and meetings in the factories. In this way the necessary process of the change of the structure of the Labour Party from a parliamentary instrument to an instrument for social change can be advanced.

+ACTT is the Association of Cinematograph Television and Allied Technicians.

4th July, 1974

J. POSADAS



Workers of the World, Unite!

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)

BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL ( POSADIST ).



.....  
THE REACTIONARY COUP IN CYPRUS, AND THE WORLD CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

21.7.74.

J. POSADAS

The events in Cyprus show the fragility of the "detente", and at the same time, the fragile dominion of imperialism over the capitalist system and the military staffs. Two of the principle countries of NATO, Greece and Turkey, are in conflict. The contradictions of capitalism continue and increase because the progress of the Workers States increases with the world insurrection against the capitalist system.

The crisis in Cyprus, is a decisive expression of the process of total crisis, the total rupturing of the capitalist system. The crisis of Cyprus like that of gold, shows the collapse of the system. That of Cyprus is the crisis in the military aspect, the essential basis of the advance of the system. The two essential poles of the functioning of the capitalist system are collapsing. Capitalism is maintained only because they do not overthrow it. Cyprus is a proof of this: one of the central bases of NATO, a base for the support of imperialism for the atomic war against the Workers States, enters in crisis, a product of the world advance of the revolution and of the fact that the masses of the world do not permit any longer the arrogance and the dominion of imperialism. Portugal is breaking up as a base of NATO, and now, there is Greece, Cyprus, and Turkey. In place of intensifying and affirming the centralisation of the dominion of imperialism and of its bases of atomic war, imperialism is weakening.

Two countries of NATO are confronting each other over peripheral, not central problems. They are problems derived from the revolution throughout the world; the Middle East, the base of NATO in Cyprus, the base in Turkey; This is the essential reason for what is happening and at the same time, the insistence on the problems of Cyprus which is the persistence of the old problems of the capitalist system which this has not resolved nor can resolve.

When imperialism cannot resolve or control its allies or subordinates, it is because it does not have the strength to do it. And when these governments have to answer by confrontation and by not accepting imperialist orders, it is because in all these peoples, there is the preoccupation and the intervention of the masses which impedes capitalism resolving problems in accordance with its interest as a system. Then, it has to be preoccupied to answer the proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants. Although important workers parties do not exist in these countries, the world pressure from the way the problems of the Workers States are being resolved and the force of the Revolutionary States, is an education for Turkey, Greece, Cyprus, exercising a very great influence on these countries, and preventing an imperialist solution.

It is crystal clear that this carries an immense advantage for the development of the revolution. On the problem of Cyprus, the slogan of the Communist parties must be: Out with imperialism from the Middle East! Out with imperialism from Turkey, Greece, Cyprus! It is necessary to see how the USSR resolved the problem of the Kurile Islands, which before were a desert and now, there is no illiteracy and they have constructed important industries. Hundred years of capitalist domination maintained them in complete ignorance and the most complete economic backwardness. Now, they have been incorporated into civilisation. The more backward countries which are integrated in the Soviet Union ( where they speak 130 languages), are now unified and with a socially superior regime. It is not the language which unifies them, but the regime, and this regime has shown that it was superior to the fragmentation of each republic, country, or region, and requires only a single language. What determines this single language? The education of the people? No. It is the social superiority of the Workers State which gave them the notion of this necessity.

The problem of Cyprus is the backwardness of the capitalist system and of international capitalism, and this exists because imperialism has it as a means of domination of the Mediterranean, as a military base not because it is a necessity for the economy or for culture. It is a means that imperialism uses as a position to kill people. What is the solution? Out with imperialism! Self determination on the basis of a social regime of expropriation, of planning of production, nationalisation of the key sectors of production, workers control, workers Councils, agrarian reform and revolution. It is necessary to pose this, and appeal to the Turks, the Greeks and the Cypriots, to do this. And the Workers States should propose that this is done.

Imperialism wanted to give the solution that for a time could be given in Turkey and Greece, but it could not last because the advance of the revolution and of the masses in the world influences Greece and Turkey. Then, imperialism tries to win time making a policy of diversion which means to go on talking because it cannot give a definite solution either militarily, politically, socially or financially. Then, it tries to contain, to win time, to seek new relations; But at the same time what is happening in Greece is going to animate and affirm what is called the extreme wing of imperialism, it is going to give it more liberty for action. This does not mean that they are going to launch the war now, but this wing is going to have more freedom of action, because the high command is going to see that it cannot have confidence in the allies. After the example of Portugal, there is Cyprus, Turkey, Greece and soon, Spain. All this demoralises them. Yankee imperialism sees that the affirmation given by french imperialism has little importance, because the internal policy of french imperialism does not affirm the concessions which they have made or are going to make. It is obliged to eat the manure thrown at it, by the peasantry.

Imperialism feels very weak. All this is going to have great repercussions favourable to the small sectors of the CIA and of the Pentagon who want the war. This wing is within the leading sectors of the United States to use the opportunity to launch the war. At the same time, it is going to increase the fear of the other wings of capitalism seeking concessions with the Soviet Union. Nixon went to the Soviet Union and they made an agreement not to explode more atomic bombs. Nixon went, and now comes Greece. It is possible that Nixon knows nothing of all this, that it was organised against him. It is a wing of

Imperialism which seeks to provoke which seeks to prevent agreements with the Soviet Union. Hence the cautious attitude of the Soviet Union but at the same time it indicates that when this wing does this, it is because it has authority, it has power, if not it would not do it. And it has power over the military sectors which decide. It makes negotiations over the heads of the government apparatus, of the President, of the Supreme Court, of the parliament, because these are the people who regulate the economic and financial apparatus on which the life of the United States depends.

The crisis of Cyprus shows that there is a wing of Imperialism which has the power to launch the atomic war at any moment in the same way that it has done this to prevent the stabilisation and equilibrium of an agreement of Nixon with the Soviet Union. This is to prevent every important agreement to keep the hands free to launch the war at any moment.

The reply of the Soviets is inadequate. They have to make a mobilisation of all the masses and to take into account that the Imperialists are going to launch the war and what they seek with Nixon is in every way to utilise him to make the war.

But now it is no longer the epoch of the dominion of Imperialism in the way that it used to determine the course of agreements by telephone from Washington. Now Kissinger has to intervene everywhere. The agreements which this messenger of death makes, are not the symptoms or the proofs of decision, of strength of resolution. They are transitory arrangements because soon everything starts up again. He arranged the problem of Syria and now Turkey and Cyprus appear. They try to utilise at the same time Turkey and Greece and put at risk all their power and the unification of NATO. It means that they have no strength.

The Communist Parties have to draw the conclusion, where is the strength of Imperialism? The intervention of the Soviet Union without being decisive, exercises a very great pressure which can be decisive and this impels the Soviet Union to intervene in all the problems of the world. Then are resolved the problems of the world, even the smallest like that of an island which in itself has not importance, except partially as a strategic base, because it is an island which one atomic bomb can demolish. These are still the backward disputes of capitalism, to try to make itself secure and to feel itself omnipotent. Cyprus does not have any real military value. Imperialism can have all the ships there that it wants: the more ships they have, the more quickly they are going to die. One atomic bomb can liquidate all this, without giving them time to calculate when it is going to come and if it is going to come or not.

All this is the result of the ever greater impotence of Imperialism which has to resort to the least important places like the Middle East, to try to maintain a peace which is an agreement with the Workers States, with the Soviet Union fundamentally, and at the same time to be able to go on resisting until they decide on the atomic war. The crisis of Cyprus is a product of the contradictions



# The crisis of capitalism in Italy and the need for a Left Government

J. POSADAS

26th June, 1974



Workers of the World, Unite!

## RED FLAG

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

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### Mass committees in the factories and the workers districts to impose the policy of nationalisations

The departure of Nixon and his replacement by a non-elected President ends a particular episode, a particular political fiasco but the disintegration of capitalist social authority has not ended. Nixon was not eliminated because of a number of tapes—control of which was in the army—but because the most decided sector of Yankee Imperialism represented in the Pentagon and the CIA wanted a more flexible policy towards the Workers States, a policy not dominated by "detente" but one which at any moment, whatever agreements may exist with the Workers States, could convert without delay into the decision to launch the war. This is not to say that other sectors i.e. the Kennedy sector etc did not play a role to promote the downfall of Nixon, but the origin of Watergate lay in the struggle between the CIA and the team of Nixon. In effect just as the Kennedy brothers were disposed of physically, the Nixon team was liquidated in a more roundabout way in the Watergate hearings. The real struggle never surfaced but the inner conflicts of Imperialism are so profound that they cannot be settled within the usual institutions of capitalism via "give and take". They go outside the usual means, to be settled by assassination, corruption and doubledealing. Politically everything in capitalism putrefies. It is shown before the petit bourgeoisie to be ignorant and corrupt. Watergate represents the whole bourgeoisie world, it destroys any confidence of the petit bourgeoisie in capitalism and demoralises the bourgeoisie itself.

The end of Nixon is a stage towards the final encounter between capitalism and the world socialist revolution. It is part of the preparation by the CIA for this. Simi-

larly the rejection by the Soviet Union of collaboration with the Japanese over the exploitation of Siberian oil is an example of the breaking of the links with world capitalism.

The Workers States weigh more and more as the pole of attraction for all of exploited humanity. They intervene against NATO over the struggle in Cyprus, develop a whole series of trade relations with Peru, Mexico, Argentina etc, sustain the revolution in the Middle East and Vietnam. Within the Workers States, it becomes possible to intervene on the problem of agriculture, with the object of advancing from collective to state property, and elevate the standard of life even with the inconsistencies of bureaucracy. All the Workers States record continuous advances in production and productivity. Even with the enormous arms burden, these advances continue. In the past 25 years the Comecon countries have increased their industrial production nearly eight times over. Capitalism on a world scale cannot offer anything to compete with these figures. What have they to offer? Only war, assassination, unintelligence and bestiality in its so-called culture. Within the Workers States, leading humanity in this respect, discussions take place on the need for the Communist spirit and relations. Even if these are limited, they arise from the maturity of the structure of the Workers State, in spite of the functioning of the bureaucracy. The world is ready for Communism and the Workers States lead the way. Stalinism is dead, fascism has no future, Imperialism is in a state of multiple, repeated haemorrhage, a total irreversible crisis. In Latin America Echevarria finds a good reception for his plans to organise a Latin American economic community aga-

inst Yankee Imperialism. The latter cannot guarantee its position even in hitherto subject areas such as Latin America. While the NATO alliance shows, as over Cyprus, all the signs of disintegration, the Soviet Union, whatever the limitations of its intervention, constantly seeks to impel a superior functioning among the Communist parties. The visit of Ponomarev to France and Italy, the constant exchange of opinions between the CPSU and other Communist Party leaders in the Workers States and in the capitalist countries shows the process of centralisation in the world Communist Movement, the heart of the opposition to world imperialism. The Workers States witness crises of growth, the capitalist states crises of complete disintegration and incapacity. It is on this massive structure of the world process that the forces of the left in the Labour Party, the trade unions and the Communist Party have to base themselves. This process has to be felt as the decisive mover of the situation in this country. Without understanding, feeling and communicating this experience, it is impossible to grasp the historic impotence of capitalism, to transcend the mediocre, parochial political life in the Labour Party and the trade unions at this moment.

The Labour Party is the centre of political discussion in Britain. The crisis of British capitalism passes through it. The constant move to the left in the Labour Party develops on the basis of the inexorable world and national process. The bourgeoisie sense the coming of a Marxist left in the Labour Party, that there will be no place finally for the Prentices etc and that even although they are there, they cannot carry out the necessary conciliation with capitalism, they can-

not contain the working class, they cannot prevent the eventual transformation of the Labour Party into

a genuine revolutionary workers party based upon the trade unions. On the other hand what delays the fruition of this objective process, is the archaic functioning, the absence of a consistent political life in the Labour Party. There has always been historically a delay in  
turn to page 4

### FOR A FULL DISCUSSION OF THE NEWSPAPER NATIONALISATIONS IN PERU

The nationalisation of at least six papers of the Oligarchy and the bourgeoisie in Peru by the military government of Velasco Alvarado, and the proposed plan of handing over—within one year—the control of these newspapers to organisations of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals, is very important. Even if this measure is taken in a slightly paternalistic way, allowing fuller control by the masses only in one year's time, this measure is a fundamental blow to the means by which the Peruvian bourgeoisie, allied with imperialism, was preparing the counter revolution.

This nationalisation shows that the government of Alvarado has not been intimidated by the experience of Chile. On the contrary, it has concluded from it that since imperialism prepares anyway against any important measure of progress, it is necessary to strike first.

It is the world process of the revolution which has given this military leadership such a confidence. But also, it is the situation in Latin America itself, which encourages Velasco Alvarado and his team to take such actions. The proposed nationalisations by Mitchelson in Columbia, the further plans for nationalisations in Venezuela, Panama and Ecuador, the increased state control over oil imports in Argentina and the ties now developing between Brazil and the Soviet Union in the oil field, all this expresses the whole process in Latin America, which is one of the advance towards the construction of the Revolutionary States and from there forward to the construction of Workers States.

The putting of the newspapers into the hands of organisations of peasants, workers and intellectuals is an initiative which shows that this military sector in the government does not simply act for its own interest. It acts in function of the progress of the country and the intervention of the masses. This is the confirmation of the analysis of comrade Posadas who was the only one to analyse and understand the nature of the army in countries such as Peru, which is put in a position of having to develop the country, and not being able to do it, except by taking measures of nationalisations.

This nationalisation of the newspapers under a certain control by the masses, even if as yet limited, is going to increase the support which the masses of Peru give to the government. It is going to provide even more favourable conditions for the formation of trade unions of the peasants, and workers-peasants-students committees for the control of communications, production and distribution. These are measures and advances on the road to the formation of the revolutionary party based on the trade unions of the workers and those of the peasants.

We call on the British Labour movement to support these measures taken by the Peruvian government, and to impel campaigns, strikes, demonstrations, for the nationalisation under workers' control of the newspaper industry in this country, as a means to give a fundamental blow to the counter revolutionary preparations of the bourgeoisie in this country, and to make a national campaign of propaganda, explanation, in support of the Labour Party programme, to show the economic, political, social, and cultural superiority of the nationalised planned economy.

## BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF CYPRUS!

# The crisis of capitalism in Italy and the need for a Left Government

26th June, 1974

The crisis of capitalism in Italy does not have a solution. Capitalism cannot find a solution, and the workers parties cannot contain the working class any more. The latter is going to bypass them. All the measures which capitalism is taking, trying to put Andreotti and Rumor in the leadership of the Christian Democratic Party and the government in order to form a Centre-Left government more to the right, has no possibility of success. Once again the conditions are being created for an advance of the masses, infinitely greater than at the time of the attack on Togliatti, and during the period of Tambroni. Because more and more the Christian Democratic masses act with a greater security. This is shown in the Christian Democratic Youth Congress, in the crisis of the Christian Democracy, and in the enormous pressure of the proletariat, expressed through the peasants and the agricultural labourers, who are two of the main supports of the Christian Democrats. The concession of complete civil rights to the young people of 18 in France is going to have an effect in Italy. This is a great stimulus to the class struggle, because it is not only the question of the right to vote, but of all civil rights, which shows an incorporation of youth, of the 18 year olds, with an immense weight in political life. This is going to have very great repercussions in Italy, in Britain and throughout capitalist Europe. Full civil and voting rights at the age of 18. The Gaullist left stimulated and supported this, and even Lecanuet had to vote for it. These are very profound expressions of the crisis of capitalism. These are the conditions in which left groups and tendencies flourish and develop constantly. Sardinia is incorporated into the most elevated stage of civilisation, by means of the elections. Orsolaso before and now prepared the elections which allowed them to intervene. The same is the case with the Christian Democrat Youth Congress, where the left had 70% of the votes, and the crisis of the Christian Democracy.

One of the essential bases of this crisis in Italy is that the masses do not accept that they should pay for the consequences of the disaster of the capitalist system. The workers have said quite decisively: "We do not want to pay for the crisis of capitalism. Already we live in bad enough conditions, they are trying to unload on to us all the consequences of the crisis of capitalism. We demand a regulation of the economy. If capitalism is not prepared to do, we are.

The workers parties, the Communists, the Socialists, and the trade union leaderships do not have the programme or policy to respond to the crisis of capitalism. They expect the crisis to go on dissolving and disintegrating capitalism, that capitalism is going to become destitute, whilst they go on increasing their parliamentary weight. But it is not like this. The crisis, as now, comes in an abrupt form. Brescia was abrupt, and if in Brescia the proletariat had not answered, had not

responded unanimously, there would have been a fascist coup. It was the mobilisations of the masses which cut short the attempt, because the working class saw again the immediate danger, as with the attack on Togliatti. The working class felt strong and is going to reply with the same precision. But the parties are not prepared. The workers parties, although they are not against, fear this dynamic process, and fear to put forward an anti-capitalist programme. And there is no solution without an anti-capitalist programme.

The whole capitalist system is in question. And what is being posed is how to advance the economy, how to advance the economy, how to sustain employment, the capacity of consumption and democratic rights. Capitalism cannot respond to this, and it is necessary to expect a big leap and extension of this crisis, and a preoccupation of the Communist vanguard, of the Communist

## THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS IN CRISIS, NOT ITALY.

Italy does not have a solution within the capitalist system, nor would it have even with a loan. Nothing can be done save to prolong the agony. Because there is no solution nor any agreement, that is possible. The crisis in Italy is not because they lack capital, but because of the crisis of the whole capitalist system. The document of the Italian Communist Party does not once say that there is a crisis of the capitalist system, only of Italian society. Certainly, through this, they are making a judgement of capitalism, but they do it by silence, so the left of Donat Cattin is not frightened. Not once do they judge capitalism, showing that capitalism is responsible for the crisis. They attack the big monopolies, the great finance houses and the great investors, but they speak just of the crisis of Italian society, of the crisis of Italy. Italy is not in crisis, it is capitalism which is in crisis. It is necessary to pose that it is capitalism which is in crisis! When the workers' leaderships propose that it is necessary to share the consequences and the sacrifices, this has to be rejected. The bourgeoisie does not make any sacrifice, while the population does. For example, now, a great part of the population does not have water, hygienic services, transport, sugar, meat, oil. Meat is now at a prohibitive price and they are proposing to make a series of taxes which are going to be impossible for the population to pay. The standard of living is going to drop, but what happens to the economy? Small and large industries are in crisis, but the major industries are accumulating at the cost of small and medium enterprises. It is the normal crisis of capitalism which does not have a solution. To want to contain the crisis of Italy, giving support to small and medium industry, is not correct. Socially, it is a measure which can benefit and favour the struggle for power temporarily, but it is not a solution. Quite the contrary.

To develop the economy of the

cadres, of the Communist militants to intervene. It is not only the cadres, it is all the militants who want to intervene. A crisis of growth has opened in the Italian Communist Party, in which one of the essential aspects to discuss, is what programme, what policy to develop, and to help the vanguard to go through the experience of the programme and the policy. The documents of the leadership of the Italian Communist Party in reply to the crisis of capitalism contain a limited and insufficient programme, but even so, it is an impulse to the Communists who want to go to the government. The programme which they present is a bourgeois programme, but even being bourgeois, capitalism cannot apply it. It does not have the strength or the force to apply it. It has not got anything. In Italy the water, the oil and the wine are all contaminated. Nevertheless the document of the Communist Party tries to impel the left wing of the Christian Democracy to break with the right.

country, centralisation of large scale production is necessary, which means the nationalisation of the banks, and of the key centres of production and finance. This is a normal and logical measure. To defend small scale industry as a point of social support can have a temporary importance, but it is not a solution. From the world point of view, capitalist competition is resolved through centralisation, through the concentration of production, of finance, of trade, which is the way to diminish the socially necessary cost of production to compete. From the point of view of the struggle for power, to develop workers' power, it is possible to maintain small and medium industries as temporary allies, but one cannot guarantee to them that they are going to live or that we are going to protect them, because it is a very high cost of production, and if the Communists go to power, the essential problem that is going to be posed is the cost of production for consumption. This is posed immediately, and to do this one cannot be based on small and middle industry. The principle industries of the country have to be concentrated. Small industry can and must be of interest, when they are not the base of capitalist competition or of the trade of the Workers States. If they are the base of the economy, they are no use, because they produce with a very high cost of production. It is enough to see what the great capitalist countries are doing and their great productivity.

The essential base which it is necessary to pose, is that it is the capitalist system which is in crisis, and is collapsing and is responsible for and the cause of the whole situation. The only way to solve all the problems which this crisis creates, is by the elimination of the capitalist system. And even if the Italian Communist Party does not pose going to power immediately, it is necessary to pose the nationalisation of the principle sources of production and exchange, and although

this might not include everything, to nationalise the banks and the key industries to be able to compete, to change the system of justice, the police and the army. The Italian Communist Party is posing this now. But it leaves it to the government to do it. What they are seeking to do is not incorrect, because they say that there has to be

## INTRODUCTION

This very important document by comrade Posadas demonstrates how the Italian bourgeoisie is completely incapable of governing the country any longer within a capitalist perspective. This crisis is one from which the government cannot hope to emerge, the solutions are either a right wing coup and the repression of the working class, or else a revolutionary solution. It is not a crisis of Italian society in general, but of Italian capitalism and of the capitalist system as a whole. Therefore the Communist Party cannot hope that the bourgeoisie is going to carry out a programme of even the most limited reforms. The Italian bourgeoisie is on its knees and can expect very little economic aid from the rest of the world capitalist system.

The discussion document produced by the Communist Party, to which Posadas refers in this article, is an attempt to respond to this crisis. But the bourgeoisie cannot apply even a very limited programme such as the one the Communists are putting forward, it is necessary for the workers' parties themselves to take the initiative. The Referendum, the elections in Sardinia, the immediate, massive response from the working class to the fascist bomb provocations at Brescia, Bologna and elsewhere, which foiled the attempts of capitalism to stage a right wing coup, all show the determination of the masses to finish with capitalism. The working class are no longer prepared to be the ones who have to pay for the crisis of capitalism, they don't want talk of distant and abstract reforms, but are demanding a radical change in their living conditions, a workers' solution to all the problems of the economy. Because of the reticence of the workers' parties to put forward a clear programme, the working class are intervening through the factory assemblies, the regional strikes and mobilisations, without breaking with their centralisation in the workers' parties, but utilising the trade unions in order to stimulate and push forward their parties.

All the recent fascist provocations have not been merely the result of the murderous intentions and objectives of these small bands, devoid of social and political weight, but correspond to the need of capitalism to repress and intimidate the workers' movement. Because of the collapse of successive right wing governments, capitalism has resorted to these methods. These people are insignificant in themselves, but they are protected, sustained and financed by a sector of the bourgeoisie and directly commanded by a part of the police and army. The Italian masses, through their strikes and demonstrations, are showing that the only answer to these attacks is the organised strength of the working class movement and the overthrow of the capitalist system. This demands immediately a Left government, based on the parties which represent the interests of the masses, the Communist Party, Socialist Party, the left of the Christian Democracy and other left forces.

a government which is capable of doing this. We are in agreement, but how to do it? Whilst we are preparing to form this government, the bourgeoisie is not going to remain paralysed, it is not going to go, and it is going to prepare the reply as it is doing now, with bombs, assassinations, and civil war. The bourgeoisie is preparing to maintain itself, not to go. So it is necessary to pose this.

The document of the Italian Communist Party does not speak of the power which the trade unions show. It speaks of the trade union movement in a very general way, but the trade unions have shown a power which competes with the State, without competing with the workers' parties. When the trade unions have such force and decision, it is because the worker base feels that the Communist and Socialist parties, do not answer, as is necessary to the will of combat which they have, then they seek to advance through the trade unions. It is a document which does not bring out all the possible

forces, but which tries to confront the government programmatically, and which is going to have consequences inevitably, in the Communist Party, because the workers are going to say, that this is a limited, very small programme, and how are we going to carry it out? Are we expecting the bourgeoisie to call upon us? It is necessary to pose that

ratus. Hence, they had to organise the coups as the fascists did, as in Brescia. They are coups without effect, without political or social consequences, coups which did not intimidate the proletariat, or the petit bourgeoisie, or add strength to the fascists.

The weight of the trade unions, on the other hand, increases, and the decision and authority of the trade unions also. The trade unions brought Italy to a halt, they throw out

## IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN ANYTHING WITHIN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. IT IS NECESSARY TO FIGHT FOR A LEFT GOVERNMENT

It is necessary to take this for the organisation of the progress towards the left in the workers' parties and in the Communist Parties. There are unrivalled conditions to form now a government of the left. Now. The criticisms which the Communists make of the government, a government of the big shots and of clientelism, in part is just, but nothing better than this is possible within the capitalist system. It is necessary to form a government of the left with a programme, like the Popular Union in France, because the programme of the Italian Communist Party is insufficient. It touches on all the points which have to be made, but within the confines of the capitalist system, which cannot carry them out. A left government is needed to carry out the necessary changes.

The workers' movement has to give a response with the united front of the workers' parties, and the Communist comrades have to develop a campaign in the trade unions and in the parties with a programme to answer the need for the development of the economy of the country, and to announce clearly that from the capitalist point of view there is no possibility of doing anything. The Christian Democracy simply manoeuvres in order to gain time, and the world capitalist system is winning time helping Italian capitalism to see how it can advance, and this by means of the promise of loans which they still have not given. But, at the same time, if they provide loans, Italian capitalism is submitted to a policy in which Yankee imperialism dominates, and at the same time, to a trade policy which affects the consumption of the broad masses: a day of meat, another of sugar, and after that of any other prime necessity. There is a constant process of increase in the cost of living, meanwhile the concern of the government is to try to obtain by taxes, money to maintain the capitalist system. It is necessary to denounce the capitalist system as a system in crisis, that it does not have any solution, and that the masses must in no way pay for the crisis. It is necessary to appeal for a united front with a programme, brought out by the Communists and the Socialists aimed at the Social Democrats, the Left Republicans and also to the bases of the Liberal youth who are to the left, and to the left Christian Democratic youth.

Hence the attitude of Agnelli who makes an appeal to the Socialists for a United Front. When he does this, at the same time as he defends private industry against nationalised industry, it is because the crisis has reached a peak. At the same time as he tries to defend private industry, he puts in danger all the structure of capitalist industry. He does not have any way out but to do this, because when all the level of competition, political, social and economic, is exacerbated to such a degree, it is because very little margin remains to capitalism.

There is a very profound crisis in the Christian Democracy, which is the crisis of capitalism. The Liberals have very little weight, and the MSI has very little weight and now there is the resignation of Birindelli. This does not have much importance, but it is an effort by the right to form a new movement separated from the fascists, to receive a support which has a certain acceptance among more or less top layers of the petit bourgeoisie. This is the sense, and they are trying to give a new physiognomy, trying to give a more subtle form to the right with the object of overcoming this crisis. This shows that their crisis is very profound. The attitude of Agnelli, who has to seek to praise the Socialists, puts the Christian Democracy in danger and in-

the decrees of the government, and nothing happens. The trade unions say no, and that is it. That is to say, they are a real power, but the trade unions show that they are not instruments which develop apart from or against the Socialist and Communist parties. This was shown in the elections in Sardinia. But when they have such a capacity for mobilisations independently of the parties, it is because the vanguard seeks to exert pressure on the parties through the trade unions.

All these solutions of the government have to be denounced, as demagogic, pure and simple, and that they are trying to win time, because there is no vigorous class response, when the class is ready to do this. This is shown in the strikes, in the mobilisations, and also in the strike of four hours in support of the agricultural labourers, which shows that the working class sees the necessity for a united front, and the trade unions did this without the direct or public support of the parties. When the workers in industry strike for four hours in support of the agricultural labourers, this shows that the base of the workers' movement, the engineering workers, are preparing to attract the whole of Italy. Hence there is a very great polemic between Trentin\* and Lama.\* Lama does not have a totally reactionary position, but a limited one, and he wants to limit the struggle, giving time so that the bourgeoisie and the management concede in order to contain the process.

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J. POSADAS

creates the internal crisis, the confusion, the internal insecurity of capitalism, whilst the working class increases its unity.

It is necessary to make a public discussion in the workers' movement, showing that the workers do not have to pay for the crisis of capitalism. That it is a lie that there is no other solution. There is another solution: a government of the left, with a left programme, to resolve the problems of finance, investments and production. It is the capitalist regime which is incapable of governing, because it rules as a function of profit. And while it functions in this way, they give capitalism a series of perspectives and a possibility of extending its existence and also the possibility to launch coups and assassinate as it is assassinating.

The whole of Italy is discussing where we are going, and it is necessary to organise this discussion to make it within the workers' movement and also among the young Catholics. To appeal to this youth to form a left Catholic Party, who should in their turn appeal to the Socialists, the Communists, the Social Democrats and the Republicans. For a united front with a programme of production, investments, control and planning of the economy, and nationalisations of at least a part of the principle centres of production and finance. The attitude of the Communists of waiting for an increase in the crisis of the Christian Democracy, is not incorrect, but it is necessary to inter-

## GENERAL STRIKE TO IMPOSE A LEFT GOVERNMENT

Whatever the forms which the government takes, if it maintains the capitalist administration, it is going to be an obstacle and it is

going to be only of interest to the capitalists. Changes and transformations are necessary, not only in the government, but also a programme and a policy. The discussion directed to develop these struggles into a general strike is correct, but a general strike to do what? It is necessary to propose to make a government which applies the programme, and to struggle at the same time for a general strike, to contain prices, for increases in wages, for improved conditions in work, for an increase in democratic liberties, for a planning of education at school, for a programme which responds to the need of the masses. The government which responds to this is the government of the left. The workers' movement cannot make strikes without putting forward a political objective, because afterwards, one of the objectives which the bourgeoisie hope for is to wear out the workers' movement. When strikes are made, it is necessary to pose: "We make the strike for this objective, and we will not stop until the government does this, and only a government of the left can do it." It is necessary to pose this, confronting the right and the centre of the Christian Democracy and appealing for the workers' movement to discuss these conclusions.

The comrades of the Italian Communist Party are hoping that this process of crisis will break the Christian Democracy. They are hoping for this, and in place of breaking this, they are prolonging the life of the Christian Democracy. Hence, it is necessary to stimulate these meetings held to try to form a left Catholic Party, but to pose that they do this with a programme, that they do not work as cliques. The sentiment of the Christian Democratic masses, means a party of the left, and this has to be stimulated. It has to be demonstrated that the will of the masses, the will of the population is shown in the trade union field and not in parliament. Parliament does not represent the will of the country, the will of the country is represented in the mobilisations, in the objective united front of the masses, in the elections, in the trades unions and in the strikes. There is not a single strike which has failed, not a single strike which has been intimidated. A thousand bombs have not intimidated the workers' movement. Parliament does not represent the will of the country, it represents a distortion of the will of the masses which is shown in the trade union field, in the struggles, in the strikes, and in the mobilisations. Hence the need for a government of the left and the need for a left Catholic Party.

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## Support RED FLAG WEEKLY

Some months ago we expanded into a weekly paper, but the limitation of financial resources has meant that recently we have been obliged to miss two issues of Red Flag. This cannot be allowed to continue. The texts are fundamental as organisers for this stage of the process. Red Flag is a paper which intervenes with scientific analysis in the elaboration of ideas and in the activity of the Labour movement, and is fundamental for the task of organising the left in the Labour Party.

The development of the IV International (Posadist), the need for the press of the International, corresponds to a necessity of history, to the lack of conscious Marxist leaderships, and to the demand existing within the world Communist movement for texts which are based on a Marxist analysis, which give a method of understanding and concrete organisational conclusions for the class struggle in this stage. For this reason the texts of J. Posadas are fundamental for the Labour movement, and all the analyses made by the British Section in Red Flag are a direct application in this country of all the conclusions of these texts.

Red Flag is mainly sustained by the militants of the Party and we appeal to all our regular readers, subscribers and sympathisers, to all those who support the objectives of the IV International, to help us maintain and increase the level of publication through subscriptions, contributions and donations.

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The Trenten-Lama polemic is not a normal polemic of trade union leaders. It is the form in which the discussion in the Communist Party is appearing and it is the form of the crisis of the capitalist system. The form of the polemic is not clear, it does not represent genuinely the will of the Communist masses. But it obeys the need for a policy, a programme and an objective, and the bourgeoisie seeks the consent of the Communists to contain the masses, but the attitude of Trentin shows that this is not possible and that the Communist masses are not going to accept any agreement. We appeal for this discussion to be made public so that it serves the end of organising the discussion throughout the workers' movement. Thus, it will be a very great contribution to the education and the security of the workers' movement, and also of the left of the Christian Democracy.

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# The crisis of capitalism in Italy....

continued from page 3

There is a very profound crisis of the capitalist system which a new government of either Andreotti or Rumor is not going to resolve. There is the will of the masses to want to change the country to go forward, and this is going to change the country. The fascists are going to continue to utilise bombs and assassinations, like the assassination in Sicily of a Communist leader, which is an expression of impotence, of the exacerbation of their impotence. When they resort to a treacherous killing like this of a comrade who is not representative of the highest political circles, it expresses the hatred of their own failure, because it does not intimidate. Brescia did not intimidate, and the assassination of the Communist leader is going to intimidate even less. When in spite of this, they assassinate, it is because they express the frustration, the weakness, the isolation which they have and the impossibility of doing anything. Before this, it is necessary to respond with a programme of mobilisations, of nationalisations, investments, of workers' control, of democratic rights. But it has to be done now, not waiting for parliament to do it. It is necessary to show that parliament does nothing, and that it cannot and does not want to do anything, because it is in the hands of capitalism. The middle cadres of the Socialist Party cannot achieve anything by making concessions. Although now, immediately, they cannot win anything, they can go preparing to win in a later stage, but it is necessary to propose an alternative. It has to be borne in mind that the crisis is a perspective, it is not a process which is going to be resolved between today and tomorrow, it is a process which is stimulated on a world scale.

The measure which capitalism has to contain the crisis is the coup, or the war. It is going to launch the war, but it is afraid, and then, it delays. It is going to launch it, but in the worst conditions. It can make reactionary governments, it

has tried various types and failed, and on the contrary, all the perspective and the tendency is towards the government of the left. And capitalism cannot repeat what it did before the 2nd World War, because this time there are 14 Workers States, and a great maturity and independence of certain sectors of the proletariat in relation to the Communist Party.

The Communist masses demand an alternative to the programme of the capitalist government, which is the same as before. They have only made small concessions, and the changes which the comrades of the Italian Communist Party propose, cannot be done by any capitalist government. If they do not mobilise the trade unions on the basis of a programme of nationalisations, of control of investments, of democratic rights, no capitalist government can do it. This can only be done by a government of the left. Without a government of the left, the Italian economy will go from bad to worse. We propose that this is discussed in the Communist and Socialist Movement, in the trade unions, and throughout the workers' movement.

J. Posadas 26.6.74

1. Orgosolo - Town in Sardinia where massive anti-fascist demonstrations took place.
2. Togliatti - Ex-Secretary of the Italian Communist Party.
3. Donat Cattin - member of the Christian Democrat 'parliamentary left'.
4. 12th May - Day of the Referendum on divorce in Italy.
5. Trentin and Lama - Communist trade union leaders.
6. Agnelli - owner of the FIAT industrial complex.
7. MSI - Italian Fascist Party.

# Mass committees in the factories....

continued from page 1

the changing objective process, finding its necessary subjective representation. The Labour Party and the trade unions were never constructed to discuss ideas.

They were built to conciliate with capitalism (under the heel of the aristocracy of labour). The British working class has succeeded in throwing off the ideological subservience to capitalism, it has rejected Fabianism, religion and much other rubbish, but its organisations creak with the inertia of decades of electoral routinism and the corresponding mentality. It is a fundamental task to alter this situation, to inject Marxism into the Labour Party, to construct the leadership which will not only overthrow capitalism but construct Socialism.

The articulate left in the Labour Party still moves in the circuit of parliamentary, electoral reformism. It has waged some struggle over nationalisations but in a basically muted form, with very limited campaigning, little if any intervention towards the workers' centres, the factories. They simply do not represent or even reflect the force of the process or the decision of the working class. The discussion over nationalisation has been conducted in the most parochial manner, never linked with the historic forces at work in the world. What has this left done to mobilise over Cyprus, what statement has it made over Northern Ireland. What did it have to say over Flixborough? Why is Wilson allowed to get away with remarks about there being no increase in the standard of life for the masses for at least another year, whilst capitalism continues to foist its burdens onto the masses? Why no comment on Wilson's statement that in the case of a war it could be necessary to collaborate with the Tories? All this is absurd and unnecessary. By refusing to elevate the discussion and lean on the support of the masses, the present left that tends to determine at this moment shows that it is largely an "old left" pre-

pared to submit to electionist considerations.

What is decisive in all the crisis of capitalism is the will and determination of the masses. Although no leadership represents this force, it cannot be historically contained or diverted. The recent intervention of Scanlon, with the emphasis on the fact that only a socialist programme can solve the problems of this society is a pale reflection of the use of the workers of the unions to strengthen the struggle for socialism. The demand of the GMWU for public works to meet the crisis in the building industry is a further example of the weight of the unions striving to impel socialist measures. Recent union conferences have thrown their weight behind the demands for more nationalisation. This inexorable pressure promoting the forces of the left in the Labour Party, however unorganised these are and unrepresented though they are by the "old left", is shown by the departure of Mayhew and the collapse of Taverne perspective. There is no historic room for the social democratic approach any longer in the Labour Party, even if Wilson, Callaghan may still function for a period.

In the next period we appeal not only for preparations for the conferences of the Labour Party and the TUC and the autumn confrontations over wages, but the calling of local conferences which endeavour to attract the support of the local population and the factories, conferences which don't just discuss elections and local issues but basic national and international issues and what is required to overthrow capitalism. It is essential to relate the ultimate solution for the crisis of capitalism, nationalisation of key industries and banks under workers' control with planning of the economy, with demands to meet the crisis immediately—all wages to rise with the cost of living on an index

established by the workers, all profits from the increase in productivity to go to the workers in the form of wages, improved conditions of work, lower prices etc, a sliding scale of hours in face of unemployment, no worker to be dismissed. This has to be allied with the formation of committees in the factories and the workers' districts with the right of immediate recall of delegates and a constant mass functioning to discuss everything and a preparation to substitute for the bourgeois organs of power. The emergence of such organs in France in 1968 and in Italy now and also in part in Portugal, anticipates the European generalisation of such organs. All this is a necessary preparation for the civil war that is coming. The British bourgeoisie may or may not launch a coup—they are very weak—but they will certainly with NATO defend themselves with violence against the revolution. It is necessary that the left in the Labour Party, the unions and the Communist Party reaffirm the lessons of Chile—and Cyprus where the counter revolution was beginning a Chile type massacre—and intervene towards the army and police with propaganda, explanation of the struggle for socialism, the need for trade unions in these coercive sectors, the need to destroy their separation from the population. Moreover, the struggle for socialism is not possible in Britain in isolation from Europe—no to the Europe of the exploiters, yes to the Europe of the workers and the United Socialist States of Europe. All this has to be developed by the left in the Labour Party, the unions and the Communist Party. And this means political preparation. It means study of Marxism and an intervention towards the factories. It is not the strength of capitalism that keeps Britain capitalist. Capitalism is stupid and kaput, it is the mediocrity in the political level and the functioning of the workers' organisations, that limits the readiness of the masses to take power.

## ADDENDUM

In the editorial of 'Red Flag' No. 223—10th June 1974—we said the Labour Government's financial support for the 'workers co-operatives' at Triumph Motorcycles (Meriden), IPD (the former Fisher-Bendix factory), and the Scottish Beaverbrook Press was a success for the workers in these industries and that it showed that the Labour Government did not and could not simply act in the interests of capitalism. This is correct in as much as the Labour Government has intervened to limit the number of workers made redundant and that this was determined by the occupation of these enterprises by the workers themselves. However this is a very limited measure, even on the level of 'workers co-operatives' which means the intervention of a sector of workers to run an enterprise which capitalism has shown itself to be incapable of running and within the framework of the crisis and competition of

capitalism, since the money represents a form of compensation to the bourgeoisie. The money given to the Triumph workers and those of the Scottish Beaverbrook Press—no final decision seems to have been taken by IPD—is going directly to the former owners to pay for the buildings and machinery.

Whilst it is true that the idea of 'workers co-operatives' is socially dangerous to capitalism because it does raise the question of workers' control, even in a very limited and distant form, the idea of compensating the bourgeoisie for their inability to run the economy, to run their own enterprises is totally unacceptable. The 'workers co-operative' tends, furthermore, to attract a sector of the workers aristocracy, with the false perspective of running their own enterprise within the framework of capitalism. It is a false

perspective because had the conditions existed for this, capitalism would have continued to run these enterprises themselves. It is a measure which, on this level, is like the idea of 'worker participation' intended to try to contain the direct intervention of the working class to impose workers' control. We reiterate what we posed in this editorial that it is necessary to demand that all factories and other enterprises faced with closure must be nationalised immediately without compensation and under workers' control. At this moment, with the deepening of the economic aspect of the total crisis of capitalism and the subsequent increase in factory closures and rise in unemployment, this is a central demand which has to be discussed in the factories, in the Labour Party and trade unions together with the preparation of the organism—the factory committee—capable of imposing it.

Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet Union and the struggle for socialism  
J. Posadas. 14.2.74.

## RED FLAG

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# The struggle against the Multi-Nationals and the unity of the workers movement in Europe

J. POSADAS

6th MAY, 1974



Workers of the World, Unite!

## RED FLAG

Weekly organ of the

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

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### BRITISH TROOPS OUT OF CYPRUS!

## It is not possible to regenerate British industry under capitalism in the epoch of Watergate

The fall of Nixon and the whole of the Watergate Affair shows the determination of a sector, the most decisive sector of American capitalism to take the control of the state apparatus in order to carry out its preparations for the war and for a policy of confrontations with the Soviet Union and the Workers States. The CIA and the Pentagon, who are behind the removal of Nixon, need to be in full control in the United States, with their own candidates, unelected and with a policy of increased military expenditure, so as to be able to launch the war at any moment they choose.

The depth of the world crisis of the capitalist system can be seen by the fact that the CIA provoked the fall of Nixon, not because he committed the crimes he has been accused of, because he is no more a criminal than the rest of them, but because he could not be depended upon sufficiently and because his policy of agreements with the Workers States and Detente did not correspond to their interests. Such is the crisis within the leading layers of American imperialism that they could not even afford to wait the two years until the end of his term of office in order to replace him with their candidate, in this respect they acted with a degree of decision. This shows their abandonment of any social perspective, of any hope of winning over the weaker sectors of capitalism or the petit bourgeoisie, because a policy of this kind is only going to rally the strongest, most decisive sectors of capitalism. It is the start of a policy of social and economic repression of the working class and the abandonment of an electoral perspective, in order to carry out a policy of wage restraint and lowering of living standards, geared to the needs of a war economy.

The fact that European capitalism supported Ford means that they support and understand the role that these sectors are playing. They themselves are unsuccessfully trying to carry out this same policy in relation to the masses in Germany, Italy, France as well as in this country. Capitalism needs to resort to a strong repressive government, hence their need to rally round Yankee imperialism at this moment. It supports this policy because it can see no other perspective and because it needs to find a common solution against the masses. This crisis within Yankee capitalism, which will shake the American economy, is going to have a devastating effect on the entire capitalist system; because it is

not possible at this stage for any country to isolate itself from the world market and to contemplate any independent, separate development. This is particularly true of British capitalism, which for geographical, social and historic conditions is far from self sufficient and is totally dependent on and at the mercy of changes and fluctuations in the world market. This is why the bourgeois press in this country has come out so firmly in support of Ford, because they are aware that the future of capitalism as a system is inseparably bound up with the survival of Yankee imperialism.

All the present discussions within the bourgeoisie on the possibility

of a military take over in Britain are part of this policy. On the one hand it is an attempt to intimidate the workers' movement and in particular the vacillating leaderships in the Labour Party and trade unions, but it is also a campaign of preparation aimed at a sector of the bourgeoisie which is not convinced of the outcome of such a solution, precisely because they fear this process. This discussion within the bourgeoisie is to try to persuade this sector that survival depends on such actions, and that, after all, in the event of a breakdown of the bourgeois norms in society as it is today, the army would take over as a matter of course. All this is not necessarily the concrete preparation for a coup d'etat in this country, but it is certainly an attempt by the bourgeoisie to coordinate a policy of repression against any strikes or mobilisations of the working class. Yankee imperialism is particularly dependent on the British bourgeoisie to give an example to the European capitalists on how to carry out a policy of confrontation with the working class, even at the cost of damaging their own production. The three day week showed this; when British capitalism was prepared to stop functioning altogether in order to try to smash and intimidate the working class.

All the interventions and campaigns of the CBI and Aims of Industry demonstrate the lengths to which the bourgeoisie is prepared to go to sabotage the advances of the Labour government and the gains of the working class. The more the crisis of capitalism deepens, with its inevitable recession and need to impose mass unemployment, and the

more the Labour government restricts and hampers the day to day workings of capitalism, the more one can expect a policy of non-cooperation and economic sabotage, an economic sabotage which has precise political and social objectives. All this is the experience of the actions of the bourgeoisie in Chile, aided and instigated by Yankee imperialism, prior to the counter revolutionary coup which overthrew Allende and the Popular Unity government. This is the form of intervention to be expected from the bourgeoisie, which is prepared to sabotage its own production in order to prevent the advance of the struggle for socialism. The bourgeoisie is already discussing and evaluating the lessons of Chile, because it un-

derstands that its crisis is not just a temporary crisis of British capitalism, but the world collapse of the capitalist system. The conclusions to be drawn from Chile must also be discussed and developed much more by the Labour movement. It is an experience which needn't be repeated because the objective conditions are completely in favour of the advance of the world revolution; the events in Portugal, Peru, the Portuguese colonies, Ethiopia, show that the world revolution advances on all sides, and that imperialism has immense difficulty in even maintaining the repression in Chile, let alone any perspective of extending it. This is why all the world conditions exist for the advance of the struggle in this country. The left in the Labour Party must base themselves on this progress.

For this reason the White Paper produced by the government, 'The Regeneration of British Industry' is important despite its obvious omissions and limitations. It contains

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## CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF NELSA GADEA GALAN DIAZ IN CHILE

The assassin Junta of Chile has denied having arrested Nelsa Gadea Galan Dias, whilst members of the government have admitted that she is now detained in a cell in the North of Chile and that she is about to be transferred to a prison in Santiago. We denounce publicly the assassin junta for the repression which it is carrying out and support the world campaign on Chile on September 11th, which is being prepared, in solidarity with the resistance of the Chilean masses.

We call on the Labour, Communist, and Trade Union vanguard to link the world day of actions and boycott, the National Protest in this country on September 15th against the Chilean Junta, with the demand for the immediate release of comrade Gadea Galan, Luis Corvalan of the Communist Party, Clodimiro Almeyda of the Socialist Party, Van Schoven of the MIR, and all the political and trade union prisoners in Chile.

### The expulsion of Nixon

next week

### and the war plans of Yankee imperialism

9 aug 74  
J. POSADAS



# THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE MULTI NATIONALS AND THE UNITY OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT IN EUROPE

6th MAY, 1974

The unity of the European workers' movement is a necessity for the struggle of the proletariat and for the object of changing and elevating the present conditions of life and work and to see that the profits of all the scientific and technical progress are placed at the disposition of the workers. The unity of the European workers' movement must be determined by the existing political conditions which are fundamentally, the struggle of the European proletariat against the capitalist system, the progress of the Workers States and the complete, total, endless crisis of the capitalist system.

The Multinationals, their concentration in Europe, are not a new form of organisation of world capitalism. What has changed is the form of operating. It is the joining of capital in order to be able to operate in the conditions of the total crisis of capitalism. The concentration of the revolution in the world, as much as the technical capacity developed by capitalism, has developed inter-capitalist competition to the point that it must be expressed in two forms: the aggravated competition within the capitalist system and the competition with the Workers States. The multinationals intensify the internal contradiction of capitalism; they are not a new form of capitalism.

It is the same as before. It is capital which is combined in this form because capitalism cannot resolve its contradictions by making the war. It corresponds to capitalism making war. There are the preparations, the arms, the mentality, the constant partial aggressions in one or other country: the Middle East, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Latin America, Africa. There are the conditions for war. At the same time as capitalism cannot export capital and extend its forces in the colonies, as it did in the past century, it has to reconcentrate and reorganise itself. If it could have made the war a solution, it would have done so. It is preparing for it, but it vacillates in declaring it; it fears to be liquidated.

It is not possible to pose the unity of the European Workers Movement without understanding what is the present state of capitalism. For whom and against whom is this unity going to be made? For better conditions of life, safety, or work? We are in agreement. But after? Can capitalism yield in a lasting form to the demands of the workers' movement? Can the present phase of capitalist development allow the distribution of profit to give better working conditions and more work? No, it can't. Multinational capital is the agonised expression of the capitalist system. It is the concentration of the capital of various countries which unites with the object of maintaining the capitalist system. It is the only way possible now for the system to function.

It is not possible to confront any essential, fundamental, important form of the unification of the workers' movement without considering the state of capitalism, because it is against this that it is necessary to fight. Thus it is necessary to take into account that there is no possibility of reforming the capitalist system, nor of extracting important concessions. If capitalism was able to establish a stability in production, it would do it. Why doesn't it? If capitalism was able to invest capital in Asia, Africa and Latin America it would do it. Why doesn't it? Portugal is the answer. It is not the epoch of the expansion of the capitalist system in the form of

multinational capital, but of its global defeat.

The unification of the European Workers Movement is necessary in order to struggle for immediate demands; sliding scale of wages, of hours, better working conditions, so that every technical advance resulting from electronics, cybernetics, automation, should be for the benefit of the population in the form of better working conditions, reduction in the hours of work, lower prices, to struggle for measures against contamination and pollution. This is a fundamental conclusion. Capitalism, with multinational capital is concentrated in large scale production in the chemical industry, petro-chemicals, engineering and other industries which necessarily contaminate the environment, the water and food supplies. Polluted water, air and food are a particular phenomena of this stage of capitalism.

The large industries with multinational capital, large scale production, demand an ever increasing use of chemical products which they afterwards throw away as industrial waste, consequently poisoning everything—water, fish and vegetation. A fundamental demand to be made by the workers' movement is for a programme for struggle against the contamination and poisoning of the air, water, food, and to pose as a fundamental condition the need to eliminate all forms of poisoning of the working class and the population. It is necessary to eliminate these forms of production submitted to private interest, to get rid of all this. Multinational capital cannot take other methods, or function in any other form but this. The crisis of the capitalist system, the competition with the Workers States, the struggle of the masses, pushes them towards a concentration and towards inter-trust agreements which result in the large chemical industry and petro-chemical industry in its present form, an essential part of industry which poisons and contaminates everything when there now exists the technical means to prevent this. But capitalism does not have an interest in doing this or in investing in them. The other essential point is that science and technology have developed the basis for a very elevated productivity, incomparably better than

today, but capitalism has to stifle it, cut it short and prevent it developing. It is not possible to propose the unity of the European workers movement without posing these essential problems.

To achieve a real unity it is necessary to make a programme of the objectives for which to fight and how they can be achieved. It is important to unite the workers of Fiat, Pirelli, Citroen, Mercedes Benz, of the big trusts of the chemical and petro-chemical industries, Volkswagen, Vauxhall, Philips.

In order to advance the struggle to raise the standard of living and improve working conditions, for the right to work and against pollution, it is necessary to form organs that allow the unification of the rubber workers, steel workers, car workers in the chemical industry throughout capitalist Europe, and with the Workers States.

## TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY IS FUNDAMENTAL FOR THE UNITY OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS MOVEMENT

Another essential point is the democratic right to discuss everything and to decide on everything in the trade unions, in the organs of the workers' movement. Then it is essential to have the revocability of mandates and that the representatives elected by the workers of the section or of the factory, must be elected on the basis of programme and policy; not because they might have such and such a name, but because they push forward such a programme, not the programme which the trade union leaderships dictate, but what the branch has decided upon by public discussion, resolving and acquiring thus a common experience. This debate organises the capacity for leadership of the workers' movement.

The delegates must be elected on the basis of a mandate. Are delegates elected by their sections to do what the leadership says? The section elect delegates with a programme and tries to push forward this programme in the rest of the workers' movement. If the movement does not accept it, and therefore it cannot be pushed forward, because the majority does not adopt it, this does not prevent it following the democratic proletarian right to maintain its point of view and test through experience if it can succeed or not. On the basis of experience, it convinces or is convinced by others: unity within trade union democracy, is one of the essential points for the unity of the European workers' movement: the right to speak, to discuss, to resolve and to organise. It is more important than all the programmes which the leaderships give, because one of the conditions from which capitalism draws advantage is that the workers cannot speak, cannot discuss. Trade union democracy does not exist. If it existed, now the more advanced sectors would have communicated to the rest all the experiences which they have made, among them the factory councils in Italy, the factory occupations like LIP and R.A.T.EAU in France, and the French elections. If there had been factory meetings, demonstrations, meetings in the electoral campaign, half the people who voted for Chaban Del-

lers States. It is also fundamental to fight for equal rights for immigrant workers in all European countries. All immigrant workers must have the same rights as the local workers. It is an old aspiration of the First International and the Communist International. It is necessary to include it as one of the principal points for the unity of the European Workers Movement. How can one speak of the unity of the European Workers Movement if in France, for example, there are at least 4 million immigrant workers who cannot vote!

The other point is that every technical and scientific advance must be for the benefit of the masses and the consuming population in prices, in the quality of consumer goods, in hours of work, in the social and public services, in the conditions of work and health and in the standard of living. Unity can be achieved in this struggle.

ment in the conditions of life and work of the masses. It is necessary to eliminate pollution. Out with the civilisation of polluters of humanity! They are not just the polluters of Chicago, but of the whole world through the war in Vietnam, the constant war and contamination. It is necessary to appeal for a united front. The objective of the workers' movement is to overthrow the capitalist system. This general norm is accompanied by the programme of demands in which are included demands for democratic rights and a fuller and more open discussion, through bulletins, daily discussions, conferences, constant meetings, permanent meetings of enterprises, factories, of sections, to discuss experiences and develop in the proletariat the leading bases for society.

It is necessary to appeal for a discussion so that the workers' movement does not remain limited to the aspect of demands but transcends

these limits, not because we impose it in this way, but because the struggle for these demands has a very short perspective. Already, demands over wages or better conditions of work, go against the capitalist system and have to be accompanied by the struggle against the capitalist system. Hence, it is necessary to propose a programme of nationalisations, to improve political and

## COMBINE THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE WITH THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE FOR THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM

It is necessary to accompany the struggle for demands with the struggle for the overthrow of the capitalist system. It is necessary to show that they are aspects of the struggle which does not remain in the trade union field. Capitalism cannot give any more. The proof is the immense number, uninterrupted number of strikes from the smallest sectors to the largest: from the engineers' strikes, car workers, rubber workers, textile, chemical, up to the bank workers and occupations like that of the Rateau factory in France. It is an uninterrupted circuit of strikes, motivated by the constant evolution towards crisis of the capitalist system and the decision of the masses not to pay for this crisis. The struggles are uninterrupted; the cost of living increases, the struggle increases. The masses respond constantly, show the will and decision for change. The programme of the Popular Un-

social conditions, to nationalise the big enterprises, the big banks, to function under workers' control and to plan production, to pose that there is no other way to advance. The other way is a daily dispute, weekly, fortnightly, over wages, over conditions of work; capitalism gives in and afterwards, returns to raise the prices of the articles of consumption. It is an uninterrupted circuit.

ion in France, the political struggles in Italy in which the trade unions intervene show this. It is a new phenomenon in the form, but very old in the depth: from the time of Marx, the trade union struggle of itself does not succeed in answering the needs of the struggle of the masses. Therefore, it is necessary to combine the trade union struggle with the political struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. This is the programme.

It is necessary to make a programme of increase of wages, of the sliding scale of wages, sliding scale of hours, workers' control; a programme which includes all the worker masses, members or not of the union.

Naturally, the leaders will be the most active with trade unions. It is necessary to break every possibility for management to exert a pressure on the workers, incorporating in all the assemblies, even those who are not members or do not participate in all the activities.

Everybody should intervene in the mass meetings whether or not they are members of the union. This has a concrete and beneficial effect that can be seen in Italy, where they

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have made mass meetings of twenty thousand workers of which only twelve thousand were in the union, and they voted unanimously for the strike. This broke the plans of the management who wanted to use the non-members to weigh against the strike. Everybody voted and everybody voted for the strike. It is necessary to demand the right to have meetings during working hours. Among the gains of the Italian workers, there is an admission that they can have so many hours of meetings in working time paid for, and also, there are 150 hours a year allotted for study, also paid by the management. These are gains and although afterwards the population and the same workers pay higher prices, they are gains which the management must give while the workers raise their trade union demands to be very interlinked and fused with political demands:

There is no separation between trade union demands, wage demands, demands for better conditions of work against pollution and political demands. They are unified more and more. The crisis of the capitalist system increases and all the trade union, political, electoral, and even religious demands are unified. All are unified because capitalism concentrates its crisis and concentrates as a consequence the demands. Everything is combined. Capitalism cannot yield in one thing and not in another, because everything is crumbling. Hence it resists.

One of the essential aspects to consider in the unity of the workers movement, is the function of what capitalism calls the "technicians"—the engineers, managers, above all the technical teams. It is an indispensable part of the apparatus of production. These sectors must be won to the workers' programme and now, they are won. Throughout Europe, they are constantly won, attracted by the trade union struggle. After the occupation of RATEAU, of LIP, and other factories, they are won and attracted by the strikes but when the strike is won, the influence goes away, it is cut short or diminished.

It is necessary to reach a political level, to influence the technicians. Even if it is only for trade union motives, professional or economic motives, all the technical cadres are influenced, but they are still not organised politically in a proper form. They are socialists, they are left wing. But to win the technicians, a political intervention is necessary, and not only a trade union one.

## SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE PEOPLE OF CYPRUS! BRITAIN OUT OF NATO! OUT OF CYPRUS!

The process which has resulted from the attempt of imperialism to take advantage of the reactionary coup of Samson in Cyprus has been the deepening of the crisis of imperialism and the further weakening of NATO. Greece has now withdrawn its forces from NATO, limited the use of its air-space by Yankee imperialism and the masses demonstrate in Athens and in Crete demanding the removal of all Yankee bases. It is a process which confirms the analysis made by Cde. Posadas that the events of Cyprus show the fragile dominion of imperialism over the capitalist system. What began as a manoeuvre of Yankee imperialism, an attempt to stimulate the bourgeoisie and the reactionary military sectors in Greece to act against the development of the revolution and, at the same time, to prepare the best conditions for war has had the reverse effect. Basically what prevented imperialism from taking advantage of the Cyprus coup was the Soviet Union showing—in an indirect way, with the movement of its fleet in the Mediterranean and diplomatically—that it was prepared to intervene. Now even right wing newspapers in Greece like 'Akropolis' not only attack Yankee imperialism but talk of the necessity of an alliance with the Soviet Union. Whatever the developments in the next period—and the demonstrations of the masses against the Yanks and denouncing Kissinger as an assassin show that Karamanlis is incapable of stabilising a bourgeois regime favourable to the interests of imperialism—Greece like Portugal is lost as a base for NATO and is now outside the war alliance of imperialism.

However NATO still exists, is still a danger to the masses and its role is not only to confront the Workers States militarily but also the advance of the struggle of the masses within the capitalist countries, in France, Italy, Belgium, Britain. At the same time as Callaghan has been intervening as a 'peace-maker' with regard to Cyprus, British imperialism has been pouring troops and aircraft into the island. There are now more British troops in Cyprus than before the coup and it is sheer hypocrisy for the bourgeoisie to attack the intervention of the Turkish army when not a word was said about the assassination of the Greek masses in Paphos when the reactionary coup of Samson was first launched. The interests of British imperialism in Cyprus is to use it as a base, nothing more and the role of the British army from the beginning has been to support the reactionary coup, to protect these elements which have not changed even if Samson has been replaced by Clerides. Callaghan represents the continuation of this policy by the Labour government and it is the same with the continued intervention of British troops in Ireland.

At the same time the left of the Labour Party and the trade unions have still made no clear intervention against this policy, for the self-determination of the people of Cyprus—both Greek and Turkish—on the basis of an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme. It is true that in a limited way the cuts in arms expenditure made by the Labour government damages

the military effectiveness of British imperialism inside NATO and that the army has difficulty in finding enough troops to intervene in both Cyprus and Ireland. Nevertheless, essentially the army remains the repressive instrument of the bourgeoisie and the policies followed by the Labour government have not changed its basic structure. It is not possible for the left of the Labour government and the Labour Party to continue to pursue a policy which is, in its implications, anti-capitalist, to propose measures of nationalisation and to ignore the role of NATO and of the army of British imperialism.

It is clear that the bourgeoisie is turning more and more to the army as a means of maintaining its control over the economy, over the country. The discussion of the role of the army in defence of private property is now public and a central preoccupation of the bourgeoisie. The demand is being raised in the resolutions to the Labour Party conference for the implementation of the resolution for the removal of nuclear bases from this country and for cuts in arms expenditure. It is an expression of the pre-occupation of the base of the Labour Party, but it is still very distant from the reality of the situation. NATO has suffered a tremendous series of blows in Portugal, in the Eastern Mediterranean, in the arms cuts made by Holland and the left of the Labour Party has to insist that the proposed cuts in arms expenditure are directly linked with withdrawal from NATO. It is possible now not only to weaken NATO but to finish with it altogether.

All this is a discussion which cannot remain confined within the structure of the Labour Party. It is necessary to demand the immediate removal of all British troops from Cyprus, to demand the self-determination of the people of Cyprus, to organise discussions in the factories, demonstrations; to call for the 'blacking' of the movement of arms and military supplies to Cyprus in the way in which it has been done—and is still being done—by sectors of the working class, in support of the masses of Chile. It is necessary to retake the conclusion, which was drawn by sectors of the Labour Party—by Judith Hart for example—at the time of the military coup against the masses of Chile; that the bourgeoisie in this country will use every method—including military means—to prevent the implementation of the programme of the Labour Party. It is important that Labour leaders like Ron Hayward—Labour Party Secretary—are supporting the demonstration on Chile next month, but this intervention has to be linked with the demand for the immediate removal of British troops from Cyprus—and Ireland—and for the withdrawal of Britain from NATO. The central question that the Labour and trade union left have to raise is how, under a Labour government, can the army continue a policy of repression in Ireland and Cyprus? Is this the policy of a Labour government or does the army decide for itself? What, then, is going to be the role of the army

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But this prepares the need to show and to make the technician feel that it is necessary to change society and that the proletariat is capable of doing it: through the Party, the united front, the anti-capitalist programme. Thus, it is necessary to win the technicians via the trade union which breaks his submission to the capitalist system, and elevates him to make him feel that it is not only a question of his function as a leading technician but as a human being, who has to be discussed. And so, this can win him to the defence of the dignity of work and of his function so that he will not be a torturer, a gaoler, or a persecutor of the workers, a defender of the capitalist system, an intermediary who defends a system of exploitation which eliminates his technical ability, putting it at the service of those whose capacity to develop the economy is finished. Political action and anti-capitalist objectives are necessary. In order to achieve all the demands for the workers to improve their standard of life, so that they can eliminate pollution, it is necessary to change the system, to pass from private property to collective property.

It is necessary to appeal to the technicians and cadres to fulfill this function and a united front on the bases of an anti-capitalist programme. This is necessary to push forward a consistent struggle. The occupations of RATEAU, of LIP, of May 1968 in France, and all the strikes in Europe show this. Among the technicians there is a very great influence of the workers' movement, of the revolution, of the Workers States, which is expressed in the form of adherence to the strikes and the weakening of the capitalist structure.

The trade union leaderships pose deliberately the existence of the multi-national societies as a special problem, to justify a defensive policy concentrated in the question of wages, of better conditions of work, but nothing more. They pose the problem as if the multi-national societies were a new form of exploitation of capitalism, which bypasses the capacity of the trade unions to confront them. It is not like this. It is the normal functioning of imperialism today, in a concentrated form. It is not that capitalism elevates its ability for action, it is the crisis which impels it to seek this functioning, which weakens it constantly, because the multi-national firms eat up a large number of capitalist enterprises and thus weaken the system.

This is the essence of the multi-national firms. They have an enormous economic power but an immense social weakness. Thus, how do we judge them, by their economic power or by their lack of social effect? The Communist and Socialist Parties and the big unions have to judge in this way.

When capitalism cannot answer its own needs, with economic measures nor with leadership, nor with a programme, it cannot sustain either any serious victory of the proletariat. Every gain, every serious progress of the proletariat and the population has to be launched against the capitalist system—not for demands extracted from the capitalist system—but against it. Then every struggle has to be programmed against the capitalist system whether on a national or European scale.

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# THE 'MULTI NATIONAL COMPANIES'

## THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM IS PREPARING FOR WAR WITH THE WORKERS STATES

The European Common Market had the force and the ability to organise economy and to develop it, it would have reacted immediately to the competition with the Workers States and with Yankee imperialism. As it does not have this force, it does not have perspectives, because it confronts the proletariat and the superior economy of the Workers States, it develops constant crisis. The solution, the logical reply of capitalism throughout history before such a crisis is war. And it should have launched the war on the Workers States. But war on the Workers States is no joke. After 1941 the Nazis proved that it was not possible to win, or to dream of winning war against the Soviet Union. They have this experience. They saw that the capitalist world apparatus was launched to smash the Soviet Union but it had no effect, that all Stalin's assassin policy did not disorganise, not destroy the structure, the life of the Soviet Union; that the Nazis kept the apparatus, not the instrument: the life of the Soviet Union continued. Capitalism observed this. It realised that not only the Soviet Union survived the war, but that it generated new Workers States, and countries like Algeria which within the so-called "third world" approximate to the camp of the workers state and have an immense influence.

Capitalism sees that to make the war is to put everything on a single row. Hence it doubts, vacillates. It no doubt about having to make war but it doubts over when and how. For this reason in their projects, in their programming, it is resolved to intervene militarily against the Workers States. If it doubts and vacillates, it is because it feels that this war is the end of its existence.

At the same time, the intensification of the inter-capitalist crisis constantly accentuated motive wars between the capitalist powers: the European Common Market and the Yankees, with the British imperialists have reason for war, why don't they launch it? They make commercial war, price war, dollar war, financial war, war over horticulture and radishes. It is a constant interrupted conflict, a ferocious one in which they try to crush each other and hit each other constantly; did Italian capitalism when the Yanks made a plan and the Italians kept it, saying they were against capitalism cannot have lasting, permanent plans. It has no economic or political bases to sustain them. Why don't they launch the war? They did before for lesser motives than now. The Yanks have a thousand economic and social, commercial reasons to declare war on capitalist Europe. Why don't they do it? Because they feel that there are the Workers States and an inter-capitalist struggle weakens the system and the situation progresses. So, they eat each other and reduce the social power of capitalist influence. They concentrate the economic, political and social power but not the economic, social and military possibilities. Hence they pass through stages, driven by the desire to destroy the Workers States and their crisis interests.

Capitalism is preparing to launch atomic war against the Workers States, to launch the war against revolution. It prepares the atomic war but it is important to triumph. The organisation of the united front of the workers in Europe advances progresses, including the police forces in France and the military trade unions in Sweden. It is necessary to include in the programme for the unity of the workers' movement in Europe every organisation which weakens the capitalist system. Among the questions which the unions have to pose, is that each mem-

smash it, but it does it in an indirect form, increasing pollution, poisoning the food, water, meat, wheat, everything.

Before this what defence is there? It is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system, to make a programme against the capitalist system. Capitalism has no more initiative, it is preparing war. The main resources of the system are spent in science and technology for armaments.

Today it is possible to break the brutality of the submission of the human being to work, to eliminate the need to have to work in an undignified way like today. It is possible to give dignity to work. It is possible to do it now. Electronics, as a basis of production allow this, instead of war machines, it is possible to make a thousand types of machines with this objective. If capitalism doesn't do it, it is because it is not interested, it does not have any stimulus for tomorrow. And in this, its competitive capacity is reduced. Also its competition with the Workers States could be much greater, because all the intelligence, all the range of scientific resources and capital is invested in the preparation for the war. If they dedicated to production all the technology and the equipment developed for space flights which require very delicate electronic instruments and machines, which undertake functions for which they need thousands of people on earth, they could eliminate the brutality, the indignity of human labour, they could dignify the conditions of work. They could dignify work so that man does not live to eat but eats to be able to exist and organise the brain. The possibility for this already exists.

This conclusion is present in every important struggle in the conflict between the trade unions and capitalism. Hence the multi-national companies do not have any interest in improving the conditions of life of the masses, but only in smashing them. And neither could they be interested in this, they have not the means, concern or perspective. They cannot find any resources which allow the improvement of the condition of life, the dignity of work and human relations in the capitalist system. It is necessary to overthrow it. It is like this and the masses see and feel it. Therefore every policy, every programme of the Communist and Socialist parties and of the trade unions has to be aimed at this objective: the overthrow of the capitalist system!

J. Posadas 6th May 1974

ber of the trade union who does military service must fight for the demands of the union and refuse to be used against the workers' movement, against the progress of the workers' movement. He has full right to fight for this. It is necessary for the left to refuse to use arms against progress. Capitalism cannot evade this, or invent measures which escape this process of crisis of the capitalist system. In front of this, it has to increase the exploitation, the degradation of the human being, the indignity of work. Faced with this, what is the policy of the trade unions? of the Communist and Socialist Parties, of the workers' centres? A policy of competition with the capitalist system: to improve wages, conditions of work and consumption of food. We are in agreement. All this is necessary. But how can it be achieved? Capitalism yields an increase of wages which is extracted from it and immediately increases prices on a national and world scale. These are the relations which exist, before this, it is necessary to answer with a programme for the overthrow of the capitalist system.

There is no means to defend wages, the standard of living, consumption, the life of the working class. Capitalism cannot sustain improvements. Inevitably it has to proceed contracting and reducing without cessation the standard of living, the human level of existence of the proletariat, the conditions of life and health. It cannot massively reduce consumption and the level of wages because the masses would

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# OUT OF CYPRUS

In the face of the intervention of the working class and Labour's programme? This is the discussion which has to be developed now!

It is necessary also to see that the simple cutting of arms expenditure, the ending of projects like that of the 'Harrier' jet whilst weakening the intervention of British imperialism in NATO will, if not accompanied by measures which begin a process of disintegrating the army as a structure, only serve to increase the desperation of the bourgeoisie without removing from their hands the one instrument on which they can still rely. Appeals must be made for mobilisations and demonstrations for the removal of British troops from Cyprus but this has to be accompanied by a programme directed at the army itself; for full trade union and political rights in the army, for the right of soldiers to join the trade unions. This is a demand already attained in armies in Europe—in Holland for example—and an army in which soldiers have trade union rights and functioning is useless to imperialism.

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# editorial

quite extensive Planning Agreements with proposed government intervention on investments, prices policy, productivity, employment, import and export investments and product development, and even though the government stresses that these agreements are going to be voluntary, in reality they are going to be a constant impediment to the functioning of capitalism. The document also stresses the need for the involvement of the trade unions and the workers involved in the industries concerned to participate in all discussions. Another important step forward in the document is the proposed setting up of a National Enterprise Board with quite considerable power and controls over industry. Although the government is very vague as to the functions of this body, it potentially could play a big role with government shares and the extension of government intervention in industry.

Hence the hysterical reaction from the bourgeoisie, which sees the dangers which these measures represent to them and who will do all in their power to prevent the application of these policies. Due to the general collapse of the capitalist system, with every day bringing further news of companies and firms going bankrupt, capitalism cannot tolerate such measures. The Labour Party talks about public companies and a healthy private sector developing hand in hand. But what healthy private sector? The run down of industry, the lack of investments, the stagnation of the economy, all these are the result of capitalist running of the economy. Capitalism views this document, in the same way as the Labour Party programme, as an obstacle to its attempts to utilise this economic crisis in order to dictate its policies, based on the norms of capitalist functioning in a period of world recession. In this situation the National Enterprise Board, in the event of factory closures, can take them over, out of the hands of private enterprise, which will try to impose unemployment as a way to lower the living standards of the population.

The working class is refusing to be the ones who pay for this crisis. They reject the Social Contract which the TUC and Labour Party leadership are trying to impose on them. Capitalism cannot count on the right wing in the Labour Party and trade unions to contain the demands of the working class anymore, it has passed right outside their control. The elevated demands of the working class at this moment, in particular the huge demands of the building workers, and the initiative taken by some hospital workers in refusing to attend to private patients anymore, the strikes and factory occupations show that the working class is not determined by the limited objectives and perspectives of their leaderships, nor is it dependent on parliamentary perspectives. It intervenes constantly as a leadership in society, stimulating and pushing forward their leaderships in the trade unions and the Labour Party.

The TUC Congress and the trade unions must encourage and help the development of the process in

the Labour Party, putting forward a joint programme for a workers' plan of production, based in general lines on the Labour Party programme, but much more developed and extended. For example every trade union must put forward its own programme of nationalisation under workers' control and calling for a nationalised, planned economy and workers' control over production, prices, production costs, methods, etc. Obviously all these demands pose the need for a different structure in both the Labour Party and the trade unions, because the implementation of this programme requires a constant intervention from the working class. For the Labour government to run the economy in the interests of the population and not according to the dictates of capitalism, the full intervention of the masses is demanded, and this poses the need for the development and strengthening of independent organs of the working class, shop stewards' committees, factory and workers' area committees.

This programme cannot remain within the present parliamentary perspective, but must be fought for in the factories and the workers' areas. The Labour Party must deepen its roots in the factories, trade unions and the Labour movement. This poses the need for trade union democracy, because the trade unions' structure as it stands is an impediment to the working class in its struggles, and is a pale reflection of the force and decision of the working class. This change in the structure must run parallel to the development and advances of the workers' movement and to the process in the Labour Party. The trade union Congress must stop talking of Social Contracts and instead put forward a full programme to meet the crisis of capitalism, calling for the nationalisation of all industries about to be closed, for these industries to be nationalised under workers' control, for work sharing without loss of pay to fight unemployment and redundancies.

Great demands are being made on the Labour Party in this period. It has already progressed enormously over the last period; making the transition from a social democratic party to a party with defined socialist objectives. But the structure remains that of a social democratic party and is still not equipped for the tasks it has to undertake. The Labour left must increase its confidence and base itself on the fact that the crisis of capitalism in Britain is part of the total, final crisis of world capitalism, and that the tasks being faced by the Labour Party are part of a struggle which the world workers' movement are having to make, the struggle for the taking of power and the construction of Socialism. The conditions are mature as never before in history for this to be achieved. Instead of developing plans for devolution, which is a really retrograde step for the government to take, the Labour Party could mobilise and rally huge sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, the nurses, teachers, civil servants, as well as the masses of Scotland and Wales, around a full programme for the expropriation of capitalism and for a planned, nationalised economy.

# The revolt of the prisoners in France and the class struggle

J. POSADAS

28 July 74

Workers of the World, Unite!



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The decision of the engineers to reject the social compact is an index of the resolution of the British working class to finish with any policy of conciliation with capitalism, any policy which fails to make capitalism pay for its own crisis. The central issue for the working class is not the social compact but the implementation and extension of the LP programme of nationalisations, under workers control, leading to a centralised state economy constantly extending production in the interests of the whole of the population – not in the interests of the monopolies who pollute and destroy the environment and can only function for war and profit.

All the fundamental decisions move outside the regime of elections and parliament. Elections have an importance but when it comes to the enforcement of programmes and policies, the classes have to be based on extra parliamentary forces and in the case of the bourgeoisie this means primarily the armed forces and the police.

The intentions of the bourgeoisie are quite clear – or at least the most decided sectors, the sectors representing the interests of the big monopolies – they want to develop the forces of repression, to encourage fascist groupings, inter link as much as possible the "vigilante" groupings with the army and the police, develop links with the lumpen gangs in N. Ireland. They have to do this because, however much Tory papers may speak of the weight of the National Front, etc., capitalism has failed to mobilise anything of any force against the masses. The vast army of brown shirts objectively necessary for the bourgeoisie do not exist and they cannot be summoned up, however much the bourgeoisie may try, because the mass of the petit bourgeoisie have no perspective in capitalism but do see the superiority of the Workers States. Even so capitalism will use its coercive apparatus to repress and its economic apparatus to sabotage. It does not leave the scene gracefully but uses the maximum violence to retain its positions. Its decision is affected by the mass of forces arrayed against it, that is the balance of world forces, and its resentful rage is expressed in all manner of provocations and assassinations – those in Tokyo, Argentina, Cyprus and Italy recently are examples of this. These show the desire of capitalism to stimulate the forces of repression but they are also a sign of social impotence and frustration. The violence of the police action against the pop festival at Windsor is a classic example of the social impotence of capitalism – all this police aggression capitalism would

like to use against the working class, but it is afraid and temporises. But this action and the regime of nazi brutality in N. Ireland are examples of the way capitalism will react to perpetuate its dinosaur system.

With the recent limitations of the forces of the left in the LP – a tendency still to respect capitalism and to lie prone in front of the union jack, for example over Ireland and Cyprus, the trade unions must intervene more forcibly on all issues. They are the foundation of the LP and are fundamental in its transformation. The crisis of capitalism is total, all its capacity to develop is exhausted. Even when capitalism is united in the war alliance of NATO – now in crisis with Greece and in which the Dutch reduce their arms budget – Giscard d'Estaing speaks of Europe having to unite and not to rely on America and the German chancellor begs the US not to take any economic steps without discussion. They are in a world recession and have no solution. Smaller sectors of capitalism are being eliminated as can be seen in the collapse of lesser German banks.

The trade unions have to intervene now with all their force to defend the interests of the working class, rejecting any social compact and above all mobilising with demonstrations, meetings, conferences to support, elaborate and extend the programme of nationalisations of the Labour party. There is no third way in world history. It is either capitalism or the advance towards the Workers State. There is no special social democratic Labour party solution. The solution is the

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## THE EXPULSION OF NIXON AND THE WAR PLANS OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM

J. POSADAS

9th AUGUST, 1974

The elimination of Nixon is an accelerated step towards war, but it does not mean that war is near. It means that imperialism is preparing to make a decision. For this reason the three candidates for the vice presidency are all war candidates oil, steel and armaments. They need and are trying to keep their hands free in order to continue this policy of detente – that will be less and less relaxed – and at the same time to be prepared for war. Even now, they cannot determine the timing. For this reason they liquidate Nixon in this way, with full honours so that he can collect his money and go, accused of something very small, to maintain him like this and not as an enemy.

The fall, the liquidation of Nixon, the nomination of Ford and the trio of candidates for the vice presidency show that the CIA governs the United States, and that it wants to maintain the right conditions to act at any moment, in order to continue this policy, change course, or make it clear to the Soviets that they are going to intervene.

The internal resistance in the United States, is going to be great, because the other sector of the bourgeoisie is going to see that these want war, and so they will want to maintain links with the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. There is going to be a very big struggle between these sectors. This is going to accelerate the concentration of power in fewer and fewer hands, in order to be able to launch the war at a moments notice.

Ten days before this event, Pravda, in its editorial said 'It is possible there will be a war', at the same time that it communicated the result of the Brezhnev/Marchais meeting. It was aimed at this, foreseeing the liquidation of Nixon.

Yankee imperialism is the leader of world capitalism, the example, the guide. When it has to be involved with the fall of a president and someone is substituted for him who is not elected, it is the final humiliation. When all the capitalist countries accept this as good, regardless of who replaces him, it is because they support and applaud the role for which the new president was elected. They don't applaud the overthrow of Nixon because he was involved in Watergate. Nobody mentions Watergate, nobody says concretely what Watergate is. All the capitalist countries of the world applaud and come together to stimulate Yankee imperialism to take further measures of concen-

tration in order to stop the progress of the revolution, to stop the Workers States. Otherwise the fall of Nixon is meaningless. What did Nixon do to be thrown out? Watergate. What sense has this got? What about Vietnam? Isn't it worse? The murders that the US army have made in Vietnam are worse than this. But there is a great pressure and danger of a military coup and dictatorship. For this reason they did this. There was the possibility of a military coup d'etat.

When world capitalism makes such a chorus of support for the expulsion of Nixon they act as accomplices, and they justify it as a necessity, because "at the end he had lied", even though until yesterday they praised him. They act in chorus behind the boss who prepares the atomic war, because they see that they have no solution in Germany, France, Italy, Britain, Belgium. They have no solution, they see that they have no normal solution. The bomb placed by the fascists on a train in Italy is the same as the one they used to eliminate Nixon. It is the same! The liquidation of Nixon solves the problems that the bombs in Italy cannot solve: a strong government, a strong solution, the war. All capitalism is in league! This is why they make this travesty and they lie and they croak like frogs! All the capitalist press are lying! They all say in chorus that this was a democratic process: "look! They democratically change

president"! Liars! Ford was not elected by anyone, he was nominated by them, after the elimination of Agnew.

They are the same people who massacred in Vietnam, in Latin America, in the Middle East. They are the same people! They covered up the Israeli murders in Lebanon, where they go to refugee camps, throw bombs and murder hundreds of people! They are the same people who murdered thirty-five people in a school . . . . Israeli children – in order to justify the war! How is it possible to believe that capitalism can have anything to do with a "democratic" event! How can it be democratic! It is the liquidation of a president who represented a sector in the economy which wanted to go on with agreements with the Soviets. No more! They liquidated this president who had such a policy and who the Soviets saw as the lesser evil, and they replaced him with a president who can be used for anything. This shows that capitalism feels that it is going into a crisis which it won't be able to contain. This is linked to the crisis of capitalism in Europe.

Capitalism is in crisis in Italy, France, Belgium, Britain, Germany, it doesn't succeed in anything! It is constantly besieged! They tried to organise fascism, put bombs everywhere to massacre, and they lost! The masses are not intimidated by this, quite the contrary! They see that they are losing ground politically and electorally, they lose, lose, lose! They seek a joint solution in order to give confidence to capitalism. And this confidence is a president "ready for any eventuality". This president or another one; because they could kill him at any time and replace him with someone else, with any vice president, Rockefeller or anyone of them.

For capitalism it means trouble, a measure which they have to take with the preparation of years. They did

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# THE REVOLT OF THE PRISONERS IN FRANCE AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

28th July, 1974

One of the events which reflects in a direct form — not direct like the trade union struggle — the very great progress of the class struggle, is the rebellion of the prisoners in France. The unanimity of this rebellion has not been communicated through the contact which an organisation establishes. It is the common sentiment of all the prisoners which has advanced in front of all the world events.

There is a unanimity and homogeneity of the rebellions in the prisons, in France, in Italy, in Britain, and on a lesser scale in the United States and in Latin America. In general, a unanimous rebellion in the prisons, and with such a programme of demands which is a political and trade, and in part class programme, can only take place when the prisoners show, even in a distant way, the world influence of the struggle for Communism, even in the condition of being prisoners who have the consciousness of a crime; although at least 30% are neither delinquents, nor thieves, nor swindlers — the swindlers and the thieves are the ones outside and who sentence them.

But on their own account, they could not have the consciousness, nor the will, nor the inclination for organisation of the masses, not so much through the conditions of confinement in which they live, through the oppression to which they are subjected — because they cannot meet and they do not have organisation — but because in their consciousness there is no such inclination. Each one feels purely as an individual, with a particular problem, segregated from society, and not unified in a common struggle. What unites their common struggle? It is the struggle that goes on outside, the trade union, political struggle, the struggle of Vietnam, the struggle of Cyprus, Greece, Spain and Portugal. It is this which unifies the struggle of the prisoners and gives it a revolutionary, cultural political sense.

In France, such profound events which would mean a unanimous influence are not present. There are events and there are struggles, and a good activity by the Communists, the Socialists and the Trade Unions, but they do not have the depth of the May\* to succeed in moving the prisoners. But on a world scale, yes. There is a world process which unites the prisoners to the struggle in France, to the struggles of the Communist and Socialist parties. This allows them to assimilate the revolutionary conclusions, to want profound changes, to transform and change the prison regime. They are demanding the transformation which eliminates the function and the sense of the prison which is the oppression of the sentiment and the consciousness of the inmate. To eliminate him, to leave him inanimate, to make him prostrate, subject to the vengeance of the State. This is because the prison is an instrument of oppression and of vengeance, which is the impotence of the regime of private property, the arrogance of every apparatus.

The demands of the prisoners go much further than questions of prisons. They are the common demands of employees of a backward enterprise. If they achieve such a level in their demands which corresponds to an elevated level of cultural and intellectual preparation, to an elevated cultural intention, which is in a sense revolutionary, it is because they receive the influence of the struggle of the masses of the world and of the struggle of the masses of France in particular.

Directly through the masses of France they receive the influence of the masses of the world. The political prisoners in other parts, in the United States itself, have more backward demands than these. In France, they make a series of demands which, as in Italy, are trade union demands. They demand political rights, trade union rights, human rights, and they do not feel that they are outside society and life. The prisoners in Italy demand rights like some citizen who is tem-

advance of the culture of the world, which is revolutionary culture. In this, they show that they do not feel that they are segregated from society. They have committed a crime, but they do not feel that they are segregated. They see it as a passing event, which shows that their behaviour is the consequence of the social regime, not of the bad conduct of a human being as such. This progress is the result of the development of the struggle of the masses.

The trade unions and the workers' parties have to pose the problem in this way. Immediately, it is necessary to pose an increase in the rights of the prisoners in a complete form, but at the same time, it is necessary to show also the maturity that exists for the transformation of society. It is necessary to transform society, because all the improvements in the prison regime, can only be very circumstantial, very superficial and limited in their levels, now that capitalism cannot liberate or yield to the pressure of history through the prisoners because, this goes against itself.

This is an enormous progress which the revolution imposes on the present prison regime. All this is before Communism: in Communism there will not be prisons, crimes, delinquents or thieves. When they demand a regime of equal rights with the rest of the population, even when many of them have the consciousness of having committed crimes, it is because they feel influenced by the progress of the revolution. It is a very great influence of the revolution on them, which means an enormous gain, a penetration, an interpenetration of the process of the advance of the revolution in a part of society which is very backward, and which in certain conditions — not always — is very declassified. This is because they have committed crimes and each one has an individual interest. And they decide individually, through personal measures; and the crimes influence their minds and their consciousness and make them consider that they are outside human contact, outside society and the rights of others.

When in spite of this they demand the same rights as others, it is because they now do not feel themselves as delinquents; having committed crime, they feel they are not delinquent. They want to regenerate. This is an epoch, a process which is particularly beautiful. Here is a theme for novels to be written about! What novels could arise from this, what literature! To do this, it would be necessary to be with the prisoners. And to put oneself among the prisoners and not to remain there, one has to be a revolutionary. Here are beautiful themes for the cinema, the theatre, and songs! The prisoners do not feel in any way prisoners, they feel free because the struggles of the masses of the world and the progress of the revolution liberates them. They no longer feel subject to crime, subject to be always smashed down. No. They want to advance and to regenerate. It is necessary to take this as an immense conquest of penetration and interpenetration of the revolution which penetrates the prisons, the gaolers and the mind of the prisoner whatever his previous crime.

In Italy the prisoners have demanded — and in some part have won — that all the cells should not function as before: that they should have individual baths, hot and cold showers, a kitchen for everyone, wardrobes for their clothes, libraries, televisions, and the gates to be opened, and also that the prison dress should be eliminated and they should have the right to wear ordinary clothes, and in part they have succeeded. They are making an experiment. The prisoners are rebelling and they make demands which make them part of the world course of the

Capitalism tries to intimidate and to terrorise the prisoners. Every prisoner that they confine and condemn, in the intention of the capitalist regime and the capitalist penal code, is aimed to intimidate the rest of society. As they believe that freedom is "the most precious gift" as they say — and the "most precious gift" for them is to be able to go out, enter, sleep and eat although the head is empty and people are dying of hunger — they continue with an old and backward criteria. People now, do not have any more fear of being prisoners. They are prisoners, and they come out, and they overthrow the capitalist regime.

Vietnam was a prison for many years, with bombing all day long. Thousands and thousands of Vietnamese children were born underground, in caves. And an infinite number of children have only seen the sun on occasions, and temporarily. All these children live with ideas and develop with the revolutionary consciousness that it is necessary to change history. Now this shows that it is the 14 Workers'

States, which have exerted the influence, that has led to installing 16 Revolutionary States, and the marvellous Italian proletariat, which has succeeded with the French proletariat and the Japanese proletariat to advance the class struggle to the edge of taking power; all this together is eliminating the oppression of the capitalist prison.

The prisoners feel that their demands, the freedom which they seek, the reduction in punishment, in backward conditions, are due to the revolutionary and workers movement. They owe it to the French May and to the Workers States. Without a programme, cultural conclusions, they feel that they owe to this the possibilities and they lean on this. This protest is aimed at the workers movement, to the population which rises up against the capitalist regime. They do not seek an uncertain perspective, with the hope that the bourgeoisie will send a journalist or make a film, to get money. It is aimed directly at the workers movement, at the population of France, as in Italy at the Italian population. They find sup-

port in this, so that the workers movement can push forward such demands, secure that they are going to obtain them.

They feel united with this and it is a beginning of rehabilitation, of reorganisation, of regeneration of prisoners. It is a beginning of regeneration imposed and established through the world advance of the class struggle, through the advance and development of the Workers States, which helps, leads and reorganises them, in the confidence that they are normal human beings, and that they seek the progress of life, and in directing their demands to the workers movement, there is a beginning of the acceptance of the influence of the workers movement, which acts so that they tend to regenerate. It is one of the influences of the revolutionary struggle of humanity. It is one of the conclusions that show that humanity is ready for communism.

The prisoners whatever their condition might be, are seeking the support, the encouragement, the solidarity of the revolutionary and

workers movement. They are seeking to assert human dignity. And they seek also to answer to the conscious forces which have the authority of tomorrow — not of today, but of tomorrow — which are the forces of the struggle for socialism.

All this shows also that the Popular Union can find in France an infinitely greater strength than it has at present, if it shows itself capable and decided to take the government and to declare that it wants to form a government which is going to nationalise the principle sources of production, and that democracy is going to be based on the development of the nationalised economy; this is going to give it an immensely greater support than it has today. The prisoners show this, and the petit bourgeoisie also. Instead of going about secretly from the fear of frightening the petit bourgeoisie, they must see that they frighten it, when they do not show themselves capable or resolved to transform society. If they showed themselves capable of doing this, as they win the prisoners, so they would win the

petit bourgeoisie and the peasantry also, who are seeking support in the Popular Union because they want changes and transformations. Besides, it is not possible to progress in France, if there are not changes and transformations of the capitalist system into nationalised property.

The level of the demands of the prisoners is not determined by the judges, nor the lawyers, nor by the demands of one or other prisoner, but by the workers movement, the trade unions, the workers centres, the Popular Union, the level of the struggle of the masses throughout the world, and the objectives of liberation already reached which are more and more important. This marks the level of the cultural demands, in places so remote from cultural demands, like prisons. It isn't a problem of momentary demands, but it is a measure of the depth of the drive of humanity to free itself from the capitalist system.

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## The expulsion of Nixon

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the same with Kennedy. It is the same conclusion when they assassinated Kennedy. They killed Kennedy to prevent a policy of going too far with the soviets. And this latest action is a warning to the soviets, to

contain them. It does not mean necessarily the war now, but it means a warning to the soviets, that they are ready to go to war to force them to yield in many things.

development of the revolution throughout the world.

The speech of Nixon maintains the agreements with the Workers States, the Soviet Union and other countries. But of Ford the only thing one knows is that he was a Rugby player! And high finance does not put in any President. The Presidency of the USA represents high finance, armaments, oil, steel. These are the sectors which determine in the United States economy because they are the ones who have the capital which moves the whole of the economy. These are the ones who elect the President. They did not throw Nixon out, because of political or economic management. They did not say a word about it, simply Watergate. This is to say that the policy of Nixon represented the other sector of the bourgeoisie who wanted to continue, supported on arrangements with the Workers States. Hence in the last elections, the Soviet Union supported the victory of Nixon and not the Democratic candidate because Nixon guaranteed this policy while the other could have been influenced by high finance in the more direct policy of war.

They expected Nixon to last until the end of the year. After Cyprus they accelerated the process in a week, after Cyprus turned out to be a boomerang. The intervention of the USSR in Cyprus has accelerated this. Imperialism saw the attitude of the soviets, saw that there is a wing which is ready to go further, that it has to take account of. And Pravda declares that the war is possible. The events in Cyprus showed that imperialism does not have the strength to decide: Cyprus, Portugal, Spain and Turkey come on top of each other. A whole process is coming in which the world escapes from their control,

while the process of the world revolution is increasing. But it is necessary to reiterate that this is not the war now, but the question of a cabinet ready for anything and which accelerates the centralisation of the staffs to decide on the war. It shows the crisis of Yankee imperialism which has to resolve the problems in this way and it cannot resolve them with a coup d'état or dismissal pure and simple. In addition they have to present themselves before the capitalist world with such weakness.

The basis of all this is to try to give more confidence to world capitalism to confront the development of the revolution, but it is necessary to take into account that they are not the ones who decide the road. They are obliged to take measures that have been imposed brutally. They take measures which they cannot dominate and which can have important consequences. They would have liked fascism and coups in Italy, France and they failed. The masses made them fail. But it means that they are preparing nevertheless for changes. It does not mean that it may be necessarily like this in a short stage, but it is part of the war preparations that they are making. From the time of Kennedy its been like this, but since then eleven years have passed. They assassinated Kennedy so that he would not continue with his policy but eleven years have gone by and this shows that the sectors who resist in the United States are quite strong. They have had to go through the farce of throwing out one vice president and replacing him with another.

Conclusions must also be expected from the soviets who also are going to answer in the same form. And there is going to be an internal struggle among the soviets. The fall of Nixon happened at the moment in

which sectors in the USSR considered that the conditions were right for a president who could make more concessions, to

hinder the policy of the sector of the army which in the Soviet Union wishes to push forward a harder policy.

### THE ADVANCE OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT CANNOT BE CONTAINED

They have made this liquidation but the revolution advances throughout the world: it advances in an anti imperialist united front in Latin America, advances in a conscious front in the Middle East directed in an indirect form by Algeria and where also Iraq weighs quite a lot. The workers movement is advancing in an uncontrollable way. Capitalism sees that it cannot contain it and hence it is preparing the war. This is the preparation of the war. It does not mean the war now or tomorrow nor in the month or the year which is coming, but the preparation of the war. They would have made the war before but they were obliged to postpone it. This is not indefinite. And the soviets declare in a reiterated form: "the war is possible". Although it may not be now, the departure of Nixon means a concentration of power in the hands of those who decide the war.

The fall of Nixon — it is not a resignation, its a fall — is an aspect of the crisis of US capitalism faced with the solution in the war or in the agreement with the soviets, in detente. And it is going to promote a concentration of power in the hands of those who decide on war. It is going also to concentrate in the communist parties the decision of sectors who see that the war is coming, not of the sectors who try to avoid reality and do not see it because they are afraid, but of those who see that this is not a change simply to respect democracy but so that those who are decided on war have no obstacles in front of them. We are in a very acute stage which is not going to be expressed immediately, and within this it appears that Ford is going to go to China. He is going to China to try to appear before the petit bourgeoisie of the United States — as before the world bourgeoisie — that he is pushing forward a policy of agreement, but also to try to utilise to the maximum the Sino-Soviet divergences which will be one of the indexes for the decision to launch war.

Every important historic event like this shows differences of position in the communist parties. The weak attitude of the communist parties before the resignation of Nixon, shows that they are closing their eyes — as in every country they close their eyes to the possibility of taking power — in order not to understand the risk which it means, the danger, the threat of war preparation which this change means. They fear to draw the conclusion. On the other hand, the Soviet Union and the CPSU are conscious of the fact that this is so. Even though they do not declare it, this is going to accelerate the conclusion that the war is possible. It is necessary to discuss in the Communist parties, to persuade, to convince to show, that this is a stage towards war but that it does not mean war now. The communist parties do not have all the same positions, which shows the diversity of the development of the interests of the communist parties. But this is going to clash with the Workers States, with the Soviet

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## The TUC Conference shows the need for mass mobilisations against repression

The TUC conference was far behind the level of decision and the capacity of the working class, but on the other hand it could give no guarantees to contain the working class, could give no base to sustain the capitalist system. The manoeuvrings among the delegates finally produced agreement around the social compact, but even this was linked with the acceptance by the TUC of the proposals of the struggle of the masses throughout the world, and the objectives of liberation already reached which are more and more important. This marks the level of the cultural demands, in places so remote from cultural demands, like prisons. It isn't a problem of momentary demands, but it is a measure of the depth of the drive of humanity to free itself from the capitalist system.

Such a conference poses the need for major changes in the workers movement. The thousand delegates present in no way represented the power and the decision of the masses. Nothing of the force of the miners strikes, the campaign to free the dockers, nothing of the decision of the masses to dispose of capitalism was present. The greatest limitation of the conference lay basically in the failure to respond to the need for direct mobilisations of the working class in the factories and in demonstrations to confront the total crisis of capitalism and intervene against the preparations for repression by the exploiter class. The conference posed in the sharpest terms the need for a new leadership of the working class in the Trade Unions and the Labour Party.

The essential problems arise from the limitations in the whole structure of the trade unions and therewith the immense limitations from the point of view of discussion. The conference has posed very clearly that the rigidity in the structure of the Unions corresponded to the expropriation of the labour movement by the aristocracy of labour whose dominance belongs to a previous period.

It is not possible for the trade unions to mobilise all their forces in a situation where delegates are not directly controlled by workers and open to immediate recall. The way in which the engineers vote was changed in the conference, that is the capitulation to the social compact, is an example of the lack of any sort of internal democracy or mandating. It is a public example of changing positions without control, by the base and it will not be forgotten. Allied to this there is no mass discussion preceding such a conference. There are no mass assemblies in the factories, no texts, simply a number of resolutions and inadequate time for discussion. Such meetings are a series of set pieces in which the most important issues are given no more time than the least important and in which the first day seems to be handed over to formal introductions.

Several important discussions were raised for example the need for the unions to intervene towards N. Ireland, the relation between

repression there and the preparations for repression in Britain, discussions over Cyprus but the organisation of the conference prevents any real discussion in depth and the heavy hand of inertia descends on all things. This stems from the reformist traditions which prevents any foresight as to the real nature of the crisis through which capitalism is passing. The bureaucracy made every effort to contain discussion within the confines of the electoral campaign to return the Labour government. This means ignoring the basic stage through which capitalism and the workers movement is passing. It means ignoring the world situation which determines the process in any one country.

It is totally absurd for the TUC to neglect a discussion over the preparations of capitalism for repression and a coup. It is absurd and is due to the total lack of foresight brought about by bureaucratic complacency and isolation from the real interests of the workers movement. It is not a question of people who consciously wish to "betray" the workers and hand them over to the policies of capitalism — certainly the right is against socialism — but of people immensely timid in front of the tasks, totally unprepared, with lives dominated by day to day impressionism and they cannot cope. Their particular caste interest prevents them seeing the process.

Although the conference was united behind the theme of the return of a labour government, there was no emphasis placed on the need to return the labour government on what programme. The centre of the conference should have been the need to impel the campaign for the LP programme of nationalisations but this did not occur and the engineers amendment to develop such a campaign disappeared as a focus for discussion. This again is an objective sabotage of the decision of the working class to impose nationalisations, but such a campaign tends to mobilise the working class, arouses discussion, accelerates the influence of marxism and weakens the conservative structure of the trade unions. On the other hand the failure of the plans of the TUC over participation in management to be accepted shows the pressure of the working class to reject all these conciliations with capitalism, and at the same time the lack of confidence of the bureaucracy and the aristocracy of labour in the capitalist system.

What lessons have to be drawn by the left in the trade unions on the outcome of this conference? There was a form of left that was present at the conference, but it was hardly representative of the real left in the heart of the workers movement and the CP was represented by Gill who promptly capitulated on the question of the social compact. This type of behaviour is due to the lack of functioning of the CP which does not equip its cadres to resist the trade union milieu. The forces of the left in the unions have to be organised but to be organised means to develop a discussion and to open the way to marxism. The presence of a left at the conference was attested by the good reception for the bulletin of the Trotskyist Posadists, but it has to be developed above all in its sense of the direction of the process and the need for a far greater audacity in relation to programme. This left has to lean for support on the spirit that led to UCS, that led to Saitley, that freed the five dockers, that has imposed even in a limited way the programme of nationalisations on the Labour party. One NUPE delegate said the unions

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# THE NEED FOR CONFERENCES OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

The sudden bankruptcy of Court Line, the dismissal without warning of 3,000 workers and the stranding of tens of thousands of holiday makers throughout the world, shows the total lack of social responsibility of the system of private enterprise. Many small and medium industries are today in crisis and there is the perspective of large scale unemployment this Autumn. All the evils created by the capitalist system remain and are sharpened, such as the lack of housing and social services, and the prospect of massive unemployment is added to all this.

The occupations by the workers of Triumph Meriden, the Scottish Daily News and IPD the ex Fisher Bendix factory are the way in which the working class is reacting to this, demanding from their leadership an adequate programme and political response. The working class demands that the Labour Party and trade union leaderships should fight for an end to this barbarous system which can offer no perspective for a better future; and which now forecasts gloom, military take overs and mass unemployment.

It is not possible to impose a 'social compact' without fighting against the active mobilisations of the working class, because the masses know very well that the capitalist system won't do anything that goes against the laws of profit, which is the base of its functioning and survival. The working class is not prepared to be the ones who have to make all the sacrifices and pay the cost of this crisis.

A lack of preparation by the trade unions to meet the coming crisis is going to help the right wing sectors of the Labour Party to dictate their own terms and to remain in power much longer than their own forces would allow them. The trade unions should elaborate a plan of production and of development of the economy, in the interest of all the exploited sectors of the population. A plan which provides for all the material and cultural needs of the masses, demanding that the government forges ahead with its

Planning Agreements on the base of a trade union plan, at the same time preparing to fight, with massive mobilisations, the inevitable reaction of the bourgeoisie, which has already announced its intentions to sabotage any attempts by the Labour Party to implement its programme.

The initiative taken by the South London Institute for Workers Control in calling a Conference open to all the Labour Party Movement in November to discuss the tasks for the movement is very important. This initiative needs to be taken up throughout the country to involve all the most active forces in a discussion that should be the basis for a programme of action. The South London Conference should be prepared for by discussions in the factories and through public meetings.

Conferences of this kind have to be generalised because they are a means of allowing the intervention and participation of all sectors of

the population and all the forces of the Labour movement. Because of the rigid and bureaucratic structure of the Labour Party, many forces are not allowed to intervene in the Labour Party even though they fully support and are prepared to struggle for the application of Labour's programme. The trade unions, Communist Party, Trotskyist Posadists, the left groups and many other tendencies and sectors of the population want to be involved in this struggle, and conferences such as this can incorporate all these sectors into the discussion. The Labour Party needs these sectors, who can help elaborate ideas, make proposals and launch a full campaign of propaganda and explanation to win over the population. The Labour Party needs to widen and develop the discussion on a full programme of nationalisation because the programme's implementation depends on the degree of support coming from the factories and trade unions.

These Conferences can play a fundamental role at this stage because the structure of the Labour Party, doesn't allow a constant political life and functioning. It is still very much an electoral machine and not yet geared to this form of functioning. These conferences partially substitute for this and are a means of stimulating the Labour Party to take similar initiatives. Large sectors of the population can be won over to the perspective of a Labour government which fully applies its programme for nationalisations and for a planned economy.

## FRANCE

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It is necessary to weigh with maximum strength, with all one's conviction on the Communist leaders, on the Communist militants and cadres. These are not rebellions in the prisons, they are movements in the prisons caused by the world advance of the revolutionary struggle of the masses, which has such a capacity and power of conviction, that it reaches the prisoners.

The norm which gives the base for the uprising in the prisons, is the struggle of the revolutionary and world movement, through the struggles of the French masses. It is not a rebellion of a prison, or of the prisoners, against one or other governor, or any particular prison system, but the rebellion of humanity against torture and oppression. In the same way the prisoners are demonstrating — not all but yes, the majority — that they are regenerating. It is in this way that it is necessary to understand these events which are extremely important.

We appeal to the CGT, the CFDT, to the FO, to the Socialist and Communist Parties, to all the Left groups, to the Trotskyists, to the Trotskyist/Posadists, to all, to pay attention and to make a programme of demands taking this conclusion on the prisons, posing a change and a democratic regime within the prisons, which increases the rights of the prisoners, which finishes with oppression and the segregation of prisoners and which gives them a greater freedom. But at the same time, the struggle to take power is necessary to be able to affirm and establish these conclusions.

General Confederation of Labour (Communist Trade Union Centre)  
French Confederation of Labour (Socialist Trade Union Centre)  
\* Reference to May 1968 in France

## Nixon

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Union and this is going to oblige all the communist parties to unite. It does not mean that the Soviets are going to launch the war and to declare it now. They are going to try to contain, making concessions, alliances, agreements with one or other bourgeoisie, one or other sector of capitalism.

The communist parties, the socialist parties have to appeal for a united front, a policy of united front with a programme for the progress of the anti capitalist struggle. It is not true that this is a triumph of democracy, it is a blow made by high finance. They have thrown out a president that they elected and have put in a vice president who nobody elected, whom they chose among themselves. And they are going to put in a president and a Vice-President elected by high finance. Where is the democracy? This is not democratic rights but the right of the big consortiums who under the name of democracy, like camarillas have taken this resolution. It is not to be expected that Imperialism is going to respect the rights of the masses. They are the same assassins who invaded Vietnam. The new president was a supporter of the war in Vietnam, of the invasion of Asia, Africa, Latin America, anti negro, anti democratic. Where is the triumph of democracy? When the capitalist press says, that it is a triumph of democracy, it is a lie, it is to deceive the petit bourgeoisie, to make it believe that this is democracy. It is big business which is assuming a more direct control. Instead of a military coup they do this. It is a camouflaged coup.

## The TUC Conference

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were instruments of social change, to make them effective instruments means better links with the masses and struggle around the programme of nationalisations.

This left which exists, which is linked to the best of the shop stewards committees and to the labour party has to take initiatives in two directions, on the one hand it has to accelerate political discussion and on the other take organisational initiatives which do not depend on the union summits, that is co-ordinating activities with the LP, the calling of local conferences, involving shop stewards, the calling of mass factory meetings to discuss all the fundamental policies facing the workers movement, with the anti-capitalist programme.

It is above all fundamental that the crisis of capitalism and the advance of the Workers States is understood in all its depth, that the process of transformation of the communist and socialist parties into class instruments to overthrow capitalism is completely understood. The unions have to relate to this process in the Labour Party. Trade union "negotiations" are no longer sufficient, only a bold class programme and methods are possible-nationalisation, workers control, occupations, shop stewards committees which discuss and decide all the issues of the factories, where bureaucratisation is not allowed and where all delegates are open to immediate recall. In relation

to this it is necessary beginning now, that the left forces in the trade unions prepare discussions and conferences, meetings and demonstrations in relation to the coup. Capitalism is preparing quite openly for preventive action against the masses, election or not. Rippons talk of a "citizens" army to assist the government is part of the planning of the reactionary take-over. The unions have to mobilise irrespective of the lack of intervention from the LP as the Italian unions mobilised to smash the fascist attempts at a coup after the assassinations in Brescia.

The balance of the TUC conference is that it was far away from the perspectives of the working class and also did not respond to the tasks immediately ahead, that is the need for preparation and mobilisation against the forces of capitalist reaction, with appeals for aid to the European workers movement. The forces of the left have to be prepared to launch massive and continuous general strike against any effort to impose authoritarian government. The forces of NATO are particularly concerned to maintain Britain as a bulwark of NATO, particularly as Greece has withdrawn and Italy is collapsing. The forces of the left in the TUs and the LP have to prepare to confront all this with mobilisations and establish links in all workers areas appealing for the organisation of the independent organs of workers power-factory and workers district committees-confronting bourgeois power and weighing on the trade unions to perform their functions in this stage, as instruments to overthrow capitalism.

## editorial

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socialist programme, the planning of the economy, the overthrow of the capitalist system. Purely trade union demands provide no solution to the basic problem of society. They cannot solve the problems of the masses because any wage gain or improvement is immediately subtracted from the standard of living by means of higher prices. We appeal to the forces of the left in the unions to make support for the programme of the LP central in their activity, to open their union journals to popular discussion, to organise mass meetings in the factories and in the workers districts.

Any electoral struggle for a Labour Government has to be linked with the struggles of the masses over wages, prices, more housing, more schools and a superior type of education, transport, all of which demand the destruction of the interests of private property. The attitude of Healy has no echo in the working class or the mass of the petit

bourgeoisie — the attitude that unemployment is inevitable and that the population has to accept that its standard of living will not improve. The sector which he represents does not in any way represent the LP at this stage, merely a sector clinging to the outmoded structure of the LP. But the forces of the left in the unions have to repudiate this passive acceptance of the crisis of the capitalist system not simply by supporting the programme of nationalisations but campaigning for it and linking such a campaign with demands for occupations and workers control to prevent the closures of factories, rejecting unemployment, placing the emphasis on the sliding scale of hours and wages, and preparing a workers plan of production discussed in the factories as the alternative to the unplanned chaos of capitalist anarchy where everything is submitted to the law of profit, rent and interest, and where the interests of human beings have no place.

## RED FLAG

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It is necessary to appeal for a united front, throughout Europe to advance in the struggle for Governments of the Left, Workers and Peasant Government, a programme to nationalise the key centres of production, of finance, to weaken and suppress the power of capitalism. They are going to tend to strengthen, to reanimate capitalism to provoke confrontations against the working class. It is necessary to expel NATO from the whole of Europe, all the US presence from the whole of Europe and from the world! This process has shown the weakness of capitalism and that more concentrated and centralised actions are to be expected. But it shows above all that it is weak. Therefore it is necessary to use this situation.

It is necessary to organise in Europe a policy to expel Imperialism, to throw NATO out of Europe and the world, a plan for the struggle for the government of the left with a programme of nationalisation of the key centres of production and exchange. This is the conclusion: a programme of the united front of Socialist, Communist, Trade Unionists, left Catholics, Nationalists. This is the objective which it is necessary to push forward, with an appeal for Sino-Soviet unity, unification of all the Workers States, to foresee the measures which Imperialism can take in the acceleration of the preparation of the war.

J. POSADAS 9/8/74



# RED FLAG

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## THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN MUST BE LINKED WITH THE NEED TO CONFRONT CAPITALISM

*The calling of the elections is not convenient for capitalism and tends to impel the class struggle at this moment in particular. It allows certain opportunities for discussion of programmes and policies. Many elections in a past period have been just a means of reallocating positions and adjusting policies within the camp of capitalism. They have given delusions of discussion and democracy to the petit bourgeoisie but all was safely packaged and dispatched without disturbance. But this election at this moment is most inconvenient—Thorpe actually made the point—because capitalism is in a complete crisis with not even the pretence of a solution. The proletariat leading the rest of the population refuses to pay the price for the hopeless impasse of an exhausted capitalism. The profound crisis of the Liberal Party shows the repugnance with which whole sectors of the petit bourgeoisie view capitalism.*

*Capitalism is fully aware that it has no solutions and its electoral campaign is sheer camouflage for its real intentions. Its emphasis on the need for a "national" effort to combat the "divisive" forces in society is the usual weapon of a class which is seeking to wage the class struggle with maximum force. The sectors in the Tory Party who have come to the fore with K. Joseph quite clearly are on the road to prepare for unemployment and seek to rally their class forces around this point. They feel that any other policy tends to weaken the forces of capitalism. On the other hand to make this the formal party programme of the Tory Party means a blow at those petit bourgeois sectors who support them and the small and medium businesses. The whole posture of capitalism is phenomenally weak. None of the Tory programme or policy can generate support or enthusiasm—they bleat feebly about the decisive refusal of the Labour Party to enter a coalition—and inevitably the full intentions of capitalism are discussed and decided outside the parliamentary arena. The plans of NATO and the intervention of the army and the police align the intended policy of capitalism. The authoritarian solution is in the minds of all the bourgeois politicians. When Thorpe abandons his "humanist" front to speak of a wage freeze within six months of a general election, it is because they are all thinking of non-parliamentary solutions as the only way to meet their crisis. The Labour Party moves in an orbit outside the control of capitalism. It gives no guarantees. It participates in the whole global impact of the partial regeneration of the Workers States and the historic re-encounter with Marxism, the whole structure of the world revolution, so that even with a structure that does not correspond to the needs of a Socialist policy and programme, the Labour Party is no longer primarily a prop to the system but a force propelling the most fundamental forces of the social revolution to overthrow capitalism.*

*It is fundamental that every effort is made in the period left before the election to dynamise the electoral campaign. The present leadership of Wilson and Callaghan and the limitations in the present left team in*

*the Labour Party has meant that the policy and programme of the Labour Party have not been argued with all the necessary force and not linked with any mass mobilisations. The engineers have spoken of the need to develop a campaign over nationalisation in the factories and the TGWU pledges great efforts to return a Labour government but the mobilisations accompanying these declarations have not taken place. This is primarily because any mobilisation, any massive series of discussions in the factories would redouble the pressure on the Labour Party to advance and encourage and centralise a whole series of mobilisations after the election. The fact that a Labour Party conference has not been held and that there was a prolonged period of withholding the date of the election are other examples of the way the Wilson team tries to sabotage a massive popular preparation and submit everything to a "sober", i.e. idea-less campaign. Even so, the massive nature of the capitalist crisis cannot be concealed and the debate over nationalisation has penetrated everywhere, even if inadequately discussed and defined.*

*The electoral campaign has to be linked by the forces of the left with the need to prepare to face the growing and profound crisis of the whole system after the election. The crisis of Ferrantis and of Austin Martins, the failure to find sufficient resources for investment, is part of the whole crisis being generalised throughout the capitalist world, leading as a beginning to petrol rationing in France, the riots of the farming community throughout Europe, the loans to sustain a collapsing Italy. This is only the anticipation of a massive crisis later. It is totally absurd of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions not to use the experience of the Workers States, to confront this problem. Britain faces economic contraction, unemployment, a decline in the standard of life—not for the bourgeoisie however—while East Germany has no unemployment, no inflation, prices have remained stable for twenty years, there is no balance of payments problem and the gross national product has grown from 5-6% a year. A discussion of nationalisations cannot be detached from the global vision of the world process, and the*

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## THE ARMY AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN ETHIOPIA

J. POSADAS

21st AUGUST, 1974

The force which facilitates and promotes and gives a very great impulse to this movement of the soldiers in Ethiopia against the Negus, is the world course of the revolution: the blows in Greece and Portugal, the mobilisation of the masses, the intervention of the Soviet Union, the movement of the proletariat in Europe, the progress of Latin America, Asia, Africa. These are all the supports of the process in Ethiopia, because they weaken capitalism and prevent it intervening, as for example in Cyprus and Greece. They obstruct British imperialism and Yankee imperialism who have interests there and could provide arms, could intervene in Ethiopia, as Ethiopia is one of the bases of imperialism which supports Israel and is the base for providing arms for Israel.

The world course of the revolution is a factor of alliance and support of the military movement, the democratic and progressive military movement of Ethiopia! It must count on this! The present situation in Ethiopia is one of compromise. The wing which seeks to go further which is in the government, among the soldiers, has still not been stimulated to go further. But the fact that it is ready to liquidate all the power of Haile Selassie, all the feudal structure, is because it represents interests, social, political and theoretical conceptions, which are going much further and it is going to have to go further.

This sector which intervenes is not a homogenous tendency. If it was a homogenous tendency, there would have been an agreement to undertake this task. There are various tendencies among them without agreement, without a common progress; still there is not even a programme. Hence they proceed slowly. They have to break a series of alliances, of relationships, of agreements, of clientelism. They have to break all this. They are not going slowly because of a new technique or because of obstruction. It is because still there is no security in what they want. The slowness is not simply through fear. There is a whole feudal structure which they are demolishing little by little and incorporating and animating other people to intervene. Hence it is a process of repercussions, which is weakening the regime and above all the church, which has very great power, which was the means by which Haile Selassie sustained his domination, basing himself on the backwardness of the people, and which is now collapsing. Then it is necessary to make an appeal, that they call upon the population immediately, that they give democratic rights, democratic liberties, trade union rights; providing a programme of demands, on wages, conditions of life, the elimination of police despotism, mili-

tary and governmental power: a programme to teach everyone to read and write; a programme to develop agriculture, a programme which allows people to have a perspective. When they still do not give it, it is because still there are interests linked with the maintenance of private property, of landed property. But the single fact that the coup is breaking up the feudal regime shows the depth of the movement and indicates that soon there are going to be leaps among them.

In Ethiopia there are no important parties. There are petit bourgeois parties, representatives of top layers of the bourgeoisie, of the petit bourgeoisie, of administrators, of technicians. Then it is necessary to make appeals, above all to the neighbouring countries and to the Workers States. The trade unions must intervene to impel the soldiers to go forward with this programme. They must appeal to the population to intervene: let the population intervene and let it demand help immediately from the Workers States. This gives form to the process.

The students are developing a very important function. They have mobilised quite a lot, they have made profound declarations and constantly. It is necessary to appeal to the students for the formation of a party with the programme which they had last time, during the previous coup and the general strike; even being very general, it was quite a good programme, consisting of nationalisations, of democratic rights, of increases in wages, of handing over the land. It is necessary to push forward a general mobilisation of the whole of the population for the organisation of the trade unions, of workers' district committees, committees in the zones to fight for this activity and to impede every step backwards. It is necessary to unite this to the appeal for the Workers States to intervene and offer support, and the Communist parties also.

It is necessary to make every new movement like this in Ethiopia feel that it has the support and the solidarity of all the world workers movement. This would stimulate them to go further and in the struggle of tendencies within the army, among the sectors of the petit bourgeois students and functionaries, the wing more to the left would feel supported, backed on a world wide scale and would be stimulated to advance much further. It is necessary to do this, because it is a very, very profound movement.

It is absurd, this existence of Ethiopia with such a feudal backwardness! Hence it is important that the Workers States intervene and that also Somalia intervenes, and that the Front for the Liberation of Eritrea discusses with them a common programme, a struggle for democratic demands and that the Eritrean National Liberation Front aims at this military sector, demanding an agreement and posing that they are not going to oppose them, that they want the independence of Eritrea; and to appeal for a form of self-determination which can include federation with Ethiopia, with the development of the economy, with the rights of cultural and economic self-determination, and that the Communist parties intervene, that the Socialists and the trade unions give support also as they do in Greece, that the trade unions and workers parties in Europe exercise a much more dynamic function, in support of all these movements because they feed their left wings.

It is necessary to appeal and count upon this movement with the object of educating the leading cadres of the soldiers, of the petit bourgeoisie, to understand the world relation of forces favourable to them so that they are able to go much further; not to be limited in conquests. They can go much further in democratic and social conquests. It is necessary to appeal for the distribution of the land, the collectivisation of some lands, and nationalisation. It is necessary to make a plan to deal with illiteracy, but at the same time it is necessary to unite the overcoming of illiteracy with a plan of production, of transformation of local raw materials, and production for consumption.

It is necessary to appeal to Somalia, to Yemen, to all these countries that they support, that they intervene to impel this process in Ethiopia.

21.8.74

# THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN, THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

4th May, 1974

J. POSADAS

Equality between man and woman is a necessity of history, not an economic convenience. They are human beings, and the division into woman and man is a problem of nature but the rest are problems of society. And the division of society into women and men, is not a problem of the sexes, but of who commands and who obeys. The same relations which the capitalist system has in relation to the proletariat, which are imposed inevitably through orders, are translated into the relations with woman, marriage, relations between father and the son. To liberate woman means to make her participate in society and to make her feel that she has the same rights, the same capacity and objectivity as man, so that she does not live taking refuge in the fear of sex, or using sex as an instrument of relations or feeling sex as an instrument of power, of a struggle in relation to man, but feels that she is simply a female human being as man is masculine. Nature has made them in this way, and society unites them in a common sentiment, need, capacity, and respect. It is not a question of respecting the woman because she is woman, but because she is considered the equal of man. And she must feel this.

In as much as woman does not participate in the social struggles, she seeks to develop social sentiments which, in not being integrated in the revolutionary struggle, are pernicious, because they are dedicated to conflict, to struggle with others, to deceive the companion, or to live an inactive life, to develop socially rancorous sentiments towards man, towards the child, towards the companion, or towards the neighbour. In not being concerned with the problems of ideas, she is dedicated to push forward a struggle in marriage to feel that she is the proprietor of her child, and to live a separated life, a life segregated from society.

The bourgeoisie utilises these conditions to maintain her outside the level of the struggle, the participation in the struggle, excluding a social force, which is the same as man, which does not have any difference with man. The woman has less relative strength. Today, in a stage when it is possible to press a button and electronics can carry out the work of thousands, these differences are being more and more suppressed. Now, there is no problem of strength and capacity, including the fact that the best cooks are no longer women but men, and the best tailors are not women but men. The best bank employees, managers, are women, and the best revolutionary leaders in the future, will be women. The greatest woman who intervened in society with the highest merit in history was Rosa Luxemburg.

## Women must intervene fully in the revolution and in society

The revolution gives the woman the base, the capacity to develop the human social revolutionary qualities. In intervening, her thoughts develop, she seeks to collaborate with the process of history, feeling herself a part which constructs history not an animal object with sex, who produces children, not a factory of children, but who exists in this way from nature: she has a child, but the father also has the child, and must accept responsibility for the child. She does not abandon any of her qualities of the mother, who communicates to the child the tenderness of life and the Communist feeling of life, which must be the principal role of the mother: to communicate to the child the Communist sentiment, the joyful, Communist sentiment of life. All the rest, they have invented in class society and is a result of private property.

The woman incorporates herself and seeks to incorporate herself in the social struggles, she develops as a human being, instead of developing individual sentiments, making an abstraction of the social struggles. The more women and children intervene in the revolution, the more they advance as was the case in the Russian revolution. In the Russian revolution, everyone intervened! Hence, the most beautiful novel of the last period, is 'The Mother' of Gorky. It is not the most complete, nor the most important, from the point of view of the organisation of the revolution, but it is the most moving because it shows a stage of history. Through 'The Mother', he shows how the Russian woman was preparing to intervene in the revolution.

It is necessary to make the woman intervene in the revolution. She has as much passion, vehemence, as many qualities, as much resolution as the man. If she does not express them now, it is because she is not allowed to intervene. How could she not have them? The mind of the woman is not inferior to that of the man, it is society which discriminates. It is not a lack of qualities, she has them; but they are not developed because they are not allowed to develop, so it is necessary to see that they do. In intervening, the sentiments of rancour which she has as a sex, against the other sex disintegrates, and she is won by the revolution, won to intervene.

Social relations establish the difference between the sexes. It is private property, the commercial life of the capitalist system, which determines that sex is presented as a problem. It is private property which sees to it that woman uses sex as an instrument of combat, of seduction—which is part of combat—and stops thinking. And this is a burden for society and for humanity, because it means conflict: the man has to think about defending himself from woman and living in conflict with his wife. The more matrimonial unity there is—which for many years will be the cellular form of the existence of society—the more cellular harmony there is, the family is a more powerful instrument. Tomorrow it is going to be superseded but today, the family still thinks as a family.

The family is a conservative organisation, a cellular nucleus, maintained through the interest of conserving power, the authority which is transmitted, father, mother, child. This is true. But the family today is a vehicle of revolutionary progress. The development of the revolution has improved, has changed the relations of the family, not in everything, but in the majority of cases, yes. Just as in the Church, the Army, the Police, the influence of the revolution, has transformed and broken the submission to the officers and the ordinary soldier, the ordinary member of the Army or of the Police, feels the equal of the others. Also, in the family the internal

conditions are becoming more equal. The hierarchy and economic imposition of the father on the child, are lessened, as with the law which gives the authority of the father over the child. Now, relations are based on a mutual consent and reasoning, whose essential base is the struggle for trade union, political, revolutionary progress. This is so, throughout the world.

We aim to develop the conditions which allow the woman to intervene as a leader, as a militant, as a creator in every sense, in all aspects of life, in such a way that her preoccupation and that of the man converge. Then, then, this leads to a concern with the mind of the human species which thinks of the progress of humanity, instead of struggling with man. It eliminates the implantation in the family of damaging relationships, of rancour, of the sentiments of conflict, which is the result of the regime of private property. This does not eliminate family discord, which does not have an origin in man and woman, but accentuates the existence of man and woman. It allows the elevation of woman and gives confidence and optimism to unify in combat, as happens in workers' families, in the sectors in struggle, in the present process of the struggle against capitalism. It centralises them in a common sentiment of combat, and allows then the woman to feel inclined to associate with man and man to see the woman as part of himself. Man and woman are part of the same nature, divided into sexes to perform the development of nature. All the rest comes as a consequence of social relations.

When woman conflicts with man, or man with woman, it is the conflict of sexes motivated by private property. It is part of a structure, of a construction, of the development of relations which private property has created. The woman appears inferior through the division of labour, established through private property. The man was more useful in production for capitalism which has an interest in maintaining the division. Woman had to dedicate herself to producing children. Then there was a natural motive for the relegation of woman in relation to man. And capitalism developed these ideas to utilise woman as an instrument. This is the reason, there is nothing natural about it, it is the social relations which determine all this. Afterwards capitalism passed laws and determined juridically that woman was inferior to man.

We defend woman not from a sentiment of equality: this is true, but it is secondary. We defend her because it is an historic necessity in which equality enters also as a part. Otherwise, woman would be an instrument who dedicates part of her social and mental activity to struggle with man,

*AFTER ONE YEAR OF THE ASSASSIN JUNTA, THE MASSES FIGHT ON WITH SPIRIT AND DETERMINATION TO STRUGGLE. IT IS NECESSARY TO COORDINATE THE THOUSANDS OF RESISTANCE GROUPS WHICH FUNCTION IN THE COUNTRY AND WHICH ARE THE BASE OF THE FUTURE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP, BEING CONSTRUCTED IN THE MIDST OF THE BLOODIEST REPRESSION EVER IN CHILE.*

*The economic crisis produced by the first few months of the coup d'etat and unloaded onto the shoulders of the workers and the masses of the country doesn't show any sign of stopping, after a year of repression and political persecution. The self financing of the universities, whereby every student will have to pay for his own studies, the reintroduction of payment in hospitals are within the line of private payment of teaching and health. The refusal to ration beef, milk and other products of prime necessity are all measures which go against the masses. According to them, all this is done to save state expenditure. But, at the same time, they reduce taxation for industrialists and big businesses, and they pay 250 million dollars to imperialism for the Anaconda company. They weren't concerned to reduce state expenditure for this. This policy means that food, health, teaching and work in industries in crisis, which should be state controlled as is done in every country which is advancing—in order to reflect the interest of the people—now are going to increasingly depend on the decision of a group of individuals through private enterprise. It is going to be a business, where what matters to these individuals is profit and not the purchasing power, education, health or the full employment of the masses. This policy was rejected by the Chilean people when, in 1970, they voted against Alessandri.*

*The curfew, the state of siege and political persecution continue,*

*all types of repression against the masses continue and there is no sign of economic, social or political stability. Quite the contrary, all the symptoms point to a complete failure of this policy. The workers work 15 days a month in engineering industries such as SIMET, in others they work a three day week: bosses in SUMAR debate over the solution of this crisis, over whether to stop one or other section, stop the plant for one or two months or to sack a sector of the workers. This is the situation in the greatest part of industry, small industries have started to shut down, furniture and textile factories in particular.*

*The junta tries to show in every way that we are back to normality, but it lives in fear of the explosion of one or another sector of the country from one moment to the next. This is why they maintain all repressive measures. They say it is not possible to talk politics, because talking politics, reasoning, taking conclusions on the basis of logical ideas goes against them. At no time have the masses stopped exchanging political ideas, drawing conclusions and stimulating action. The pressure is so great that the president of the Christian Democracy quarrelled with Bonilla. Furthermore he accuses the junta of violations of human rights. If the letters were published, it means that they were juridically proven.*

*World solidarity continues, dockers and sailors throughout the world have agreed on a strike in support of the Chilean people and against*

to organise her unconscious for the dispute with man, in organising her sex, her form of sensual expressions to struggle with man, or to impose on him or to feel the satisfaction that she wins in the struggle with man. Woman was not born in this way, this is due to the social relations organised by the system of private property.

It is necessary to see that woman intervenes in the revolution. The Bolsheviks were the first who made her intervene organically and consciously. The participation of the woman in the revolution has a certain similarity with that of the peasantry which generically aspired to ownership of the land. Capitalism was based on them. The Russian Revolution inaugurated the stage in which the peasants were won to a superior form of existence, not now of ownership of the land or of living dominated by this. The revolution in Indo-China, as in China,—but more in Indo-China than in China because it is at a superior level and with superior later stages—shows that the peasant now does not live with the aspiration of being the owner taking hold of the land. He wants to live in a dignified way, the thing which capitalism is incapable of doing, because capitalism confined him to the fields, kept him remote from the city, confined him to the solitude of the countryside, of individual parcels of land, of the individual life. And then there germinates in their minds, individual sentiments, individual preoccupations, but with a retrograde and conservative sentiment which was used afterwards by Napoleon as with all the other little revolutions including that of Peru. The Indo-Chinese revolution is a combination of a process which shows that the peasant is now won to socialism. These are historic stages which are being won because now, it is no longer a problem of winning peasants, but of organising and adjusting relations with the peasants. And it is the same with the woman.

The woman has to be in the leadership of the trade unions, the woman has to be a workers' delegate, the representative of a whole milieu in which she lives. We, the Trotskyists/Posadists have the great historic pride of having been the ones who incorporated in Argentina, the woman in the leadership of the trade unions. When we organised and led a great strike, we incorporated the woman in the trade union, in spite of all the difficulties, all the attacks which were made: we incorporated her. The Bolsheviks were the first who incorporated the woman in the Party in the country and in the rest of the world. But in Argentina, we were the first, before the woman did not participate. Today, now in Italy for example, in the Congress of the delegates of the Factory Councils of Rimini, in the beginning of 1974, out of 4,000 delegates, there was hardly one woman. We criticised this, our

## Declaration of the Chilean Section of the IV International (Trotskyist-Posadist)

*the assassin junta for the 18th and 19th of September. Radio Moscow speaks of the possibility of a 15 minute world strike on the 1st anniversary of the fascist coup at the time of Allende's death. Throughout the world, and particularly in America, there are going to be demonstrations of repudiation of the assassin junta on the 11th. The world repudiation of the junta which has taken place throughout the year will be expressed more forcefully after exactly one year of crimes, murders and persecution. The proletariat and the masses have given further proofs of their historic patience, without losing sight of the objective of the construction of socialism. In this stage of history patience is expressed in an active way.*

*For this reason since the seizure of power by this junta of assassins, the resistance and the determination to struggle have found a thousand expressions. Starting from the numerous factories and localities that confronted the junta with arms, like the miners, the workers on the underground, the bakers on the 1st of January, sectors of the engineering factory SEAM DI TELLA, Hoachipato, SIMET and the town of Conception, the dockers of San Antonio, sectors of the HIRMAS textile factories, attempted strikes in SUMAR and in tens of other examples. This combative attitude of the proletariat is maintained despite the bloody repression that continues just as on the first day. This is shown by the innumerable writings on the walls*

*and expressions of rejection throughout the country. In the BARROS LUCO hospital a reactionary doctor who refused to carry out an emergency operation on a patient because she had been tortured by the military was completely shunned by the rest of the staff. Earlier in this hospital, a worker who was complaining about the miserable wages paid, answered in this way a soldier who was calling him to order: "Kill me, I am protesting because my wages are not sufficient for anything, kill me." The soldier stepped aside and said no more. At the cinema, during the newsreel, when a member of the junta appears on the screen, he is jeered at and drowned in whistles, and if one or two people applaud the whistles are for them too. Signs of repudiation met the management of SUMAR when one of the bosses had to call a meeting to explain the crisis in this industry and asked for suggestions from the workers. There was absolute silence. In a shoe factory in Santa Rosa, the workers asked for better wages and the management refused, so the discontent grew. This behaviour of the workers throughout the country showed that, before very long, the combativity is going to grow. Throughout the country there are thousands of groups that stimulate and encourage these small actions, it is necessary to coordinate them, to structure and consolidate the base of the future revolutionary leadership that is being built under the bloodiest repression ever to have existed in Chile.*

comrades proposed this to the trade union leaders, and it was very well accepted. At the same time in Italy, the women make very vehement demonstrations, very ardent and very resolved. And they participated with a very great resolution.

Woman wants to intervene and is seeking to intervene. The world process of the revolution is impelling her to intervene, making her mature. It is the leaderships who are containing her. They appeal to her to demonstrate, to march with banners, but not to intervene, so that they can speak, reason, or lead. No. They put them there like a number which has a weight. Capitalism uses then the matrimonial divisions which private property has made between man and woman to prevent the concentration of the proletarian forces of man and woman.

It is necessary to develop the understanding that the proletariat does not have an essential concern to incorporate woman in these struggles, because their leaderships are opposed. These leaderships impose a lack of concern with these problems because the intervention of woman in the struggle is a base of strength, of an increase of the concentration of the capacity of action against the bureaucrats, against the reformist policy, against the capitulation in front of capitalism, against the policy of interpenetration. The incorporation of the active woman in the struggle favours and stimulates revolutionary tendencies. The proletariat feels a greater strength, a greater security in its home, in its districts, and it comes with a better structure to intervene. In a certain way, it has its unconscious organised in a form of a combativity and with a resolution much more prepared than in other stages.

It is necessary to consider as very important the harmonious cohesion which the intervention of the woman in the struggle means. It gives to the man an enormous security, in eliminating the relations of the sexes, the imposition of sex, and elevates the human relationships, even in the capitalist regime. In the whole of society, it is still not possible to work like this in a complete form, because capitalist society imposes relations through the interests of those who command. Then, it imposes the cohesion of a sector as important in the class as woman. But the revolution compensates for this deficiency in history and tends to harmonise. Today, it harmonises relations in the necessity for the revolutionary struggle but not in the norms of relations in which the mystery of man-woman relationship still remains, as if they were a mysterious relationship. The more the cohesion of marriage increases, of the man and the woman in the trade unions, in the factory, the more the attitude of mutual understanding and

respect is elevated. For now, it is called respect. But it is mutual consciousness and understanding.

The historic basis for the equality of the sexes as the human species exists

Private property and today capitalism, developed woman as an instrument of man. Woman developed as such and utilised this as an element of negotiation, attraction, dispersion, and imposition. The revolution is compensating for this. In all the revolutions, the cohesion between man and woman increases in a notable way, as Cuba and China show. The participation of woman increases in a very notable way, and all the conditions, the expressions, the results of degeneration and corruption, which there are in the capitalist state and which do not exist in the Workers State, lessen. The structure and the functioning of the Workers State stimulates the human being to feel elevated beyond daily relations. And then woman is seen in a better way.

The problem from the point of view of woman leads her to a feeling of inferiority in relation to the man. But this is the product of social relations. On the other hand, there is an inferior sector of women who, having children, feel superior to man and have a certain right to, because they produce the children and they feel that they have a strength giving birth to life. This gives her a feeling of very great power which has no correspondence in the social function. And this is the result of the fact that it is the woman who has to bear the child. The capitalist system utilises this to make her inferior. The Workers State is elevating her.

In Stalingrad, more than half a million women died, from the grandmothers to the young girls of 14, 12, 10 years of age. This heroism of the women was not to defend the husband or the child, it was to defend the Soviet Union. And also because in defending the Soviet Union, they felt that they were participating in history. As in every great revolution, the woman intervenes in a very great number. Why intervene in the revolution and not other activities of life? When the woman intervenes in this way in the revolution, it is because society needs her, opens the gates so that she can intervene and the woman feels that she can develop an important social function to elevate society. In every revolution, in every great strike, in every great social mobilisation, it is like this.

The weakness of the woman is not the product of the fact that she has a weaker body, less strength, or less muscular capacity. This exists, but the essential problem which makes her feel inferior, is that society has made of woman a commodity, in which she has to utilise sex as a means of compensating for her condition as a commodity and this creates a complex of inferiority in the woman. She is a commodity in two ways: of man, of matrimony, and of the capitalists.

In elevating the activity of the woman in every sense, it is necessary to elevate the man also. If the man does not elevate himself like the woman, the woman advances alone and does not find a response. And it isn't possible to advance alone, because it is a harmonious social relation. It is true that only in socialism is there going to be the complete resolution of these differences, but it is not necessary to wait for socialism. The revolution shows that the condition of the woman is the same as that of the man.

The problem is one imposed by relations originating from private property which has determined these relations. What is private property? One commodity competes with the other. And how does society act in relation to woman? She is a commodity. The fact that there are prostitutes shows this. It is a process of commodities. It is the struggle of the workers' movement, the struggle for Communism, which has eliminated considering the woman as a commodity.

These are problems which the system of private property has created, the capitalist system. But in the great strikes the solidarity of the women and the children are complete. And where the relations of sentiments of perversion, or bad treatment of women, of inferiority are less, it is there that there are the great strikes, the great workers' struggles, the great advances of the unified workers' movement, the Socialist and Communist movements.

It is necessary to propose not to wait for socialism to liberate the woman. We pose that there are the conditions for this liberation. The essential fact is to understand that the inferior difference of the woman is the product of a society of private property which educates in onerous, perverted relationships, which determine that woman seeks a refuge. The revolution has elevated her, elevated, and elevated! And this is not measured by the position which women occupy in the Soviet Union: it is an important statistic, but it is not fundamental. It is measured best of all in the revolution. Every revolution incorporates an enormous number of women. And this is where it requires the most complete sentiment of strength, sacrifice, objectivity, and there are very few cases of promiscuity, degeneration, immorality and corruption. This is where the senses are placed in the service of the progress of humanity, which dominates, controls, and explains sex. It does not annul it, but it explains it. It persuades and convinces. There is no socialist revolution where the norm has been degeneration! It is in the capitalist regime where this is happening. It means that today it is possible to control, dominate and overcome the exaltation produced by capitalist life.

Before, it was not possible to pose the possibility of the emancipation of woman, but the development of the economy, of science, of technology, of the Workers States, poses now the historic material basis to liberate the woman. The material conditions were lacking to be able to allow the animation of the thought to deal with this process with security and to confront it. It requires superior social and economic conditions and intelligence.

Capitalism does not have an interest in equalising human beings, for it the human being is a commodity, and the woman is a double commodity. Capitalism cannot push forward this task, as the functioning of capitalism, competition, trade, is a fraud, it is a lie, a deceit and humbug, it cannot elaborate or develop moral norms or relations. It cannot do it, it cannot be concerned with seeking justice. For capitalism, justice is everything which is of importance to capitalism. For one capitalist it has one sense, for another, it has another sense, always as a function of their commercial interest.

show on the coming 11th of September.

## editorial

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*determining process of the Workers States.*

*The appointment of Haigh as the head of NATO has to be related to the global preparations of world capitalism to confront the advance of the world socialist revolution. Yankee imperialism has to concentrate the forces of world capitalism to confront the Workers States and the social and military superiority of the Workers States. It intervenes with assassinations and the organisations of coups or at the very least attempts to "strengthen" capitalist governments. Hailsham's speech in which he sees basically the spectre of Communism behind the victory of a Labour government reflects the real concern of capitalism—they see the direction of the process and hence their desire to encourage all the extra-parliamentary rightist forces that they can. In this situation the struggle for the return of a Labour government has to be accompanied by the preparation to confront the repressive measures of capitalism.*

*As Posadas has defined it: "The world is ready for Communism" and the prospects for the advance of the left in the unions and the Labour Party, for a Labour Party committed to implement Socialist policies are excellent. The decision of the working class in the confrontations with capitalism in the next period is shown not by the TUC acceptance of the social compact but in the actions of the Yorkshire and South Wales miners not to accept the productivity arrangements. The deal over the compact at the TUC conference was superficial; the engineers rejected such a compact and that is decisive. The working class and its allies have shown in the miners' strikes and in the struggles of the hospital workers that its spirit is vastly superior to the leaderships and capitalism may appear strong to the leaderships but not to the masses. No world force is coming to the rescue of British imperialism and what could British imperialism do for its ally Portugal? Nothing. Mozambique will enter the Socialist path—that is the course of the world process.*

*We appeal to the forces of the left in the Labour Party and in the trade unions not to wait upon the will of the leaderships—whose will is very small—to use the electoral struggle, to launch a variety of meetings and campaigns in the factories proposing the slogans for the development and extension of the programme of nationalisations, to link up this struggle with the fight in the factories to prevent closures, to impose workers' control, with demands for all wages to rise with the cost of living, sliding scale of hours and wages, price controls to be enforced by committees of workers in the factories and the shops. We appeal to these forces to utilise local meetings and conferences to stimulate the formation of dynamic shop stewards' committees with rights of immediate recall and popular committees in the workers' districts to impel the return of a Labour government and to continue afterwards to intervene in all the issues facing the population. All this is going to organise the mass opposition to capitalism and strengthen the pressures for change in the Labour Party. The removal of the MP in Brightside for his pro-capitalist*

# The liberation of women

The historic conditions were necessary to meet this task whose beginning, whose base, are the Workers States, but there is no socialist functioning of the Workers States. For this, they still do not have sufficient authority, it is only an understanding of the human being which is going to resolve this problem. This is how it will be; but there have to exist the material basis, the economic and social relations, which allow the authority, the decision, the audacity in the human being to achieve these conditions which are now the base of the Workers State. But even without reaching the level of the Workers State and of Socialism, humanity learns more rapidly than the development of the economy. Hence, in revolutionary struggles, there is equality of men and women, but at the same time, it shows the importance which tradition still has: there is in human beings still a very great habit of treating women differently, when in revolutionary relations, they are the same. It is acquired custom, the habit of man to feel superior to women, because the life of every day involves him in the commercial relationships of dispute, the one who has more capacity wins. And with the woman, the one who has more capacity wins. Woman is pushed in to an inferior plane and the man feels himself more capable and dominates the woman.

## The Workers States must discuss on the basis of Communist principles

The division made by society already finds a counterweight in the development of the Workers State. The absence of the planning of the intervention of the woman in the Workers State, has a restrictive weight, which impedes and contains the intervention of the woman. Women have to participate. And people have to be accustomed to see that the intervention of women is a part of the development of the social capacity of the exploited masses to lead. Part of the behaviour of the proletariat in relation to woman, is not the result of a negligent attitude, but of the contradictions in which countries like Algeria were created, for example the concentration aimed at the vital problem: to impel the revolution, to sustain the revolution, to launch the war against imperialism. And the proletariat which demonstrated a noble and objective conduct which sought the objective impulse of history in Algeria, has on the other hand, in relation to the problem of women, a backward attitude. It is the product of the previous education and of the social relations which they impose and which weigh. If in the Workers States, there had been a greater progress, this type of relations would have already vanished, and there would have been an impulse to an equal relationship between men and women.

To succeed in elevating the role of women in history, in society, and in the revolution, it is necessary to see that in the Workers States, the women participate more openly, more directly. That in all the trade unions, in all the Communist parties, in the workers' parties, the woman participates, not as someone protected, but as a natural element which can participate and develop. And there are very notable examples in all the revolutions, in which the intervention of the woman advances more and more, advances, and advances. The bureaucracy has not advanced in social historic understanding of the woman. It declares: "The woman is the equal of man". But it does not behave like this. The woman who works as much as the man gets less pay.

Still in this way, the Workers States, even in a limited form, show that there is already a very great progress and advance. There is an infinitely greater number of women in posts of leadership in science, in technology, in trade union positions, and a greater attention to women. But there is still no organisation of women which allows them to feel incorporated. On the contrary, while she is a prisoner of the house, of the family, of having children, and feeling relegated because she has children, it is going to be like this. While the absence of Soviet democracy in the Workers States continues, it is going to be like this.

There is a very great deficiency in the fact that the Workers States do not intervene with example. The family relations in the Soviet Union are superior, they do not express a superior conscious revolutionary relationship, organisationally a superior consciousness. They are not then an instrument of education as they are in the economy, the superior form of property of the Workers States. It is a deficiency of history, not through lack of force, but because in the previous process, the bureaucracy could take the power, acquire the power. But today, even in capitalist countries, the strikes, the struggles, the united front, the struggle of the masses to enter the government, are changing and introducing modifications, favourable to the revolution in the heart of all the families.

The problem is not that woman is capable of thinking, but that she should feel and is, like man, part of the resolution of the problem of society. She must work as an essential part of the human species which resolves all the problems. In this way she overcomes the pressure of society which reduces her social capacity, from working in her function as a mother. She feels that she constructs life, then the social relationships imposed by law by those who command, disappear. The law which says this is how the human relationships must be. It is a lie. What law? By whom? By those who make the atomic war. It is a law of interest to them. It is

## editorial

continued

*tendencies shows the powerful current throughout the Labour Party for breaking all links with capitalism even if this experience is not sufficiently generalised throughout the party. The left has to be more audacious in this process abandoning empirical methods and learn from the experience of Marxism, on the need for a more continuous political life which generates itself on the basis of links with the factories and*

*the population. The trade unions have to intervene in all this as it is they who are the fundamental basis of the Labour Party. The election has to be used to develop the links with the population not merely for narrowly electoral campaigning.*

*At the same time the election presents a major opportunity to intervene towards the armed forces and the police, demanding trade union rights and a political life and*

*not a law which reflects the necessities of society, but of social relations imposed up to this moment through these conditions. Woman must feel that this is the case. Then she feels capable of reasoning, of thinking. She does not feel inferior because she has a son, but on the contrary, she feels the joy, the natural pride to be a mother, as the man has the pride to be a father.*

It is necessary to see that in the Workers State, the woman shows that her function is the same as that of the man, not because they give her rights but because she develops the qualities, which she has, and society has negated them because it is a class society based on private property which makes laws and with conceptions based on those who command. They are not natural conditions which stem from those who make the law. This is what capitalism has done. The bureaucracy of the Workers States is the same, because it has the interests of the apparatus, not Soviet social and scientific interests. If not, it would not think in this way. And woman would not appear in the Soviet cinema as she does, essentially with a feminine quality. But she would appear like a man, the same, seeking to communicate, influence, to determine by means of intelligence and reason. What the marriage of tomorrow will be like in which beauty will be of another order. In the Soviet Union, in the Workers State, this is not so, because they have this type of unification of the couple on the basis of sexual attraction. In the Workers States, they would be now attracted by intelligence. Sexual union is legitimate and logical, the union of the sexes. But attraction on what basis? Through the sensual sensation or through intelligence? Through the harmonious capacity? The qualities of the one or the other have no importance. This is the superiority of the Workers State. Otherwise, what attracts is sexual union which finishes there. That is to say, humanity does not advance, it terminates with sexual desire or with sexual union.

Never as now has capitalist society devoted so much effort towards the young people to attract them by means of sensual sensations, sexual sensations, or with drugs, all this. And never until now has there been so much rejection of this. Because all the young people incorporate themselves in social struggles, and have sexual relations at 14 or 15, and there is no degeneration. Among the university youth, the secondary school children in France, there is already the desire for liberation from the subjection to sex. That is to say, the human relation has overcome what capitalist society has been incapable of doing.

Now in the Workers States, all this has to be discussed. There has to be the same expression of man and woman. There is no need to give a masculine or feminine character as they do. Why? This is the condition of nature, society makes them equal, and when this continues and accentuates in the Workers States, it is because there are relations of social backwardness, absence of Soviet life. It is necessary to discuss this. In the Party of Lenin, nothing of this existed. Why does it exist now? Has humanity retreated or the leadership retreated? The bureaucracy still makes the woman appear with a wholly sensual aspect. In the Soviet cinema for example, this is shown quite clearly, and also in the other Workers States. All the movements of the women are sinuous, it is not the natural feminine movement of the woman, but the feminine movement which is sinuous. The natural feminine movement has different forms from the man, nothing more. Tomorrow, they will be the same. They still take woman as in the capitalist regime, the sensual woman, she, who has sex. Then it is sex which speaks, not intelligence. They show a man-woman relationship, which deforms what the concept of the Workers State can show. They do not show the creative capacity of the people, which is the capacity to intervene, to discuss, to be occupied with the problems of the advance of culture, of science, of technology, of objective progress. The people do not appear, everything is resolved in the apparatuses. It is necessary to show the people. Hasn't the force which defeated Nazism got ideas? Cannot the forces which triumphed over Nazism give opinions? Why cannot they give their opinion? They defeated the Nazis. To defeat the Nazis, meant to have security. All this has to be discussed in the Workers States.

The Workers State has to discuss as we do, to equalise wages, to elevate the economy, to break with the dependency in having to work 10 or 8 hours a day: how are we to elevate agricultural production; how can we elevate the relations of the woman, of the children, of the old people; how to incorporate education in all the problems, for democratic intervention in all the problems, to allow the woman to speak. Once this is done, woman is going to stop having this behaviour with which they show her and she will feel diminished when they make a play of the sensual feminine role. She herself is going to say: "I am not an animal, I am not a brute. I am a woman, as he is a man. We do not unite because I am a woman and he is a man: but because the same common objectives unite us. To elevate human dignity. As still there is the problem of the sexes, we unite, but not for a sexual or sensual motion, but with this objective." The bourgeoisie gives to the sexual relations the sensual relations of life, the sensual taboo. It is a lie. It is because the human being, before, did not have a notion of how society was constructed. Then the woman appeared as the instrument, who pays for the consequences of human reproduction, and appeared as the vital and mysterious fact. Now, there is nothing of this. All this has been overcome, and although still it has not been established, already in our mind and in the world proletarian vanguard, it is so. And neither among the intellectuals, does the submission to this problem exist. All this has to be discussed in the Workers States.

J. Posadas

J. Posadas 4th May, 1974

*discussion in the barracks. This would establish another link between the electoral policy and the post electoral policy, as part of the preparation to confront capitalism. The Communist Party has outlined the need for such a policy and this should be taken up by the left in the Labour Party and the unions. FOR THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT ON THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME!*

*FOR NATIONALISATIONS LEADING TO THE PLANNED SOCIALIST ECONOMY!*

*MASS COMMITTEES IN THE FACTORIES AND THE WORKERS' DISTRICTS WITH RIGHT OF IMMEDIATE RECALL OF DELEGATES!*

*USE THE ELECTION TO INTERVENE POLITICALLY TOWARDS THE ARMY AND THE POLICE!*



# The Passionata of Beethoven, and the formation of communist sentiments

J. POSADAS

## MAKE NATIONALISATIONS

## THE CENTRE OF THE

## ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN

The development of the electoral campaign has confirmed the worst fears of the bourgeoisie; the working masses have taken the opportunity to pose their demands, their intentions and their perspective. The strike by the Ford workers and the refusal of the miners to accept any 'productivity' deal is an intervention of the workers' vanguard to show that whilst they support the Labour Party, they do so on their own terms. This is the significance of the statement of engineering workers at Fords who say "We are not interested in the social contract". The perspective of the workers' vanguard is to retain the Labour Party in office and to impel it to implement its anti-capitalist programme. The strike of the Ford workers—and the other sectors like the television technicians and the hospital workers—show that the working class is not passively waiting to vote for the Labour Party and then for a Labour government to try to carry out its programme through parliament. After an electoral victory the working class would increase its mobilisations and the present actions are a preparations for this.

The bourgeoisie see this and react to it. The whole electoral campaign of Heath is an expression of the most pessimistic tendencies among them. This is shown in his insistence on putting forward practically no policy except to call for 'unity' and in his recent statement where he poses that if measures were taken to impose unemployment it would result in more factory occupations, in the breaking up of the system of private property and in the advance towards socialism. It is a warning to the right wing of the bourgeoisie—to the Keith Josephs and the rest—that a repressive policy will meet an immediate response from the proletariat.

The sectors of the vanguard which intervened in the demonstration against the counter-revolutionary junta in Chile and in the demonstration against the fascists shows precisely this preparation.

The pessimism, fear and lack of perspective which Heath expresses is matched by that of the bourgeois right wing of the Labour Party. The statement of Williams that she would leave the Labour Party if a referendum on the 'Common Market' went against Britain's membership—a statement which Jenkins immediately echoed—is more than just an attempt to sabotage the Labour Party electorally. It was that certainly but it was also a cry of despair of people that see no future for them in the Labour Party, who see no perspective of continuing to maintain the pro-capitalist elements of the policy of the Labour Party. For these elements the Common Market is a crucial issue because it is the economic base for NATO, and NATO—and the participation of British imperialism in it—is central to the war preparations of Yankee imperialism. All these bourgeois elements in the Labour Party sense now that it is less and less possible to use the Labour Party as an instrument for bourgeois policies, for the defence of the capitalist system. Even now the Labour government does not entirely express the same interests as that of Yankee imperial-

ism. The immediate reaction of Callaghan was to support Ford's threat against the Middle East oil producing countries—which itself was a threat against the Workers States—but the reaction of the Labour Government was to reject the attitude of Ford and to propose agreements with Middle East government. In the same way even the limited arms cuts imposed by the Labour government have damaged the military capability of NATO. The statements of Williams and Jenkins, like the resignation of Mayhew and Chalfont—and others—are part of the break-up and expulsion of the right wing from the Labour Party and the transformation of the Labour Party from a social democratic to a socialist party.

It is a measure of this process in the Labour Party that Wilson has not been able to use this election campaign as he was able to do in the past, to limit the struggle within the Labour Party, to appeal to the electoral interests of sectors of the left wing. The open expression of the crisis in the Labour Party, of the removal of the most corrupt and careerist sectors like the pro-capitalist MP for Sheffield (Brightside) foreshadows greater clearances in the future and stimulates rather than repels the process of the centralisation of the working class around the Labour Party. This, the programme of the Labour Party, and the consciousness and mobilisation of the working class which impels the process is also going to attract elements of the petit bourgeoisie and the youth in particular, to the Labour Party.

The action of the miners in rejecting the 'productivity deal' expresses the level of consciousness of the class, it is an intervention which is not just simply for more wages but the rejection of an immediate economic gain in the interest of all. On another level the lobby by the miners at the meeting of the NUM and the intervention of the Yorkshire delegation is demanding the right to vote is an advance in the struggle of

the workers' vanguard to change the structure of the trade unions, to impose workers' democracy. In this the miners express—as the Ford workers do—the response by the working class, the complete rejection of the decision of the TUC in favour of the social contract. The fact that the TUC has made a public appeal—for the first time—calling on the trade unions to vote for the Labour Party shows that without the bureaucratic struc-

ture actually being changed it—and the bureaucratic leadership—can no longer impede the advance of the class.

At the same time it expresses at the top of the trade unions the fact that it can no longer be possible to maintain the separation between the 'trade union' struggle of the class and the political struggle. The sectors of the proletariat which are now intervening are using the electoral campaign to appeal to the population

to attract the population. In the most immediate sense a victory for the Labour Party in the elections is a necessary step in the struggle for power but it is only possible to ensure this and to advance beyond it with the constant intervention of the working class in all the problems of society. It is necessary to extend the factory meetings which the Labour Party is already organising in some areas to discuss the

## THE "FETE OF HUMANITE" SHOWS THAT THE MASSES ARE READY FOR POWER

The "Fete of Humanity"\* this year in France, has not been one more "Fete". It has taken the form of a massive Congress of the population led by the Communist vanguard. About two million people attended over all, and one million functioned solidly all the time. It was not a place where people came to rejoice in an individual way, it was an occasion of collective functioning with discussions on the Programme of the Popular Union, on how to apply it, how to make the Popular Union triumph, and also it was an occasion of cultural education. In all the "Fete", the Communist vanguard was only about 40% of the people present. Among those attracted, more half were the youth. This means that the French Communist proletarian vanguard, attracted very powerfully the rest of the population, and in the main, its most dynamic, its most resourceful sector, the youth. It means that the French proletariat is preparing for the taking of power, and it gives its party a powerful, irresistible impulsion to lead the struggle for the taking of power, with the construction in the Party itself of a leadership to accomplish this.

The visit of Marchais to the FNL in Algeria, has resulted in a great preoccupation by the paper "Humanity", the Communist vanguard and Marchais himself, to link the French Communist Party with the NFL in Algeria, which takes Algeria from the capitalist system to the nationalised and planned economy. Marchais himself said this. This has meant a greater tie between the Communist Party and the world

revolution, through a link with the NFL which tends to unify the world anti-imperialist forces. It is why Marchais said in Algeria: "The world anti-imperialist United Front is necessary." And he added that the conditions are ready for this. The French Communist Party is not doing all this on its own. In the world Communist Movement, there is a powerful drive to unify all the forces, and particularly in the USSR, where there is the development of a struggle between the sector of the Communist Party that made concessions to the reactionary "artists", and the sector of the Communist Party that observed Watergate and concluded correctly that imperialism is preparing the war against the Workers States, against the USSR. This is the tendency in the USSR which is preparing militarily and politically against world imperialism, to unify all the anti-imperialist forces in the world. This is the response of the Communist movement to Watergate which means the preparation of imperialism for war against the Workers States via a team under the absolute control of the Pentagon and the CIA. At the same time, the Soviet Union intervenes to organise European Conferences of the Communist movement, parties such as those of Lyon and Brussels in order to unify the world Communist movement.

In the "Fete of Humanity" a deeper aspect of the process in the Communist Party and the Communist movement was revealed. For the first time, the Communist Party has allowed the presence in the "Fete" of a stand which does not belong strictly to the Communist Party.

way as Marchais went to visit the FLN and treated it as if the FLN was a Communist Party, in the same way the Communist Party has felt the necessity to open the Party to forces outside it. As this unofficial Party attached to the PSOT has a political line that tends to be taken from the line of the IV International—even though with limitations—the process indicates that the ideas of Posadism, of the IV International Posadist are absolutely necessary for the Communist parties, for the construction of the conscious leadership in them to take power and construct Communism. The analysis of Posadas on the necessity for the world anti-imperialist United Front is now accepted by the Communist Party of France, and is discussed all over the world Communist movement to unify against the war which imperialism is preparing.

This does not mean that the leadership of the Communist Party is yet revolutionary, but it does mean that there is no longer the possibility for the Communist Party to function as it did before, completely closed to change, to discussion, to new tendencies. There is a pressure for change in the Party which comes from the proletariat, which It was a stand from the unofficial break away from the Socialist Party of Turkey, which is the Communist Party renamed. It is attached to the PSOT (a European organisation of Turks). This has meant that the Communist Party feels the necessity for changes, for new ideas, new tendencies, new interventions coming from outside the Party In the same

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# THE PASSIONATA OF BEETHOVEN AND THE FORMATION OF COMMUNIST SENTIMENTS

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The Appassionata, like other works of Beethoven, should be played and felt with a sentiment of human fraternity, affection and love, love towards humanity. It should be played with a feeling and passion for all objects, for all things, for all the actions which have impelled humanity, including love between man and woman. One cannot play the Appassionata and other works of Beethoven, with a feeling of defeat, catastrophe, grief, or bitterness. It does not correspond. The Appassionata, like the 9th Symphony, is a moving expression of those things to which Beethoven could not give a political significance. He gave it a musical significance, and a significance of human action. This was the function of the artist. Marx was responsible for the policy. They are the expressions in music of the vehemence, the emotion, and the love which Marx felt for humanity. Beethoven expressed it through music.

The Appassionata is a dissertation, not complete, because it has aspects of an amorous nature, of fantasy, but in its depth it expresses the feeling of fraternity, of human love. It is not the selfish love, the conservative love of him and her, but the objective love which for a stage in history, particularly in the stage of Beethoven, was expressed in the love of the couple, expressed in the love between human beings.

The development of the struggles of science, of revolution, show that love overcame the conservative egoism of the couple, and extended love to humanity, which was the source of the greatest works of history. The love of the couple in itself is not the source of production and of the progress of humanity, it is enclosed in the egoism of the couple. On the other hand the love of humanity, which includes the love of the couple, allows the ideas to arise, gives the basis of understanding, of knowledge, of human relations. The most objective and necessary ideas for the progress of humanity, arise, and among them human relations.

The possible triumph of the Popular Union in France, the triumph of the No in Italy, the trade union struggles, the progress of the Workers States, the recent discovery of new elements in the atom which they have made in the Soviet Union, these are new motives of love for humanity, of woman for man, of man for woman. Love in the couple, must be one of the bonds in the whole configuration in which human relations develop. It is not a question of opposing the couple to humanity, but of posing the couple as part of the whole chain of humanity. It is a link in the chain of humanity, which, without the others does not live. If it is separated, it collapses, because it lives conservatism, abstraction, and mental obstruction. Lenin did not have the time to be concerned with these problems. He was concerned with creating the instrument for the taking of power.

## MUSIC FORMS PART OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Music has another function than politics. Politics is concerned with reasoning, based on class struggle. Music is based on the tranquility of sentiments which express human relations. It is based on that and elaborates on it. It is another function of the human being. It forms part of the class struggle but it is on a superior plane, and music, like all art, constitutes the superstructure. It does not reproduce itself through political reasoning, but through the reasoning of the sentiment which is guided by politics. Music must express the sentiments, the necessities and project the necessary perspective for humanity. Then it is a work of art, otherwise, it is a caricature, and even being an agreeable sound, it overwhelms part of the organism, educated in the sensual individual relations of power. Hence world capitalism enjoyed the works

of Wagner. Music is still plays a very superfluous role, still it is not an instrument of the general education of humanity. It is a necessary creation of humanity, as work was necessary to live, music was necessary to exist. Humanity creates music in order not to be submitted to the brutality of nature, of the instrument, or of work. Hence it created music, and the creation of music was infinitely superior to the means of production of that period. It allowed the creation of superior human relations. As there were not the conditions save in small groups, it was small circles who adapted music. In the future, in Socialism, music will be an accompaniment and perhaps in certain aspects an anticipation of what are going to be the affectionate relations of the human being. Affection will cease to be an individual

action and will be a necessity of life. It will be a natural, dialectical order of existence. Affection today, is taken as an exception, as a quality, as an action which is placed against brutality. Brutality and affection are the creations of the capitalist regime. In Socialism, affection will be the normal form of existence, in such a way that the conception of affection will not exist. One can imagine the quality of the music that will arise! Because music—in the last instance—is the creation of small layers and of the need to express sentiments. Neither literature, nor any other form of art, can express with the same quality as music. Music can mobilise, move and

it, as we utilise science at its present level, the class struggle and the means which we have at the present moment. If we could, we would utilise better means.

Every music which responds to a necessity of history, has to have sounds which respond to the diaphanous expression of the sentiments, which accumulates them, interconnects them, and which communicates them throughout humanity. It must express the feelings of humanity. Private property develops in egotism. The development of human relations, the economy, science and technology repels this.

The human organism is a single structure, the human being is a monolithic structure whose central motor is the brain, which orders and directs all the functions of social relations, and has been constructed in accordance with the development of science, technology, the economy, and social relations, and has been advancing in the organisation of the sentiments and of the consciousness. The consciousness has been evolving in accordance with the possibilities of understanding nature and society. To the extent that the economy advances, science, technology, industry,

automation, electronics, the capacity to think and reason, to educate and to order the sentiments also advance. Beethoven developed in a stage, in which the development of large scale industry was only beginning. He could express a part of nature and human relations, but at a moment when these were not very developed. In music one cannot express human relations as in other arts, because intelligence does not enter as a conscious element. In ideas, on the other hand, intelligence enters, it is the comparison with reality which it sees, lives and penetrates. Music lives reality, it judges and feels it. It elaborates the sentiments with the abstract form of seeing life. Science has to take hold of nature and penetrate it, to be able to operate upon and change it, because it has to transform tangible facts. On the other hand, this is not the case with music, which lies in the terrain of the sentiments. The music of Beethoven does not reflect the hatred of the conquered, or that it is necessary to conquer, it reflects the song, the necessity of progress, of human fraternity. And this is done not with a feeling of vengeance, but understanding that this is how history is made. One cannot create progress

with sentiments of vengeance, because then it creates conservatism, and individualism, the substitution of one boss for another. Socialism suppresses all bosses, those outside, and those within. Outside, in human relations, and within, in the form of thinking and of reasoning. The music of Beethoven is the one that approximates most of all to that reasoning. It expressed already the course and the road which humanity was going to take. Hence the function of Beethoven is revolutionary. He produced his work to unite with the progress of humanity, not to entertain it, not to make a work of contemplation, but one of penetration, integration in humanity. The music of Beethoven is integrated with humanity, it arose from the most elevated aspects of human progress, of human fraternity. It served to create revolutionary ideas, as the support, the base, the propulsion and the nourishing of revolutionary sentiments. Hence, every work of art, in every stage of history, forms part of revolutionary ideas, although it does not represent them in the form of programme, policy, objectives. It forms part of the creation of the sentiments, and this in its turn, sustains, feeds, and develops

the capacity to stimulate revolutionary ideas, revolutionary intelligence. Humanity is a unity. It has been created for the class struggle. Music is an expression, and in some aspects a very advanced one, of the relations of the class struggle. But with the existence of Marxism, music enters a lesser level of representation, because Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history. There is no instrument superior to the organised consciousness of intelligence. Every intelligent composer has

## LIFE IS AS MONOLITHIC AS COMMUNISM, THE IDEAS AND THE PARTY

It is necessary to live the whole of life to be able to participate directly, to be able to feel, to be the organiser of history. There is no political, intellectual and musical life. Life is monolithic, as monolithic as Communism, the idea, and the Party. The monolithism of the objective is Communism. The Party is united monolithically in the policy towards Communism. A party is an objective, a monolithic idea. It does not have phases, nor facets, nor stages. It is monolithic in its intention. The political struggle gives the stages and the phases. And in

to be a Marxist, to be able to express in all its levels and depth, the sentiments, the forms of expressing the sentiments through music; because the sentiments express themselves not in the form of abstraction but in the concrete, material form of existence. Our concern with these themes is undoubtedly united to the central objective which is the struggle for Communism, and immediately, in the political struggle for power, to organise the left in the Communist Parties.

the political struggle, to have a complete dominion, it is necessary to live life. Life is a construction of humanity which was dependent on nature and on the economy. Humanity begins to have consciousness of itself, only through a Socialist society. Now, today, it is in the dawn of this consciousness, because through the Party and the Workers States, it acquires the confidence that it can resolve, decide, and change everything which is necessary. The more we advance, progress, and dominate life and human relations, the more we understand that human activity

## introduction

The text on the Appassionata and the formation of the Communist sentiments forms an integral part of a whole series of recent texts of Posadas devoted to the subject of the sentiments and the thesis that "the world is ready for Communism".

Such a text is not directly related to a political prognosis, but it has importance in the education and the affirmation of the confidence of all the revolutionary vanguard throughout the world. Communism is not constructed by those without Communist sentiments, and there is no historic gap between the overthrow of all the systems of exploitation and the construction of Communism. The experience of Vietnam which showed the complete collective spirit of Communism anticipates the triumph of Communist sentiment and organisation on a world scale. The Communist sentiment of the European worker masses, of the masses of the Workers States, and of the masses of Asia, Latin America and Africa is based on the world structure of the revolution, the 14 Workers States and the 16 Revolutionary States. But humanity has always since the emergence of class society possessed and maintained sentiments which transcended the horizons of private property.

With the progress of human society realised in the French revolution, Beethoven appeared who, more than any other composer—or indeed any other artist in whatever medium—concentrated the most fraternal and revolutionary sentiments of that time. Capitalism as in the case of Michaelangelo could never build on such universal genius and found more appropriate artists—Wagner, Stravinsky echoing in whatever form, purely individualistic sentiments full of contempt for the masses and the will to progress, finally disassociating music from social relations completely.

Articles such as these enrich the Communist sentiment and Communist dominion that is revolutionary culture. Mere criticism, protest against the capitalist order is quite insufficient in this epoch. The Communist life is necessary for the most complete objectivity in the reconstruction of human society. Beethoven in his music expresses even in the confined form of the Appassionata a force which transcends the narrow limits of the couple, the family, friendship which is the pattern of class society. Beethoven reached out to a profound fraternity which eliminates all confining obstacles and seeks a universal love, the necessary and logical outcome of the destruction of private property and its accompanying emotional and intellectual destruction.

The Appassionata of Beethoven is part of this. The Appassionata of Beethoven forms part of the links which formed the decision of Lenin, which was the love for humanity, to learn to be objective. Love for humanity includes the objectivity and the affection of sentiment of human procreation. This is the Appassionata.

impose sentiments; help to establish, and to seek and to find equilibrium. The best literature cannot do this, because music enters through the senses. Literature enters through the consciousness. The sense is more subject to permanent daily relations. When we have a form of Socialist life in which culture will be the essential basis of progress, music will diminish in scale of importance, another superior music will emerge, as in literature, as in art.

Music is the creation of a stage of life, it did not arise together with life, it was created as part of human relations. Human relations in the epoch of Beethoven were relations of imposition, power, kings, feudal power, slavery, and of private property. All music, like the music of Beethoven, is a sign of protest, of reaction against existing relations, and a communication of the future. It showed that the future is superior to what Beethoven could anticipate. Human fraternity will be infinitely superior to the 9th Symphony and to the Appassionata. But both are a guide to what is going to happen and they gave the level of what was going to happen.

All music—even that of Beethoven—expresses the insecurity of the collective process of humanity. Still it is an individual expression which is very profound. Hence Beethoven

# The programme of the airforce and the anti-imperialist process in Argentina

20-8-1974

There are a series of declarations by the soldiers and leaders of the government in Argentina which are directed to sustain the policy and programme, to sustain the continuation of the programme of Peron, the external policy of Peron and in part the internal policy, which means taking a position which is quite open and the expression of a very great authority of the nationalist sectors. In these are included the declarations of the commandant in the army command, Leandro Anaya on his return from Peru where he had an interview with Velasco Alvarado and also with Raul Castro. And now there is the declaration of the general commandant of the Air Force, Hector Fautoria, which is much more advanced than the first position of the Peruvians. Fautoria posed a programme for the development of the country in which he included the intervention of the state in the economy, the right of self determination and political and commercial relations with all the countries of the world, the 'integral unity' of the countries of Latin America against the Imperialist efforts of domination, the development of national enterprises, the subordination of private property to social interest, and the idea of formulating a doctrine which may be an alternative to Marxism and capitalism.

It is the first time that a leader of the Air Force has made a declaration with such a programme, that is nationalist, who is a left nationalist. Since, if certainly, it is inferior to the programme of Huerta Grande and La Falda, it is quite linked with this. It gives the soldiers

the possibility of intervening. The greatest error that they make in their formulation, is when they say that they are not with Marxism. But all the rest, is a programme against Imperialism and the oligarchy. There it gives a programme. Against Marxism, it gives no programme, only a declaration. On the other hand against Imperialism, it says very clearly 'the state must intervene in the economy,' 'unification in Latin America,' 'make national enterprises'. It proposes no measure against Marxism; against Imperialism, a whole series of measures.

It is taking positions to prevent a blow from the right and an alliance with Imperialism and to impel a more elevated progress of the economy at the expense of Imperialism. They are taking up positions which are going to express themselves also in internal policy. This has very great importance because it stimulates the military nationalists against the CIA in particular. When it does not mention or attack the guerrillas, it is because it does not want to be involved in the provocation of the CIA and sees also that there are real guerrillas—although in one sector the CIA filters through and tries to utilise them—real guerrillas who want to struggle for the progress of the country. And when it says 'neither capitalist or Marxist' what gives it character is 'neither capitalist' because when it has to define these measures they are against Imperialism.

This means a progress in the understanding of these military sectors which is going to favour the anti-imperialist struggle. In Argentina

there is a very great weight in this sense. After the process in Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, the fact that Argentina defines itself in this way is a very great blow to the governments of Chile, Brazil and Bolivia. It is necessary to see this declaration as showing a strong current in the Argentinian army ready to take such positions. It is the first time that the army or an arm of the army takes a position in this way in the daily problems of political life.

This shows at the same time that the soldiers feel that they must intervene in politics openly as a party and not as spectators. This military leader gives his opinion like a party spokesman, and he says at the same time, that they will not allow a series of measures which are against this programme. This is directed openly against the oligarchy, and there is no attack on the workers' movement, the Communist Party, the Workers Party (Trotskyist), the Montoneros or on the guerrillas. There is no open attack on this leadership.

This indicates the political growth of the Argentinian army and the very great effect which it has had on the world process, Portugal being part of this. But it is not a consequence of Portugal because the Argentinian army had this position before Portugal. But there is an inter-influence and self-influence of all these movements which are acquiring very elevated forms. These declarations of the military leaders in Argentina are a very elevated fact, because it is a direct support to Peru and an attack on the Brazilian reaction, on the Uruguayan and Chi-

lean reaction, at the same time as a stimulus to the nationalist soldiers in Bolivia directly to take power. It is an expression of a very, very great politicisation of the army, in which this soldier speaks as a political leader.

This must be expressed in the life of the army, and also among the soldiers. When this officer speaks openly in the name of a political line, it is because within the army they have to discuss, including the soldiers. If certainly the air force is the arm which has fewer personnel, there are soldiers involved and besides it is the sector which has more technical staff. And the technicians are won by the revolutionary process. This is important: they are people who turn around but they are not in the air.

One has to appreciate that these soldiers develop in a country which of all Latin America is the one which has the most developed capitalist relations, a capitalist society in which three quarters of agrarian production has a capitalist character. It is the country where the conditions could develop chauvinism. And these soldiers come out to plan the programme and the policy to defend the line which Peron was putting forward. Hence all those who say that 'Peron is against the Communists' and protest that 'Peron is not a Bolshevik' measure the situation in Argentina on the wrong criteria. They do not see that the policy of Peron was an unavoidable result, which could not be eliminated, of the economic structure already reached by the country and

from the social bases which now impel this economic structure: worker, peasant, petit bourgeois and military. And now what is happening in Argentina—as what is happening in Italy, Portugal, Greece or in the rest of the world—is part of a process which is outside Argentina but from which in its turn, Argentina forms part like Greece, Italy and Portugal.

Some years ago we posed that this is the epoch of intelligence and reason. This means intelligence and reason for all, not for a group or a sector. Humanity tends to think reasonably and the soldiers also. This still does not eliminate the apparatus, as it does not eliminate the apparatus of the Soviet Union, China and Czechoslovakia. But the structure no longer obeys the apparatus. It is necessary to reason. Then the soldier reasons but not now as a structure of an apparatus which depends on the others. He sees now that the world is not like this. And he is freed internally without being animated to act externally because still he has the uniform which gives him the security to live. But now he reasons.

He does not generalise or harmonise, it is not consistent with reason because he does not live the life of the class struggle. He lives the circumstantial life, through superficial problems and even the problems of the state but considered only in a capitalist and superficial form. But when an officer like this Brigadier Fautoria, goes to a public meeting to make a political speech, there is a discussion with the soldiers.

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It is necessary to be concerned with this. The bullets, the arms, the tanks and the planes are necessary, but it is necessary to learn this. This tends towards the study of politics, not of the art of war. It is an official speech and is presented before the country as a political factor, not as a military factor. It is intelligence and reason and they have to deal with the problems on this basis.

Hence we resolve to propose a course of Marxism to the soldiers as we have done without imposing it, without proposing it as obligatory. And we propose courses, although in them Marxism is not spoken about, developed as dialectical reasoning. And explaining as a conclusion that this is a method, a reasoning, a method of study, of analysis, of thought: 'You are educated in military method, you have military method, what we are developing is a method which means to learn from history, from events, to learn the roots which determine them, to draw out principles and theory and arrive at conclusions to intervene. When you utilise a weapon, do you improvise, act without method? They do not have a method to intervene. But when they make a political document like this, which even limited in its levels, is coherent and consistent with the drive to progress, this is what impels the method and they are progressing towards method. They resist Marxism, but the conclusion that they are posing must push them in this direction. Hence we have proposed to develop such courses.

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20.8.74

is part of the class struggle—not something separated, distant, or particular—the more we have the security that life is invincible. Life is not property, capital, and war. These are the accidents of history, they lasted some centuries. This was history and the human being was formed and structured according to the class struggle.

Beethoven is outstanding and deserves all our respect and affection, the most profound adhesion of the affectionate sentiments. Like all geniuses in history, instead of being attracted and submitted by the spirit, by the sentiment, by the will of possession, he felt himself, affected and attracted by the sentiment of human fraternity, even at the cost and the risk of being a minority, or of being excluded from participation in society. Even in this way he shows that his work is necessary for humanity. These geniuses, in spite of not having a political influence, of being isolated, were in every way considered on the highest plane of human relations, even in this society, because they expressed a need of humanity. Music, like art, arose out of necessity, in which the human being showed that he was not a beast, that he was not imposed upon by private property and commerce. Hence our concern for art, and in particular for Beethoven, in order to understand life, the monolithism of life, which impels, because there already exists the necessary relations for it, the unification of humanity through fraternity. The social and economic conditions exist, and so does human understanding. Hence our constant concern to understand all the problems of humanity: art, music, poetry, sport.

Beethoven realised in spite of massacres and wars that the human being had qualities that were superior to all this, that a process was coming in history in which the human sentiment was going to prevail over the brutality of the economy. He did not have an economic notion, but he was an artist who viewed society with sentiment. This arose in the depth of sentiments and he expressed it musically. It is not intelligence which determines this, hence he did not make any political texts; Marx did this, but there are two necessary instruments: the artist and the revolutionary. The artist expresses with his music the depth of human sentiment, which was constructed in the form of conflict. But he saw that the depth of the nature of human relations led inevitably to the overcoming of conflict, violence, aggression, individualism, to the need for human fraternity. Hence the work of Beethoven is revolutionary, but it is limited, because he achieved it through the bourgeois revolution—even being very profound—was one of individual relations of private property, but it already generated the basis to surpass private property. Beethoven saw into the depths of human relations and his music was an anticipation of this process. New stages were necessary in history to finish with private property and then, the new musicians would come. The new musicians were the Bolsheviks, the best orchestra of humanity.

The musician feels what he sees, what he perceives in existing relations, it is reflected in his sphere of composition. The history of humanity was made in this way: art was created for this. On the other hand, the revolutionary politician sees the scientific and historic causes and

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# ON THE PROGRESS IN THE THINKING OF THE BUREAUCRACY

23-8-1974

J. POSADAS

The most important aspect in all this is the method of analysis, which is quite remote from them; they are empirical. Breznev analyses better because there is a team and they give a programme. But even so, in their method, they did not consider the partial crisis of each country in the elements which compose them. Now they try to understand. And they advance a great deal in the anti-capitalist solution; not in the revolution, but in anti-capitalist measures.

They are confronted with a constant growth and extension, a deepening, an elevation of science, technology, economy, production, of the political, theoretical, scientific capacity of people, of the maturity of the workers' trade unions, of the homogenous, the Communist behaviour of the Soviet masses, which although they cannot intervene, think as Communists. Now all this is weighing, therefore the area of the development of the bureaucracy is limited. They are obliged to relate to, to consider and to respond to this need. The bureaucracy has to think. In thinking they have to take into account that there are

many, many donkeys. Therefore the bureaucracy tries to defend itself from these remnants, and also from present day sectors who are also donkeys and they try to free themselves from them. And aspects of this inter-bureaucratic struggle relate to this. But this struggle now is a factor of very great progress because the essential reason is the progress of technology and science. And now there is a very great military apparatus but not Stalinism, in which 90% of the officers are Communists. And if capitalism wanted Yugoslavia to retreat, it failed. This is to say that the capitalist regime is liquidated, it has nothing. In Greece, in Portugal, they see that the military are very influenced, very influential, very assured in the changes of history favourable to humanity, how can the soldiers in the Workers States not be influenced? It is absurd. These boasters in China are from the epoch of the old Chinese fairy tales... they believe that there is progress but that the mind of people doesn't advance, it remains where it is. One has to be an idiot to believe this! If there is such progress, how can one believe that their minds remain as before.

It will be very beautiful to see the Soviet youth because when the Komsomol sends a team to go to Algeria, to look at Algeria, it is important. Before they were sent to smash revolutions, now they send people to impel revolutions. They are going not with arms in hand, but they are preparing to go like that. And above all they are intervening in the internal struggle, because this is an internal struggle. The Soviet Youth have made the offer. It is necessary to see if they accept them, but they have offered and it is to intervene in the internal struggle. The immediate antecedents of these people, were those who went to Siberia. It shows that the youth is full of desire to construct Communism. Hence Trotsky posed that young people went in for mountain climbing and parachute jumping, for a transcendental purpose. This was to conquer nature, to conquer space, a dominion which tomorrow is going to be fundamental. Here no, they intervene directly in the revolution and give political support. This indicates that within Algeria, within a short time, we are going to have an excellent section.

J. Posadas 23rd August 1974

## THE PASSIONATA

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the roots in the structure of history. The musician sees the moment and expresses this, hence his historic function has been useful to the revolution. The musician or the poet is revolutionary when he expresses in a sphere in which he can intervene, the necessity to elevate human relations, and eliminate all the forms of hatred, violence, imposition and accumulation. Otherwise, it is no use. He is not a poet, he is a propagandist of private property. On the other hand, he is a propagandist of the Communist future when he expresses the development of history. He does not express the political interest of a party, but the human relations for which this party struggles. And there he is identified with Karl Marx.

The revolutionary leader is the direct expression of the struggle, the artist works in an indirect form, he poses the problems taking into account the existing human relations, and through these he imagines and inspires. The revolutionary politician inspires and develops intelligence in the concrete intervention in the class struggle. The artist is the result of human relations. And in a certain way fragments and conceals the real origin: human relations appear expressed in a dispersed way. They do not appear with the origin which is the class struggle. Beethoven is the representative of this, he saw the development of the economy, the struggle of the workers and peasants and he created the image that the form in which they lived was unjust, and he placed himself against

the kings. Hence, Beethoven was a Republican. In that period, to be a Republican was a great progress. But already the French revolution had taken place, and Beethoven was not a creation of himself, he was a representative, and expression of a process already developing. His music inspired human relations which he believed could come about. The Bolsheviks showed that they were going to be superior, and it was not only Beethoven who contributed. There was also Rousseau, Diderot, and Voltaire,—a whole sector of encyclopaedists who, in the field of science, nature and legal philosophy, made an interpretation of history. They created a series of relations in which the human being was shown to be more confident and more secure of himself, not submitted to the brutality of the economy, to political and feudal power. Mankind was shown to be more secure in being able to utilise the economy to free itself. Beethoven observed these relations which influenced the whole of human activity, not in the class struggle directly, but through human relations, the class struggle, but dispersed. He was inspired by this and produced his work. His work represents the most complete and consummate level of human relations of that period. Hence his work was not convenient to the bourgeoisie, because Robespierre was of that stage and Beethoven went to the depths in music of the conclusions of the French Revolution.

### BEETHOVEN RAISED HUMAN RELATIONS TO THE LEVEL OF FRATERNITY

Beethoven raised human relations to the level of fraternity, which was a base to eliminate the differences, the existing contradictions and antagonisms, but at the same time, he represents an aspect of this progress. He did not represent the programmatic political forms, he represented an aspect of this process and in the act of creation, he was inspired by the desire to serve the progress that arose from these relations. This was not an order or a decree by any party. The development of science, of human relations, the dominion of nature, the advance of technology, production, and industry created the relations of the liberation of the human being with respect to nature, and in part of society. All this together, Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire, was expressed in philosophy and in nature. Beethoven expressed it in human relations, in music, as the creation of the human being. He expressed a certain independence from subjection to the economy and to nature. But the creation of Beethoven is a reply on the terrain of inspiration, of the most elevated sentiments. In politics, it is not so, because politics refers to concrete, material facts. He represented an

aspect of the class struggle in the form of the most elevated human relations and human sentiments, but which did not serve directly the class struggle. On the other hand, they served directly Marx and the other revolutionaries, because this gave them historic security and affirmed them in the security of Communism, showing them that Communism was legitimate in history.

Beethoven contributed in the elaboration of revolutionary ideas, as every revolutionary art contributes to revolutionary ideas. It creates sentiments of fraternity, justice and equality. He observes life, not to contemplate—like the owner—but to elevate human relations. This helps the revolutionary to be affirmed in his activity, it communicates, homogenises knowledge among the revolutionary intellectuals who are the ones who are at the level of this understanding and allows them to be based on theoretical and political security. This is a contribution of Beethoven to revolutionary ideas.

This is how we interpret, this is how this contribution to the progress of the revolution and of humanity must be interpreted.

J. Posadas 19th May 1974

## THE "FETE OF HUMANITE" SHOWS THAT THE MASSES ARE READY FOR POWER

is expressed by the way the proletariat of France intervenes in occupations such as Titan Coder (a lorry factory), the taking over of the "FRANCE"†, which immediately led to the national strike of the Merchant Navy. The CGT and CFDT called for the national strike in the whole of France in support of the "FRANCE", but the Communist Party should have supported this to wage the struggle for the triumph of the Popular Union. For this the Communist Party requires a leadership that is prepared to go consciously to government and from there to the power, or to power directly, by mobilising the working class which is ready to mobilise.

This leadership is in preparation. When the Posadist IV International

can intervene in the "Fete" as if it were of the Communist Party itself, and speaks about the ways to construct this new leadership based on the programme, the policy and the objectives for the taking of power, and it speaks freely, it is because the Communist Party and the Communist base are looking for the conscious ideas in order to construct the conscious leadership, to take power and go to Communism.

This is the role of the IV International Posadist, and the same applies in Britain. The new revolutionary leadership in the Labour Party will have to base itself inevitably on the world Communist movement and on the existence of the USSR and the other Workers States. It will have to base itself on the ideas

and the functioning of the IV International for they are the Marxism of today, the conscious road to make the Labour Party pass from a Social Democratic Party to a Socialist Party. We call on the workers' vanguard, the Labour and Communist comrades, to pose the necessity for the open discussion inside of the Labour Party itself of all revolutionary tendencies and sincere organisations of the workers movement. This will permit the Labour Party to centralise its forces and those of the Labour movement to organise the new leadership in the Labour Party so as to mobilise the working class for the application of the programme of the Labour Party.

\*Communist Party paper.

†French liner.

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## MAKE NATIONALISATIONS

full programme of the Labour Party and to link the functioning in the factory—for the shop stewards' committees to function on the basis of a political programme—and to link this with meetings in the workers' areas, in the schools, in the streets.

The shop stewards, trade union militants, militants of the Communist Party and the left of the Labour Party have to intervene on the

basis of a programme of nationalisations; not just the nationalisation of one, or two sectors of the capitalist economy which have collapsed but on a programme for the nationalisation of all major industry, the financial centres—banks and insurance companies—under workers' control and without compensation. It is necessary to pose the immediate occupation of factories—as Ford workers in Halewood have done—and

the ruining of the factory under workers' control involving the whole population in the control and running of the economy.

From this can be constructed permanent organism, committees which link the factories and the population in a permanent process of discussion, organisation and imposition of control over the economy and overall aspect of the life of the masses.

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## RED FLAG

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# FROM THE ELECTORAL VICTORY TO THE IMPOSITION OF THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS

The electoral victory of the Labour Party is a decisive blow at the capitalist system not only in this country but on a world scale. The fact that the British working class has imposed the Labour Party in government on its own terms is an event which forms part of the world advance of the revolution and it will deepen the crisis of world capitalism in one of its most fundamental centres. The electoral campaign of the Tories was based not on any perspective of the development of capitalism, or of an advance of the economy, or any improvement in the standard of life of the population but on the proposition that the victory of the Labour Party would mean the end of capitalism, the end of the system of private property. This is what the platform of Heath for 'national unity' meant and the result of the elections has demonstrated what the balance of social forces in the country actually are. All the attempts of the bourgeois press to give an impression that a parliamentary majority for the Labour Party of three seats is an indecisive result has been a failure and now they have to admit that even in parliamentary terms the forces of capitalism are weak, divided and disintegrating. The political parties of the bourgeoisie have suffered a defeat from which they are not going to recover. The Liberal base is renewing its criticisms of Thorpe and the parliamentary leadership and the removal of Heath as leader of the Tory Party is being discussed without any alternative being proposed. All the attempts of the bourgeoisie to frighten sectors of the petit bourgeoisie with the spectre of a Labour government which would take away their houses, family firms and the gardens, and the attempts at terrorism—with the bomb explosions in Guildford—have been a failure. On the question of the future of capitalism the proletariat and their allies have given, through the electoral process, their answer.

The electoral victory of the Labour Party has expressed limitedly, in terms of votes, what the Ford workers and the miners expressed in strikes and mobilisations during the course of the electoral campaign. The intervention of the Ford workers and the miners which effectively destroyed the "social contract" was a demonstration that they were not interested in a policy of conciliation with capitalism, in struggling for what limited economic gains might be made out of the capitalist system but that they wanted a struggle for power. It was an intervention which warned the leadership of the trade unions and the Labour Party that this was the path the class was going to take regardless of the limitations and timidity of its leadership. At the same time it was an appeal to attract the rest of the population.

It was this intervention of the vanguard of the class during the course of the electoral campaign which provoked the open expression of the crisis in the leadership of the Labour Party with the defection of Chalfont and the others, and the statement of Williams and Jenkins that they would not stay in the Labour Party if a referendum decided against the Common Market. It was an expression of the weakness and frustration of the defenders of capitalism within the Labour Party which indicated the changes already being made inside the Labour Party. In its turn this served to attract support to the Labour Party which was not the intention of Williams and Jenkins.

The fact that the Labour Party gained votes in the centres of the proletariat and that those Labour candidates which defended the programme of nationalisations were precisely those who gained the most votes shows that with a more elevated campaign based on the programme of nationalisations as a solution to the crisis of capitalism would have gained the Labour Party an even bigger majority. However there is a process of change in the Labour Party which takes the form of the programme of nationalisations, of the greater weight of the left wing and of the increasing isolation of the right. It is a process which is determined by the concentrating of the working class around the Labour Party and by the total crisis of capitalism which means that a policy of reforming capitalism no longer has any validity. The elections have shown beyond all doubt that the working class concentrates in the Labour Party and seeks to impel the construction of new forms and leaderships which answer the necessities of the struggle. The comrades of the Communist Party have to draw the conclusion from the fact that the votes given to the Communist Party were halved. They have to draw the conclusion that their role has to be in the development, the impulsion of this leadership, in the process of the transformation of the Labour Party into an instrument of class and revolutionary struggle. The same applies to the 'left' groups!

This process in the Labour Party—and in the trade unions corresponds to a world process in which the masses advance using whatever leadership is avail-

able. The masses of Portugal have defeated the attempts by the forces of reaction to launch a counter-revolutionary coup and—in the form of a 'Communist Sunday' in which the population worked a day without payment for the benefit of all—have intervened at the level of a Workers State without a leadership which is prepared for the taking of power. The example of Portugal has weighed in the victory of the Labour Party. It is not an event which is confined to this country. In the whole of Europe there is a move to the left with a perspective of governments of the left in France and Italy which is indicated by the gains made by the left in the recent partial elections in France and by the fact that it is impossible to form a government in Italy without including—in one form or another—the Communist Party. All this is determined by the intervention of the masses, by the strikes and mobilisations, by the factory occupations and by the demonstrations of the peasants.

In its turn the victory of the proletariat in this country is going to impel and encourage the masses of Europe. It is not accidental that the struggle in the Labour Party leadership found its expression on the question of 'Europe'. The defence of the 'Common Market' is directly the defence of the interests of big capital. It is not enough for the left of the Labour Party to propose withdrawal from the Common Market which is, in any case, in a state of collapse because this tends to support those sectors in the Labour Party—and in the bourgeoisie—which want to retain some vestige of the previous isolation of the proletariat in this country from the world process. It is not a question of 'out of Europe' but of what sort of Europe. It is, equally, not possible to advance a programme of nationalisations, of control of industry without considering that major capitalist industry has a 'multinational' form and that it is impossible to control it on the basis of one country. Also it is not possible to separate the question of the Common Market from the role of NATO. NATO is an instrument of both military confrontation with the Workers States and of internal repression. It has already been weakened by the loss of Greece and Portugal as bases and by the arms cuts of the Dutch government. The cuts in arms expenditure already made by the Labour Government have damaged the military capacity of British imperialism and the implementation of the proposed cuts of £1,000 million will be an even greater blow. It is correct and necessary to pose that the resources now used for arms should be used for the benefit of the population but in conditions in which the bourgeoisie is preparing for the war and for internal repression it is necessary to pose this demand as part of a programme for the disintegration of the army. The bombs in Guildford—and in London—were, in part, to provoke sectors of the army against the left, against the working class and it shows that the bourgeois lacks confidence in the army.

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(CENTRE PAGES)

## the process of partial regeneration and the function of the IV International

14TH MAY 1974

J. POSADAS

Workers of the World, Unite!



# RED FLAG

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)

BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

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## THE WORLD IS READY FOR COMMUNISM

15TH MAY 1974

J. POSADAS

The division into classes is not the product of nature, but of an insufficient development of the human being in relation to nature. This determines the later course of history. When science, technology, large scale production succeeds in answering all the needs of humanity, they eliminate the essential factors which divide human beings: the limitations of the economy. But as society is now divided into classes, and the force that possesses the means to develop society is capitalism, it is necessary to eliminate this factor which is the one which impedes this development of science and technology—the means which generate the satisfaction of human needs in the economic aspect.

Today it is not only capitalism that exists. The Workers States exist, the Revolutionary States, the great development of human consciousness, of science, of technology. An immense development of all humanity exists, which shows that the human being now can eliminate 60% of the time dedicated to production and can dedicate it to other activities. Now, today, through the means of technology and science, in a scientific form, it can eliminate its dependence, on having to live to work, among other means through automation and cybernetics. Today the human being with a few fingers on a control panel, dominates the economy.

The development of the human being is more rapid than the progress of the economy, than the technical, scientific means, than the technology to live, to build houses, to procure food and sustenance. Distribution was less and there came the first social division of the human being. From this, emerged egoism and conservatism, all the attributes which private property generates, which develop right up to today, until the capitalist regime.

What divides human beings, is not the antagonism between human beings one with another, of one nation against another nation, of one nationality against another, but class differences. Already there is a consciousness of this in humanity. The immense development of proletarian solidarity is now extended into human solidarity. It is not only proletarian solidarity, it is human solidarity. No other stage of history has had this human solidarity. Vietnam exemplifies it.

The existence of the Workers States, the relation of class forces, has stimulated the proletariat, and

through the proletariat, the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie, to influence the rest of the population, to realise that it is possible to suppress the antagonism of living, struggling, fighting, exploiting to develop existence.

There is an advance of human consciousness that already accepts, that it is necessary to change, to suppress the life of dependence, of submission to work, not only to capitalism, but to work. There is a rebellion. As Marx said, it is the rebellion of the productive forces, expressed through the rebellion of the producers, and today the human being shows that there is no reason to depend still on nature, nor to have to work in this way: today the human being can press a button and resolve all the problems of production, of existence, and of the economy. This already exists within human consciousness, and Engels said: "In Communism we will return to the primitive period but with abundance". And we add to what Engels said: "But with intelligence and reason".

We are living a complete cycle. Already this consciousness exists. The actions of solidarity, the rebellions of humanity against all this existence, which dictates the struggle to live, to live to struggle, to have to dispute in order to exist, to have to suppress one human being in order that another can live. Human intelligence is already rebelling against this, because this is against the development of science of nature, of technology. Such backwardness is antagonistic to the development of science, of technology and of nature.

The human being in his relation with nature and other human beings, acquires the consciousness of this situation, which is his essential attribute. Capitalism cannot have it, because its function is not this. Its function is to suppress the intelligence, to use it only for production, and for competition and war, but not to develop human relations. On the other hand, 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, the struggle of the trade unions, the powerful workers' movements throughout the world, are developing through the aggressive and violent persuasion of the class struggle, that it is possible to suppress the system of antagonism in order to live, to eliminate it without having yet reached the appropriate economic conditions. One simple fact: are there in Vietnam the conditions for Socialism? No. Nevertheless, in Vietnam they think about Socialism. "In the middle of the imperialist massacre, Vietnam prepares its sons for Socialism". This is Vietnam. In Cuba, do the conditions already exist for Socialism? No. Do the economic conditions exist? No. But the will exists to advance to Socialism.

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# THE PROCESS OF PARTIAL REGENERATION AND THE FUNCTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL

14 MAY 1974

The understanding, study, assimilation of the changes which exist, which develop, which are going to become much more profound in the Workers States, are of fundamental importance. We have to be concerned to dominate them, because they are going to determine the course of history. It is not capitalism that is going to determine the course of history, it is the Workers States, capitalism does not have the strength. This is to have security in the course of history. Capitalism exists and it has very great economic and military strength, but it does not have the right to live. The capitalist system is outside civilisation. It does not have the right to exist. It has been able to survive, to continue because of the absence of the conscious revolutionary leadership. At the present moment, there is no conscious mass leadership which reflects, which can be representative of the need of the progress of history. Substitutes which history has allowed to be created exist, and the leadership of the Workers States. The Workers State is legitimate and continues. The leadership no, who is going to win? The leadership is it legitimate? Or is it the Workers State that is legitimate? The death of Stalin shows this. Stalin died, Stalin fell, and the Workers State developed. It conquered the Nazis in 1943, and allowed the creation of 14 Workers States more, and the development of the world revolution.

It is with this perspective that it is necessary to have the security that the Workers State is a necessity of history. It is an irreplaceable road, the Workers State cannot be substituted for, by any other form. There is no form of the economy and the State that can substitute for it. Some others can approximate to it, like the Revolutionary State, which can acquire imperfect forms of transition towards the Workers State. But to pass from the capitalist regime to Socialism, the inevitable stage, indispensable stage of the Workers State is necessary. This cannot be avoided. In this stage from capitalism to the Workers State and from the Workers State to Socialism, there is a margin in history which is immense. The bureaucracy has been able to survive, to live, because it counted upon the conditions in history which would allow it to do: the ebb in the workers' movement, and the previous absence of revolutionary leadership. But now, this process does not exist. It is a totally different situation.

In making an analysis, we are based on the objective process of history. It is not our capacity as disciples of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky which allows history to develop in this way. It is an objective necessity which determines the development of the economy, of the social relations which the economy establishes and the understanding of the mind. A whole period of history is going to be determined by this situation. At the same time, it determines the progress of revolutionary forces and of the conscious leadership. It is necessary to realise that the changes are going to be an inevitable process. We do not base ourselves on or expect that one or another leader may be capable of understanding or studying. This is important: the quality of the Communist leader, of the militant has a very great importance, but it is secondary. At a particular moment of the concrete action it is decisive. But what is decisive is the need of history.

History is the action of human beings on the economy. The Marxist idea is not subject to the economy, but it foresees the course that is coming, the course which the capitalist regime prepared and now, the Workers State. We have confidence in a process which is inevitable, which we do not make. We interpret it and intervene to be the consciousness of the unconscious process of history; as it was, the unconscious process to which Marxism

its determination to launch the war. Even if all the capitalists in North America die, except one, the war would be launched because it's the structure of the capitalist system which determines the war. It is not the desire of one or another president. It's the structure of the economy, of the social relations and of the mind of capitalism which only creates by force and power and nothing more. It cannot be convinced or persuaded, because it is not determined by fear or imposition. The law of the capitalist system is war. War is the life of the capitalist system—even commerce is a small war. All capitalist relationships are warlike, nothing else can be expected of capitalism. Regeneration is inevitable on the part of the Workers State, not because Breshnev wants to make it or the bureaucracy. It is imposed by the progress of science, of technology, of the social, political progress of the masses of the world and the economy among them those of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to be based on this.

Partial regeneration is a necessity of history. It's imposed because the Workers State has shown that it has passed through all the historic tests in front of capitalism, the bureaucracy, Nazism; all the essential factors which prevent the development of the progressive force of humanity of which the Workers State is the most complete. The changes are not all the same in the Workers States, but all have to change.

The changes up to now are small, but they are an index of what is necessary and of the imperiousness of the change which they have to

make. It is necessary to see into the level of the changes, the moment of the dialectical leap which allows one to see that there is a tendency which seeks a conscious continuity, not the unconscious sporadic leaps of struggles and internal fights imposed by the objective course of science, of technology, of the economy, of revolutionary culture, of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world. It is necessary to discuss this situation, to follow minute by minute the course of partial regeneration and to measure all the economic, social, political and military aspects to deepen this knowledge. For our International, the most important aspect is to write, edit, distribute our texts, more important than any other activity. Our activity does not weigh through its numerical importance and our authority does not reside in the number and the quantity of delegates or the weight of the delegates. We have capacity and authority through what we write because we are orientating and organising the mind of tendencies, or currents which tomorrow are going to become the leadership. Hence the need to live concerned with writing and publishing, nothing can replace this. Although our organic and organisational activity is important, its importance is totally inferior to the need to write. They are conclusive proof that our small sections have an immense authority. It is necessary to consider that this process is advancing and the leaderships do not have the consciousness, the capacity or the resolution. They do not have the audacity which is necessary for every revolutionary policy. And to finish with what remains of the capitalist regime, audacity is totally

indispensable. There is nothing which replaces audacity, because audacity means capacity to decide upon an action, for which it is necessary to count upon forces, means, factors which are not visible, but which are going to develop in the course of action. This is audacity and we have it, we learned it from Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky learned it from others before in history who were not revolutionary Communists but who in their stage exercised a revolutionary function. The scientist is one of the most audacious because to carry out his task, he has to be audacious. He doesn't answer with revolutionary action as with us, but the stage in the advance of science is also revolutionary, he has to decide to be audacious. Part of audacity is finding the opportunity for our intervention. Above all the scientist of the past century had to confront the stupid public opinion of capitalism which existed, and still does.

In this sense our action is aimed to feed, to sustain the world Communist vanguard, the military, socialist, catholic vanguard. When we make this correlation in that order, it's because the force which determines the course is the Communists but the others feed the Communists, impel the course and oblige them to advance. We count upon these sectors, they are not the ones who determine, but yes, they are going to feed the process. To have this understanding is to know how to place oneself in the situation. We have to understand what to say, how to write, in what moment to write, the opportunity for our intervention which is to know how to decide.

In the internal discussion of the Communist and Socialist parties, our positions influence through the orientation of the policy, the programme, the objectives and the tactic. Therefore between them and us, there is not going to be any difference. We do not seek to differentiate, we seek to identify ourselves with our entire affection, with every Communist passion, we say that we want to identify ourselves with every Communist in the world. As it is not possible to do it today, we will do it tomorrow. Meanwhile we do it with those that we can reach. This is the sense of our intervention. We base ourselves on the process which is maturing and we integrate ourselves in this process. We integrate ourselves, which means that we advance together with the process and at a determined moment without hiding ourselves, without closing our eyes, we are identical with the process and integrate ourselves naturally. We are not ingenuous and we understand that forms of bourgeois relationship still exist within the Communist and Socialist parties. They are relationships imposed by bourgeois education. But the process of the world which is still advancing where there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, create conditions which favour the liquidation of caste interests, interests of camarillas and groups and elevate the need, the possibility, the centralisation of revolutionary forces. This does not exist now, but humanity needs this to advance. If the Nazis failed, who in the name of world capitalism wanted to smash the first Workers State, if Stalin failed with the enormous power which he had, all those who want to prevent us becoming part of the world Communist leadership will fail. All of them, those that believe that they are going to impede us are simple-minded. The Trotskyist/Posadist IV International is a necessity of history.

J. Posadas

14th May 1974

## Nalگو must campaign for nationalisations under workers control

*Nalگو like other white collar unions is changing rapidly. The fact that five of its N.E.C. members attacked the growth of 'subversives' in the union shows they can see a whole current in the union which is moving to the left. The reason for this development in Nalگو is that the petty bourgeoisie in Britain—as in the rest of the world—is now opposed to capitalism and is drawn into the struggle with the proletariat. Capitalism is in its final crisis. In Britain it is shown by the economic crisis. The local government workers in Nalگو, who are basically from petty bourgeois origin, suffer a decline in living standards, as do the proletariat. This is because capitalism seeks to off load its crisis onto the population. This continually unites the petty bourgeoisie to the proletariat in a common struggle. The local government workers intervene to demand action from their union for wage increases. The London Weighting strikes were an example of this. However local government workers also see the crisis of capitalism in the way capitalism savagely cuts back the services of local government—the cuts in housing, education and social services etc. These petty bourgeois workers*

*previously saw their role as providing services to the population. They now see capitalism is only interested in reducing the services they are running to prepare the final confrontation with the working class. On the other hand they see the Workers States have industrial expansion which benefits the population. Only under a Workers State can the petty bourgeois have the chance to use their skills for the benefit of humanity. They see no future under capitalism and seek ways to intervene to overthrow it.*

*The structure of Nalگو, like other unions, was constructed in a previous time. It was not made to allow the full intervention of the members. Branch meetings are bureaucratically run and do not attract the union membership. The union members wish to discuss ideas not procedures. They are repelled by the form of the meetings. The local government workers through their struggles seek to change this structure. During the strike in London, mass meetings with full discussions were held. It is necessary for all branches to develop a constant life of discussion.*

*The right wing of the union are impotent. The five N.E.C. members*

*attack the left in a feeble way because they know they are being pushed aside by the petty bourgeoisie which is incorporated in the struggle for socialism. The right are afraid of open discussions for they themselves cannot openly defend capitalism. Capitalism is falling apart and everyone sees it! There is already a left in the union which has a revolutionary spirit and seeks to lead. However it lacks confidence and the ideas. It is necessary for this left to push forward a full discussion in the union. Nalگو can no longer be 'non political'. It is necessary to have a full discussion in the union on the crisis of capitalism and on what policy it is necessary to have to develop towards socialism.*

*The working class now acts in a decisive way to construct the Workers State. The proletariat has intervened in the Labour Party to impose the policy of nationalisations. Nalگو needs to discuss the Labour Party policy. It must intervene towards the Labour Party to push forward the nationalisations under workers' control. The capitalists have shown they have no interest in developing the economy for the benefit of the population, whereas the pro-*

*letariat has shows it is capable and willing to do this. The petty bourgeoisie needs to discuss in its unions how to assist the proletariat to develop the programme of the Labour Party.*

*The progress of the left in Nalگو is constant. This is because the advance of the world proletariat is continuous. The petty bourgeoisie in Nalگو which seeks a new life is supported by this; they see that capitalism is not all powerful, in fact it looses everywhere! Spinola in Portugal tried to have a rally in support of the right and the masses immediately responded and threw Spinola out. The petty bourgeoisie reason that the proletariat in Britain is far stronger than in Portugal so it also can defeat capitalism. The left in Nalگو must base itself on this confidence. The left must campaign on a policy of nationalisations under workers' control to overthrow capitalism. For all union delegates to be elected at mass meetings subject to instant recall. This will eliminate the careerist elements like the five N.E.C. members. Above all the left must seek ways to unite further the union membership with the policy of the proletariat to construct socialism.*

*The food crisis is a world phenomenon with massive price increases and food shortages. Capitalism has shown its total incapacity to meet the needs of the population. Famine has been endemic in the undeveloped nations, but now the total disintegration of capitalism is posing food shortages, even among the most advanced capitalist economies.*

*The food crisis is totally artificial in the sense that there is no objective technical obstacle in the production of sufficient food for the world's population. The problem is caused by the rigidity of capitalism which can only function by means of monopoly and profit. American agriculture since the thirties has been notorious in this respect. From fear of a fall in prices, massive quantities of food were destroyed—the famous "glut of overproduction". Capitalism now has an overwhelming control of agriculture where the*

*small producers are entirely subordinated to the will of the monopolies. Control has passed basically into the hands of the distribution and food processing monopolies and the wealthiest producers. Thus in the US the Del Monte Corporation, from a 29 cent can of tomatoes only 3.4% goes to the farmer, and about 25% of American farming is linked by vertical integration with all other sectors of the food industry. In its most recent stages, Yankee capitalism has kicked away the farm support programme in the final triumph of an industrialised capitalist agriculture. There is one difference from the*

*past—the big capitalists liked to think of an agriculture which would provide cheap food for the workers, but now that everything is capitalised, expensive food is the result with present conditions of capitalist society.*

*Whereas in the US the small farming sectors have really been cut down to size by big business, in Europe the process has been slower. Even so the green plan and the general tendency in the ECM has been to make conditions more and more intolerable for smaller farmers, even those with a reasonable standard of life. The pressures of compet-*

*ition, the high prices of fertiliser and machinery inevitably squeeze the small owner, so riots have taken place in Ireland, Britain, Holland, Belgium, France and Germany. Price support is not sufficient for the small producers in an age of the general crisis of the system, where inflation is the capitalist weapon not only to reduce the standard of life but to liquidate the small and middle owners. Capitalism in the past maintained these sectors for political support and in conditions where the pressure for monopoly was far less than now.*

*The struggles over agriculture between the USA and the ECM revolve around the desire of the American capitalists to break into the ECM market where they would in fact destroy the small producer, and the British capitalists resent having to sustain small producers in Europe as part of the ECM entry deal. The new CAP 5% increase in farm prices is not going to save the small producer with the current rate of inflation.*

*The agricultural sector in Britain has much less political or economic significance but even so in a period of food shortage and high prices the imbecility of capitalism is infinite.*

*In Britain there are approximately one million pigs fewer than a year ago—because prices are too low compared with the cost of production. But inevitably higher pork prices will appear very shortly. The price commission warns of a steep rise in the price of eggs while the ministry of agriculture pays farmers to slaughter their laying hens. The massive inflation ruins the smaller units—4,000 dairy farmers were forced out of business by the fall in profitability over the last year. The huge power of the food distributors comes out in the beef situation—there since June 1973 the wholesale price has remained steady, i.e., very high, but the price to the farmer has fallen. In this way only the big farmers survive, those who control the farmers' organisations. Capitalism shows yet another face of its totally parasitic nature, now it cannot even guarantee an adequate food production.*

*The solution requires the nationalisation of the land as a whole, taking over the big farms and the huge food monopolies, collectivising production and with this proposing the Socialist alternative to the CAP and the ECM with plans for the collectivisation of the small farms in the perspective of a collectivised Socialist economy. Small producers in their efforts to break out of the control of the big monopolies have gone directly to the factories of Renault and Fiat. The massive European rebellion of the farmers has shown again the immense social weakness of the bourgeoisie, their loss of support from social sectors that were formerly conservative.*

*Food subsidies as under the Labour government enrich the monopolies and do not solve the problem. As part of the struggle to get rid of capitalism it is essential that food shortages and food price increases, are met by the total nationalisation of the land and the food processing and distribution monopolies.*

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## The organisation of the Party for the struggle for socialism in Mexico

31ST MAY 1974

J. POSADAS

(LETTER TO THE MEXICAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL)

Dear Comrades of the Mexican Section of the IV International: In the name of the International Secretariat, in the name of all our Sections, of our world team, which is making such a heroic action, so simple but so profound of being the public good of history, we embrace you with all our Communist passion. We embrace you, we feel used to the Communist struggle which you are leading, to the experience that you are making, and that you are developing.

This experience that you are making, dear Comrades of the Mexican Section is fundamental for the history of humanity: to make a meeting with a bourgeois leadership, with a bourgeois government which has inside of itself aspects which do not correspond to capitalism and which combines in the same stage a bourgeois government and the aim of developing the country, something that cannot be done in a bourgeois way. Inside of it, forces and tendencies are feeding and developing which do not correspond to the capitalist system.

One must understand and deepen the knowledge of this process, to understand it and live it with passion. One must not submit to it, or follow it, or to be sectarian either. It is a matter of understanding the phases of this process and the best way to act is with the theoretical and political preparation, with the Communist passion and study. It is necessary to put the Communist passion with which we act and develop the task every instant, inside of the Communist and political preparation. The emotion and the Communist passion must be the engine which drives, which defines the impulsion, the conscious organisation of each activity so that in applying, it continues without interruption, without there being the necessity to reanimate, to reorganise, to reform the sentiments. These must develop themselves gently from the beginning of the preparation with the Communist severity. Severity means joy, optimism, solidarity, the love for Communism, love towards humanity. Pure love, objective love allows the development of purity and objectivity in our preparation.

In Mexico, there is a nationalist leadership which can and which must be won to Communism, which must be influenced. For this activity, the declaration of the Yugoslav Communist Party, of the Yugoslav League of the Communists which has made appeals to the Workers States and the Communist Parties for them to understand that: "All the countries of the third world are going towards Communism, that they have no other way," is very important. They say that these countries must take the road of Socialism because this is imposed by the necessity and the structure already reached by the revolutionary process of history and by the decisive weight of the Workers States. There is no possibility of an economic development in the capitalist camp. There are no changes inside of capitalist structure. 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# The organisation...

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about. Think in this way Comrades, because it is necessary to coordinate the efforts and to make a programme of progress of the Section. None of the efforts made, have been in vain. Even the discussions which had no organisational or conclusive sense, have left some experiences: for example, one does not discuss in this way, one discusses in order to progress. One discusses to coordinate and centralise. We do not discuss in order to dispute. It is necessary to learn how to discuss with the leaderships of the trade unions, peasant, PRI,\* with members of the government. To all those that we want to influence we have to show them how to intervene, and to stimulate the revolutionary wing of the government.

A better cultural preparation gives a complete and invincible security that we are right, that we find a response to all the necessities. It is necessary to be devoted to study, to the Communist fraternal life, to the Communist discussions, with all our Communist passion so as to seek to coordinate the forces, to centralise the capacity of action. In this way you will find the response to all the difficulties. The difficulties come when we do not find the means to discuss, or to persuade each other or to centralise the capacity of thinking so that the effort renders more. Dispute, individualism and individuality are eliminated in this way. Consequently, the sentiment

of the individual elevates collectively in the search for the capacity of collective progress. It is necessary to apply the resolutions of the International. Publish and publish. It is necessary to elevate our activity in the trade unions, in the colleges, in the universities, in the countryside, in the PRI, and to direct it towards the government. Publish systematically the bulletins. Give the greatest importance to the publications.

The International extends its uncontainable development all over the world. Our authority increases in the Communist parties, in the Workers States, and the risks increase equally for us. But it is not risks which determine the progress of history, but the policy, the programme and the team capable of leading, elevating, elaborating, and applying. Whatever the circumstances and the threats we will accomplish our duty as the Bolsheviks have done from Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky up to the Bolshevik team which was in the Siberian prisons and which came out defending the Soviet Union when the Nazis launched the war. They did not seek to take revenge on Stalin, but to impel the Workers State. It was not a matter of personal revenge, they did not have sentiments of rancour or hatred but the Communist sentiments to want to finish with the obstacle which prevented the progress of history. As the USSR was the vital centre of the progress of history, they dedicated themselves to acquire culture in order to

defend it; after that they got rid of Stalin because he was also an obstacle. This is why they were able to defeat the Nazis, to get rid of Stalin, and to develop the Soviet Union.

It is with an immense affection that we recall the Bolsheviks and yourselves, dear Comrades of the Mexican Section. It is necessary to respond to this demand and this necessity of history. We embrace you with all our heart, with all our fervour and emotion, with all our Communist dignity. With this letter we send our affection and our souvenirs of all the past years, of the activity led and that we hope to take up again with all our Communist fervour, and better

than before. With the same dedication, but with more capacity than before, showing that we are fulfilling our dignified function of public good of history with all our Communist passion.

VIVA THE MEXICAN SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

VIVA TROTSKY!

VIVA THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION!

VIVA THE FUSION OF THE FORCE OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION—STARTING FROM THE EPOCH OF VIL- LA AND ZAPATA, UP TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR TEAM WHICH WILL MEAN THE FUSION WITH THE PROGRAMME, THE POLICY, THE LEADERSHIP FOR THE MEXICAN, THE LATIN AMERICAN AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

VIVA THE IV INTERNATIONAL!

31ST MAY 1974

\*Party of Echevarria, Government Party.

# the world is ready for communism

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Capitalism has not succeeded in causing any uprisings, against the government of Fidel Castro, and when it tried to do this, it failed in the Bay of Pigs. In the Middle East, in Vietnam, imperialism is strong, the peoples are very poor, but the people resist.

In the Soviet Union, in Stalingrad, the Soviet people confronted the Nazis, in the most magnificent action of history, demonstrating the historic power of the Workers State, which was capable of such a decision in the Soviet population, to endure and conquer Nazism. In supporting it, it prevented it from triumphing. If the Nazis had triumphed, it would have been a retreat for humanity of thousands of years. The actions of the masses of Stalingrad sustained the level of civilisation and showed to the world that the most powerful aspect is the progress of humanity, sustained by the proletariat in its most essential forms: the Workers State, which is the materialisation of Marxism. This was the source of progress. Without achieving all the economic conditions to satisfy human needs, the Soviet people defended Stalingrad. It did not defend it, because it had these economic conditions, or to live better, but because human dignity had acquired the understanding that the Workers State was superior to the forms of capitalist life. Hence the influence was communicated to the rest of humanity. The still limited economic progress, already gave to humanity the consciousness that it could live and advance without limit. The base which generated this confidence is the proletariat. The Communist parties, and in part the Socialist parties, but essentially the Workers States, which show the material forms of progress.

Humanity sees already what it can achieve. Hence, any important revolution which advances, adopts immediately the form of the Workers State. Humanity has such a consciousness. Humanity sees that this relationship exists. Hence, imperialism fails in all its efforts to make history retreat, because there exists a consciousness in humanity that today, now, it is possible to live with Communism.

All human solidarity, all without exception, is a function, supporting and sustaining the movement of progress. Imperialism does not have a single world support, not one 'silent majority', nor any 'invisible majority', which supports it. Neither capitalism nor imperialism. Any small movement in the world, even of children, finds the welcome, the solidarity of humanity. Humanity is conscious, it does not work as a function of economic interest, but as a function of human dignity. This shows the failure of capitalism which furtively, has to prepare the atomic war, which furtively has to send Kennedy to speak to Breznev to keep the discussion going, not because at this moment it is going to launch the atomic bomb, but

because it is the method of imperialism which cannot confront directly the Workers States.

There is an important historic action of solidarity which has been expressed with Vietnam and Bangla Desh. The support to Vietnam was infinitely more important than to Bangla Desh, because it was support to a class war against imperialism, against the arrogance of imperialism, against the bombs of imperialism. A people without means found the most complete resources to conquer imperialism. And the most complete resources of Vietnam was the combination between arms which the Soviets gave—and in part the Chinese—and world solidarity. But why such world solidarity? Why did countries of Europe like Sweden which from the point of view of capitalist exploitation, from their social point of view would be against Vietnam, support it? This is to foment in Sweden an uprising, a class consciousness against Swedish capitalism. Nevertheless, the Swedish government had to do it with Chile. To secure the social, political and economic support of the masses, of the political and trade union movements, they had to support Vietnam, they had to support the Popular Union in Chile. Why did they do this, if this is against economic interests? Because the pressure of the Swedish people is not only through economic and political interests, but at the level of historic understanding which is very elevated. The magnitude, the importance of Sweden in the economic relation of forces, is of no importance. We measure it from the point of view of human relations, just as we do not measure Vietnam through its economic and military importance, but through the historic example of human dignity, which is an essential base for the development of Communism. Hence, in Communism, a position is defended right to the end! Right to the end means with life and everything! Vietnam defended humanity right to the end, the forms of human dignity.

Do such human relations exist, yes or no? They exist, they develop. Humanity is aware that Communism is better than capitalism. Still, without achieving economic satisfaction, nor with even a reasonable standard of existence, humanity has the consciousness that in a short time all human needs will be satisfied and it is going to advance in search of superior universal relations. Hence, the world is ready for Communism. All its forms show that it is ready for Communism: human solidarity, trade union solidarity, political solidarity, world solidarity, hostile to capitalism. It repudiates capitalism, thus the streakers in the United States, who are an expression of wanting to combat the capitalist relationships, show repugnance for capitalist governments. For all these reasons, we say that the conditions are ready for Communism.

What does the Italian and French proletariats defend? Better conditions

of work, of wages, better rights in the factories? Yes, but it is not the principal motive. The essential cause for which the French and Italian proletariats struggle—in advancing towards the taking of power, or the advance towards power—is the defence of human dignity. One of the essential problems which the proletariat of the world defend, is human dignity, now expressed in work. And why does it defend human dignity in work, why does it not defend its economic interests? The peasants of the world who previously were avaricious to progress within the capitalist system, avaricious for the land, saw the future of their life in the land, the land was their life. Now their life is not devoted to the land. Today the peasants' life is superior to one of being dependent on production and commerce. On a world-wide scale, the peasant is no longer avaricious for land. He wants to live and feels that there are more secure forms than the tenancy of the land, to subsist, to live and to reproduce, that there are superior human relations based on superior regimes of property and production. Hence, world capitalism has failed in wanting to develop peasant movements against the revolutionary movements. It has totally failed.

These are all the conditions to show that humanity accepts, understands, desires and lives for Communism. It does not accept it in a programmatic form. That it does not accept it and still votes for bourgeois parties, is true, but only because the Communist parties do not show themselves as the representatives of this process. Then the petit bourgeois masses, the peasant sectors, sectors very very far from the proletariat, or people who live for work, even in France and in Italy, do not accept or still seek individual solutions. But they are small circles, and the immense majority of humanity which is exploited seeks collective solutions in all the problems of existence. This is expressed in the trade union struggles, in this unity in France now, the unity shown in the great movements which attract the rest of the population.

There is a sentiment of joy in humanity, an uninterrupted joy, which the symphonies of Beethoven are insufficient to express. The choir of the 9th Symphony, is hardly an outline of this joy which exists. It is necessary to incorporate the triumph of Vietnam, the joy of humanity, in feeling that it can resolve all the problems of existence. Hence, humanity is joyful, because it feels that it can resolve all the problems of existence, not that it has resolved all of them, but that it can resolve all of them. It does not have in front of it the darkness, the obscurity of ignorance, it has clarity, the transparent sentiments that we can resolve everything, we can do everything! and we will do everything! Hence, humanity is already apt for Communism!

J. Posadas 15th May 1974

## Editorial

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It follows that together with massive cuts in arms expenditure, appeals have to be made to the soldiers to support the struggle of the masses and proposals made for full democratic, political and trade union rights for the soldiers.

The decision for a 'special conference' on the 'Common Market' and for a referendum is an advance and they pose the question of the necessity of a discussion not confined to the Labour Party but involving the whole population; a discussion of a programme to link the struggle in this country with that of the European workers' movement, with the Popular Unity in France for example which has a programme for the nationalisation of the fundamental sectors of the economy.

When Benn affirms immediately after the elections that Labour's programme of nationalisations will be implemented he reflects the pressure of the working class and the fact that the total crisis of capitalism does not allow any other perspective. At the same time there is, however, a lack of confidence in the leading team of the Labour Party and they still retain a certain respect for the capitalist system which can lead to pro-

crastination and uncertainty in actually taking measures of nationalisations. The bourgeoisie in intervening now towards Wilson as a 'responsible leader' hope to base themselves on this and to use it to contain the process, as a last line of defence. The left has to base itself on the working class, on the masses. The fact that the Labour Party has decided to hold the annual Conference only a few weeks after the election is a victory for the left. Whatever the intentions of the parliamentary leadership of the party this Conference is going to be a balance of the elections and a discussion on the programme and the application of the programme of the Labour Party. Also it will allow the trade unions to weigh in the discussion. But it is limited in the sense that it does not allow the full intervention of the vanguard, of the working class. What is necessary is for the left in the Labour Party to organise now discussions, meetings in the factories, in the workers' areas, in the shop stewards' committees, on the significance of the victory of the Labour Party, on the application of the programme of nationalisations: under Workers' Control and the planning of the economy.

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Price committees based on the popular areas and the factories to determine acceptable prices! This is the way to confront capitalism, this is the way to secure the solidarity of the petit bourgeoisie whom the bourgeoisie will try to demoralise with artificial shortages and high prices. Inflation is a capitalist weapon which they try to use to provoke dismay and despair; but it will not work and on the food front the working class will take its own independent decisions. The forces of the left must wage a struggle on the question of food prices. A Labour government under present conditions must be obliged to confront the problem with a Socialist solution. Any other response is irrelevant.

The trade unions, i.e., USDAW, the shopworkers' union, have to intervene on these issues with this programme. It is a fundamental so-

cial problem which has to be intervened upon. If the TUC has a programme on transport and the TGWU is preoccupied to defend the interests of the pensioners, then the unions must have a firm policy on food and its distribution. Price controls and subsidies by the Labour government are ineffectual compared with the magnitude of the problem. The only sure way to intervene on prices is via workers' control and constant popular intervention. This alone prevents loopholes in any formal government scheme and really imposes control over the private interests of capitalism. The capitalists as with the sugar shortage will try to impose their own rationing. The working class must decide the priorities and this requires control through their own political organs and control of exports and imports via state intervention in foreign trade.

# RED FLAG

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# THE TRADE UNIONS MUST INTERVENE TO APPLY AND EXTEND LABOUR'S PROGRAMME

The victory of the Labour Party has been rapidly followed by a whole series of dynamic interventions by the working class. In Scotland this decision is at a remarkable level, possessing the quality of insurrection, completely paralysing capitalism and ignoring any delay and temporisation by the trade union leaderships. Transport workers, lorry drivers, teachers etc all combined to show the resolution of the working class to effect major transformations in society, a decision shown more evidently in Scotland than in the rest of the country but the whole of the working class has this decision and is going to weigh more and more. At Hawker Siddeley the seizure of blue prints, and the continuation of work in spite of the plans of the management, demonstrates in a most concrete form the drive for nationalisation and workers' control. The workers are demanding that the Labour Party implements its programme—nationalising the aircraft industry, in the same way as the strikes in the shipyards are pressures to nationalise that industry. All these interventions show the independent decision of the working class, that it does not and will not wait upon the timing of the leaderships. The level of this resolution has to be understood in all its profundity by the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions, because this is no transitory attitude on the part of the proletariat. They are not going to adopt a pose of tranquillity for long periods, they expect results; they are not going to put up with the imbecility of capitalism, or be intimidated by police brutality or the intervention by troops at any stage.

The struggle to impose the implementation and extension of the Labour programme of nationalisations and to alter the line of Labour foreign policy has resumed immediately the election was over. The fight against the conception of an investment bank outside the functioning of the National Enterprise Board, the insistence on the need to go forward with the Labour Party programme, the six MPs who raise the demand for the withdrawal from Northern Ireland, Callaghan's statement on the need to give no authority of any kind to South Africa, all show the pressure from the left is going to be a deciding force despite problems, limitations, indecision from the absence of a formed, Marxist, representative leadership. The interventions of the workers in Scotland and in the aircraft industry have the objective of stimulating the left sectors in the Labour Party to advance and organise the process. Corresponding to this pressure, immediately after the election the TUC weighed in with demands for more state intervention in companies receiving subsidy, and state intervention to prevent unemployment.

In effect the trade union leaders put no emphasis on the social compact. No doubt as with Jones of the TGWU, reference will be made to it, but reality goes against all this and Jones was obliged to sanction the attitude of the Ford workers. Unquestionably the intervention of the workers in Scotland is a warning to the trade union leaders—"We will not tolerate for long those who oppose our wishes". All the emphasis of the trade union intervention is imposing an enormous pressure on Wilson—full accountability for firms receiving subsidy, acceleration of the establishment of the National Enterprise Board with the accompanying planning agreements. All the arguments of the TUC are directed to demanding a greater state and trade union intervention in the economy, outside the control of private capital. This opens up all aspects of intervention, posing the question why not take over the lot? Even with limited forms of intervention the tendency is to inter-

fere with the functioning of capitalism. The TUC proposals tend to create a functioning uncontrolled by the laws of capitalist accumulation.

All this must be related to the question of the budget. British capitalism has to be sustained by vast loans. But this in itself no longer guarantees obedience to capitalist wishes when the Labour government has to respond to popular pressures. On the question of the budget the TUC has to intervene and all the forces of the left in the Labour Party with demands that take the budget outside the confines of alleviation or hardness within the terms of the system. Capitalism is complaining of the shortage of cash, the low level of profitability (they have consistently exported capital and are notorious for their lack of interest in investment) so they want prices jacked up and more government funds. To hell with all this. They have shown themselves to be masters

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## Denounce the bombings organised by capitalism

*We denounce the latest series of bombings organised by the terrorist teams of British Imperialism. As we pointed out in relation to the Guildford bombings, British capitalism has the objective of trying to associate these provocations with Marxists in order to frighten sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and sectors of the Labour Party advancing towards Marxism. In the latest episode they invented "Red Flag 74" which they claimed was linked with an "international" organisation. This is a clear attempt to create confusion with the newspaper of the IV International (Posadist), "Red Flag". In the same way but on a far larger scale the assassins of the CIA launched a campaign centred in Argentina against Posadas saying that the International was responsible for bombings and assassinations. The campaign on "Red Flag 74" was quickly abated by other bourgeois sectors because it could lead to many embarrassments particularly if the bourgeois security services tried to intervene against the party. It was a campaign without a perspective, launched in part because the party has denounced the imperialist instigators of the Guildford bombings, in factories, Labour Parties and universities. The fact remains that capitalism is going to continue to launch provocations against the class and against Marxists, using these as pretexts for raids and harassment, to try to prevent the development of Marxism in the Labour Party.*

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Workers of the World, Unite!

# RED FLAG

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

No. 230 TUESDAY OCTOBER 29, 1974 YEAR XII

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTORAL VICTORY OF THE LABOUR PARTY

J. POSADAS

13th October 1974

The fundamental aspect about the British elections is that it is a crisis of the capitalist system, not of the Labour Party. The Labour Party lost 200,000 votes compared with the previous election, but in the proportion of voters, in which the state of the country is shown, it has increased decisively, whereas the losses for the Conservatives are quite considerable.

The right has left the Labour Party, although not all, because Jenkins remains. A fundamental part of the right is gone. It sabotaged the Party and made a whole propaganda against the Party immediately before the elections. It was orchestrated and prepared a few days before the elections, to have an electoral effect. The bourgeoisie sought to organise electoral blows as it seeks fascist ambushes and actions of civil war. A very marked sabotage was carried out by the Labour right. Nevertheless, the Labour Party lost only 200,000 votes. But in relation to the total reduction in the number of voters, it increased by a very considerable proportion. It is evident that the abstention did not mean any support for the Conservatives, it was against them. The Labour Party lost votes through the people who went. But on the other hand, the active trade unionised petit bourgeoisie, was won by the Labour Party. The Labour Party lost in quantity of votes but its electoral quality increased. This is going to be shown in the next events. It is a concentration of votes around the Labour Party which is going to have very great consequences immediately, not electorally, but socially. And it is going to have a very great effect on Germany, France, and Italy.

The loss of votes for the Labour Party is small but they have gained enormously in quality. It is the same process which happened in Germany.

The Social Democratic Party although winning the elections, lost votes. We said that this was due to the loss of the right, which before made an activity against it, and attracted no-one. This shows the solidity, the solid structure of the votes of the working class, which attracted the rest of the population, attracts it, and makes it feel secure. This vote for the working class shows its attractive force for the rest of the population. It has a confidence in the working class to exert a pressure on the Socialist, and Communist parties, and on the trade unions. This is also the significance of the elections in Britain.

The victory is much more important than in previous elections. It has been achieved with a quite advanced programme of anti-capitalist measures. It is a more defined vote, because it is determined by the attraction of the workers' vanguard over the rest of the population. It means that the vanguard has attracted the rest of the population and has used it to make a mass pressure on the Party.

A basic sector of the Labour right has gone, not all the right, but yes, a fundamental sector. And together with this the weight of the trade unions as a sector of government has increased enormously,

which is breaking the equilibrium of the forces of capitalism sustained through the Labour Party. Hence, British capitalism is vacillating and it is not impossible within a short time for a series of proposals and measures to appear which include the idea of a British republic. Now the republic in Britain is the revolution. We support this as a measure to impel the fall of the capitalist regime. This is near and we support this, proposing at the same time, a programme of the planned functioning of the economy, on the basis of nationalisations and workers' control, together with the programme of independence and self-determination for Ireland with the later perspective of the unification with Britain in a Socialist republic.

The victory of the Labour Party, is a cause for immense joy. The Liberals lost a million votes but they still preserved a certain advantage in relation to the previous elections, when they got 3½ million votes. Now, they remain with 5 million. This is against the Conservatives and weakens them. Now, Wilson is not going to be able to do what he wants, to renounce policies, or to do as he likes. Now, the left in the trade unions is going to weigh. The leadership of Wilson is going to seek Liberal support as an excuse to avoid being subject to the left and to the trade unions. But in its turn, these are going to stimulate actions to form a conscious Marxist left. This is the work also for the Communists and for our Party, to organise a Marxist left. It has to develop there, not elsewhere.

The whole of British capitalism is concentrated around the Stock Exchange: the defence of the Stock Exchange was the army. The structure to dominate the population to maintain it in the belief in a democratic function was the government of Parliament and the monarchy. All this is collapsing. They should have their own secure army paid by the State, and they have to make a clandestine army. They are afraid of the real army. It is an army less submitted to direct social

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# THE WHISTLING IN BOLOGNA AND THE NEED FOR THE LEFT GOVERNMENT IN ITALY

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We have to see what is happening in Italy, in relation to the whole world process, the expulsion of Nixon, the crisis of capitalism in Britain, and in Germany. It is the total crisis of the capitalist system. This crisis has also a very great repercussion in Italy. All the very marked weakening of capitalism and the progress of the concentrated effect of the process of the advance of the world revolution, of the Workers States, have to be taken in conjunction with Italy. The interview with the Soviets, the interview of Moro with Raul Roa and the joint declaration of Moro and the Soviets on Cyprus, is a political agreement against Yankee imperialism, directly against it. It does not say that it is against Yankee imperialism, but the political effect and the conclusions are against it. This has to be seen as a very great aspect of the crisis of the capitalist system which is very profound and which cannot improve, which cannot have any perspective of re-animation because it is not an economic crisis. If it had economic bases, it would develop the economy and would have the possibility of a more accentuated prolongation of life, a more continuous, more regular and more equitable development. It is a total crisis.

We have to see the course of history, and see the expulsion of Nixon, and the interview of Moro with the Soviets, and the Cuban ambassador. The agreement with Cuba, directly damages Yankee imperialism which is the essential basis of the capitalist system. This is what marks this stage of history, the immense weakness of the capitalist system and the insecurity of the Communist leadership to make use of this situation. For example, the Communist parties do not have a homogeneous position in relation to the liquidation of Nixon. The expulsion of Nixon is a manoeuvre of imperialism to prepare the conditions to launch the war. But seeking to launch the war does not mean that it is going to do it when it wants; it wanted to do it before, and it could not. But it is a manoeuvre of imperialism—a blow aimed at having a government suitable to manoeuvre for the war. This is not a triumph of democracy as the Italian Communist Party said. It is necessary to see the world crisis of imperialism to intervene. And to intervene, it is necessary to consider what is happening in Italy. In Bologna, there was a concentration against the fascist provocation on the train. One hundred thousand people participated in the middle of the holiday period. On the platform there were Communist, Socialist, trade union leaders and also members of the government, Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and Republicans. The square was full of Red Flags. When the members of the government went on the platform, everybody whistled loudly in a spontaneous and loud way. This whistling in Bologna, anticipates a very important decision of the proletarian vanguard to intervene. This is going to be expressed in the factories and in the trade unions. There is not going to be any trade union leadership which can oppose this. In a short period of four months, the Italian masses not preoccupied with trade union objectives, with wages or problems of work, mobilised unanimously to defeat the structure of the capitalist system. This was in a short stage of four months. There were the mobilisations in Brescia, and now in Bologna, against the last fascist provocations, for the celebration of the struggle against fascism, the vote for divorce, the elections in Sardinia. All the mobilisations of the masses in the elections, in demonstrations and in meetings, show a unity of the will to combat. The Communist Party did not use this process, it put obstacles in the way, not everywhere, but in general it put obstacles in the way.

The mobilisations which they carried out through the means of the ANPI (The National Association of the Italian Partisans, the ex-guerrillas), was made by the Communist Party. This is very important because it was a demonstration aimed to mobilise against capitalism, and in every way, to have a prepared instrument, because the ANPI is a mobilisation which united the anti-fascist celebrations with the practice of the anti-fascist struggle.

These are the people who defeated fascism, and when they made these mobilisations led by such a sector which has such an importance and such weight, which mobilises hundreds of thousands, it is because the Communist Party, in every way, even with timidity, is mobilising forces for a demonstration which can tomorrow be armed.

### INTRODUCTION

Immediately after the fascist bombing of the train in which many people died or were injured in Bologna recently, the masses in their thousands converged to the city with red flags, to prevent the fascist coup as they did earlier in Brescia. The whistling Comrade Posadas refers to, were the unanimous action which all the people there took when the representatives of the government together with Communist, Socialist, and trade union leaders appeared on the platform. . . . This text is to show that the masses are acting as the leadership the Communist Party should be giving, and in this process, make the Communist Party advance towards the taking of power.

This must not be taken as an initiative of the ANPI. The ANPI is an organism which does not have its own life. What gives it life, is the Communist Party. If the ANPI on its own account, called a demonstration, very few would come. But here, hundreds of thousands came. It is an arm of the Communist Party and also of the Socialist left. Therefore, one cannot take this immobility as a complete immobility of the Communists. It is a tactical error of the Communists who developed this policy of trying to win the left of the Christian Democracy.

The crisis of the capitalist system is total, the Christian Democracy is not going to change. It has a structure of a bourgeois party which has to split. The split has to be prepared for, the right is not going to go. The right is going to remain making all manner of concessions, so that it can continue dominating the Christian Democracy. Therefore, it utilises the left and the centre for a policy of the right. It is necessary to change structures, it is the capitalist system that is in crisis, and the economic and social structure of the country has to be changed. This cannot be done with a bourgeois parliament.

Take the example of Chile. These changes cannot be done with the consent, with the acceptance of the centre of the Christian Democracy or of the left. These do not have such a conception of life. They have a capitalist conception, of a better bourgeois distribution, in which they can reduce the power of high finance, but they are afraid to advance to nationalisations, whereas, it is necessary to nationalise all production in Italy, to take over all the key sectors of production and exchange. It is necessary to develop these ideas, and it is necessary to point out that this can now be done with a left government.

All this has to be discussed in the Communist Party. At the same time it is necessary to intervene in the concrete aspects of the process, explaining, providing the orientation, the programmatic and organisational resolution to give many explanations on the character of the process, on

what sectors constitute the Christian Democracy, the nature of the Christian Democratic Party, its roots in the economy, the depths of these roots, the depth of the effect of the world struggle of the proletariat.

The right wing of the Christian Democracy uses the left wing to maintain itself. It is not possible to have a perspective that at a certain moment, from an accumulation of factors of crisis, they are going to expel the right and it is just going to go. The right is going to remain as long as it can, and it is going to arrange, in the meantime, all the disasters that it can.

When the comrades of the Communist Party say that with their policy, they are weakening the Christian Democracy it is necessary to show that it is not the case. They have to look at the number of dead which the fascists have caused, the assassinations which they have carried out, the crimes, the persecutions against the millions of workers who have to work abroad, the break-up of families.

All this could have been prevented, with the thousands of accidents at work, and the repressions against the movement for democratic rights. A policy which goes against the capitalist system, wins over the left of the Christian Democracy. Therefore, how is it possible to say that we are advancing as the Communist Party says? What is advancing? And all these dead, all these assassinations? There is an immense progress of the revolution, and it is going to triumph, but meanwhile the assassinations carried out by capitalism cannot be overlooked, and it is preparing for the atomic war.

Therefore, it is not possible to say that there is a progress; at the cost of what? How is it possible to say that we are progressing and that one cannot do anything else, when there are so many assassinations and crimes, so many provocations, so many military attacks against the population of the Middle East, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Latin America?

If there is such a continuous progress and also of the Communist Party, it is because on a world-wide scale, the masses are crushing capitalism. But capitalism is preparing for war, the Soviets have reiterated more frequently about the possibility of war. In this way, it is necessary to analyse with a class analysis. It is a class struggle. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse the classes, their behaviour, the forms of thinking of the classes, and how the classes are preparing.

This has to be discussed in the Communist Party. The perspectives, the process will oblige them to reason. It is necessary to interpret the process—not just judge it. It is necessary to interpret why capitalism is preparing for war. This can be seen in Italy, after Brescia, came Bologna, and they continue using bombs. The apparatus of the army where the fascist leadership is, the apparatus of the police, justice, finances, has to be destroyed. Whether there is or not a fascist party does not have any importance—it's these forces which have the power of maintaining the power of big business. And the power of big and middle business cannot

be sustained without the objective and organic alliance of the fascists, of the right Christian Democrats, of the Liberal right.

The Republicans and the Social Democrats defend the capitalist system. Hence the best ministers of the capitalist system are the Social Democrats and the Republicans. They are the ones who carry the burden and the expenses of dealing with the population—of finance, transport, public credits. They are given the responsibility for all this, but what determines their life is the Christian Democrats. The key decisions are taken by the Christian Democrats. The Prime Minister, the one who decides, is a Christian Democrat. In the parliament, they are the ones who decide, and they are the refuge for the fascists. That is to say on a parliamentary basis, it is not possible to advance as the Communists had hoped. There have to be mobilisations outside parliament, mobilisations of the class struggle.

Therefore it is necessary to insist on uniting strikes with political objectives. It is necessary to change the economic structure of the country now, not tomorrow. Otherwise, they are going to continue arranging bomb explosions, shootings, killings and launching civil war when they want, at the moment they want, as they did in Chile. This is not different from Chile. The Chilean army was infinitely more democratic than the Italian one. The proof is that 140 officers were condemned by the Junta of assassins in Chile. We, the Posadists, were the first to write texts where we said, that it was necessary to appeal to the army to intervene in the problems of the country, that sectors could be won, "a part of the army can be won!" "It is necessary to prepare for the civil war because the bourgeoisie is going to do the same." This has to be discussed in the Communist Party, and the Communist militant has to be told: a hundred and forty officers were against the Junta, and fifty of these were in the Air Force. These are the ones who supported the government of Allende, and were to the left. But the structure of the military apparatus, was in the hands of the right, and the banks, the law, the judicial system, was in the hands of the capitalist system. And while the legal system exists, the capitalists are going to control.

In Italy, the judicial system still continues to make fascist laws. It is not true as the comrades of the Communist Party say, that the Italian constitution is democratic, Republican and anti-fascist. It has anti-fascist points, but still it has and allows the continuation of fascist laws, whether they refer to the rights of the police, the functioning of justice, of the prisons, the limitation of popular rights. How is it possible to say that it is a democratic, Republican and anti-fascist constitution? It only has anti-fascist points. The Communist Party believes that with this, it will win the left of the Christian Democracy. No! It is necessary to pose that the fascists will use all this. To have a government which has a constitution which really serves the interests of the development of the population, a government of the left is necessary. All this has to be proposed and discussed.

It is necessary to insist: a government of the left, not tomorrow, now! The crisis of the Christian Democracy can be extended over some time. Undoubtedly, the centre and the left of the Christian Democracy, have a desire to change the policy, but the government has a thousand means to stop this. For example, now,

they are proposing a law against the fascists which is also a law against the workers' movement. It is a law which gives the police extensive powers against those they consider dangerous, against those who carry out social disturbances and establishes that the police can investigate and go from one town to another, from one province to another, and can investigate peoples' private lives. The Communists proposed directly that the law is against the fascists, but the law relates to all who are accused of terrorist acts. It is a generalisation which goes against the workers' parties also. This is their parliament! On the other hand, a mobilisation could win over the socialist base—it is going to win—the Republican base, part of the Liberals, and part of the left Christian Democracy. It is the mobilisation of the masses which is going to win them, not the parliament.

We have to extend the capacity to discuss with the Communists. It is not a question of avoiding criticism, but a question of how the criticism is made. Criticism by the left groups, cannot educate or win, because their criticism is aimed to destroy and to separate. They believe that with their criticism in a particular moment, the Communist base is going to rise up, is going to throw out all the leaders, and is going to appeal to them. The Communist base is not going to overthrow its leaders, but the rebellion in the Communist Party is going to continue, and the rebellion of the prisoners also. Therefore, it is necessary to intervene considering that the Socialist and Communist base has no desire to abandon its parties or its trade unions. But on the other hand, it impels the trade unions, exerts a pressure on the trade unions.

The events are going to favour the development of the struggles of the masses. The process is not going to favour capitalism, because capital-

ism cannot develop the economy, justice, liberty or democracy. It does not have the conditions because the crisis of capitalism is deepening constantly. The Dutch government has given to the soldiers in the army, concessions in political rights and trade union rights. It had to yield, it could not do anything else. It is not a question that capitalism chooses to do this, it had to yield, it did not have any other way out! As in Vietnam, imperialism had to make peace in Vietnam because otherwise, it was the end of them. And even so it showed that the peace that was signed was insufficient because imperialism cannot respect it.

This process in Italy is not going to stop, it is going to continue. It is necessary to win over the left of the Christian Democracy. The formation of the left Christian Democracy is in process. The form which it will take, is not clear because there is no leadership. But in the country, there is the need for a government of the left. There is a clamorous need for it! The Communists aim at this. The Communists are not making a swindle. They are making concessions but meanwhile, they are trying to utilise support, for example, the ANPI to try to achieve the objective of changing the government. This is their objective, but they do it in such a way that they allow capitalism to kill, to assassinate, and give rise to those who can provoke the reaction of sectors of the population. The world process sustains and compensates for this weakness of the Communist Party, but at the same time this policy gives time to capitalism to prepare the war. For example, the removal of Nixon is a capitalist manoeuvre, but it shows the strengthening of a wing which seeks the war now.

The Communist Party does not want to defend capitalism, it wants to enter government, but it does not know how. It fears to enter the

government, and it has a reformist interpenetrative conception. Meanwhile, the process of history deprives interpenetration of its function, the same with reformism. The Communists can progress because the world process favours them, but this has a limit. The limit was seen in Watergate. They took two years to prepare Watergate. It was not done in 24 hours. This is to say, the capitalist apparatus is prepared, showing that the CIA is the dominating force, not the civil, economic, or financial apparatus. It is the CIA which is allied to and defends the decisive financial and civil apparatus.

It is necessary to discuss and show how the structure of capitalist society functions. The Communist militants feel this. When the organ of the Italian Communist Party says: "The Christian Democracy is a two class Party," this is outside all logic. This is not an analysis of the class struggle. It states a fact that exists, but does not discuss the internal structure of the Christian Democracy. The two class party exists, but who dominates this two class party? In a certain historic sense, the Communist Party constitutes a two class party. Marx was not of proletarian, but of a bourgeois origin. Lenin and Trotsky were of petit bourgeois origin. And many leaders of the Communist Party are also of bourgeois origin. Fidel Castro, leader of the Cuban revolution, was of a millionaire landowner origin. And all that he had, he gave to the revolution. This does not mean that the class origins determine a class party. The workers' party wins militants and transforms them. And on entering, they defend another programme, another policy.

The workers who are in the Christian Democracy do not determine the policy, the programme or the objectives of the Christian Democracy. They determine some democratic concessions, some freedom. They

determine them because the Christian Democracy does not have the strength to prevent it. But on the basic issues which decide life, human relations, relations with the economy, democratic rights, justice, laws, it is the right wing of the Christian Democracy of this "two class party", which decides, and the party is led by the ruling class, by high finance. It is a party which is composed of workers, peasants, intellectuals, petit bourgeois and high finances, with the big bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. The one that decides is high finance. This has to be posed.

The whistlings in Bologna were not only aimed at the Italian government, at the Social Democratic leaders, but were also aimed at the leadership of the Communist Party, aimed to make them feel: "We are against all this!" This means a political elevation, an organic disposition of the vanguard to go to the power. They are not whistles for a meeting, for a political repudiation, they are whistles which declare: "We want to take power". The meeting was not appropriate for whistling. It is necessary to realise that all these whistlings were not done for motives directly linked to the struggle for wages, for conditions of work, for trade union and democratic rights, but against the fascists, against the reaction, against the right. This shows the decision of the masses to go to the power. It is unanimous.

Whistling is a manifestation in a concentrated way, when it is unanimous—as it was even being partial—reflecting that the vanguard is attracting the rest of the population with the same sentiment. It is ready to take power, and it is going to do it. And it is going to create a very great crisis of growth in the Communist Party. It is going to express this in a thousand ways. In the factories, at work, in the offices, it is going to be expressed against the right. The whistling did not finish. Now, they are waiting for another opportunity. The whistling meant a concentration of decision, they did not have the means to take hold of arms, so they whistled instead. Behind each whistle, there was a bullet. It is the sentiment of decision

## LABOUR MUST FINISH WITH BRITAIN'S IMPERIALIST ROLE

The wave of strikes and mobilisations which swept Northern Ireland immediately after the electoral victory of the Labour Party was more than simply a response to the actions of the political prisoners in Long Kesh. It was that certainly which provided the most immediate stimulation to the population which mobilised in the streets, to the other political prisoners—notably the women prisoners in Armagh prison—and to sectors of the working class such as the dockers of Belfast. However the fact that this action of the prisoners found such a ready response from a population which has suffered—and still suffers—the constant repression and terrorism of British imperialism both openly with the troops and covertly with the gangs of assassins, means that the masses of Northern Ireland receive another and more powerful stimulus. The political prisoners and the population of Northern Ireland were responding to the electoral victory of the Labour Party and to the British working class which, with its mobilisations, determined that victory.

The victory of the Labour Party was a decisive blow at British capitalism and the masses of Northern Ireland took it as such; they took it and used the actions of the political prisoners as a centre to mobilise in an objective united front with the working class of Britain. This action of the masses of Northern Ireland together with the lorry drivers' strike—and the other twenty or so strikes—in Scotland, and the actions of the workers of Hawker Siddeley express the preparation of the masses of the whole of the British Isles to use the electoral victory of the Labour Party to push forward their class demands and to inflict further defeats on British capitalism.

The new upsurge in the struggle is going to accelerate the process of the disintegration of the British Army. It is true that the British Army is a professional army with a long history of imperialism, but no longer than that of the Portuguese army and it is equally not immune to the world process. The British army as the Portuguese army is going to revolt against the role which imperialism demands of it—that of assassin. Already the British bourgeoisie don't have much confidence in the army. This is, in part, why it tried with the bombings in Guildford to stimulate a spirit of revenge against the masses in sectors of the army. Also it is why there is now the arrest of twelve militants for distributing leaflets to the soldiers calling on them to refuse to serve the interests of imperialism. Such interventions are not new, but now they are having an effect on the soldiers. This is inevitable among soldiers who feel the force of the world

revolution through the direct intervention of the population of Northern Ireland and who see the confidence and preparation of the working class in this country to impose a class solution on the problems created by capitalism in its final crisis.

The struggle in Northern Ireland whilst being a response to the electoral victory of the Labour Party, a means of putting pressure on the Labour Government, is also a factor which stimulates the advance of the left in the Labour Party, and it is putting an end to the separation which has existed previously in the Labour Party between the struggle for a programme of nationalisations and the necessity of the Labour government finishing with the imperialist role of British capitalism. The statement by six left Labour MPs which include Stan Thorne and Joan Maynard, calling for the removal of British troops from Northern Ireland is an important advance in this direction.

There is, however, the absolute necessity to link this demand with a programme of nationalisations under worker control for Northern Ireland and this country, and with the demand for the withdrawal of all British troops from Northern Ireland, Cyprus and from Germany. These demands are important in themselves as part of the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism but they are also important in the process of the transformation of the Labour Party, in breaking the Labour Party from the whole social, economic and political structure of British capitalism.

At the same time the demand must be made for the self-determination of Northern Ireland on the basis of the only force which can accomplish it—the combined force of the British proletariat and the Irish masses. The left of the Labour Party and the trade unions in this, as in all else, have to base themselves on the mobilisations of the working class, to discuss the struggle in Ireland and the end to internment and the withdrawal of all British troops, in the factories, with the shop stewards' committees. It is necessary to be based on the fact that already there is an objective unity between the struggle of the working class in this country and that of the masses of Northern Ireland to stimulate the construction of the organisms which will allow a concrete unity between the two struggles. The immediate basis for this is in the trade unions, in links between shop stewards' committees in Britain and Northern Ireland.

There is no solution to the 'problem' of Northern Ireland within the framework of the capitalist system and the left of the Labour Party and Trade Unions have to demand the immediate end to

political prisoners, the end to all the apparatus of repression in Northern Ireland. Although there is a process of disintegration in the British Army it still remains an instrument of bourgeois repression and Northern Ireland is a training ground for it, an area of preparation for repression against the masses in this country. Therefore the programme of the Labour Party, of the Labour government has to combine the demand for the end of internment, for the immediate withdrawal of all British troops, for the right of independence and self-determination for the people of Northern Ireland with measures of the nationalisation of major industries under workers' control. In the absence of a political centre for the masses of Northern Ireland it is necessary to appeal to the trade unions as a point of support and this means both the trade unions linked with the TUC and those of the Irish Republic. Already the mobilisations of the working class in this country has expressed its will to intervene in the struggle in Northern Ireland and this is seen in the resolution by the Scottish Area of the NUM for the withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. The trade unions intervene in this stage more and more on problems outside of purely trade union interests, and it is necessary that they now weigh on the left of the Labour Party, supporting a programme for Northern Ireland, stimulating and organising mobilisations in support of the masses of Northern Ireland with the perspective of a United Socialist Ireland which will become part of a Socialist Britain.

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and of unification, because the Communist vanguard organises the rest. It organised the others in the sentiments, and showed itself to be very decided in Bologna.

This is no retreat. The whistling was an indication that the vanguard is going to intervene with all its passion and all its resolution. The vanguard did not whistle because it was in a bad mood. When the vanguard whistles at its party, it is because it is decided to go much further. It did not whistle against Berlinguer, but yes, against the platform which was organised by its party, where its party was represented. They did not make any distinction. And when there was silence in relation to Berlinguer or Zangheri, it is because they wanted to show they did not confuse the ICP with the bourgeois parties. But when it whistles at its own party, it is because it is including everyone, and it wants to say to its party: "We are against all this." It is warning its party, and it is not a literary warning, it is a military warning. Therefore, we have to be ready to expect the continuity of this process.

And the behaviour of the class is not expressed suddenly in the whistlings. The whistling is the expression of a will of the organisation of the concern and of the mind. It is not a sudden fit of indignation, but it is a conscious organisation of people on all sides, who do not know each other, or have previous relationships. There are hundreds of thousands and why was this concentrated unanimously in the whistlings? It is because there is a common maturity. The whistling was not a chance incident. It is a concentration which expressed that, unanimously throughout Italy, the masses are maturing to advance to government and to the government of the left. It wants a government which fights and breaks fascism. And there is no other way of breaking fascism, than by changing the bourgeois structure of the country. The trade union crisis—which they are attenuating and moderating, so that they can get through September, is a crisis which cannot be appeased or detained. The whistling was aimed as much against the trade union leaderships as against the Communist Party. It is a lie to say that it was only aimed at the Christian Democracy. It was aimed particularly against the Christian Democracy, but it was against all the leaderships. It was aimed at the trade union leadership, because people were not only protesting against fascism but also against the lack of policy and trade union, class mobilisations, with the objective of achieving a mobilisation in order to triumph. This promoted the whistling. And together with the mobilisations in Brescia, it won the NO in the referendum. Together with the mobilisations in Brescia, there was the General Strike and general stoppages of the workers against their leaderships. The trade union leaderships, had to yield to strikes even of four hours duration. The hissings were not against the political leaders only, they were against all the trade union and political leaderships. The groups have been stimulated to intervene and have more representation, more welcome and more of an audience than before, because they express sentiments and a will of combat which is what the masses want, the vanguard, the base, the Communist, Socialist, Social Democratic cadres, and those without a party.

The trade union crisis is going to advance and is not going to break the Communist movement, and there are not going to be trade union splits. The ones who are going to break are people like Vanni, the leaders who do not respond. These are going to break—and the trade union base shows immense security. When the proletariat decided on two separate occasions, in a short space of time, under the pressure of the inactivity of the leadership of the Communist Party, to whistle at the Christian Democratic leaders, the President, the whole lot, even with the presence of the Communist leaders, it is because there is a very great

of incompetence and as they glory in the marvels of private enterprise, let them agonise. The unions and the Labour Party has to see that the budget is geared to public interest. This has to be explained and campaigned for. Certainly the wealthy should be taxed and taxed, and at the same time price controls must be increased, and rigorously enforced, but this cannot be done without full reliance on the trade unions and workers' control in the factories. For all government subsidies, OPEN THE BOOKS! In view of inevitable sabotage by big business it is necessary for the TUC and the Labour Party to propose a plan of public works and with this to prepare the way for a much more powerful extension of nationalisations, including the banking system. Certainly the world financial system, NATO, will intervene to prevent any such action posing as it does a major blow at the whole capitalist world, that is why social and political preparation is necessary besides various economic measures which benefit the masses and damage capitalism. One lesson from Chile is that it is possible to develop a whole series of steps which constantly weaken the system, but that this must be accompanied by constant and complete popular mobilisation, otherwise the enemy gains time to strike back.

The sense of disorder and prostration which has been shown in the Tory Party since the election is characteristic of all the political regimes of the bourgeoisie at this moment in history. The Tories find they have no certainty over a change of leadership because they have no unity over policy.

The world and European dimension of the crisis, the gale of economic recession deprives British imperialism of any world support while on the contrary the British proletariat feels more and more its own confidence buttressed and stimulated by the advance towards the left everywhere in Europe. When even German capitalism has to put up with Mitbestimmung (participation) which in present conditions leads to interference of the trade unions and the class in the running of industry this shows the weakness and the inexorable crumbling of all capitalist power and authority. The tendency of the Wilson government is to balance between the Workers States and Yankee Imperialism—the attack by Schlesinger the Yankee defence secretary on proposed cuts in the military budget of Britain indicates their fear of this process.

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editorial

The process after the victory of the Labour Party is going to stimulate more and more pressure for an organised left in the Labour Party, no longer an old left geared to awaiting crumbs of reforms but a left which is demanding, decisive and confident. This is going to be reinforced by changes in the leadership and structure of the trade unions. The immediate response of the Labour constituency which supported the claims of the Hawker Siddeley workers is an example of the response to be increasingly expected of the Labour Party under the pressure of unions and workers.

The right is already in the process of leaving but their departure is not enough, it is necessary to consciously plan and work for a continuous political

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# The trade unions...

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life. The parliamentary club is still a block on an intensive life, the MPs have to be submitted to a disciplined life on the lines of the Labour Party programme and the left in the unions and the Labour Party have to develop initiatives to improve relations with the class in the factories and the districts. They have to discuss all the issues without any inhibition, use and transform "Labour Weekly" so that it becomes a genuine forum of ideas but not any ideas, ideas to stimulate the intervention of the class, so that the global perspective of Socialism is discussed, so that the relations of the Labour Party with the world Communist movement are openly discussed, so that Marxism can influence without any blocks or bars. The next period is going to demand more and more comprehension of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions of their role. In the factories the shop stewards' committees are going to see new selections where the more militant and decisive come to the fore. Selection and reselection is going to take place in the Labour Party and the unions because the process demands it. There is no interruption in the struggle to destroy the remaining links of the Labour Party centre and right with capital-

ism nor any relaxation if the fight for deeper intervention to force more socialist policies on the Labour Party and campaign so that these policies on the Labour Party and campaign so that these policies receive the support of the majority of the population. Discussion, discussion is vital in all the centres of the class. The unions by intervening dynamically towards the Labour Party, are going to pose the question of the transformation of the Labour Party structure. The world revolution is permanent and dynamic. There are no intervals, only upheavals.

With this perspective we call for careful preparations to be made for the Labour Party conference, with the calling of local meetings in the factories and workers' districts with MPs being summoned to discuss their views, with the publication of discussions and inter-communication with trade union branches and Labour Party branches. Throw open the union journals to encourage factory discussion. The need to support and extend both the Labour Party programme and the TUC interventions have to be the central point but also the need to elevate the discussion on foreign policy to pose discussions with Soviet trade unions and CPSU as part of the policy to

break with NATO. Above all it is necessary to deepen the discussion over the Common Market which has to be firmly placed in a class context, that is to affirm solidarity with the European workers' movement to prepare for joint continental action against the disorder of the capitalist system, with the planning of common action against unemployment and inflation, proposing a perspective of Socialist unification against the Europe of the monopolies. To maintain the discussion in its present state, is to make obstacles to theoretical clarification and isolate the workers' movement in Britain from the rest of Europe. The Communist movement is planning a conference of the Communist parties in the middle of 1975 and this is on the premise of the Soviet leadership that the crisis of capitalism is general and of an ultimate character, i.e., a qualitative crisis requiring a more dynamic response from the world Communist movement. The Labour Party and the trade unions have to relate much more to the policy and historic progress of the Workers States. To lean on the structure of this acquisition of the workers' movement is to abbreviate the time which capitalism has left to it in Great Britain.

and elevated maturity and decision.

One has to realise that they are workers, petit bourgeois, employees, peasants from various places, who do not have any mutual contact, and there is no adequate political life in the Communist Party, there is no political life in the trade unions, there is only a political void. The only contact which the masses have among themselves is in the factories, in the workers' areas, in the bars, in the places where they come together. This contact is a substitute for the Party and for the trade unions; they live, discuss and find means of coordination, and they all go together to smash the government and also hit out at all the political parties because of their ineptitude, and their incapacity, and the passivity with which they live. It is an attitude which the working class lives passionately with the whole population. This is not going to go away. It is going to last until there are changes. And they are going to impose profound changes.

The proletariat in Yugoslavia took three years to throw out the Federal Committee of the Communist League. In France the Socialist masses took several years before they, also, threw out the leadership of the right. And Deferre has to go to the left. In Italy also, the same thing is going to happen to the conciliatory leaders as has happened to Deferre. In Italy, it is civil war every day. It is the preparation of various coups which the CIA had prepared. The Communists want to break these coups without provoking confrontations. But in the whistlings in Bologna, there was a resolution to mobilise, and people are going to mobilise. If this continues, the masses in some place are going to come out in force.

The conditions exist to change the whole of Italy. The struggles attract the peasants, the labourers, small proprietors, workers, technicians, local government employees, police, judges, army. All of Italy to change Italy! The government does not have any strength. In the most suitable place, the most convenient place where electorally the government is very strong, in Sardinia, it suffered a tremendous defeat, only limited because the workers' parties did not present themselves in United Front.

It is a crisis of Italian capitalism, like world capitalism which has no solution. They cannot find a way out because it does not exist. The trade union crisis, the Liberal crisis, the crisis of the Republicans, of the Christian Democracy, the crisis of the Socialist Party, of the Communist Party, are not crises which can be resolved with manoeuvres. The pillars of the capitalist system are collapsing. The echo and the reverberation of this echo has been expressed most clearly in Holland. The whistling is a much more direct expression of a world effect. It is going to have profound repercussions in the Italian Communist Party. It is going to develop the crisis of growth in the Communist Party, and the crisis in the Christian Democracy, the Liberals, the Republicans, the Social Democrats, and the Communist Party. It is a crisis of development, because it is not possible to find the means to conciliate. Hence, the Liberals, propose a government even without the Christian Democracy, which is a manoeuvre but they make this proposal because they cannot find a solution within the terms of the capitalist system.

In a short period, the capitalist sys-

tem has had to liquidate Brandt, and there was the crisis in Britain, Belgium and Italy. Giscard d'Estaing has had to make a policy which does not correspond to what he proposed and the strikes come with the rebellions in the prisons, and the jailers come to make an alliance with the prisoners. The police make a common front in various places in France, with the prisoners and they do not act as the police. This is to say there is a whole structure of the capitalist system which is collapsing and this is going to have repercussions.

The right cannot pass through this stage, recover stimulus, or win. The capitalist system is in crisis and therefore there is a crisis in the Socialists, in the Liberals and a crisis of growth in the Communists, because they cannot conciliate. Before, they found a certain ground for conciliation, now they cannot. Although they do not apply a new policy tomorrow, the process is like this.

In Italy, the re-opening of the principal factories after the holidays, is going to lead to other consequences, a unity of the Christian Democratic, Communist and Socialist masses, the Radicals and the Republicans. The rise in the cost of living establishes this, with the prospect of strikes and the advance of the consciousness of people, who want to, finish with all this, who are nauseated by war. The bourgeoisie trust that as before, particular interests and the fear of unemployment will separate people. But the population is nauseated by war and they unify knowing that it is they, who decide.

The Communist Party does not want to go to power. The Communist right and centre in Russia in 1917, did not want to go to power. The masses want to go to power, the objective conditions allow the taking of power, and the world situation favours this conclusion. In this, the force which won was the world structure, the objective situation and the will of the masses. The will of the masses expresses the objective conditions and the world structure which favours them. There is a lack of theoretical organisation which gives the consciousness which organises the concrete activity, and the Party to undertake this activity. There was Lenin and the Bolshevik Party. In Italy, there are all these conditions, less the Bolshevik Party and Lenin. But, there are 14 Workers States, 16 Revolutionary States, a world revolutionary process, infinitely superior to what existed before, and the conviction acquired by humanity that they are going towards Socialism. This process is expressed and concentrated in Italy and impelling the Communists to government and power.

If the Communists do not go to the government and do not give a solution to the left, the process is going to happen anyway. They cannot postpone a process, when in Greece and Portugal, where there are thousands of objective conditions more favourable for delay. The process advances so rapidly. In Italy, they are going to power. It is necessary to be prepared to intervene with this perspective, that they have to go to power, to eliminate NATO and to develop conditions favourable to the liquidation of the capitalist system.

\*Moro is a Christian Democrat leader.  
\*Raul Roa is the Cuban Minister of the Economy.

\*ICP = Italian Communist Party.

J. Posadas 12.9.74

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ELECTORAL VICTORY.

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pressure, but it is the army most submitted to the social pressure in an indirect form through the triumph of the Labour Party, the development of the trade unions, and the victory of the revolution throughout the world. All this has repercussions throughout the army and it sees that all this structure of the Queen etc is useless. They have seen that the United Kingdom is weak

and inadequate, and they see through the Labour Party that the working class has an immense authority.

In Ireland they have a crisis which has no solution. The British proletariat on the one hand with its trade unions and electoral struggles shows who is winning. And the Irish masses on the other hand, show that they are ready to secure what they want. The crisis has no

solution in part, because the government itself stimulates it to maintain constantly a military state and a military functioning, and in part because there is no solution. They cannot find one because they do not have the economic or social means, since the whole structure of Britain is weakened. Hence, they have to maintain the crisis as a focus and a constant source of new struggles new problems and new confrontations.

When this happens, it is because in Britain very important mobilisations are near. The British proletariat has broken the isolation from the world to which the trade union leaderships had submitted it. It is necessary to find the organs which correspond to the breaking of this isolation. The fundamental progress in the Labour Party is its constant inclination towards programmatic struggles. They are not electoral struggles, but struggles of programme. And a leadership must be organised for this conclusion.

The trade unions must propose plans of nationalisations, of interventions in the government with a plan for socialist measures, of nationalisations with workers' control, and appeal for a united front with this objective. It is necessary to make an appeal to the European workers' movement, to the world workers' movement, to the Socialists, Communists, for a united front with a programme of "Out with imperialism! Out with capitalism!"

The Labour victory is an electoral victory which affirms the proletariat in its strikes, its stoppages, in its defeat of the Conservatives. It affirms the will and the security of the proletarian vanguard that this is the way. And it is going to prepare for this.

J. Posadas

13 Oct. 1974

## denounce the bombings..

*This type of activity will continue because capitalism is decomposing rapidly in Britain as elsewhere. The victory of the Labour Party has made the apparatuses of capitalism even more desperate. Capitalism has nothing with which to confront its crisis save war, assassination and bombings. It cannot resurrect fascism, it has tried and failed. Its only perspective is to try to stimulate repression. It is responsible for the successions of murders in Northern Ireland in an effort to intimidate and to claim that the Irish struggle is about sectarianism.*

*We appeal again to the Labour movement to take a firm position on the bombings. It is necessary to see the objectives of this activity, how it has extended itself into attacks on Marxist groupings. Italy anticipated this process by several years, ending up with the fascist massacre in Brescia where the working class turned out and prevented the launching of a coup.*

*These provocations which may involve the penetration or utilisation on occasion of sectors close to the IRA stem from the state apparatus—special sectors of the army and the police. The Labour movement has to take a position on all this, because the struggle to overthrow capitalism is inevitably going to involve confrontation with the apparatus. But it is also an apparatus in decay. One resolution of the police federation conference, demanded strike action. The army is going to be affected by the Labour victory and the process of change in the Portuguese army—hence the Labour Party and the trade unions must press forward to explain the programme of Socialism to these sectors and demand full trade union rights for army and police.*

*We repeat that the left in the Labour Party and the unions must denounce the sinister forces that launch these provocations. It is naive to think that British imperialism is not organising all these incidents—without fascism what have they got? It is not surprising that the latest move by Yankee imperialism is to send special squads of assassins abroad to "defend its interests".*

*And the best way to smash these miserable plans of capitalism, is to impel and extend the programme of nationalisations and organise the permanent mass committees in the factories and workers' districts, thus furthering the fight to finish with the whole decrepit system of capitalism and construct Communism.*

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## THE WHISTLING...

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# THE FAILURE OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY COUP AND THE ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION J. POSADAS IN PORTUGAL

29/9/74

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## CONFRONT THE ASSASSINATIONS AND ECONOMIC SABOTAGE OF CAPITALISM WITH WORKERS CONTROL

The system of private property in Britain cannot allow the development of the country. Mountains of beef accumulate from "overproduction", whilst the masses can no longer afford it. Sugar and other goods are stocked to be released later at high prices. Workers are sacked, factories are closed, there are mountains of bricks and unemployed builders, and no houses built. The capitalist class is incapable, and unwilling to make any expenditure for the benefit of the masses. It is using economic chaos (such as sugar) as a means of creating panic and fear. The country is dictated to by big capital and high finances. The form of private property no longer allows expansion. It means recession, unemployment, lowering of the standard of living and war preparations. These facts have to be seen as an aggression against the masses, actions of civil war to maintain large profits for a few who have the control of the economy by means of the system of private property.

Meanwhile the Soviet Union and the Workers States are showing a steady and already enormous increase in social achievements, in technological and scientific capacity and in great social authority and political power. The Soviet Union now accounts for a fifth of the world industrial output! It now produces more steel than the USA. Its moral superiority and military might are admitted by world capitalism. Moreover, the Workers States are unifying. The recent declaration by the Chinese that they seek some agreement with the USSR is an important advance in the unification of the world forces to finish with what is left of the capitalist system, the system of private property, profits, competition and war, the aberrant system of "overproduction", wastage, and unemployment when the needs increase.

Capitalism cannot reform itself. It is a system of property for the few, profits and war preparations. The form of private property prevents the development of the economy to provide a human way of life for all people. It is against the rational use of resources because it is concerned in appropriating all wealth to itself. It is concerned only in retaining its privileges and power. It puts all its strength in retaining its power: brute force, imposition, repression, assassinations, economic sabotage and war. This is the system. This is the way to look at and understand the latest bombings in Guildford, London, etc, in this country. The bombings by the so-called Red Flag 74, using vicious anti-personal devices, are the work of the bourgeoisie through its secret service, its repressive apparatus which is in operation all the way through: the in-

creased use of the conspiracy laws, the jailing of the two Shrewsbury pickets, the open murders in Northern Ireland blatantly committed by the British Army, the permanent armed police, all show this.

The Labour Party and trade unions in this country at all levels must discuss these measures of war on the masses, must draw conclusions and particularly the one that this situation is to prepare an attack on the left of the Labour Party, the trade unions and the masses. It must also be concluded that this situation of semi-civil war is an intervention towards the coming Labour Party Conference, to intimidate the left in the Labour Party, identify the Marxists in the trade unions with terrorists, associate Marxism with murderous terrorism. Capitalism is the organiser of terrorism and must be smashed as such. We call for a national struggle in the Labour Party and the trade unions, with groups of MPs, trade union leaders, workers, to point out that the murderers originate in the police and the military apparatus, in the special branch and the organisations of the CIA in this country, and denounce them as instruments of the exploiters. There must be a campaign immediately in the areas, the factories, for organisms of WORKERS' CONTROL, to defend the Labour government and mobilise in support of the application of its programme against the sabotage, terrorism and civil war which the bourgeoisie has already started against the working class of this country, and continues in Ireland.

The reason for such conduct on the part of the bourgeoisie is fundamentally the defeat of capitalism and imperialism in the world. The

recent elections in the US confirm that Ford, supported directly by the Pentagon and the CIA, has no social support. The process of the unification of the Workers States continues on a world scale, and imperialism is defeated in Portugal, Cyprus, Greece, Vietnam, Latin America, everywhere. In front of this world process, the various capitalist states see that imperialism cannot yet launch the world war against the Workers States, but they have to increase their individual solutions of terrorism against the masses, economic sabotage, withdrawal of capital, unemployment, repression and war preparations.

Indeed it is incipient civil war everywhere in the world. The Soviet

Union has just denounced the arms race which the West is making at the cost even of any attempt at trying to stabilise the economy. Giscard d'Estaing has made a crude, menacing demonstration of French atomic might by boarding the "Terrible", the nuclear submarine that can sit by the coasts of the "potential enemy" (i.e. the Soviet Union), and launch nuclear bombs on the main cities according to the famous "anticipations" strategy.† But just at the same time, the CGT and CFDT were on strike; the Italian Communist Party had just denounced the complicity of the Italian intelligence service in the coup preparations some time ago in Italy. In Belfast, strikes have marked the burial of Hugh Coney,

assassinated in cold blood by the British Army. This shows that the working class everywhere in the world, and in Ireland is not prepared to let this process continue without stepping up the struggle. In Japan, millions have mobilised against the manoeuvres of the nuclear Yankee war ships coming in and out of the Japanese ports. This is the way the masses are greeting the preparations for war which capitalism and imperialism are making.

The policy of imperialism is a failure. Nowhere has it succeeded in dividing either the masses or the Workers States. The bombs in this country are planted by capitalism to create the conditions for civil

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### On intelligence and passion

J. POSADAS APRIL 18, 1974

Passion is not self invented or created. It is the result of concern, of love of life, of love for human beings, and of confidence and security in humanity. All passion comes from that. People can be passionate in a limited sphere as in sport, but it stops there. Passions means a way of showing a base, a support, an impulse to become involved in any problem. It is not negligence, or impetuosity or disorder, but an involvement in everything, and at the same time as the greatest capacity, showing the communicative human capacity of feeling, fraternity, of respect and at the same time security in all aspects. This is not invented or created but comes as the result of study and of preoccupation.

Passion does not arise independently as a particular quality. It is the result of a series of conditions among them study, because it allows the understanding of life, people, human beings, and from there comes the basis to develop all the passion.

Once passion has developed, it becomes a vehicle of intelligence. It is not a support, it becomes now a vehicle of intelligence because there exists a structure of which passion forms a part. It is not a fire which revives and sustains but a part of the intelligence. Thus, intelligence thinks in a passionate form, and even thinking in repose, is passionate. Passion is not movement: it is affection, and fraternity and human security and communication with the rest of the world, the security that humanity is going to succeed, and that it must succeed, because it is just and necessary. It includes all this. Life is very passionate. The tree is passionate: you see with what resolution it blossoms.

Passion is the result of the objective love for existence, in which the human being is the principle concern. In so far as there is no intelligent organisation of the head and of the organism, passion is a vehicle. When there is such an organisation and it is developed, passion forms part of the intelligence without losing its attributes of passion. In the Marxist this is much superior to Beethoven. Beethoven had to have passion and affection for humanity to create what he created. But in him it was a limited means of formation and expression. Marx was infinitely superior.

The force that led Marx to his great work was love of humanity. It was not the understanding of history but love for humanity without which he would not have seen the proletariat, nor people, nor would a genius of history like him have led the life which he did and demonstrated the capacity which he did. Everything which he expressed was passion, he showed conviction, security in the unavoidable necessity of Communism. This was the base: "This is inevitable," not because he wanted it, but because the structure of history led to this and because the economy was going to create such a conclusion.

But Marx could not see the economy without seeing the human being. Others saw the economy like him and gave the bases so that he would study. He cherished the human being, he had love for the human being. He saw the limitation of all the philosophers who like himself were concerned with the human being but whose interpretations stemmed from a limited point of view because of social interests. Marx interpreted humanity in a complete form as a result of the

action of history made by humanity itself. He put all his passion and intelligence in living for this. This passion did not allow him to be rich, to make money, to accumulate wealth. Afterwards intelligence led to conscious understanding.

The Bolsheviks were passionate. The passion which the Bolsheviks had was the passion to feel themselves to be responsible for constructing a new world, without any resources. One has to have passion to do this! The difficulties to overcome were enormous, not because of the pressure of hunger—they were ready to die!—it was the responsibility "We have to construct Communism". And they had nothing! They had to find the wheels and the supplies to get the railways working and to convince the engineers who were on strike. And they convinced and won them. Instead of shooting them, as was the tendency of Stalin, the workers said, "No, we can win them". And they won them. They shot some but they convinced almost all. Hence the strike which was organised to sabotage the revolution failed, because the Bolsheviks convinced and persuaded them, showed the superiority of the revolution compared to individual interests, and they won them.

After 1848, Marx, the Communards, 1905, the Russian Revolution was the most powerful concentrated expression of the demonstration of sentiment and human passion. Just as it was not possible to compose the music of Beethoven without passion, it was not possible to make the Commune, 1905, 1917 without passion. It was impossible! It is the passion of feeling responsible for history. This is how the communards worked and the

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# THE FAILURE OF THE COUNTER REVOLUTIONARY COUP AND THE ADVANCE OF THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL

J. POSADAS

SEPTEMBER 29, 1974

This process which began in April in Portugal, is determined by the world relation of forces favourable to the progress of the revolution, to the liquidation of imperialism and capitalism. It is one of the most important aspects of the process of the permanent revolution.

The attempted coup by the elements who sought to impel a counter-revolution, has led to one of the most important consequences of this process: the radicalisation of a wing of the army, and the development towards a very conscious attitude by the soldiers who seek to intervene with programme and policy, and seek to learn to intervene not only because they seek equality, but because they have a consciousness of where the world is going. Such a process is expressed in their own ranks, in Peru, in Mexico, in Panama, in Argentina, and Bolivia also. It is an indication of the maturity of the various wings of the army, for example in backward countries which have no importance in the world economy, that soldiers of a nationalist origin are directly anti-capitalists.

The progress of the military junta and the intervention of the soldiers in Peru, Mexico and Panama, gives to the military teams throughout the world, the confidence and security in a programmatic advance. It is not simply a reaction, but a programmatic advance. In Portugal, it is evident that the force that holds the initiative is a part of the army, which is based in part on the mobilisations of the masses. Neither the Communist nor the Socialist Parties have this initiative. The Communist Party and the Socialist Party are backward compared with this sector of the army. Undoubtedly they work in a coordinated way and take into account the role of the army, they coincide with the army, meet and discuss with it. But sufficient time has passed—five months since the 25th of April—to have been able to organise social movements based on the masses, which could have sufficient weight to support the soldiers and to have extended the movement much more profoundly; for example now, to liquidate the basis of the oligarchy, the financiers, and of the big multi-national enterprises. They could have eliminated the power of all the big capitalist firms and purged the state apparatus. There is a sector of the army which is going to do this, because it is acquiring historic consciousness that the function which capitalism gave it before to assassinate and to defend capitalism, can be used for the progress of humanity. This is the influence of the 14 Workers States, of the 16 Revolutionary States, of the struggle of the colonial masses. They are advancing programmatically and the soldiers cannot remain static at a merely democratic level. They have to learn to have a notion of the programme, of a policy, of the economy, of the objective of history. And this process in Portugal is an index of this. Although it is not a complete expression, it shows that a sector of the army, is advancing in its consciousness in history, that it can do something else than kill or be killed.

This is going to have a very great effect throughout the world, and particularly in the capitalist world. It is going to influence the armies to discuss more directly their political function, not to depend strictly on the commands of the capitalist apparatus, and to work as an institution which has interests, which do not all coincide with capitalism. They are against capitalism and this has been shown in various countries such as Sweden, Holland, Belgium, France and Portugal, and soon, also, in Spain.

This is not a new defeat of the right and of Spínola. They still have not defeated the right. It is simply a defeat of this coup. They—the right—are going to try to make a new coup, and imperialism is going to give it all the strength and the support it can. But the defeat of the coup has also shown that a united front can be made with a wing of the army, with mobilisations, appealing to and mobilising the masses, showing the capacity for action, organisation, and leadership of the masses. In the reply to this counter-revolutionary coup, it is necessary to develop an uninterrupted democratic functioning. The masses are learning to intervene and to weigh. The masses of Portugal intervened and are intervening in a much more ordered and organised form. The pressure increases on their leaderships to impose a much more organised movement. They are exerting a pressure on their leadership and they are going to do this.

It is necessary to discuss the experiences of the failure of this coup in Portugal, a failure which was due to the fact that the masses mobilised on their own account. There

was no preparation on the part of the leadership, nor of the trade unions, but there were no impediments to make such a preparation. This failure was due simply through the passive conception of the revolution.

This is the most important conclusion which has to be drawn. But the masses mobilised on their own account, built barricades, formed militias, organised in the workers' districts. Undoubtedly the Communist and Socialist parties are not remote from this, but there was no official appeal. Had there been an official appeal, they could have organised the whole country, they could appeal and say: "Yes, it is a confrontation, and we intend to defend ourselves in this way." Now, they seem weak in front of the MFA (Movement of the Armed Forces), because they feel that these are the forces who are determining the process. And in part it is like this.

The conclusion has to be drawn that this is going to influence the army to develop a better consciousness of its function, so that the army can play a function in transforming history. At the same time, it stimulates the soldiers to live a democratic life of a Soviet type, although it is not called so, a form of Soviet democratic functioning, in which everyone can participate and organisations can be created from below, as the movement of the armed forces has posed, organisms in which democracy develops.

The attitudes of the Communist and Socialist parties, are calculated to seek an agreement with the armed forces. They are not concerned to confront it. This is not incorrect.

They have to win a part of the army because they do not dominate it, they do not control it, and not all of the army is favourable to maintain the process of democratic revolution, not all the sectors agree to go forward. It has to be realised that the process could have gone much further. This is shown by the fact that the bourgeoisie does not have any strength. The Communist and Socialist parties could have anticipated the process and they could have given the armed forces a much firmer and secure base, and this would have stimulated in turn, further initiatives within the army.

Undoubtedly, it is necessary to win the army. It is an army which has been withdrawn from the three colonies which were vital to Portugal, and there have been no crises because they were withdrawn. There is a crisis of the colonialists, and part of the high command, but not of the army. This shows that it was prepared. Otherwise, there would have been an uprising. This means that the Communist and Socialist parties have to sustain it; they can verify that the best conditions for the united front exist there. This has to be done now.

It is necessary to make an appeal to establish a movement in which the landowners, the rich, the financiers, the multi-nationals, are expropriated in the source of their power and the big factories and estates. A plan of production has to be drawn up to pull Portugal out of its misery, and to unite the struggle for democratic rights with the development of the economy. Democratic rights have no value unless they are united to the development of the economy. If the economy does not develop, if people do not intervene in the economy, if there is not a better intervention in the distribution of the national wealth, the revolution stagnates, and this cannot be done without the nationalisation of the banks, the monopoly of external trade, the planning of production, and confronting the multi-nationals with a plan and a programme of nationalisations.

It is necessary to discuss how to emerge from the backwardness in which capitalism has left Portugal. There is an enormous number of illiterates—almost 60% of the peasants. China had more illiteracy, 90% of its population were peasants and illiterate, that is 500 millions. Now, China is a Workers State. It is necessary to draw conclusions and to appeal to the Communist parties, that they draw conclusions from the experiences of this process: They could have done the same in Chile. If in Chile, they had acted in this way, they would have stopped the coup. The conceptions about respect for democracy and the Constitution are erroneous. The bourgeoisie does not respect democracy or the Constitution. They are the ones who want the war, not us. But knowing that they want the war, that they do not respect the Constitution, we prepare for this. The Constitution is bourgeois. It cannot provide the means to transform society, except in a very limited form. It is necessary to discuss all this, and to draw the conclusions from Portugal and unite them to those of Chile, to show that this is the road

for the next revolution. The process in Portugal is a process of permanent revolution, within which now, there is a developing another stage, advancing towards economic and political transformations. The defeat of the right is going to impel a process of economic, political and social transformations. The red carnations have a perfume which goes round the whole world.

This process in Portugal is a process of the permanent revolution which was begun by the soldiers because the situation was mature on the world and local scale. But it has gone beyond the limited level of the beginning of the united front made by the soldiers and certain political leaders. The process now demands a conscious leadership.

The military sector works as a party, but without a defined programme, without a party structure, without a party functioning. It works with the mind, with the concern, with the orientation of a party. But this means requires programme, a policy and stimulating a process throughout the country. Undoubtedly, they act with a party outlook. But the functioning is deficient. A party which functions united with the daily life of the masses, the demands of the peasants in the struggle for democracy based on the progress of the economy, is absent. But it is necessary to expropriate and to develop the economy. Portuguese imperialism has achieved nothing, it developed nothing. The only way in which it developed was according to the wishes of the multi-nationals.

In Portugal, all this has to be achieved, and there is a basis to achieve it. It is necessary that the Workers States intervene, that they

intervene through the Communist parties of the capitalist countries, and that the Communist parties of the Workers States, intervene in favour, for the benefit of, and in support of the masses. Consequently the Workers States should give credits, develop trade, and act in support economically of this military sector, to impel it. It is a work which is a combined task of the Communist parties, the trade unions of the Workers States, and the Workers States as such. But the essential part has to be done by the Communist parties and the trade unions of the Workers States, who must push forward the essential part of the appeal to organise the anti-capitalist programme and policy.

The economy can be developed. Countries much more backward than Portugal have had an enormous development. It is necessary to be based on the masses, on the trade unions, and on the democratic rights of the masses to intervene. All the development of the economy has to be planned and an essential percentage of the planning has to improve the standard of life of the masses, together with improving the economic development. Together with this, there have to be plans to overcome illiteracy, and to utilise all the forms to achieve this: cinema, theatre, singing, television. This programme has to be linked with the development of the economy, showing and demonstrating at the same time, that economic backwardness is not due to the weakness of Portugal, to the country as it is. The people responsible for this were the ones responsible for the economy. Now, it is necessary to transform it.

In the epoch of intelligence and reason, the military teams are won to the sentiment of the progress of history, that socialism is necessary. It is necessary to pose to the Movement of the Armed Forces that it works as a movement for the benefit of the revolution, not only a support. They have to be called upon to intervene. There is a very eloquent fact, the Portuguese army, an army made for colonial repression, has been thrown out of the three most important colonies, and there is no break! There is no serious or important uprising in the army! On the contrary, they accepted.

In all the armies of the world, there is a wing which is consciously realising that its function in history, is not to kill or to be killed, but to construct history, as also in the Church, there are sectors won to the progress of society and history, who are glad to feel that they form part of the movement living like this, not calling upon God, or praying, or attending ceremonies.

The process in Portugal is very very important, it has not finished, because the bourgeoisie still has economic strength. Imperialism supports them. The captains are not an organised conscious movement. They are trying to organise in a coherent political form, but they do not work coherently as a party. It is necessary to draw these conclusions: the armies of all the capitalist countries are mature and ready in the sense that a part of them can be won to the revolution consciously. All the armies! And they do not do this as the least evil, but because they understand that their function in history must change. In capitalism, they do not see any perspective. They see nothing more than assassins. It is absurd not to suppose that in a process in which the most backward populations in the world intervene, with the most advanced

history, that socialism is necessary.

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resolution to progress, that this is not going to influence the armies, or that they are going to be immoveable, it is absurd!

It is necessary to assimilate this concrete experience of Portugal. There is a sector of the army which is politically ready to march by the side of the revolution, with the revolution, or to adopt the leadership of the revolution. As they are not a party, they have deficiencies, limitations, weaknesses. They do not have the decision of a party. But in part they have more resolution than the Communist and Socialist parties. In part only, in a general sense no, because they are not a party. This is the most important conclusion which it is necessary to draw and it is aimed at the Communist and Socialist parties.

It is sufficient to look at Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique. The army was not so much thrown out, but in effect they went. When they were told: "You have to go," they answered, "It is already done". And then they decided to stay in these countries. How is it possible not to see that this is a brutal defeat of the capitalist system? This is very very profound. It is the disintegration of the army from within! How can one believe that Spínola is strong, where does he have any strength?

This discussion has to be pursued in the Communist, Socialist movements, in the trade unions. This has to be discussed together with Chile. Constant discussions have to be made. When there are sectors of the army who achieve such a level of integration in the process of history, when there are armies in three colonies, and three colonies dissolve, this should affect the army in what is called its "professional dignity".

the word Communism—yes humanity does want Communism, argues the case, uses the achievements of the Soviet Union, why hide them?

The forces of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions have to improve the quality and the level of their arguments. It is necessary to open discussion via local Conferences, Labour Party schools, interventions in the factories and workers' districts, reviews, Labour Party press, to stimulate ideas, ideas as opposed to the trivial organisational mentality which frequently dominates the Labour Party functioning and is a means to contain the Labour Party, to stop it thinking and to serve the interests of the right. But now the situation can only be satisfied by Marxism, Marxism with its global universal outlook, its audacity to confront all the historic problems. Nothing will stop its inexorable advance, neither the slanders of capitalism or the inertia of established ways but the Labour Party left and the trade unions have to take initiatives to develop discussion and equal the audacity of the working class by audacity in thinking and abandoning the inhibitions of a past epoch. The left has to realise that the restructuring of the Labour Party is not going to occur by parliamentary agreement but in the thick of a struggle which enters civil war. The left has to base itself upon the invincible decision of the working class, not on the present limitations of life in the Labour Party. As part of the process to accelerate changes in the Labour Party, it is fundamental to develop a discussion of programme and policies with the world Communist movement, thus cementing the world united front against capitalism, to close ranks against the common enemy and overthrow it, system against system, class against class.

—capitalism has no interest or capacity to see that millions of people are properly fed.

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And they would normally say: "They threw us out, the war is finished, we lost". But they say: "We have not lost anything, we are staying there". This shows the transformation of the conception of life. This has to be felt in all its depth. It is an imperialist army, of the oldest empire in Europe going back to the XVI century. They do not feel defeated. On the contrary, intelligence and reason make them say: "We aren't defeated, they are defeated. We stay here". And they say to the population: "In what way can we be useful?" It is the transformation of the mentality, it is not the caricature of the soldier, they think as human beings. And they think for the progress of history which is the revolution. Hence, they want to remain in Angola, in Mozambique, in Guinea Bissau. And it is good that they remain there.

Capitalism wanted to corrupt the soldiers and the officers, and they have been won by the outlook of the revolution. They are in no way degenerated, there was degeneration before because the leadership imposed it, but when they took into their hands the organisation of human dignity, they were educated by human dignity, by the revolution. This shows that the human being is not depraved. Capitalism is depraved, it is capitalism which did this, and now it does not have the strength to continue with this policy.

It is necessary to feel this and to diffuse it, and to influence the Communist movement with this fact. The defeat which the right suffered in Portugal is the result of the mobilisation of the masses which influences the army and a great part of the army shows that it is ready to be won. If they saw the Communist and Socialist parties ready to take the initiative, they would go much further, and there would already be a Workers State, or a Revolutionary State in Portugal.

The military are won and attracted like the petit bourgeois sectors, including quite comfortably off sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, technicians or administrators, not because the masses influence them, or exert a pressure on them, but because the masses develop security in history, that such progress is necessary, and that they are capable of realising it.

Then, they convince them and win them persuasively and culturally. Although the masses do not have cultural or scientific means, compared with all the top layers of the petit bourgeoisie, they have the historic conviction of their role in history. They have the security, the objectivity, the capacity and they communicate it to history, to society. They act as an objective class, able to persuade and dissuade. This attracts and persuades all the sentiments, organises, and wins them. This is the basis why they win the soldiers and the rest.

Their action shows that it is possible to live infinitely better, without conflicts, wars, collisions, antagonisms. And basically, these soldiers who are won to the revolution have this sentiment. It is capitalism which sought to create a category of military people just to kill and assassinate. But the development of history, of the Workers

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editorial

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State, of the Revolutionary State, the great struggles of the masses, have persuaded and won them. They convinced them that their function is unnecessary. This is the loathing of humanity for war, the loathing for conflict in order to live. Humanity has had enough of this, has a contempt for all this. Hence, it is going to pass through the atomic marsh-land.

The influence over the military sectors is not a problem of military pressure, as if it was the class which put pressure on them, and forced them to change. No. The class persuades and wins them historically. It wins and attracts them to a consciousness, a feeling, that there is a superior life although they do not say this. We have to see this quite clearly. The proletariat still does not have the historic force to impose itself, not even on its own party, but yes, it has the historic strength to change society. It transforms it and they are going to win the leadership. Meanwhile, they are winning new sectors.

It is fundamental to understand this, because a great number of bourgeois are won to our camp. They lose their faith in the system or are paralysed, which is a way to win them, because in this way now, they cannot intervene against us, and they are paralysed.

This process is expressed in all the armies and in Argentina, there is now the declaration of Fautario which reflects an important sector of the armed forces. He is from the Air Force and speaks in their name. This type of intervention is going to occur everywhere, because in the epoch of intelligence and reason, the soldiers are won to the sentiments of the progress of history. They see that the transformation of society is progress. Even if this is limited as in the case of Fautario, he has a programme which cannot remain within the terms of simple opposition to the multi-nationals and imperialism. A process exists which obliges him to continue because otherwise he is just nullified. The simple fact that military wines function in a way with the opposite to what they were doing before, and form a programme indicates the very great influence of the progress of history—the Workers States, the Revolutionary States, the masses, influence all these military sectors.

It is not capitalism with its wealth and atomic arms which has influence. The Yanks have sufficient wealth, but sectors of the army in Portugal, Spain, Greece, Argentina, Peru, Panama, France, are won by the Workers States, by the progress of history which is the centralised economy, intelligence and reason.

It is necessary to reiterate a judgement which is fundamental: in Portugal there is a process of the permanent progress of the revolution. Its origin was not the workers movement or the Communist and Socialist movement. They did not promote this. Basically, yes, because it is the resistance, the struggle of the masses, of the struggle of the colonies, of FRELIMO which forms part of this process. But it was the captains who took the decision. Spínola came out to contain a process which can go much further, but he was not against everything. It is a process in which a series of sectors with different levels and different objectives that are combined today, represent historic authenticity, that is to say, the permanent revolution. In this process, all these captains are going to be won consciously. They came out with the consciousness of a party, they came out expressing the need for the process

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war against the masses—the Labour Party and the trade unions. Capitalism through its stooges on the Coal Board intervened directly in the miners' union, seeking a support in the Gormley and co. and the miners have defeated them by making the NEC of the NUM accomplish a 180 degree turn on the bosses' proposals, and showing their decision to deliver soon a clear "NO" to the divisive productivity deal. This is war in the unions. The speech of Miron was one of war, and war against the miners. He publicly denounced Scargill and others as "saboteurs of the Social Contract", the "Marxist minority" which wants to "destroy our parliamentary way of life", and the "latter Lenins" in the trade unions. When both Gormley and Prentice speak in a sense of giving support to this, either by supporting the defunct Social Contract or by supporting the "piece work" proposals of the Coal Board, it is civil war in the trade unions and the Labour Party. Let us be clear about who is the target of the Miron and Co, it is the militants in the trade unions and the Labour Party who arouse the consciousness of the necessity to transform the unions from being organs of class and revolutionary struggle\* "for the radical transformation of the economy and the smashing of private property through nationalisations.

What capitalism is worried about is Marxism, and Marxism in the Labour Party and the trade unions to transform the whole of society. The capitalist class feels that it is the working class that has imposed and maintained a Labour Party is government, and that it is which decides in this country, and that it is preparing to smash private property through the Labour Party.

This is what the capitalist class seeks to impede by confusing Marxism with murderous and indiscriminate terrorism. The Labour Party and the trade unions have to discuss this for what is being prepared is the grounds to launch further attacks against the whole of the Labour Party, to try to smash it, to throw it out of government, and by direct attempt at a coup d'état. This is why this must be discussed and conclusions must be drawn everywhere in the Labour movement. The factories have to discuss this, and the Labour Party and the trade unions have to hold mass meetings to insure that preventative actions are taken with the imposition of workers' control, formation of committees in the factories and in the districts for the working class to take the law in its own hands. Nationalisation is not an economic stop-gap, it must be seen as the just and necessary step to reply to the terrorism of the capitalist class through unemployment, inflation and enormous war expenditures, accumulation of goods for later profits, increase in prices, distortion of production and distribution. The vanguard around the Labour Party and the trade unions, the Shop Steward Committees, the whole movement have to animate themselves to do this immediately, without waiting for decisions from conferences, but insuring that even the coming Labour Conference be fully preoccupied with this. At the same time, the bombs have been planted where they could best provoke bitterness and a sentiment of revenge in the army.

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# The failure of the counter-revolutionary coup ...

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in Portugal. These armies were expressly prepared for colonial oppression. The immense majority of these are against the colonies, against the colonial function. Why? It is not a deduction, the result of a political life, but of the resistance of the masses of the colonies, of Frelimo, which is a fundamental part of the struggle of humanity, of the Workers States. This transforms the mentality of the soldiers. It is not a question of being won as a transitory ally, they are transformed. And their historic function is changed. This is what has to be seen, which is more important than the concrete fact of Portugal. The monetary and the financial crisis of the capitalist system has had as a consequence the loss of the colonies of capitalism. The armies who had been formed to contain this, now have to get out. This means a historic influence over the whole structure and superstructure of capitalism. There can be alternatives of delay, diversions, of containing the process in Portugal. But what cannot find an alternative nor be contained, is the inexorable march of this process. It is inexorable. It is not determined by one or other situation, but the mind is already convinced, that to progress, Socialism is necessary. We don't want any more wars, violence, destruction, oppression.

It is necessary to appeal to the soldiers to function as a Party, and that they develop a programme for the transformation of society, otherwise Portugal cannot advance economically. How is it going to advance? It cannot advance with the multinationals. All the Portuguese masses must and are going to have to intervene in the progress of history and the economy. From the capitalist point of view, there is no progress for Portugal. It is the same sealing off, the same containment, the same backwardness as before. The programme of nationalisations, of the planning of the economy, is a necessary programme for the progress of the economy, not to benefit the proletariat or any particular sector. This is a necessity, because there is no other way to advance economically and socially.

The Movement of the Armed Forces, has very great importance because they are the ones who de-

side the course of this process. It is a phase of the permanent revolution. Not all the soldiers, are involved, there is no homogeneity, there is not a homogeneous coordination, and there are various levels. What is winning, what gives a coherent form to the disconnected thought of the rest, are those who push forward the socialist revolution. There are a series of sectors who are impelled to eliminate the most outstanding aspects of backwardness and to develop the economy, the democratic rights, but who try to contain the process there.

But there are other military wings who want to advance, that have a revolutionary understanding that for Portugal to advance, these measures have to be taken. This means also that within the Movement of the Armed Forces there are many sectors who study, who read and have close connections with the revolutionary Movement. Spínola tried to contain the process of which he forms part, but he was overtaken by the level which the movement aspired to. He wanted to contain it, in the book which he brought out. The people in less than five months, liberated all the colonies. It is necessary to see the profound roots which exist in this process, and the foundation of which is a very large team of soldiers, almost the majority, but they have the strength to attract an important sector which neutralises the others. For example they obliged them to free three colonies, and this posed the economic and social crisis of the regime.

It is necessary to appeal to the Communist Parties to draw on the experience of Portugal, Chile occurred because there was not an adequate policy, not because the bourgeoisie was strong. It is necessary to insist that they have no strength. They used our weakness because we did not have a leadership. But the strength is on our side, the movement of the progress of history is the revolution. All the progressive movements which arise and develop, immediately have to take on a revolutionary character, because they have to transform the economy. It is not possible to make any progress without transforming the economy.

There is no leadership, but the masses already have the preoccupation to intervene. Therefore they compensate for the deficiency in the lack of leaderships. But as they are neither organised nor lead, they have to impel their leaderships or create a new one. Therefore, capitalism wins stages and does what it is doing. For example, it is criminal that in Italy the Fascists succeeded in preventing parliament sentencing the Fascist assassins with Christian Democratic support, when in the streets, the Fascists are nothing. They do not have the strength to mobilise 5,000 people.

The Communist parties are not prepared for a process like the one in Portugal. They are militants and leaders who developed in clandestinity, but they do not have the programme or policy and as they do not have a programme or policy, they adapt themselves to the programme that exists. They run behind the programme, they do not have

the programme to develop and pass through this phase of the democratic bourgeois revolution, begun by the army, and which cannot terminate save in the permanent revolution. There is no other solution, otherwise, it is stagnation.

This uprising of yesterday, was an indication of the fact that either the revolution advances or it retreats into stagnation, remains paralysed, decomposes internally, loses confidence and security, loses contact with the cadres, the workers, the trade unions, with the economic structure, with the means of progress and the right wing uses this.

It is necessary to make the trade unions intervene. They have to intervene and develop an intense cultural, political, social life in the trade unions, to discuss all the problems, to draw upon the cadres of the workers' movement and the peasants. The Communist Party does not have cadres or organisers, neither has the Socialist Party, and not because they were in clandestinity. This undoubtedly affects them, but this has not been the reason. It

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THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN, THE CLASS STRUGGLE

AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION J. Posadas 4th May, 1974

has been an incidental factor, but not a determining one. What is decisive is that they are parties who before did not have a programme or a policy, and they do not have it now. To have a programme means to confront the situation which is stagnating. From the capitalist point of view, it is not possible to progress because it is decomposing. What are they going to do in front of this? They wait for elections, they wait for initiatives from the other side, because they do not have initiatives themselves. But there have been enormous sectors of the masses who have run to the Communist Party who went to impel the Communist Party, just as they went to put carnations in the barrels of the guns to impel the soldiers. There lies the duality of their sentiments. They want to stop the rifles being used to kill, but they want to use the rifles to finish with all this, so they do not have to kill any more. This is the sentiment of people, hence they put the carnations in the barrels with all their love and affection. The Communist parties, not only in Portugal, but the Communist parties throughout the world, are not prepared to understand this permanent process of the revolution, otherwise all the Communist parties would discuss how to apply it, as in the situation in France. It is not the same, but it has a homogeneous base, which is the form which the process takes in the disintegration of the basis of support to the capitalist system: Army, Police, Justice, Church.

Changes are necessary in the Communist Party. In Portugal it is necessary to change the economic, judicial, legislative and financial structure otherwise, power remains as before in the hands of capitalism. High finance and the big multinationals continue to dominate the

economy. They have to be deprived of power. It is necessary to develop new organs of power of the masses. The Communists continue working simply as executors of a necessity and it is the masses who impel them. The masses have to intervene in more advanced, more profound democratic organs, with Soviet rights. This is not going to surprise the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants, or the army. We reiterate, in Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Angola, the army was prepared, structured and sustained in its will and power and in its sense of military will as a colonialist, a big imperialist army. They were overthrown and there was no important crisis, and this shows that now in the army, the world progress of the revolution that was operating transmitted itself directly through Frelimo, through the guerillas. They represent this world will of progress which the Portuguese officers and soldiers confronted directly. They did not only see Frelimo but the world progress of history.

It is necessary to see that the peasants, workers, soldiers, officials intervene, in the form of organisms which can give opinions on how to construct the economy. For example it is necessary to nationalise without compensations, or even if they pay compensations, which although it is erroneous, is not decisive for the progress of history. But it is neces-

sary to plan production, to discuss what to produce and for who, taking into account the level of consumption and the standard of life. It is necessary to improve immediately the standard of life of the population, so that part of the production is devoted to increasing the level of consumption of the population. The Portuguese people were never considered previously. A plan of production has to be made at the same time, which accompanies the increase in the level of consumption and the increase in exports. But if anything should be sacrificed, it should be exports. The increase in exports allows the re-investment of capital, but if it is done at the cost of the consumption of the population, it creates discontent in people and diminishes their social security. On the other hand, if production is improved, allowing the elimination of unemployment and improving the level of consumption, this is going to give an invincible security to the masses. The rest comes afterwards.

A plan to overcome illiteracy has to be brought up. In six months, all the Portuguese people could read and write. But a campaign against illiteracy should be coupled with a campaign for the development of the economy, with the intervention of the masses, with organs in which the masses can decide, give opinion, judge, lead and control. The campaign to overcome illiteracy should be done on the basis of the economy, of society, of the progress of history and of the intervention of the masses. It is not a problem of abstract knowledge but it is linked directly with production, science, technology, the development of human knowledge. The campaign for literacy must be based on the discussion for the economic and social construction of Portugal. For this it is

necessary to change the economic and parliamentary organs which function and respond to a previous structure. To extend democracy, means to give participation to the masses, and an economic base which allows the progress of democracy.

This cannot be done under the capitalist system, and even less with the limitations of the few factories as in Portugal.

This has to be allied with the struggle for democratic rights, to change the structure of the country politically, economically, juridically and financially, and on the basis of a programme for the economy. This can be planned and discussed: where is Portugal going? How can Portugal advance? It is necessary to have a plan of nationalisations, a planning of production, transformation of the organs which govern the country, to oppose the interests of the big factories and capitalism, not only the big factories, but private capital, that is to say, capitalism.

It is necessary also to make Workers States intervene, so that they give help and make appeals. But above all so that the trade unions and the Communist Parties of the Workers States intervene independently of the State, appealing for solidarity, for the united front, giving support and helping to develop the economy to the maximum with technical aid. Capitalism takes five years to produce a technician, the Workers States can do so in six months. The workers' movement combined with study can do it in six months. And the workers' movement can do this, as it has been shown by the Workers States.

The whole country has to be in a permanent state of assemblies, conferences, meetings, popular gatherings, in which all these problems are discussed. From there, the leaders arise. This is the base which is going to provide the cadres who think and reflect, who are capable of organising and intervening to elevate the population. We have to take into account all these movements of the Portuguese type, because they are the consequence of the world process of the revolution, of the world process of the capitalist system, of the progress of the Workers States, and of the advance of the Revolutionary States. It is the advancing force of the process of the permanent revolution which wins them. The process of the permanent revolution in Portugal forms part of this.

J. Posadas 29th September 1974

## On intelligence and passion..

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Bolsheviks, this is how the workers of Rateau worked when they occupied the factory, stopped the destruction of the machines and made the factory function. This is the logical process which results from the advance of the economy, of science, of technology.

Science and technology which are utilised for the economy and for other human activities provide the base for the elaboration of development of the intelligence. And human relations which form part of science—are not science itself, but form part of it—have primacy over material facts. Therefore human fraternity is seen as a necessity of history because the conditions and the structure exist for it, because above everything else, human intelligence prevails, human consciousness and feeling.

And passion is one of the factors which develops intelligence and forms part of intelligence.

J. Posadas 18 April 1974

## editorial

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This is a further provocation, to which the Labour movement must reply by appealing to the police and the soldiers, to consider this problem, to denounce the culprits, and at the same time dedicate a whole time and preparation towards the police and army explaining the struggle for Socialism and demanding the end of the social isolation of army and police with the establishment of full trade union rights, as a means of decisively weakening the coercive structure and apparatus of capitalism and its counter revolutionary objectives.

†The launching of nuclear bombs on the main cities.

\*As Comrade Posadas poses.

# The evolution of the crisis in Italy and the need for the government of the left, of the communists, socialists, and left christian democrats. J. POSADAS

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## THE DECISION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO OVERTHROW CAPITALISM IS THE STRENGTH OF THE LABOUR LEFT

Not a day passes now without it becoming more and more apparent that the forces of Imperialism and capitalism have lost the power of initiative on a world and national scale and that the forces of human progress represented by the Workers States and the world proletariat more and more concentrate the will of humanity to liquidate the forces of private property and advance towards the construction of Communism. The statement of Suslov, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union that the world revolution is irreversible is an expression of the growing confidence of the Workers States that capitalism is in its last stages. Yankee imperialism is reduced to scurrying to the Soviet Union to make a few pleas, to try to gain a little more time before it sinks without trace.

The Soviet Union no longer places the emphasis on peace at any price, on the contrary its military and naval leaders have made clear that the plans of imperialism to attack the forces of world Communism will end in the rout of imperialism. Socially, economically, politically and militarily the Workers States have the advantage. 'Pravda' intervenes in a direct way against Imperialism, denounces with force the vain efforts of the Yanks to increase pressures against the Soviet Union and makes it clear to Poniatoski, the French minister of the interior that any attack on the French Communist Party is an attack on the world Communist movement. At the same time the Soviet Union speaking through Arafat warns the Yanks and their military base in the Middle East, Israel, that there will be no flinching from confrontation if the Yanks so want it. The Yanks at the last moment pulled back from a renewed war in the Middle East because they sense that the Soviet Union is preparing for all eventualities. This shows their indecision, their historic fear that their days are numbered, so they flinch and retreat. Where in the world does capitalism point to a success?—nowhere. In Portugal the left forces in the army continue to dismantle the military apparatus and purge the general staff. In France the general strike of the working class opens the way to deeper and profounder confrontations for the government of D'Estaing who has achieved only a zero for capitalism and is unable to enter upon a dialogue with the masses to contain their strength. In Japan, Ford meets Tanaka who is being 'water-

gated' and whose party has no solution to any problem. In Greece Karamanlis, returns to power on the basis of total swindle—on the basis of electoral rolls which are out of date and the exclusion of the youth and the emigrant workers. And what are his plans for the future?—to save Greek capitalism by entering a common market which is collapsing and at the same time he is obliged to contain NATO. It is all a farce. Imperialism and capitalism have no strength and continue to exist because of limitations in the leadership primarily of the world Communist movement, but this is minute security for capitalism because on a worldwide scale the masses are not confined by the limitations of their leaderships. The forces of private property have only the weapons of assassination left and all the progress has made it clear that the world revolution is not detained by that.

What is the state of the odious defenders of private property in Britain? Very bad, not to say catastrophic. They too are reduced to a state of paralysis. The crisis of capitalism is passing through the Labour Party and very anguished it is. The election of a Labour government has stimulated the working class to extend its initiatives whether in the recent workers tribunal in Newtown or the closed shop for the NUJ.

Capitalism is reduced to despair and at the same time to a violent hatred of the working class which is inexorably and imperturbably erasing capitalism from history. The explosions in Birmingham whether involving sectors of the IRA or not, express completely the barbaric intentions of capitalism. Capitalism

has shown in the Littlejohn affair, the Lennon case, in the M6 case, and in the Stevenson case that its agents are deeply involved in stimulating

provocations. The brutal assassinations in Birmingham—a proletarian city and therefore a centre for the perpetration of capitalist hatred against the working class—have occurred against a background of the invented 'Red Flag 74' which immediately after the explosions again claimed responsibility. All this originates with the bourgeois state apparatus.

The strategy of capitalism is simple. It is the preparation of forms of repression against the working class, against the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions and the currents

in the Communist Party and the IV International (Posadist). Immediately after the massacre in Birmingham, a chorus went up to give the police greater powers of arrest and detention without trial. This is in line with the attitude of the police bosses who want to do away with any legal protections so that they can fulfill their class obligations—the repression of the militants and the Marxists. Above all capitalism fears the development of Marxism in the Labour Party. The bourgeoisie weeps crocodile tears to cover their

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## The revolution in Portugal elevates the function

JULY 20, 1974

of the old people J. Posadas



This old Portuguese woman with the Communist salute comes from the masses who have put up with 20 years of imprisonment and did not say a word of betrayal. The peasants who demonstrated with this old woman with the Communist salute, endured 5, 10, 15, 20 years of imprisonment without giving anything away. Portuguese peasants with the immense backwardness of Portugal, where they still use the plough pushed along by human beings as in Bolivia. There are still areas in which the women or the sons have to push the plough because they do not have an ox or a horse to do it. These are the same peasants who preferred staying in prison rather than confessing to anything, not denouncing anyone, not speaking, not submitting to the regime. This shows a very elevated human dignity which could not arise from the very imperfect relationships in Portugal, but the world relations which communicated with Portugal, human dignity and the masses of Portugal, admitted and accepted this. Hence, fascism was not able to dominate Portugal, because Portugal is the Portuguese masses and these, when they could, rebelled.

Hence this old woman with the Communist salute represents the will, the sentiments, the elevated culture of the Portuguese masses. It is not the culture of scientific knowledge, technical or literary knowledge, but the culture of social knowledge, of what it is necessary to do for the progress of humanity, which is superior to scientific or literary knowledge. They wanted to change history,

and they could not do it in any other way, because they did not have cultural means, but in silence they waited for the opportunity to break the silence of 50 years.

It was not the silence of the young, but of the old also, and external silence. But within, there was an enormous upheaval in the preparation of ideas. And they emerged after 50 years of with-

drawal, of silence, directly into the meeting, to impel the soldiers to bring out the revolutionary programme, and this old woman expresses this.

It is an expression, a sympathy, of the will of the world to triumph, because the salute of this old woman is not the salute which asks for peace or piety, but which demands "we will finish with the scum". Just as this same old woman put up with the fact that her sons and relatives endured 15, 20 years in prison, without grieving, without feeling smashed down, now she comes with the energetic salute, shouting: "Long live the revolution, death to fascism!" And: "Death to fascism" means that if it is necessary to smash them, we smash them, without any sentiment of contempt for life, or of private interest, or of the substitution of the fascists with another oppressive power. This means to change, to finish with every form of human oppression,

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# The evolution of the crisis in Italy and the need for the government of the left, of the communists, socialists and left christian democrats.

OCTOBER 27, 1974

The coup d'etat in Italy, is on the agenda. The coup is permanently on the agenda throughout Europe, in Germany, or France, or Britain. Capitalism is preparing coups, because it cannot respond to, cannot resist the process of the decomposition of the system. This is natural, capitalism answers to the decomposition of its regime with war, civil war, assassinations, crimes, repression. Therefore, to make the coup is part of its work. And if it does not launch the coup, it is because it cannot. But the fact that it has not made the coup is not because the Communist Party opposes or denounces it—it is true this forms part of the reason—but because the working class expresses the relationship of forces.

There is a total mobilisation of the working class, of the petit bourgeoisie, centralised around the Communist and Socialist parties but above all of the Communist Party and of the trade unions. This contains the coup but does not prevent it. It contains, smashes it, until another stage, for another moment. The coup is an objective necessity of the capitalist system, just as the atomic war is the objective necessity of the capitalist system. As they have not been able to launch the atomic war, because they would not lose it, they develop local wars which correspond to six atomic wars, and the deaths they provoke, the disasters they cause, are continuously unleashed. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account that whatever the solutions, they now give to this crisis of the government, Italian capitalism cannot establish or secure an equilibrium; what conditions are there for it? Although they give loans, it is not to save Italian capitalism. German, British, French, Yankee capitalists want to shelter Italian capitalism. They want to take it by the throat and give it oxygen to survive, but not so that it moves and competes with them. They provide loans so that Italian capitalism can continue, so that it contains the crisis, and Italian capitalism depends on them. Therefore, this loan which they arranged is a type of purchase, to increase the dependency on NATO and at the same time they close their eyes to the coups being planned. This coup which Andreotti has denounced is a coup of four years ago. And now, they suddenly discover it. The person they should sentence is Andreotti because he knew all about it, and the Christian Democracy which knew all about it, the ones who are still around now. What they have done is disclose something in order to contain a process. Above all, they want to contain the Christian Democratic base, not to content the Communists and the Socialists. The most important objective is to contain the base of the left of the Christian Democracy, which is influenced and impelled by the Communists and Socialists. The attitude of the Communist and the Socialist parties, above all the Communist Party, stimulates this left to be concerned to investigate, to oppose such conditions and such perspectives for a coup. It can oppose, but it is not going to impede.

## The world crisis of capitalism is reflected in Italy

Capitalism postpones the war, but it does not negate it. Capitalism tried to launch the war against Cuba, when it confronted a very great internal resistance: it tried and lost. It tried in Vietnam and lost. In the Middle East and Israel it lost. But, it continues to stay in Israel because it is the launching pad of imperialism in the Middle East and the link with the Arab bourgeoisies. Even so, their crisis is so acute, that imperialism cannot affirm this link in a stable form. There is a link, a certain agreement, but it is not stable. And constantly, it breaks, it is interrupted, loses strength, dis-

solves, because the competition between them is enormous, and because Israel is a manufactured state in which the Yanks so to speak own 70% of the big bourgeoisie. Therefore, the Yanks cannot have a firm and secure base, nevertheless, they maintain it at a very high cost. They maintain it, including Hussein. Imperialism maintains in the Middle East and Asia, the full preparation for the war.

The agreement with the Soviets, is simply a temporary stopper to contain the process which is coming, and it can be thrust out any moment. In a week, three months, a year, or two years. It can happen at any moment. The meeting of Breznev with Ford is very significant. Ford is the President of the United States, and he is not going to meet the President of the USSR, but Breznev, the Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party. This means that the capitalist system has to recognise the authority of the structure and functioning of the Workers State through the Party. They are going to negotiate with the Party! And to negotiate to contain the war. These agreements have no basis to last, they last until one of the two feels capable of breaking them. The Workers State is trying to win authority over the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and some European countries; it tries to sustain its policy, to win a base and act as an attractive force throughout the capitalist world on the basis of the decomposition of the capitalist system. All the capitalists know this and they are not going to let this continue indefinitely. They are trying to control the present crisis, in France, Germany and Italy, but they feel that the crisis is going to be much more powerful than the means to contain it. It is a crisis which has accumulated for over twenty years, because the total crisis of the capitalist system developed after the war, and the crisis includes all the institutions of capitalism, political, moral, police, military, Church. There is a complete decomposition, and what they are going to try to make is an agreement, which is convenient to the Soviet bureaucracy to win time, to win a base in the sectors of the North American bourgeoisie, which fear the war, or do not want it now.

Italy is within this process. The capitalist world is not advancing to give loans to Italy to allow it to develop. In Germany for example they calculate that there is going to be a million unemployed within six months and in France and Britain also. The capitalist system has to rationalise and to dismiss workers. The capitalist system always has a solution, if there is no solution capitalists find a solution at the cost of the proletariat and at the cost of small enterprises who cannot sustain competition. They are going to seek a solution, and capitalism is going to seek to launch the war. Thus, the crisis of Italy forms part of this process, and one cannot speak of a "serious government" which is going to resolve the problems. What does this "seriousness" consist of? Who gives the loan and what is it utilised for? What makes it serious or not serious?

Does it mean that capitalism is going to produce a programme to make the country advance? If capitalism could do it, it would. But it does not do it, because it cannot.

If the policy of the Communists is aimed at winning a base in the Christian Democracy, well, this is possible, but it is necessary to pose that they cannot find a capitalist government to carry out its policy. It is necessary to aim at the Christian Democratic masses, no capitalist government can resolve this crisis! This has to be done next to them, they have the French Communist Party, and Marchais poses what we already pose: that no capitalist government can find a solution. Why in Italy don't they propose the same? Why such fear? The fear does not come from the masses or the Christian Democratic base, which is in agreement to overthrow all this, it is the leadership which is afraid.

In France, the Congress of the Communist Party and the report of Marchais, have just declared: Yes, we want to govern, and we want to govern with the programme of the Popular Union, which is an anti-capitalist programme. Mitterrand has just reaffirmed this. It is necessary to show how the total crisis of the capitalist system can be resolved, and to say to the Christian Democratic masses: within the capitalist system, there is no solution! Who wants to involve the Yanks? Now they want them to intervene, and now they denounce them. Donat Cattin denounced them when things were going badly for him. Had things gone well, he would not have denounced them, and he delayed some time before doing it, anyway. When they saw that things were going badly and there was going to be a reply to the coup and an uprising, then the denunciation was made. It was not that they were slow, but that they compared, decided between one or other attitude and saw that they were losing, or his tendency judged like this. There is no solution within the capitalist system. The attitude of the Communists to wait for regional elections, to make regional governments of the Left, cannot be at the cost of the perspective of the intensification of the crisis of the government. Even if they win the elections in the regions—and they can win quite a few—this is not going to resolve any problem because the central axis that resolves problems is the economy. And already the car industry is in crisis. Does Italy have to base itself on the economy of four wheels? Or should not there be a different plan of production that takes into account the needs of the population and not the accumulation of capital? This is what has to be posed, but on the contrary they conceal this. They want to present the situation as if they could make an agreement within the capitalist system. No, no. They cannot make any such agreement!

Already thousands and thousands of workers from France and Belgium are returning to Italy, thousands who weigh in the economy of all these countries, and Bertoldi\* has calculated a million unemployed within the next six months. When it feels such a pressure the bourgeoisie is going to try to deliver a coup. But now it wants to come to an agreement and Corriera de la Sera is very conciliatory because they do not have any strength. If they were strong they would have launched the coup and established fascism already.

## The factory councils, the workers' party and the basis for dual power

It is necessary to make the trade unions intervene in the factories and the workers' areas. These mobilisations which the Communist Party are making are very limited. There have to be massive mobilisations, every day, but with objectives: a new economy, nationalisations, workers' control. This is absent, and has to be proposed. Capitalism cannot resolve the crisis and neither can the car industry, hence also Fiat wants an agreement which is shown through La Stampa. It wants and seeks an agreement just as the Corriera de la Sera does. Capitalism does not have the capacity to resolve anything. Therefore it tries to maintain itself on the basis of the limitations and the resistances of the Communist and Socialist parties. But when the Socialist Party has to pose as an essential condition, negotiations with the trade unions, although this might be a base of conciliation and negotiation, and with the trade union leaders, it might be a base for reformism, for interpenetration with the capitalist system, it is because the masses are superior to their leaders. Hence, the Christian Democrats fear an agreement with the Socialists, because they fear that even if they conciliate with the Socialist leadership and with the trade union bureaucracy, the masses are going to by-pass them all.

The process of dual power is expressed concretely in the fact that the trade unions exercise a leading function, a function of leadership and substitute for the state and

the management in factory occupations, meetings with the parties, authorisations not to pay for travel tickets but to travel freely, and rejection of prices increases. The working class feels that it is ready to exercise power. And it is saying to its leaders that it is ready for this. It is ready as a body: Christian Democrats, Communists, Socialists, Republicans, Social Democrats. All the working class is ready to do this, and this is what is containing the coup. It makes the bourgeois sectors fear and vacillate. But they are going to try to organise the coup anyway, and, therefore it is necessary to mobilise to smash all these plans.

If the parties are not ready to take the power, the trade unions can replace them because power comes from them. It can replace them momentarily as a leadership, but afterwards, they cannot exercise the function of leadership. But if they could exercise this function to impel the struggle towards the objectives as in 1960, the process now is much more elevated.

In Britain, the government of Wilson triumphed, supported by the left and now there are conflicts with the left which demand the strict application of the programme of nationalisations. The same process is happening in Germany and France. It is a world process, the world crisis of the capitalist system, of which Italy is a reflection. In an ever more elevated and massive form, meetings take place in the factories of the parties, which they refer to as the "democratic areas". And the factory councils are at the centre of every mobilisation. There is a development of a dual power, not an established dual power, but a

## J. POSADAS

functioning towards this in principle. This is to say all the elements exist, the actions, of civil war. Now they denounce the coup which was going to be launched, but why do not they denounce the coup which is coming? And besides why don't they let the working class intervene? Why does the Italian Communist Party not make the working class intervene? They should pose in the factories:

Factory occupations, throughout Italy, and make a plan of work, appealing to the army, the police, the soldiers. What would be definitive is a plan of production, of development for the economy of Italy, in which all the population must intervene. Italy is in this situation because of capitalism. The crisis is not the crisis of Italy but of capitalism. Italy, is not Andreotti, or Rumor, however great the noise that they make. Whatever twisting and turning they want to make, capitalism has no other solution than to win time. The normal means of capitalism are those of war, and war preparations. It can sacrifice some sectors as it has done in the normal process of competition. But it cannot renounce its function.

The other aspect is the factory councils, which have to develop and the workers' parties should make a plan for this. The Socialist Party wants an agreement with the trade unions, but trade union agreements made at the top to conciliate with the trade union bureaucracy at the cost of the aspirations of the masses, and at the cost of the need and possibility to emerge from the crisis. Therefore it is necessary to insist that there has to be a discussion in which the factory councils can intervene, elected democratically on

the basis of the sections, and where the political affiliation is not important. This has to be done with the programme, on the basis of which the delegates are elected, and the programme has to be: trade union democracy, with discussion of all the problems, nationalisations and planning in accordance with the needs of the population and of the Workers States. And they should appeal to the Workers States and pose, capitalism cannot lead the country, but we, yes.

It is necessary that the factory councils acquire more importance than they have at the present moment. They are organs of power, organs that are seeking solutions, and the Communists and Socialists are giving to the bourgeoisie a base to solve its crisis. It has to be posed that this is false, and cannot be done. The bourgeoisie is not going to solve the crisis, it is going to win time to prepare for another coup. To break the Christian Democratic base cannot be done by this method. The method is the objective analysis: what is capitalism, the crisis of capitalism, what is happening in France, the attitude of the Communists and the Union, and what was the action of the masses which influenced and won them? Capitalism cannot do anything else. There is no possible conciliation which can contain the capitalist crisis. The masses are ready to take power, and this is shown by the factory councils and the meetings which they are holding, the discussions, the resolutions, and the unanimity with which they mobilised in the referendum over Brescia, in Sardinia, in everything which happens now. The unification of the masses is maintained constantly and

advances, including the Social Democrats.

The internal discussion in the Italian Communist Party, develops in a visible form towards the left. It is necessary to insist on the analysis of the basis of the Christian Democracy. It is a heterogeneous party, of heterogeneous composition: workers, peasants, petit bourgeois, and bourgeois. But it is the big bourgeoisie that gives the orders. The Communists did not say this, now they do, besides any worker would tell them. The internal discussion in the Communist Party is going to demand ideas, ideas, and ideas.

It is not going to be resolved by a trade union position, or a strike. Although these are important, this is not what is going to decide, but only the persistence, the continuity of analysis, which forms the political capacity of the leader and the Communist militant to think. And they have to see that the solution is anti-capitalist as in France, and that there is no other solution. This is the most important task to carry out in this process.

It is necessary to discuss new ideas now. One cannot avoid, or take up oblique positions with semi-clear, semi-decisive orientations, based on supposition. It is necessary to be clear and decisive, showing the course of the process.

The final settlement of accounts is being prepared by imperialism and capitalism. Hence, the frequent meetings of the Communist Parties of Europe and the Workers States. Hence the resolution of the French Communist Party in which they are cleansing the French Communist Party.

## The government of the left, the anti-capitalist programme and the struggle for power

The bourgeoisie bases itself on the crisis of the Communist and Socialist Parties, to gain time. Before, they repressed, using fascism and civil war. Now, they have to find support in the crisis of the Communist and Socialist Parties. But as opposed to earlier crises, this one does not weaken or lead the Communists or Socialists into defeat. Their power is going to increase because they are winning people, and there is a cleansing as in Britain, where the Labour right goes and votes against the Labour Party, but the Labour Party wins the petit bourgeoisie coming from the Liberals and the Conservatives. It is a transposition of base, of social quality. The right is leaving the Socialist parties, and a sector of the left of the Liberals and Conservatives comes towards them.

In Italy also an important factor of the Christian Democracy is going towards the Communists and the Socialists, hence the fear of the Christian Democracy. And they have a terrible fear of the future. It is a lie that they are going to have an election. Basically, this is a blackmail. What they seek is to provoke a situation which favours a coup d'etat or the need for a government of the right, because the elections are not going in their favour. They are losing and they would lose two or three or four percent more than before. This is a blackmail and at the same time, it is a fear of preparing a coup d'etat to compensate for a lack of authority.

It is necessary to utilise to the maximum the situation in France. The Congress of the French Communist Party, the declarations of

Mitterrand and the meeting of the Socialist Party. The Socialists and Communists confirm the programme of the Popular Union. It is necessary to put forward this programme, therefore, now. Without nationalisations, there is no solution. Therefore it is necessary to nationalise the most important factories, to make a whole campaign of analysis and publications, showing that the crisis is not of Italy but of Italian capitalism, and in that of a fundamental sector of capitalism. The struggle against them is not going to mean either civil war against us, or the smashing of the working class. They are the ones who feel that they do not have any strength. Otherwise, they would have organised fascism, coup d'etats, and civil war. When they do not do it, it is because they do not have any strength.

Therefore, it is necessary to apply a programme of nationalisations, of planning of the economy, with the intervention of the trade unions; the development of democracy; elimination of all the fascist laws. It is absurd completely that still an immense number of fascist magistrates exist, whilst all the fascist prisoners are liberated. It is the state apparatus, changing the functioning and the organs of the state apparatus, developing organs which do not respond to capitalism but to the masses. This is democracy, the bourgeoisie do not permit democracy. Therefore it is necessary to pose the cleansing of the state apparatus.

At the same time, it is very important to have a programme which is united with the struggle for wages and employment for the workers. In France, they have won very important concessions. That is a year's guaranteed wage; in America, they have two years. At the same time, it is necessary to show that the guaranteed wage is insufficient, because capitalism yields way, but it is going to increase the cost of living brutally, because what Ford's pay out, is manufactured paper money. It is not through production because there is unemployment. And money which circulates is on the basis of commodities. When they do not work and they still continue to be paid, this produces an enormous inflation, a galloping inflation. Therefore, it has to be shown that this guaranteed wage to one year in order to have a base in the trade union bureaucracy, it is a lie. Neither in France, is it going to be like this, because it is a conquest of the working class. But it is necessary to see that this conquest is accompanied by the sliding scale of wages, the guaranteed wage with the sliding scale of wages. If the cost of living increases, wages have to rise proportionately. Therefore, it is necessary to develop a campaign for this.

Also, and at the same time, it is necessary to pose the need to go to power to guarantee production, maintaining the economy of the country, which does not function because capitalist profit cannot permit it, not that there is a failure of consumption. It is their crisis. And on the contrary, in the Workers States, there is no crisis. There is no unemployment, on the contrary, there is full employment. In Yugoslavia which has quite a few workers abroad, this arose because it was possible to get more wages abroad, but there is no crisis or unemployment. This has to be posed as an argument, and also to argue at the same time for the sliding scale of wages, the guaranteed wage, the sliding scale of hours, and to show that all this is insufficient. Capitalism cannot sustain this, because it affects the functioning, the logic of the structure of the development of the capitalist system, of the accumulation of capital, of the competition of capital. It damages the laws of the capitalist system. They are going to have to attempt the war, and the Soviets know this. In two recent

texts, they posed that the atomic war, or the war is not impossible, and the only form of the war is atomic.

Capitalism is going to seek every possible means to oppose the movement of the masses. It is necessary to impel the Communist, Socialist parties, the Left Christian Democrats into government, to form a government of the Left. There are no stages to be able to win and convince the leaderships of the left Christian Democracy. Donat Cattin does not represent the left, nor does the present left represent the real left. They make a usufruct of the left, they are leaders of the left of a past epoch, while the Christian Democratic base, is very close to Communism and not to the Christian Democracy, not to Donat Cattin. The proof lies in the meeting of the Synod. In the Synod they were not able to produce a concluding document because the part of the Church in Latin America in the Third World as they call it, was against. When this happens in a Synod, which is an essential ideological centre of the capitalist system, of private property, it is because the Christian Democratic base is being won. They believe in Socialism, and when part of the army resolves to establish or demand a democratic functioning saying that they do not want to be assassins, they want to be a centre which impels the economy for the benefit of the population, this shows the destruction of the structures of support, basic to the capitalist system.

They have the apparatus of the army, church, police, justice. Therefore, this apparatus, has to be broken, and the Communists are seeking to do this because they are impelling the factories, like the Party with the programme that no capitalist government can make. But procedure is slow, and gives time for the government to prepare. Hence the appeal of the trade union leadership, like the appeal of the Communist Party, has to be clear and decisive. The Communist Party wants to go to power, and it is clear what it is doing. Hence, the meetings which they are holding in the factories with the leaders, is proof that they want to go to power. But their way gives stages to capitalism and creates the illusion that there can be a capitalist government that can resolve the problem. A coup is being prepared and we prepare to answer it, and to answer it means to break their economic power on which their political power is based. Hence, it is necessary to make this programme, and to make an appeal for a meeting of the Left throughout Europe. The solution to the crisis of capitalism, is nationalisations, functioning under workers' control, Socialists and Communists to power. This is the solution to the crisis of the capitalist system. This is what they have to discuss. We propose that this is discussed in the next Congress of the Italian Communist Party. The coup d'etat cannot triumph. The power of the masses, yes. The process is advancing towards a definition between the coup which the bourgeoisie wants to give, to try to maintain the capitalist power, and the masses, who want to impel the Communists and the Socialists into the government, as a form of going to anti-capitalist power. This is the solution to the problems of Italy, which is the solution to the problems of the whole capitalist world, the word crisis of the capitalist system.

J. Posadas

## 27 October 1974

**RED FLAG**  
REGISTERED  
WITH THE POST OFFICE  
AS A NEWSPAPER

## The workers tribunal in Newtown is a step towards organisms of dual power

The Workers Tribunal proposed by the workers of the Dowty Seals factory in Wales to try the factory manager for disrupting production and mismanagement is a very profound expression of the decision of the working class to overthrow the capitalist system. Their action challenges the functioning of one aspect of the state apparatus, that is, the judiciary and is a form of dual power. When such a small and comparatively isolated sector of the working class intervene like this it can only be that this is the level of the class as a whole. They would not be able to make this proposal otherwise and even if they are prevented from actually holding the trial by the limitations of the local trade union leadership it does not destroy the significance of their intervention.

The fact that the 'charge' which the manager faces is one of 'sabotage' is extremely significant. This is the action which the bourgeoisie will inevitably try to adopt, because now the Labour Party goes to the left, they have an interest in attempting to disorganise deliberately, causing unemployment, food shortages and bombings as a means of intimidating the middle classes and giving an impression of general 'anarchy' associated with the left forces. However, such action immediately provokes reaction from the working class and boomerangs against the capitalist class. The tremendous confidence and decision of the workers is shown by their statements—'The community suffers through mismanagement by managers of industry—Let them see at first hand who is the true saboteur and disrupter.' As in the occupation of Lip (a watch-making factory in France which was occupied and run by the workers), and Rateau (where all the population had collective meals together in the occupied factory), this experience is going to be assimilated by all the workers' movement, not just in Britain, but throughout Europe. Such is the intention of these workers who themselves say... 'This is something which will hit at the foundations of industrial management. We know we are making history, and it will have repercussions right across the country.' It

to develop from the imposition of workers' control in the factories by the workers in response to the threats of redundancies, sabotage and closures. In the fact of such action, the Labour Party must nationalise firms without compensation. Open all the books! It is necessary to see that capitalism is in total and final crisis, and has no interest in developing anything for humanity. In nine months in 1973, private enterprise has increased the amount of capital invested abroad by 30%, yet, these same firms call for state subsidies to prevent potential bankruptcy! Of course, the small firms do find themselves in severe financial difficulties, because of the competition with the large monopolies, but the whole crisis of industry is exaggerated deliberately. The left in the Labour Party must not be intimidated by this blackmail, and has to respond with even greater boldness.

Throughout Europe, similar actions are being taken by the workers' movement. In Italy, for example, the Trade Unions are printing their own tickets for the public transport system, and are not allowing prices of electricity to go any higher. In this country some while ago at Hirwaun, in Wales, all the population intervened to prevent a gas works being built near their houses. This determining goes against the usual function of the building plans against the interests of the population. Confronted with the maturity of the working class, the left has to break any respect for capitalist institutions. This includes the police, army, courts and the monarchy. The state apparatus functions to repress all actions against private property. The vast majority of cases brought to court are 'crimes' against private property, yet still, Labour Party and trade union officials are magis-

trates in these courts! The Monarchy represents an archaic and backward structure which, in part, capitalism can use to maintain respect for the system, even though the monarchy has no control. It is not possible to go towards socialism without finishing with all these institutions. The alternative to the state apparatus is to develop factory committees and workers' areas committees where all the population discuss what is required to be produced in the factories according to needs not profits. Such committees are required now, to combat the resistance of the capitalist class, to allow full discussion on how to go towards socialism, and eventually form the basis of Soviet functioning, which control and plan the economy.

What must be done therefore, is for this workers' tribunal to become a focus for discussion with delegates from Labour Party, trade unions and factories intervening there, and transmitting the experience back to all parts of the Labour movement. It is this type of activity which is essential to generalise as a means of imposing directly on the Labour Party the need to extend the programme of nationalisations, without compensation, and under workers' control.

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THE LIBERATION OF WOMEN,  
THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION  
J. Posadas 4th May, 1974

# THE SONGS AND COMMUNISM

J. POSADAS

JULY 22, 1974

It is necessary to learn to sing. It is not an obligation, nor is it fundamental for the policy, the programme and the struggle for Socialism. But it is necessary. Although it is not fundamental, it is more and more necessary. The progress of humanity which puts flowers in the barrels of rifles, which shoots and kills, but with the sentiment of the flower—humanity does not kill to destroy but to cleanse the road to progress—must be accompanied by a very elevated sentiment of our interpretation of human relations, and part of this is the song.

Every comrade must learn to sing, not learning to cultivate the song and the voice but concerned with singing. To the extent that this world process develops, the birds and the song are necessary for life. Listen to how the birds live in socialism and they are going to live in this way. They form part of the organisation of joy, of contact with nature. Between nature, the birds and ourselves, the birds transmit the voices of nature which still we don't understand, but tomorrow we shall. It is necessary to sing and to have an affection for song and although one may not know how, it is necessary to learn to sing. To learn to sing well, without being dedicated to the cultivation of song, is to organise the sentiments, to dominate and organise them, so that afterwards they can be placed spontaneously at the service of ideas. The song forms part of this. It is not an obligation to communicate or to discuss, it is a necessity for the organisation of the ideas.

All the great masters of Marxism were singers, all: Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky less, he himself said so. But Marx, Engels, Lenin, enjoyed singing and sang a great deal. The best Bolshevik organisers enjoyed singing, and every revolutionary leadership responsible before history, which showed that it fulfilled its role in history enjoyed singing, and music. It is not an indispensable necessity but it is a necessity. And the more one organises and the better one learns to sing and enjoy singing, the more it is necessary to treat it with the care with which we take the needs of the political line, of the programme and even sport. One should enjoy singing.

In the future song will be a means of uninterrupted communication. We will communicate with human beings with the song, with the birds and with nature. The bird will be an intermediary. There are a series of sounds which today we do not understand, and which the birds are going to communicate to us. Ornithologists explain that the birds produce these songs because they have a certain formation of the throat which allows them to do this. It is possible, but also it is because they represent nature more directly than ourselves. We are more distant from this understanding because of other problems.

It is necessary to learn to sing. If it is not possible to dedicate time to singing it is not indispensable, but it is necessary to enjoy singing and to give it importance. Hence all the revolutionaries, all the revolutionary movement, sings and employs the song as a means of communication, of joy, of optimism, but also of security which the song gives. Therefore it is necessary to sing.  
J. Posadas 22 July 1974

## ARGENTINA...

Note delivered by a delegation of our Party repudiating the assassination of the Comrades of the PST.

To the Comrades of the Workers' Socialist Party:

Dear Comrades, in front of the new and infamous assassinations of comrades of the revolutionary cause, this time comrades Nievas, Bousas, and Robles, we feel complete solidarity with you, certain that these are desperate actions of the counter-revolution which cannot help but elevate the sentiment of unification and the links of revolutionary functioning of the proletarian and revolutionary vanguard, in a powerful united front for the tasks of national and social liberation.

The motive of these crimes is to try to contain the organisation of the class and revolutionary tendency, to try to intimidate the functioning in the factories, to try to intimidate the political functioning of the masses. Our party appeals for the organisation together with the trade unions, the factories and the anti-imperialist parties, of a reply of the masses to the assassinations and the activities of the para-police groups and counter-revolutionary terrorism: For unification around a common programme. Out with imperialism! Out with the right from the Government! For the expulsion of all the Yankee military missions! Full democracy for the masses!  
Fraternally,

Political Bureau of the Workers Party (Trotskyist),  
IV International Posadist.

## THE DECISION OF THE WORKING CLASS...

from page 1

hideous crimes in Northern Ireland, and the crimes they prepare for the final encounter with the Workers States. Essentially the weapons of assassinations and war—as in Ireland—are the response of capitalism to the will and decision of the working class to finish with capitalism. The attitude of the working class is shown by the workers' tribunal at Newtown placing the management on trial. This expresses the whole will of the working class. They are preparing to replace capitalist power with workers' power, to replace the bourgeois organs of judicial and administrative functioning with workers' instruments of dual power in the factories and the workers' districts. This is the basis for the implementation of workers' control to confront the capitalist mismanagement in the factories, preparing the way for the extension of nationalisations to run the economy in the interests of the population not the interests of a minority of the population who work only in the interests of private property. The resolutions of the unions towards the Labour Party Conference, demanding more nationalisations show the continuous leftwards force of the process, the inexorable force of the working class.

The struggle in the Labour Party reaches constantly profounder levels seen in the discussion over the rights of ministers in relation to the powers of the NEC. This is the struggle basically to implement and extend the programme, the struggle to impose the will of the party, the will of the forces of the left against the obstruction, the conciliations and the incapacity of the right. This struggle cannot be settled without a much more profound discussion and concrete initiatives by the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the Unions. The left has to base itself on the will of the working class which is far superior in decision to the present leadership in the Labour Party. Who on the left of the Labour Party advocated a 'workers' tribunal' which would spread its example throughout the country? No one. There has still not been any serious intervention towards the

struction of Communist society. Although she does not know what Communism is, she feels that it is the suppression of all the forms of violence. If not, this old woman would make the sign of the cross, or of piety, or peace. But the raised fist means: "Death to the tyrants, down with tyranny, death to fascism, long live Communism". This is the cry of the old woman who at the very least must be 80. Age does not impede the vigour of youth.

The idea of the struggle for Communism and the resolution to smash fascism, unifies the old and the young, unifies the sentiments and the will to triumph. The youth gives to the old, energy and resolution and the old give the security that human beings cannot be smashed down, whatever their age, and therefore, this communicates to the young, the will of enormous triumph. Youth does not only triumph because it is young, but also because it sees before it the dignified behaviour of the old. Hence, the youth of this stage, is more resolved than at any other stage of history, because it sees that the old people have the same resolution, and decision as they have. Youth has more vitality, but the old have more decision and it is the receptacle of the human will to want to triumph. At the age of 80, this comrade wants humanity to triumph not to have a tranquil life, for herself. The tranquility of the old people, is the development of human history, eliminating capitalism. This is what is meant by the militant salute of the old woman and it expresses the will of the whole world.

J. Posadas 20 July 1974

factories to stimulate a discussion about the strategy, the orientation and the programme of the Labour Party. This stems from a lack of confidence about mobilising the extra parliamentary forces of the working class to confront capitalism, and not fully appreciating the creative force and power of the masses.

For example the attitude of the miners should be a source of strength to the Labour Party and also makes the point that the miners' union has to use all its forces to intervene towards the Labour Party. The victory of the miners—one of a succession of victories smashing the plans of capitalism—is a prelude to a further deepening of the class struggle and opening more doors to the triumph of Communism. The miners rejected the productivity deal on the basis of rejection of all the old differential norms which placed one man against another. It was a decisive blow against all the old aristocracy of labour represented by the Clark clique, the class renegades who can no longer sustain their power, and desperately fought to contain the process. The aristocracy of labour although still structured, is losing its dominion and the miners have delivered another crushing blow at the conservative sectors in the Labour Party. Such a triumph will augment the force of the trade unions as a whole to intervene on a range of issues and substitute for the Labour Party when it fails to advance. The growing force of the left leadership in the miners' union has to measure the level of the process and stimulate discussion in the union and the Labour Party on the need for a complete Socialist solution.

The forces of the left in the Labour Party must see the immense crisis of the whole capitalist system.

The despair of capitalism is abject. Workers, farmers, shopkeepers constantly mobilise against it or prepare to do so. The force of the process is seen in the way that the Labour government now begins to touch the sacred privileges of the bourgeois press by blows to strengthen the closed shop in the NUJ which poses control of the editors of the bourgeois press. This is the result of the victory of the Labour Party in the elections, it is on a course that goes against the wishes of capitalism. In the same way the budget of Healey was a lousy budget from the point of view of the masses, on the other hand its aid to capitalism is insufficient to remedy the crisis of capitalism. It means only the impotence of capitalism and hence the impotence of the right of the Labour Party.

The moribund nature of capitalism, its total paralysis, its grotesque paroxysm demand conclusions leading to power being taken by the working class. There is no other way out. In the crisis of employment for example, it is absurd to argue for 'co-operatives'. This may satisfy a sector of the aristocracy of labour, but it is no solution to the problems of this epoch. Nationalisation cannot remain as a gentle sedative, it is the only solution for all the problems of society. On the other hand it cannot wait upon legislative enactments because the crisis of capitalism is quicker than elections and new laws, it is here, it is growing and capitalism is certainly not going to wait—see the problems they are creating over investment over employment and the blood-

dy massacre organised in Birmingham. They respond like trapped rats. The left in the Labour Party has to establish more and more the links in the factories to stimulate the discussion over nationalisations and the planned economy on the basis of the imposition of workers' control in the factories, opening of the books, control of hiring and firing. But all this depends on the prior organisation of the masses to make a concerted impact. The left has to base itself on the experiences of UCS, the occupations of Briants and Fisher Bendix, the new experience of Newtown which shows a constant elevation in the intention and understanding of the class. This is what is meant by leadership, a fearless taking into account of the capacity of the class and the total incapacity of capitalism.

The integration of the Labour Party with the historic progress of the Workers States and the international world Communist movement is shown in the decision to send observers to meetings of the Communist parties of the Workers States. All this is going to clarify that the only way forward for the Labour Party is to become in effect a Communist Party based on Marxism. It is only Marxism that has the global character to comprehend the tasks of this epoch and the construction of Communism. This is why the Labour Party has to initiate discussion, discussion and more discussion. Discuss the barbarities of the Birmingham massacre in which yet again the police invented apparition of the 'Red Flag 74' makes its appearance. It is fundamental to discuss this. Where is the position of the Labour Party left, what do they think capitalism is doing? The coercive apparatus of the state acts independently of the government—it is necessary to denounce this and prepare interventions towards the police and the armed forces explaining the need for Socialism and political life in the armed forces and the police.

In this process we appeal to the Communist Party (as in part it is doing) to elevate the discussion of the international and national scene, taking into the Labour movement all the force of the achievements and the experiences of the Workers States, drawing upon the experiences of the functioning of the Bolshevik Party proving the case for nationalisations under workers' control, the need for uninhibited discussion in meetings, conferences, eliminating all the spirit of competition with the Labour Party, and above all making the forces of the left feel that the force of the masses is indestructible, but that they need their own organs in which to intervene with complete freedom and the right of immediate recall of delegates. Italy now and France in 1968 and in part Portugal now have all show the vital importance of the extra parliamentary life of the masses. The left of the Labour Party and the Communist Party and the trade unions have to be based on this, to develop a discussion with the masses, discussing all the points of the anti-capitalist programme including trade union democracy, all wages to rise with the cost of living, nationalisation, workers' control.

24 Nov, 1974

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# THE DISINTEGRATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE COMMUNIST RELATIONS OF HUMANITY J. POSADAS

29.8.1974

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## ANSWER THE TOTAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM WITH A COMPLETE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS AND PLANNING

During and since the Labour Party Conference, the right wing of the Labour government has attempted a number of manoeuvres aimed at supporting the continuation of capitalism. Wilson's trip to discuss with Giscard d'Estaing and the appointment of Ryder—one of the well known 'captains of industry'—as head of the proposed National Enterprise Board is part of this; it is part of a policy which has no perspective as capitalism has neither perspective, nor future. The illusion that it is possible to reform capitalism has come into sharp collision with the reality of the total crisis of capitalism with the virtual collapse of the British Leyland Motor Corporation. The plea of the British Leyland bosses for government finances has been met with the proposal by the government for 'a measure of public control'. This means that whatever the intentions of sectors of the right of the Labour Party, nationalisations are being imposed on it by the complete and total nature of the crisis of capitalism. It is true that Benn doesn't propose the immediate nationalisation of British Leyland, but the trade unions and the shop stewards leaders in the industry are already posing the necessity of nationalisation together with measures of workers' control. And the workers of BLMC at Cowley choose this moment to demand a wage increase of £16 a week which expresses—in the form of an economic demand—the determination of the working class that they are not going to pay for the crisis of capitalism. To raise such a level of wage increase at this moment really amounts to demanding the complete nationalisation of the industry since capitalism cannot accede to such a demand—and the workers know it!

Wilson's discussions with Giscard d'Estaing is a reaction to the decision of the Labour Party Conference against Britain's membership of the EEC. The resolution was put in the form of a series of demands which would make Britain's continued membership of the Common Market impossible and it amounts to a vote against membership. What Wilson hoped for was to gain some concessions from the French bourgeoisie as a support for the struggle inside the Labour Party. And he got nothing! He got nothing because the French bourgeoisie like the rest of the European bourgeoisie have nothing to give. On a European scale—as on a world scale—the capitalist system is in crisis with 11% unemployment in Denmark and a governmental crisis, with the rise to over 3% in unemployment in West Germany, with the General Strike in preparation in France, with the constant mobilisation of the masses in Portugal. The Common Market is collapsing with each bourgeois regime looking after its own interests, and Giscard was much more interested in trying to prop up his own collapsing regime on the basis of trade agreements with the Soviet Union than in giving comfort to Wilson and the right wing of the Labour government. Giscard, in seeking to support himself on trade agreements with the Soviet Union, expresses all the weakness and divisions in European capitalism, its lack of confidence in the Common Market. At the same time it means that the Soviet Workers State is intervening directly in the running of capitalism and is able to take advantage of the divisions between the

various capitalist regimes to further disintegrate the war alliance of world imperialism. In order to make this agreement with the Soviet Union, Giscard has to distance himself from Yankee imperialism and this is why General Stelhin, who is a direct representative of Yankee imperialism is isolated and under attack.

Wilson's failure in this attempt to gain concessions from the French bourgeoisie has the same significance as the fact that the intervention of Schmidt in the Labour Party Conference did not prevent the Labour Party voting against the EEC. Even within the limited form and structure of the Conference, the balance of class forces weighed and prevented the right from articulating a policy in defence of capitalism; and the defence of the Common Market is essentially the defence of what is left of capitalism.

The struggle inside the Labour Party and government on the EEC has a fundamental importance because, together with the struggle over nationalisations and arms expenditure, it forms a central pivot of the crisis of capitalism which is more and more concentrated in the Labour Party; in the struggle for a leadership and programme which answers the level of the class struggle. In this the pro-capitalist sectors of the Labour government display all the uncertainty and lack of initiative which characterise the capitalist system at this stage. On the other hand the Workers States express all the confidence and initiatives of humanity. Thus, Ford goes to Vladivostock and gains nothing—not even enough to sustain the illusion in front of bourgeois public opinion

in the United States that concessions can be got from the Workers States. Equally Kissinger also got nothing from the Chinese Workers States, because the last tiny comfort which imperialism has left—the dispute between the leaderships of the Soviet and Chinese Workers States—is rapidly disappearing. All this uncertainty is shown in the 'Defence Review' of Mason which although it does not propose cuts in defence expenditure on the level demanded by the Labour Party, nevertheless does propose cuts which will weaken the British contribution to NATO and the actual numerical strength of the armed forces. The latter aspect is important in the sense that it tends to weaken the army as an instrument of internal repression.

It is part of the enormous contradictions within the Labour government that at the same time as Jenkins brings in repressive, fascist laws, stimulated by the terrorism of agents of the bourgeoisie, Mason proposes measures which limit the repressive forces of the bourgeois state.

Nevertheless the left of the Labour Party have to draw the conclusion from the Defence Review, from the trip of Wilson to Paris, and from the reluctance of the Labour leadership to implement even the limited programme of nationalisations contained in the Manifesto, that the programme of the Labour Party is not going to be imposed on the basis of 'gentlemen's agreements' with the right wing. After all the Labour Party

has demanded a cut of £1,000 million a year in arms expenditure and the government's answer is a proposal for £300 millions. To continue to limit the struggle inside the structure and apparatus of the Labour Party and parliament is to give the right a strength which the objective development of the class struggle does not give. The left has to base itself much more directly on the force of the class which is expressed in the bakers' strike for example. This sector which is not the best organised, which hasn't a great weight, which has had to fight a continuous battle not only against the bosses but against a particularly weak and conciliatory leadership in the Bakers Union would not have had

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## THE DEFEAT OF REACTION IN THE REFERENDUM, AND THE WORLD INFLUENCE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN SWITZERLAND

J. POSADAS 21ST OCTOBER 1974

The victory of the "No", against the expulsion of foreign workers in the elections in Switzerland, corresponds to the victory of the Labour Party in Britain, and the relative victory of the Socialists and Communists in the Popular Union in France. It is the same historic tendency. It is the influence of the world on the progress of the anti-capitalist struggle which weighs in Switzerland. There, they discussed completely peripheral issues. There were problems, extraneous to the interests of the petit bourgeoisie, foreign to municipal, social, economic, interests, of problems of taxation. They were problems of dignity, of social interest, but they were secondary. The issue is not a vital problem. But when such a high percentage votes against the right, that is 68%, in a country which has a very great petit bourgeois base, this shows the level of intellectual concern and the influence on this of the world process. There was a concentrated pressure to lower the wages of the immigrant workers, to keep them in a low standard of life, which is very bad; they live more or less in barracks. This will promote a greater mobilisation. The defeat of reaction in Switzerland, is due to the world development of the revolutionary struggle, and essentially to the feeling of dignity of the struggle of the masses of the world which wins the petit bourgeoisie. Undoubtedly, in Switzerland, there is an important sector of the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie, which is interested in keeping the foreign workers to defend themselves. But this did not lead to the result. All knew they were

voting for the rejection of the right wing, that this would mean smashing the right politically. It does not mean that they smashed the right, because the 35% for the right is quite a lot. There is a mixture of forces on the right, in which there are various sectors, from the fascists to the industrial sectors, who without being reactionary, have an interest in throwing out the immigrant workers to lower the costs of labour in Switzerland. And this has been a struggle in which there has been a combination of forces involving social and political interests, to defend financial interests, and purely economic sectors who want to have cheap labour or to prevent a shortage of labour. All this was combined, but the essential centre has been the unity between the sentiment of the Italian masses, the Italians who are the most numerous, and the Swiss masses and the Swiss petit bourgeoisie.

Many sectors voted to defend their work, and from fear of the closing of the factories. Many small and medium enterprises also feared that the departure of the immigrant workers would force them to increase the wages of the others and they would have to close down. But this is of less importance; the most important aspect is that the workers, the middle and poor petit bourgeoisie are those who have decided and they were not attracted by the fact that the departure of the immigrant workers could give them a greater possibility to increase their wages. These most of all expressed their sentiment of joy embracing one another and dancing after the

victory. Moreover in Switzerland there is a Trotskyist Party which is quite important, which had 2,500 votes in the last elections, quite a large percentage in relation to the Communist Party.

There were a series of factors which coincided in a front to maintain the immigrant workers. But what determined the decision was not this, but the historic depth which united the immigrant workers, the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie, to defend human dignity against the arrogance and the reactionary interests of the sectors of national capitalism and capitalism in general. It is a whole defence of the right of the working class to work and to exist, against the rights of the management to decide the destiny of the working class. In an attenuated way, it is a beginning of a United Front for later problems which are more serious. When in Switzerland the process succeeds in influencing such conclusions; when in Sweden they try to make the work reasonable for the workers—a thing impossible to obtain but the situation has improved—when the soldiers and the officers in Holland win the right to organise in trade unions to live politically in the barracks, it is the same in Switzerland; and when there is a colonel in Holland who discussed with the soldiers and said: "I am in agreement with the USSR and with the revolution," and said it publicly, this means that there is already a weight, a form of reasoning in circulation. It is this which makes the capitalists go mad, hence, capitalism before answering with the war, makes thou-

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# THE DISINTEGRATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE COMMUNIST RELATIONS OF HUMANITY

AUGUST 29, 1974

J. POSADAS

Capitalism is in total retreat. There is a general bankruptcy of the capitalist system. This is expressed in the expulsion of Nixon and also in the nomination of Rockefeller to the vice presidency, who had one policy, while the policy of Ford was another. Ford could not make that policy, he had to change. The world process has obliged the Yanks to change, to follow events, to run about without being able to situate themselves in events. The Yanks cannot dominate anything, it is the Workers States and the masses who determine the course of history, and impose themselves on the capitalist countries, including Yankee imperialism, the policy which they have to put forward. It is the same with the preparation of the war. They are preparing the war, but they cannot do it when they want, or as they want. But they are preparing it in the worst conditions for themselves. They are not the ones who have the initiative, but it is the world class struggle in general, led by the Workers States,—we say led in a general sense—which imposes conclusions.

The expulsion of Nixon is an aspect of this. Imperialism cannot any longer decide when and how it wants, henceforth it cannot choose the place, the date or the means for its plans. It runs behind history, because it has lost its way. The division in the capitalist world is part of this. They should have launched the atomic war, but as they are not able to do it, their crisis increases; the economic crisis, the social crisis, and the political crisis. This is an immense weakness of the capitalist system.

Capitalism is in a general retreat, which disintegrates the structure of the system. Giscard d'Estaing became President of France to make a policy linked with high finance and big business. The policy continued to be the same, but he cannot apply it in practice. He must conceal his policies, taking a series of measures favourable to the quite well off petit bourgeois sectors, making various concessions; beginning with giving the right of vote to the 18 years old, which goes against capitalism because out of the 3 million young people, 2½ million will vote for the Communists and the Socialists. Giscard d'Estaing has done this, because although the next general elections are important, they are four years away. Then, he hopes to win time from now till then. But he also does it, because he does not have any other choice. To win authority over the petit bourgeoisie, Giscard d'Estaing has made concessions over contraception, abortion, on a series of proposals for civil, economic rights. Moreover, in world policy, he is seeking, agreements with the USSR or demonstrating agreement with the USSR on various occasions. Thus it is quite the contrary to the policy he hoped to make and he has no other choice, because otherwise the petit bourgeoisie would go against him. The change has been imposed, the class struggle has imposed on him a change of policy.

## THE ENTRY OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY IN ITALY WILL NOT FAVOUR CAPITALISM

The same thing is happening in Italy, and the crisis in Italy is clear enough. The communists, certainly, with some delay will enter the government. Once in the government, they will not defend the capitalist system as a system. They will defend the functioning of part of capitalism, but they will have to take measures which will damage the capitalist system and this will be a very great impulse to the class struggle. Although they have not entered the government now, the process has already begun. There is a very great crisis in the Christian Democracy, in the Socialist Party, in the Social Democratic Party, and there is a solid tendency which seeks to turn all the repression against the fascists, whilst before they spoke of the extremists, that is against the left

## THE ATTACKS OF THE RIGHT DO NOT IMPEDE THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN ARGENTINA

Argentina is an example of this. In spite of all the threats, all the attacks which the right makes, they cannot prevent the advance of the revolution in Argentina or in Latin America. The intervention of Argentina in the World Meeting on population which takes place in Bucharest in September, has continued on the same line as that of the Workers States and the Vatican. They all voted for the right of each country, of its population to have the children which they want, against Yankee arrogance, which wants to limit birth because it is a way to limit the weight of the population. The less people there are, the better it is for the Yanks, because they know that the more people that exist, the more they go against them. The Yanks seek to lessen the weight of the proletariat with the development of automation and productivity, and at the same time to reduce the number of people because they are won by the proletariat. There are 14 Workers States, which influence all the unemployed who, instead of seeking fascism or an individual solution seek the social solution: "Down with capitalism".

In spite of all the assassinations which they are carrying out, the Argentinian bourgeoisie is forced into a policy of nationalisations, of statification, of agreements with the Workers States, and towards a policy of Latin American unity against the Yanks. This renders impossible and creates obstacles for an internal policy of permanent repression in the interests of the national bourgeoisie. This cannot sustain such an internal policy, because it clashes with the external policy, because it needs the masses to support itself against the oligarchy, against the landowners, against the big business interests, involved in the exports of agricultural products, of meat, and against the Yanks. Then it needs to do this. Hence, it has no other alternative than to seek in one way or another, support in the workers' movement and on the sectors of the army like Brigadier General Fautario, of the Air Force, who shows how a sector of the Air Force, is in agreement with this and seeks to stimulate the nationalist wing.

There is a perplexity in the Peronist Youth, in the Monteneros, and the Peronist Youth (JTF), that is in all these Peronist tendencies, because they do not know what to do. It is necessary to show in discussions, articles, texts, that to organise the struggle for socialism, it is necessary to organise the Party, with programme and policy, which succeeds in understanding scientifically, the development of the economy, and socialist ideas, the planning of the economy, nationalisations, workers' control, because all this is necessary and has to be done. This reaches also the technocratic cadres, military sectors, who are in the Peronist movement and this influences them because they see that this is the method. What is important is that they learn the method of Marxist analysis; even if they don't call it Marxism, but

so that they see the method and apply it. All Latin America is like this, all Latin America is in conditions to develop the struggle against imperialism.

Hence our attitude in Argentina. For the Workers Party based on the trade unions, we base ourselves on the world process which places limits on the Argentinian government, the Argentinian bourgeoisie and obliges them to obtain the internal market and to make alliances with the Workers States and the working class. Then it makes an international policy which inevitably obliges it afterwards on the national plane to make a policy in agreement with this international policy. It does not have any other choice, all the provocations with the CIA or the agents of the CIA can make, do not give them either capacity or the strength to decide.

On all this process the development of the Workers States weighs. Imperialism has been defeated in a series of important interventions including Bucharest, where there was a united front of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America with the Workers States and also with the Vatican, which was obliged to make a united front with the Workers States in defence of the right of the people to have what children they want. There is now a united front in various places and moreover in the countries of the Middle East the influence of Algeria is enormous. There is a whole situation favourable to the revolution.

It is necessary to take into account points of agreement between China and the USSR. In the problems of the Cyprus crisis, the Chinese abstained from criticising the Soviets. In the meeting commemorating the Rumanian Revolution, they appeared on the platform: Ceausescu, the Soviet delegate Kosygin on his right and the Chinese delegate on his left. They all saluted each other, before the Chinese never accepted such a thing. This acceptance by the Chinese shows that they are obliged to do it and they are seeking to win time to be able to justify themselves or to be able to answer to the internal struggle

It is in this phase that the Communist Parties have to enter the government. In Italy the entry of the Communists into the government is going to be rapidly imposed. We propose: "Enter the government, respond to this need, but

under these conditions: a programme which would be anti-capitalist in every way, even if limited, supported by the trade unions and with the full development of party life." In a party which goes to the government in these conditions, henceforth, it is no longer the right or the centre which determines the course, but it will be the objective process which will determine what the party will do. It is necessary to see this on a world, not a national scale. Revolutionary policy before was infinitely more difficult because it was each country which determined it. The level of experiences was slow to be transmitted from one country to another, experiences were received and elevated but slowly. The influence of one country on another was transmitted slowly because there were phases of defeat, of withdrawal, of retreat or stagnation. Instead this is a phase of revolutions, in which also the smallest revolutionary influence communicates throughout the whole of the world. And the maximum influence of fascism goes no further than the place where they launch the bombs and it stays there. They have taken all the ships away from Almirante and they send him to sea in a sieve.\*

## THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRESS OF SECTORS OF THE ARMIES

The events in Portugal, in Greece and then in Spain demonstrate the weakness of capitalism, and the firm tendency that exists in the armies of sectors of the left, sectors of the revolutionary left who aspire to changes and who are stimulated by the world progress of the revolution. The attitude of the Portuguese colonial army in Guinea Bissau, as in Mozambique and in part of Angola, shows that part of the army has been won by the revolution. The Portuguese army in Guinea Bissau declares that it has been moved by the enormous progress made there by the Movement of Popular Liberation.

The Portuguese soldiers have been won by this progress and declare that the PAIGC (Movement for Liberation of Portuguese Guinea) has done more for the country than imperialism has done in all the centuries in which it dominated this country. They are won! The advance of the Workers States, the advance of science, technology, the progress of the masses, the capacity of the people to free itself, has won over the soldiers. This can be seen also in the process in Ethiopia where they have thrown out the dustbin Negus and all his court and taken measures which will determine a very great progress of Ethiopia and will have a great influence, very favourable for Somalia and for South Yemen. It is a tremendous blow for the plans, the strategy of the capitalist system and its strategic zones whether of French or American imperialism.

It is in this phase that the Communist Parties have to enter the government. In Italy the entry of the Communists into the government is going to be rapidly imposed. We propose: "Enter the government, respond to this need, but

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## ALL EUROPE GOES TO THE LEFT

All Europe is going to the left, which means an inevitable turn to the left of the Communist parties; it is the development of the internal life taking into account the weight of the right that it wants to contain. The influence which is exercised on the Communist parties doesn't only occur in this or that party but on a world scale. Hence there is no perspective for any Communist party, even conciliating with the bourgeoisie, to be able to stabilise conciliation. It is inevitable, the structure of history stimulates it beyond all this, beyond. Through the Soviet Union as certainly—even without the USSR and without the rest of the Workers States—through the experience of the marvellous proletariat of the whole world, the process stimulates the Communist parties beyond conciliation, because there is now the

apparatus of the right of the trade unions and the Party. Is it not the weakness of the left of the Party that allowed the right wing of the Social Democracy through Schmidt to come and give support to this feeble right wing in the Labour Party in an attempt to influence the Party as a whole to remain in the EEC and via it, in NATO?

The conclusions for the Labour Party and trade union left are that this structure of the Labour Party is backward, outmoded, and by-passed by the process. It has to bend under the force of the intervention of the British working class but it does not allow the political generalisations necessary to promote the formation of a leadership to nationalise in this stage. The Labour Party left has to break through the structure in which it is imprisoned, by means of massive and immediate links with the working class. Nothing short of this will break this structure which favours still the continuation of the links between the workers' aristocracy and the right of the Party. The left of the Labour Party must organise itself on the programme of full support to occupied factories, for mass meetings against unemployment, for the complete nationalisation of industry, for workers' control.

However, even if very distant from the working class, this Conference has shown how weak the link between the workers' aristocracy and the Labour right has become in the vote for Williams and Co. in the NEC. When Williams relies only on the casting vote of Gormley who has himself been smashed by the miners' ballot and represents nobody in this Conference because the miners lobbied in the NEC and the Social Contract, it shows how desperate the right wing of the Labour Party has become and how isolated it is. This is indeed the result of the action of the working class, which has accumulated over the years and months, with the effect of smashing the

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the class struggle. In its turn this will serve as an instrument which will weigh in the Workers States on the cadres, on the leaders, on the parties, on the trade unions, on the homes to give an impulse to the leaders to be preoccupied with the revolution.

But to be preoccupied with the revolution means to give ideas, to analyse, to give experiences, to confront. It means to represent objectively the necessity of history, the necessity of the revolution. The leadership of the Communist parties does not represent genuinely—in part yes,—this necessity. But the social composition of the Communist parties, the weight, the importance of the Workers States, the scientific, technical and military development of the Workers States, gives an impulse to and demands always a more complete, more profound and centralised scientific structure. As compared with the capitalist system, the Workers State, the more it advances scientifically and economically, the more it needs a conscious centralisation.

Conscious centralisation means to centralise, to decide and apply in a centralised way. It is not possible to apply in a centralised way from a single position: decentralisation is necessary. This demands as a consequence the capacity of the population to intervene, to deduce, to confront, to lead. It places a series of conditions to which the bureaucracy cannot reply, while the structure of the economy, of science, demands from them such a behaviour and structure. As it cannot do it, it cannot reproduce itself, it cannot reproduce itself as a caste. It increases in numbers, perhaps, in some aspects, but no longer as a bureaucracy, determining the policy of the Workers States. It increases the number of the bureaucrats through their function, but not through their political weight.

It is clear that this still gives the opportunity to imperialism to launch the war. Undoubtedly this does not eliminate the war, but it weakens their possibilities, their consequences and produces an internal effect harmful to the capitalist system, that is the pessimistic and defeatist sentiment. The defeatist sentiment does not reach the social, organisational aspects but there is a pessimistic sentiment which gives them the defeatist feeling that they are lost. This doesn't reach the top and middle layers of capitalism more the lower sectors, but they are part of the same tree. They are the leaves which turn yellow while the others are still green, but then quickly all will be yellow.

Humanity doesn't any longer have doubts or concerns about the fact that it will triumph over capitalism. In the capitalist system itself and in the Workers States, the Communist relations advance much more than the revolutionary progress in

itself, it is not our invention, because the objective process demands the interpretation which we are making.

The world is rational and thinks rationally. The structure of the world is not determined by the bureaucracy of the Workers States, but it is a structure which economically, scientifically and technically demands an attitude of Soviet democratic relations, which these leaderships cannot give. But even if they don't give them, the process is going in this direction and tends to give it a global character and to centralise itself. This is the basis of our type of critical persuasion. In the meantime we develop in our world, Trotskyist/Posadist team, the mode of thinking and reasoning: so that the team is not attracted by the tumult of the process, a process which is not ordered but which is tumultuous, very tumultuous. Although there is not a leadership, there is an incessant uncontrollable impetus from the mobilisations of the masses throughout the world. This demands a leadership which plans, which foresees the course of the process and as a consequence, organises action, foreseeing events. The Communist parties and the Workers States with the fall of Nixon only imparted information that Nixon had fallen. Perhaps they knew that Nixon was collapsing the bureaucrats knew it, but they did not prepare the world Communist movement in the understanding of this process, to arm the intelligence, the understanding, and to intervene arming the Communist vanguard for the advance to power. So they conserve what they know for themselves, they do not make it known, because if they did this, it could have the consequences of a revolutionary mobilisation which would also go against them. And in the second place because none are scientifically prepared to do it.

We are developing this quality. Hence our texts are not aimed at winning one or another. They are aimed to give an impulse to the Communist, Socialist, Radical, Military, Nationalist, Catholic vanguard, to give objectivity, an impulse to the progress of this process of history, in which the economic and social structure, demands a scientific attitude. Hence our security in this task. J. Posadas 29.8.74 \*The Spanish Almirante = Admiral. Almirante is the leader of the MSI (fascist).

This opens the possibility of our development there, transmits the ideas, the examples, the experiences and the task of explaining constantly, persuading constantly, to exercise the function of criticism almost fully—not absolutely, almost fully—through persuasion. Criticism is not eliminated, this acquires a more dynamic function, more united to the objective. It is not a polemical criticism, but criticism to persuade and act, which is a more elevated function of criticism. We exercise this function to give an impulse to this process. The root of this type of criticism lies in the objective process

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## Editorial

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the confidence to launch a strike which affects all the population if it did not feel the support of the rest of the working class and wide layers of the population as well. The same is true of the Scottish teachers whose determination and militancy expresses, in a moment when the big centres of the proletariat are not in action, all the force and confidence of the working class.

This crisis of British Leyland is, then, not just a problem of lack of finance, or even an inefficient management, but is part of the total crisis of capitalism which is expressed in the general collapse of the car industry on a world scale. The fact that the bourgeois economy is based on—and in great part determined by—the car industry is, in itself, a proof of the useless and lunatic nature of the capitalist system. Even if Leylands get financial assistance and can continue to produce for a period—who is going to buy the cars? The system has no perspective and it is why it turns to repression, to terrorism against the

masses. It is no accident that Birmingham was chosen for the latest and most vicious bombings; it was an attempt to terrorise the workers in one of the most important proletarian centres. It is going to fail as the bombing in Italy failed! These actions will act as a boomerang because it is already raising the question among the working class as to who is responsible for them. The terrorism—both in the sense of bombings and threats of unemployment—have to be answered by the working class with factory occupations to impose nationalisations which will destroy the economic base of the capitalist system. The solution to the problems posed by capitalism in its final stage of disintegration does not lie in legislative measures but in a struggle which starts from the imposition of workers' control in the factories.

The left of the Labour Party and the trade unions have to demand the immediate nationalisation of British

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## The defeat of reaction.

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sands of trips and meetings.

Any superior social regime disintegrates the others. This is expressed with such a concentrated and permanent force, that the social superiority of the Workers State allows at the same time as their own development, the affirmation of the historic superiority of the working class. This disintegrates the capitalist system. The capitalist system has to take events like these in Switzerland, Holland, Latin America, or those in Italy, France and Britain, which correspond to a structure which no longer answers strictly the needs of the capitalist system. This shows the historic superiority of the Workers States.

The preparation of the atomic war presents many difficulties for capitalism, since it has to prepare a war against a superior social regime which influences its own army. Capitalism fears war in which they do not have the security that the army will respond. As the Workers States have a superior regime, the forces that come to fight them are already won over. If in the preceding war the Workers States did not rise up against Stalin, and if, on the contrary the masses united around the Soviet government, even with Stalin against capitalism, now the soldiers of the capitalist army unite with the Workers States because they see that they are a superior society. And even if there is not a direct communication, it is the language and the common consciousness, the normal and historic consciousness of the class struggle which influences them.

Hence, all the crises of capitalism are agonised. Capitalism is pessimistic and they all say: "The Communists are going towards power, the Communists will conquer, what a disaster!" Now, they are seeking new political analysts to see what they can do to interpret all

this. But they do not have them. It is not a question of someone who can think or act, but they do not find and they do not have the means to do it. They do not have historic justification. They do not have an economic base, and they do not have the means because they do not have a social base and they do not have a perspective, consequently they do not have political capacity, social capacity and not even military capacity. Now, when they should be all united against the Workers States, they are all divided. On all the crises of the capitalist countries, the fact that they cannot respond with the war, already weighs in a very important way—above all on the petit bourgeoisie. This disintegrates the notion of what they call "political science". Of all the people whom they send to study to make them leaders or ministers, no one remains, they go elsewhere. This means that the process is incomprehensible to them. They are shattered and this confuses their minds. They are shattered. They cannot understand and they have not got the courage to understand. They did not expect this course, neither could they exploit it.

All the countries of Europe are in crisis: Germany, Italy, France, Belgium, Britain, Switzerland. In Switzerland there is a crisis of the right. The "No" of the referendum, was a vote against the right, and besides, an affirmation of people who vote without direct interest. It was a vote following the Manifesto: "Don't vote for a bad national action." There is a concentration of people who seek to reason and this is the influence of the working class. This means conditions in which the masses of the world must be and are based, that the world course of the class struggle, favours at every instant the unification of the masses. The

rejection of the reaction is not only a rejection over a problem of work and emigration, but it is a political conclusion. The people who voted for this are conscious that it is a political conclusion. Like those who voted for the "No" in the referendum in Italy, the votes for a political conclusion. It is not a vote apart, separated from later political conclusions, it comes from the crisis existing now.

Together with this there were all the other resolutions, the organisation of the police trade unions in Belgium, the campaign for the organisation of the police trade unions in Italy, the coming and inevitable fall of fascism in Spain and the development of the Popular Union in France. It is a whole process of advancing, not a particular event, and it is in this light that it is necessary to consider the result of the elections in Switzerland. The essential basis of all this is not only a question of Switzerland but of the world. It is the general advances of the struggles and progress of the masses of Europe who have defeated fascism in Italy and above all in Portugal, in Greece, and the struggle of the masses throughout the world including in Algeria and Latin America, which has stimulated influences and weigh on the consciousness, on the will of the Swiss masses. Hence this United Front with the immigrant workers.

This stabilises bases to intervene, because the course of the process isn't uniform. It has never been and in this case much more because, there is a very great disproportion between the aspirations of the masses, the will and the decision of the vanguard, and the absence of a positive reply on the part of the leaderships, in front of the crisis of the capitalist system, and the necessity and the desire that the masses express to take power.

J. Posadas

21.10.74

## The relation between beauty, love, death, and the construction of communism.

J. POSADAS

12TH JUNE 1974

The process of the construction of Communism does not begin with the taking of power, it begins before. The construction of Communism means social bases, scientific bases which include human relations. Certainly economic, social and scientific relations need power to materialise, organise and lead them. This determines the course of the association of the relations of the population. But in human relations this is not the case; changes can be made without taking power because they are problems of ideas, of understanding. And the ideas, the understanding, the feeling advance much quicker than the economy, the regime of property, of distribution and economic relations.

Before taking power and in taking power, the Workers State is constructed; it must advance in social relations, as in economic and social relations. But essentially and substantially in social relations which are the construction of the feelings, of the effects, the relation of love and fraternity. In capitalism this has been developed through human necessity, human relations, but perverted, determined by the interest of accumulation, of capitalist exploitation, of capital, commerce, which determine the forms of this development of sentiment.

They are problems which require pre-occupation. They are not problems in which one has to be involved afterwards, but now. It is necessary to establish the bases which afterwards allow experiences and then improvement. For example the capitalist system developed the concept of love and beauty in accordance with relations of interest, while the concepts of beauty and love are the most elevated expressions of human relations. But on what basis? The conception of love in capitalism is the sexual relation. This is false. The sexual relation is legitimate but it forms part of the sentiment of human procreation otherwise no, otherwise it is an egoist relation, conservative, which afterwards determines all the problems which private property has created.

Capitalism established beauty on the basis of form, colour, combination, the effects which they produce in the consciousness, the sight, the sentiments. But almost all the feeling of beauty which capitalism creates is based on corporal beauty having a direct relationship with sex or sensual beauty. On the other hand beauty must be everything which promotes ideas, sentiments, objective human relations, which determines the progress of humanity, the pure, elevated relations of humanity. This is beauty. Lenin was the most beautiful human being in the world. The Bolsheviks were the most beautiful human beings in the world because they communicate, develop the most pure ideas, the most beautiful ideas which allowed them to see the world as beautiful, not the world as an enemy; which allowed them to love nat-

ure not as a dispute with nature. Hence the sentiment of beauty, of love, advances. Beauty is the creation of the human being. It is not a creation of nature. It is the human being which determines what is beautiful. Until now beauty has been evaluated through form, the figure, the face, the skin, the body, because it is united to sensual interest and inclination. When this inclination disappears—which is already on the way—the quality will be intelligence, the capacity for human love, human relations. And there will be no difference between loving a child and loving a woman, to love a child or to love a man. What difference is there going to be? The differences that have been established are the result of social relations.

What is going to determine the future is intelligence, capacity to persuade, to organise, to construct, to give strength. This is what is going to determine. The form of the face does not matter, what is important is the function of the human being, the same with nature. Today it is different because it is based on sensuality and commercial interest in which sensuality is included. But in the Workers States now this must not be the case.

The union of the couple must be determined by the revolutionary will, sentiment and consciousness. It is the more elevated form of beauty. Lenin was the most beautiful person in the world, since it is he who after Marx and Engels was dedicated to the essential problems of humanity. How not to see that this is beautiful! There is not a rose or a flower more beautiful than Lenin that awakens more beautiful sentiments than Lenin, and also the Bolsheviks. This is the most beautiful experience. It is the consciousness of the historic function which they have played. The rest is beauty in form originating with the capitalist regime. Form and content exists for this. Lenin is form and content. In capitalism it is only form, what content?

Lenin is the form and content who was concerned with the human being to impel the human being, not an aspect which is egoism, sex, the economy. Lenin

is for us the most beautiful human being who awakened the most beautiful sentiment, the most noble sentiment.

Flowers are lovely because they approximate to our sentiments, not because the flower is lovely. What quality has the flower to be lovely? We give this quality to the flower, it is not nature which says, "This is lovely, this is ugly . . ." A series of sensations respond to the sentiments in construction of humanity. And the more it defines itself, the more humanity associates nature with itself. And tomorrow we are going to persuade nature. Tomorrow, nature is going to produce petals which scatter a fragrance which envelops everything, all the intention of people. The fragrance of flowers will represent the intention of Communism. Fragrance and Communism will be the same. Not much is necessary for this. Hence flowers exist as a symbol of the unity of the human being, for example the flowers which they put on the graves of the dead, which are a symbol of unity: they want to maintain the unity with the dead. It is the human being who refuses to disappear or who struggles not to disappear. Hence they present flowers, with this they try to maintain unity with death, not feeling abandoned or without strength in front of nature.

They are all problems which humanity is already living through. When we pose them it is because they are already being lived. In one way or another suggestions, hints, indicate that they are discussing and that there is a concern with these problems. When there is a concern with these problems, it is because humanity is certain that Communism is only a problem of time. It is not discussing whether it is going to reach it or not. Hence the problem of tactics does not now affect us. Humanity is already unified in that it has to finish with capitalism. Now it has conquered, now it has won the petit bourgeoisie and a sector of the bourgeoisie is immobilised. It is necessary to finish with all this ignominy. It is absurd to have to kill another to eat. It is horrible. The war wakens sentiments of nausea, why the war? For what? But before finishing with capitalism there is the nausea against war, and nausea means that if we could avoid the war, we would do it. As we cannot impede it, it is necessary to kill, to overthrow capitalism. This is the conclusion of the dialectical materialist consciousness.

In the Communist parties all this is not discussed. Hence our function. It is not an attitude of persistence but a dynamic activity and dialectically calculated. What is best for the future of humanity? What is best for this stage of history? This is the best. We discuss all this to provide security in the invincible necessity and authority of Communism. Now this exists in humanity. We are against death, and if it is necessary to pass through death in this stage, it is necessary to accept it. But we reiterate and maintain that death triumphs because still humanity has not found the means to overcome in a natural form, the waste which the process of ageing produces. But on the other hand socially humanity begins to conquer death.

Everything begins in the mind. Thus as centuries were necessary for advance from the Greeks to Marx, the conquering of death will be a much shorter problem. Two of the essential problems in the future will be: to conquer death and to discover what lies beyond the earth. Then, we will be able to answer the question: "From where have we come, where are we going, and meanwhile what should we do?"

The human mind has already conceived that death can be conquered. Until now the human being has not been occupied with the problem of death, and took death as a natural consequence of nature. But we can prolong existence in a very elevated way, and tomorrow in an indefinite form. If everything can be transformed, we also, but why do we have to transform ourselves into something else? Why cannot we reproduce ourselves maintaining the present forms and improving them in such a way that there are no changes? Or that there might be internal transformations and changes which lead to improvements and not exhaustion. The human being is the product of a whole empirical development with nature. Hence when we have the consciousness, humanity will act to transform itself. Humanity is invincible because it does not propose anything foreign to well-being, to human happiness and to the happiness of the whole cosmos.

These concerns were those of Lenin, Marx, Trotsky, but they could not be preoccupied with these problems, because they had to be concerned with making certain that Communism was necessary, and they had to dedicate time to this. But now, it can be seen that Communism is necessary, and hence, we can be concerned with these things. All the feeling of egotism which private property developed is going to disappear, and there is not going to be any fear of death. The human being is going to be concerned to prolong life, not to exploit nature, or to defend the conservative or egoistic interests, and it will find it stupid to die. Once humanity has succeeded in conquering the feeling of death, scientific means and a greater dominion of nature are going to allow the solution to these problems.

Today, nature is still more powerful than the human being (as regards death). Conquering the individual fear of death and making the social confrontation with death, only gives it the historic security to concentrate the attention, the concern, therefore, to seek the prolongation of life, as a means to extend it. And this is possible.

Before, all these problems could not be posed, but today, yes, just as we pose the problem of the woman, of the couple. The liberation of the woman, will not come as a product of a cultural understanding of man but of a natural, necessary demand of society, which is the advance of the economy, of productivity, the rebellion of the productive and producing forces and the advance of science and technology. This poses the historic conditions for the incorporation of woman. And capitalism is not able to do this, because it uses woman as a commodity. The only force which can do this, is the Workers States which have no interest in woman as a commodity. This is very simple and is soon going to happen.

In turning our attention to these problems, we show the security of Communism and the security that our function is necessary. Hence we were concerned with these problems, and the Bolsheviks valued the thoughts of Lenin because they saw that the world came from there. Hence people saw feminine or masculine beauty in accordance not with the conception of capitalism, not in accordance with sensuality but seeing their function in history. In paying attention to this, we do it because it is necessary to discuss these problems, problems of the relation of now, or tomorrow and the past, problems of woman, of the forms of relations of the human couple, which is one of the essential bases of the power of the human being, in so far as the couple continues. Thus, today, the human being is weak, with a series of perturbations, of fears, united through the link with sexual need. When there is a liberation from this, there will be an immense power, everything will have an explanation including death. We discussed these problems, not only as a cultural discussion but as a discussion on the organisation of life through the revolutionary cultural knowledge of these problems, among them the function of women. This has to be taken as part of the organisation of our security, our confidence in the struggle in Communism and our function as Trotskyist/Posadists. It is not only a discussion to resolve immediate problems, but of a much more profound knowledge which gives security in our function, in our intervention, in the objectives of Socialism and in the confidence in Communism. These problems have not been resolved because the leaderships do not correspond to this need, but the progress of history obliges them to resolve these problems.

J. Posadas

12.6.74

## Editorial

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Leyland, and the rest of the car and car component industry under workers' control and without compensation; and to base themselves on the mobilisations of the workers. There has to be the consciousness in the left that the problem of the car industry cannot be dealt with in isolation from the rest of the economy, from the overall planning of the economy. It is not enough to pump money into Leylands or even to continue to production of cars under nationalisation. As Cde. Posadas said regarding Italy, the economy "does not have to be submitted to four wheels". There is a necessity to discuss the nationalisation and planning of the whole economy, to develop industry for the benefit of the masses. This is the discussion which has now to be raised in the factories, linking the necessity of planning the economy with a vision of the process in Europe also because it isn't possible to solve the problems created by capitalism on the basis of this country alone. The left of the Labour Party has to campaign against the Common Market in the factories and workers' areas but on the basis of a socialist alternative, of links and discussions with all the European workers' movement.

The presence of Soviet delegates at the International Trade Union Conference in London, on the car industry is part of the intervention of the

Soviet Workers State in support of the anti-capitalist struggle on a world scale.

The left of the Labour Party and trade unions have to take full advantage of this, to base themselves on the historic superiority of a system based on a nationalised, planned economy; and on the fact that the Soviet Union is seeking to influence directly the working class in this country. We propose to the left in the Labour Party and trade unions, to transmit the discussion and conclusions from this Conference, to the working class in the form of meetings in the factories, starting with all those of BLMC; a series of meetings on the basis of a programme—no sackings, the occupations of the factories, nationalisation under workers' control and without compensation, the planning of the economy on the basis of the needs of the population, the construction of factory committees with all delegates subject to instant recall. At the same time there is also the necessity to use the links already made on a European scale by the workers of BLMC, of Fords, of Dunlops, etc to organise a European conference of Socialist Parties, Communist Parties and trade unions (including the Communist Parties and trade unions of the Workers States) to formulate a common programme and strategy for a Socialist Europe.

9.12.74