

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

USE THE EXPERIENCE OF CHRYSLER TO DEVELOP A PROGRAMME, POLICY, AND MOBILISATIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT.

The collapse of Chryslers which is a focus of attention in the workers movement and the country generally shows all the aspects of the total world crisis of capitalism. The perspective of the Chrysler bosses — well supported by a large sector of the bourgeoisie — is simply to abandon the factory. The Labour Government — or at least that sector which is trying to run capitalism — can only pose the perspective of continuing, at a reduced level, to continue the function of producing a commodity which has no social value and for which there is little demand. And, at the cost of 8,000 workers sacked when already there are over a million unemployed. This 'solution' is totally unacceptable and there was a discussion, a preparation in the factories for occupation. This is expressed by the decision of the ASTMS against the 'solution' of the government. However the problem which the Chrysler workers faced was that, if they occupied the factory, it would pose for them the problem of what to do with it. It is clear that simply producing private cars is no solution and the experience of the 'workers co-ops' and their collapse has already been absorbed by the working class. There is no solution to the problem of the car industry without considering the necessity to convert the factory to produce what is necessary for the population in the way of washing machines or refrigerators, perhaps, and this requires the sort of finance which the government is offering to the Chrysler bosses. At the same time, the problem of steel production and the crisis in the steel industry — with the threat of 44,000 sackings — has to be faced. It would have meant a confrontation with the bourgeoisie and the Labour government. It is not surprising, therefore, that the workers and the shop stewards of Chryslers displayed some uncertainty and indecision. They received neither support or leadership from the Labour Party and trade unions — nothing. This uncertainty was displayed by the shop stewards before the holiday when they allowed the factories to be closed without any date for re-opening and thus allowed the dispersion of the workers who, at this moment, have no other organisation but that centralised in the factory. The fact that few workers actually attended the meetings called by the shop stewards is not a product of 'apathy' on their part, but an attitude of reflection and preparation to deal with the problem of the existing leaderships. It is nothing but fantasy in the minds of the bourgeoisie — and their supporters in the workers movement — to think that the Chrysler workers are going to allow 8,000 to be sacked without a struggle, and it is a characteristic of the working class that it does not launch a struggle of this dimension without a process of reflection and preparation, or without the leadership and organisms which are necessary.

THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM CANNOT BE REFORMED.

The crisis of Chryslers is not only an aspect of the total world crisis of capitalism but part of the total crisis of all the leaderships of the workers movement — in the Labour Party, trade unions and shop stewards committees — which have been based on negotiation and conciliation with capitalism, on the fact that previously capitalism — and British imperialism in particular — had something to give. Now the system has nothing to give and all the 'half-measures' and reforms like 'worker participation', 'worker co-ops' and partial nationalisations have lost any foundation that they may have had in reality. It is not a sector of the economy which has failed but the whole system. It is not 'bad management', but the inherent contradictions of the capitalist system which produces a situation in which over a million workers are unemployed and, at the same time, there is a shortage of houses, schools, hospitals and old people and babies die from lack of heat and food. Capitalism always returns to the workers less than the value of the commodities which they produce. Therefore the purchasing power of the working class — and the population in general — is less than the commodities produced. This results in over-production and unemployment. Now more and more of the wealth produced by the workers — and they are the only ones that actually produce wealth — is absorbed in arms expenditure, in the preparation for the war against the Workers States and the World Revolution. The wealth that was wasted by Yankee imperialism in a vain attempt to smash the struggle of the Vietnamese masses for Socialism — had it been used for the benefit of the population — would have solved the problem of poverty and unemployment in the United States and half the world as well. This is where a great deal of the surplus value produced by the Chrysler workers went. This is the nature of the capitalist system and it cannot be reformed.

The task that the Chrysler workers were faced with was to play the role of the workers Party, to act as a leadership. At this stage in history it is not an impossible task as the experience of Portugal shows us with the SUV (Soldiers United Will Win) have constructed organisms which are Soviets — and this is generalised. The masses of Portugal, the workers, soldiers and peasants have constructed organisms which fulfil the role of the Soviets and compensate for the lack of the necessary leadership in the Communist Party.

The shop stewards committees in Chryslers are not sufficient for this task and it is necessary to elevate them, to transform them into factory committees. This means a functioning which allows all the workers in the factory to intervene in a constant life of discussion, of the development and exchange of ideas. Each shop or department has to function in this way with delegates elected — and subject to instant recall and to the decisions of those who elected him or her — to a central factory committee. At the same time a programme has to be formulated for the running of the factory under workers control, the number of workers to be employed, track speeds, hours of work and **THE IMMEDIATE DEMAND FOR WORK SHARING WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY WITH NO WORKER TO BE SACKED. IT IS NECESSARY ALSO TO DEVELOP IDEAS ON THE CONVERSION OF THE FACTORY TO PRODUCE SOCIALLY NECESSARY COMMODITIES** and to turn to page 4

THE CRISIS OF PORTUGAL IS THE ABSENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP. FOR A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT WITH AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

J. POSADAS 13.11.1975. PAGE 2.

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BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

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THE DEATH OF FRANCO, DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES IN SPAIN AND MARXISM

J. POSADAS 22nd November. 1975

The declarations of Carillo after the death of Franco in part are not bad. It is correct now, a front for democratic rights, not for the defence of democracy but for democratic rights, and from there to proceed to superior levels for the independence of the workers movement and of the peasants in relation to this agreement. The agreement can be made with the bourgeois parties, including the king, if they want to, for democratic rights. But the workers movement has to put forward its own programme, its own perspective, and show itself in front of society, that it has superior resolution, objectives, programme and possibilities. The workers movement conflicts with the parties of the bourgeoisie over the level of the conquests to be achieved. This can be done. It is not a problem of fear on the part of the leadership, but lack of historic decision in not posing the problem of the tactic in this way.

Neither is it a problem of a small Party, because the Spanish CP is small but very bold in the levels of the struggle. It is very courageous and many of its militants have been assassinated. But the leadership is politically very timid. And they speak of the 'personal dictatorship of Franco'. This is anti-scientific. It was not a personal dictatorship. What has to be analysed is from where did Franco draw his strength, whom did he represent, from whence did he draw his power? Franco represented high finance, linked to the whole of the bourgeoisie who, through fear of revolutionary solutions, limited the opposition to Franco. Now, again, they are retarding certain democratic liberties from fear that the Socialists and the Communists develop greatly. The bourgeoisie works as a class. Hence their preoccupation is not 'to return to democracy'. There has never been democracy in Spain. The only short period when there was, was at the time of the Popular Front in Spain. This was a very short stage.

The 'Return to Democracy' for the bourgeoisie is to be able to develop and rely on the support of Yankee imperialism and the other sectors with the support of the Workers States. This is the difference in the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the attitude of the Spanish Communist Party — being in some respect very bold, particularly in the character of its militants, when it comes to analysis, policy, objective — is backward compared with the immense possibilities which exist. The bourgeoisie is trying to surround the Communist Party, to soften it, to make it adapt so that it does not propose a class solution, to subject it, so that it does not go to the depth in demands and in perspective.

The fall of Franco is going to unify the masses to achieve conquests which they feel capable of doing. But the bourgeoisie wants to impede this, and in so doing it wants to rely on the Communists and the Socialists.

It is necessary to intervene, appealing for a United Front of all the workers tendencies, for a programme of economic development, nationalisations, demands of the workers, the office workers and the peasants, and for the United Front of sectors of the bourgeoisie for democratic rights. Meanwhile, the workers, the trade unions, the Communists, the Socialists, the anarchists and republicans of the left, who are many, must make an appeal for a programme which goes to the left, as well as the agreement for democratic demands, without submitting or abandoning the demands of the workers and of the peasants. In every struggle in Spain, as in Italy, it is fundamental, decisive and of the greatest importance in everything, to maintain the demands of the workers, peasants and office workers.

This is most important. This gives security to the masses, allows them to understand and to unify the will of action, of combat, and to impel through the most combative of all the sectors, and in the struggle for the programme of common demands not the saving of capitalism but its overthrow. The sectors of the class, the revolutionary sectors, even not being the majority, have a possibility of immense influence because they represent the will of the population, which cannot express itself, cannot animate itself, which does not have the means to express itself, like the Christian Democratic masses, the Catholic masses in general, and a part of the Republicans.

Imperialism and the parties of the bourgeoisie are concerned to prevent a solution which goes from the disappearance of Franco to a situation and conditions which approximate to the Revolutionary State and the Workers State. This is what is impeding the bourgeoisie.

The Soviet Union has quite a good position, not entirely correct but quite good, better than that of the Spanish Communist Party. The Soviet State gave a formal declaration just referring to the death of Franco. The CPSU drew conclusions and condemned Franco and appealed for 'advanced democracy'. Without being entirely correct, this is a much better declaration than that of the Spanish Communist Party.

A very important aspect of this discussion in Spain is the disagreements between different Communist parties on how to interpret what is happening in Spain and what is happening in the rest of the world, and the separation which they make between events in Spain and events in the world. If Francoism was really strong it would have a capacity for dominion, and even Franco being dead, Francoism would continue. Otherwise it is a question of attributing to Franco magical powers. Franco died, but he was a corpse long before burial. He was totally inert and the relations of forces did not change from the material point of view with his death, because Franco was just a cover to maintain a certain

unity. The bourgeois opposition did not animate itself to overthrow him, and the Socialists and Communists did not organise their forces to do this. It is not that they could not have overthrown him. What was the source of Franco's power, to be able to maintain power under dictatorships and assassinations, when hundreds of workers were murdered? And then, dying, his power was finished! He was someone who for years was no use, did not speak, and was in the condition of an idiot. He was the living form of idiocy. When he died, it is not that a force went away, it is not like this. He did not have power then, or before. Franco was a centre because neither the bourgeoisie nor the left was dedicated to overthrow him. How is it that now, in the army, they are discussing democratic demands? These conditions already existed before! This is an indication of the weakness of the objectives and of the programme of the workers parties and of the trade unions. Otherwise, Franco could have been liquidated a long time ago. This is what has to be discussed.

Hence, there is a very profound discussion in Spain within the Socialist and Communist parties. There are sectors there who say, 'After Franco, it is us; it is our turn', that is to say, the Communists and Socialists. Meanwhile, the leaderships propose a democratic programme and how to convince the bourgeoisie to give democratic rights. If the bourgeoisie gives them, it means that the masses could seize through force ten times more. The bourgeoisie never give anything of its own will.

The capitalist regime thinks as a regime, a bourgeois regime; this is how society is now constituted. When it yields it is generally because concessions are extracted from it. And when they yield, before this extraction, it is to avoid more being demanded, and they thus soften the conciliatory sectors in the Socialist and Communist, anarchists, republicans, and prevent the masses from finding a means of access and making a pressure to achieve better conquests. Spain is ripe, so that in a short stage it could be a Portugal.

Portugal had 50 years of fascism. Fascism appeared to be a giant, and it fell apparently in a day. But this cannot just happen in one day. This means that, previously, there were all the conditions, but it was expressed in this way because there was no leadership. Neither did the Communist Party, the Soviets, the Chinese and the Socialists, foresee this. No one did foresee this. Had they foreseen it, they would have spoken, written and intervened. We wrote previously, showing that the army was going to intervene. The Soviets and the Chinese know it. They were informed, but they do not have a policy to intervene. It is beautiful to see how the Spanish masses, in the worst conditions, maintained the irreducible struggle and resistance to Franco.

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THE CRISIS OF PORTUGAL IS THE ABSENCE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP. FOR A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT WITH AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST, ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

J. POSADAS

13th November 1975

Introduction

Written, Comrade Posadas has written another the situation in Portugal: 'The military uprising and the process of the revolution and counter-revolution', of 30th November, 1975. Even though this understand the depth of the last events, we pub- because it is a deepening of a unique analysis of that depth of functioning they have reached - a which indicates that already the masses have found organs (and in an army with an imperialist can fulfil a role that only the Bolshevik Party means an enormous maturity and capacity of the not depend on the absence of leadership in the the army, to advance to construct the Workers

this gives a measure of the quality of the present revolution, it also underlines the immense pressure Communist parties and on the USSR to understand of the scientific method of thought which Marxism Marxist conceptions. The

change of policy of the Chinese in Angola, the recent release by the Chinese of the Soviet helicopter crew imprisoned two years ago, show the process leading to the necessary unification of the USSR and China, even if this process is not linear.

The stimulus for this unification and return to Marxism comes from the world revolution and is not going to be fundamentally damaged by the present partial retreat in Portugal. If a sector of the army and the Socialist right, with bourgeois support, has succeeded in defeating momentarily a sector of the left in the army and the groups in Portugal, Comrade Posadas analyses in the 30th November 1975, text that it is not fundamentally a defeat of the revolution but an expression of the lack of leadership to take it forward. The right has not been able to make profound changes in the economy, it has not been able to return the land to its owners, and most of the radios, televisions, newspapers, have been nationalised. Also, the depth of the process is not removed by this partial retreat, neither is the significance of the construction of the SUVs...

scientific creation. Complete freedom for this, complete freedom for the tendencies which want to develop the economy for the use of the population, complete freedom for the technicians, the engineers, the administrators, to lead, administer, develop the economy in the service of the population; complete freedom to develop the economy in the countryside in a collective way, giving the example of Ethiopia which gave the land to the peasants as private property, and these wanted to work the land collectively. In Portugal, the peasants also say this. Complete freedom for artistic creation, in literature, painting, music, which contribute to elevating human fraternity and dignity. The existence of the 14 Workers States, 20 Revolutionary States, of the revolutionary development of the masses, has created sentiments of fraternity, conditions of relations of human dignity in the world, which are very elevated. They have to express this in music, in painting and literature.

This is not the stage of individual interests, in painting, in music or in literature. We are against anyone who paints or writes, eulogising assassinations, crime or pornography. This is not freedom of expression. To write against the Workers States, as it is presented by Solzhenitsyn who shows the Soviet Union as a prison, is not a literary right. This is to be an idiot, defending the private interest of the capitalist system and of a layer of capitalism. The Soviet Union passed from the state of being a stable to being the greatest country in history, which has equalled the U.S. in almost everything, including the economy. In all the rest, in human relations, it is superior. What literary right is there for a Solzhenitsyn or a Sakharov writing to return stultified property to private? This is not literary, it is not liberty; this is the pornography of the individual interest, of wanting to make history retreat to private property. This is the capitalist interest which determines war, misery, hunger, unemployment, whilst the Workers State is not like this, and tends to eliminate all that.

We salute the creation of the organs of the soldiers and we appeal to the proletariat to create the same organs in alliance with the peasants, the soldiers and the trade unions and the workers parties. It is necessary to develop the factory committees which function very well in this alliance for a programme of nationalisations, of control of production, for the maintaining of the control of all the activity of the army, in the economy, in society and in policy. In this way, the counter-revolution is finished. This is complete liberty. Any one who wants to give ideas, artistic, creative, cultural and scientific creativity, for this, has complete liberty. For this necessity there is complete freedom, but not pluralism so that the bourgeoisie can smash the Communists, smash the workers movement, or give back property to the owners. We are against, because this is to maintain the basis for backwardness. The basis of every backwardness in history is private property, and it is not possible to separate democracy from the forms of property. It is absurd, because the owner sees freedom and democracy in accordance with his interests as an owner. The workers, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, see it differently; they see that to progress they have to eliminate private property. This eliminates the owners and opens the gates for thousands to live well, and opens the gate to the capacity, the intelligence which thinks objectively, and not in an enclosed way, enclosed by the interests of private property.

The crisis of the government of Goncalves is determined by the absence of a Party and of a leadership. It is not by reason of impotence. The Portuguese revolution has an enormous power! - when the army carries out this function of the SUV, when there is an army which gives freedom to the colonies and helps them, and when they come out of fascism and in one year make more progress, which is more social even than economic; The social and political development shows that all the conditions exist so that, in a short stage, there can be a Workers State

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the nationalisation of the building land so that everything has to be built by the state. The peasants demand nationalisation of the land and the workers nationalisation with workers control of all the factories. This is the revolution. In the name of the Trotskyist/Posadist IV International, we salute the Portuguese people for the elevated struggle which it is developing. Portugal forms part of a world process, although it does not depend directly on a world process. It forms part of a world process and the consequences of the process as a whole are expressed in Portugal. It is not necessary to expect that what happens in the world affects Portugal, but everything that happens in the world influences Portugal: as now what is happening in Angola.

After the Russian Revolution, the most beautiful and necessary fact today is advancing, and this is the Soviets of the soldiers in Portugal. Without a Party, without a leadership, they have made Soviets. This indicates the depth of the cultural knowledge, the revolutionary resolution and the objectivity in history which the soldiers express. They do not defend an army for themselves, the home for themselves, the sun, the moon or the ship for themselves, but to develop the economy, to eliminate social injustices; that is to say, to eliminate private property and capitalism. It is very beautiful! The SUV are organs which have a function superior to the Soviets; although they are not historically superior to the Soviets they function in a superior way. They function without the Party, which indicates that the world basis of the revolution, the world advance, influences Portugal and the soldiers reflect and represent the world level of the revolution, because they are making the SUV play the function of conscious leaders, representative of the interests of the historic necessity of the progress of Portugal. The Portuguese army gave freedom to Angola, but the masses of Portugal imposed the liberation of Angola on the army. A short time ago they wanted to send troops to repress, to support the repression against the MPLA, and the soldiers opposed and refused to go; and this contained the forces of the whites who were going to repress. It is necessary to consider that an army made to assassinate gave freedom to those that it was going to assassinate and accepted its function without feeling defeated, but felt that it had contributed to giving freedom to a colony. When this reaches such a level it's because the population, the proletariat, is at a much more profound level than this. They include in the liberation of the colonies, at the same time, a programme for the reorganisation of society. It is necessary to discuss this! The elevated function of the Portuguese army and the elevated function of the Angolan masses, who have not made one mobilisation of hatred against Portugal, show an elevated and profound understanding to win part of the Portuguese population. They haven't dedicated themselves to act with an Angolese nationalist hatred or fervour, but they have said, 'We have liberated ourselves and ourselves.' This is to say that they have a Marxist understanding of the process of history, this is the level which Portugal has reached.

It is necessary to help Angola, to send technicians - A very great

number of Portuguese have remained in Angola to work. The MPLA must be recognised as the real leadership of the country, and it is necessary to make a mobilisation in support of the MPLA as the genuine representative of the independence and freedom of Angola, because it has the programme to elevate the economy as a function of the needs of the population and not of the private interests of the capitalists, of the investor, or of imperialism. It is necessary to appeal to the Portuguese government, to the Portuguese masses, to mobilise so that the MPLA is recognised as the only representative of Angola, and to condemn Holden Roberto and UNITA as agents in the service of imperialism. There should be a mobilisation in Portugal in which Communists, Socialists and left groups all hold demonstrations and denounce the FNLA and UNITA, representatives of imperialism to hand over the oil, diamonds and all the minerals, and, on the other hand, to unite the struggle of the Portuguese people to the rest of the people of the former colonies. It is necessary to make a United Front for the programme in Portugal of nationalisations of the building land, of the land, of the properties, of alliance with the Workers States and alliance with Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde etc. There has to be an alliance with all of them to maintain and intensify commercial relations. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States for agreements, alliances, with a public discussion throughout the population to show and demonstrate the conception that to develop Portugal nationalisations are necessary. It is necessary to show how to explain the most simple things, in the streets, the schools, the factories and the cinemas, so that everyone intervenes and the children also, and the old people also, although now there are not any old women except for the old capitalists whose mentality is very old. The old women of eighty intervene perfectly well, with very logical judgements, not egotistical judgements but judgements on how to progress. Everybody feels that they can construct life. It is necessary to nationalise, to develop Portugal. This is what has to be discussed.

Capitalism cannot do anything to develop Portugal and no capitalist measure, as Soares wants or anybody else, can do anything. It is not a question of adopting capitalist measures, of a better administration, but it is the social, historic structure of the country which is no use. To develop the economy means, in consequence, a system of production, a regime of property which cannot be capitalist but has to be by nationalisations. Nationalisations allow the development of production, the programming of production, the planning of production, to invest where it may be necessary in accordance with the needs of the population, with the needs of the harmonious development of Portugal, not of some capitalists but of all the country. It is necessary to consider that Socialism is a necessity of history and in consequence of the Portuguese masses, and that to overthrow capitalism one cannot expect that it is going to accept that it has to go, because its interest leads it to defend what it has. As a consequence it is necessary to seek points of support, bases of support, for the necessity which the changes demand. And what will be the point of support? The workers, the peasants, the poor petit bourgeoisie, the soldiers. To seek their support it is necessary to turn to

them with this programme of, 'We want to change Portugal; and to change it, to develop the economy, cannot be achieved with a capitalist economy. It is necessary to do this with nationalised property, because this allows intervention with the state as the only controller of the whole economy. On a private basis, the capitalist does what he wants, he spends as he wants, he invests where he wants, and he determines. This is the democratic plurality which the right of the Socialist Party wants. We are against, this is not democratic plurality, it is bourgeois plurality to defend the capitalist system which led to fascism, and which is going to give again other forms of bureaucratic imposition or fascist forms

It is necessary to see that the whole population intervenes in the resolution of the economic problems, from the children of six, as they are doing in Angola and Somalia, to the adults. Why cannot the children go to lead? Why cannot they control the economy? We propose that everybody intervenes as the soldiers committees are doing, which are developing more and more. It is necessary to discuss with the population how to develop the economy, then to proceed, seeing that the development of the economy cannot be realised with more or better administration, but that the structure of the private interest of property impedes it. With private property, every owner does what he likes, takes the profit and produces for profit. But, on the other hand, if there is a production on the basis of the state, then production is on the basis of the needs of the population, of what it requires, and planning is based on that. What it is necessary to discuss is the regime of property. This is Socialism in pluralism.

Socialism doesn't need pluralism, otherwise there is no Socialism, because Socialism eliminates individual interest, proceeds in the development of the elimination, of the overcoming of the interest of each one, and then generalises the regime of property, the system of production in accordance with the needs of the population. It eliminates the base of thinking about individual interests and eliminates private property. All the pluralism can exist to intervene, to think, to reason, within nationalisation. In art, literature, everything; but on this line - On the other hand, Soares demands a plurality in the defence of private property which does not lead to the progress of Portugal. We propose what Lenin did: which is to eliminate the base of a later struggle and now to nationalise property and plan production. Then it is necessary to discuss the fact that the workers demand nationalisation under workers control, that there should be no private enterprises, because these do what they want and not in the interests of the necessity of the population. And what has to be respected? The interests of ten, twenty, a thousand or of ten million. It is a simple form of discussing, and people discuss in this way. When Soares poses pluralism, it is to defend bourgeois interests and to weigh with private property, as a centre which stimulates and develops the counter-revolution. This historic swindler shows more and more clearly the reactionary function which he is playing against Socialist measures.

The Communist Party has to appeal to the proletariat to intervene, to make democratic assemblies, in a Soviet form, on all these problems;

so that they discuss openly with the Socialist base, with the Socialist vanguard and the Socialist leadership. They must discuss openly: We want to nationalise for such a reason, because private property cannot develop the economy; Pluralism is only for the benefit of the capitalist; We want the right for all the tendencies to struggle for all Socialist measures, to have full right to speak, discuss, make proposals and criticise, in literature, art, science, or football. This is pluralism! The struggle for Socialism already includes the full possibility of 'democracy', 'freedom of expression', of every idea which leads to the progress of society. For example, this is not in favour of the assassins in the service of the nazis, of the fascists at the service of the Yanks who made the atom bomb. We are against these scientists! Science like this does not serve progress; we want science for progress, liberty for progress! Thus we are against the atomic weapons being used against the progress of humanity. On the other hand, we are in support of utilising all necessary means to remove what is left of the capitalist system. If possible, we would do it by means of persuasive conviction, but there is no historic example which shows that, with persuasion, capitalism is going to accept defeat and go away.

It is necessary to elevate in Portugal the discussion over democratic rights. For whom? and for what? The democracy of the Socialist right, Soares, is to assault the Communist locales, to repress the left groups. They do not believe in the capacity of the proletariat, nor in the resolution, nor in the intelligence of the proletariat. They do not believe in the historic objectivity of the proletariat because they do not represent a necessity of history. For this, it is necessary to be objective. The proletariat is objective, it cannot accumulate interest or property through its function in the economy, in history, and in society. It cannot pretend to seek or to orientate itself to substitute for the capitalist itself. It has to eliminate every form of property, to eliminate itself and capitalism. This is the essential base of democracy.

The democracy which does not represent the progress of life is not democracy. It is the right of those who command to continue retaining power. These are the ones who impede the development of history: because it is the capitalist system which impedes the progress of history. We defend democratic rights, not bourgeois democracy. We defend democratic rights intransigently, but as a means to make the revolution advance. Those who defend democracy in the abstract are protecting the capitalist system. Bourgeois democracy is the limitation of social rights in the accumulation of capital and the capitalists of society. The Portuguese masses have already shown that they understand this. It is necessary to develop and appeal for the United Front of the Socialists, the Communists, the MDP, the soldiers, the peasants, the intellectuals, the workers, the trade unions, to make a discussion to nationalise, to plan production, to make a literary, artistic, complete creation; for the advance of noble human relations, superior and more dignified than that of the capitalist system, elevating the organisation, the aspiration, the human relations of solidarity, or fraternity, which develop the sentiment of humanity as a whole. This is the base of artistic, literary and

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soon in Portugal, eliminating capitalism, and this is what has to be done. In depth, the struggle of Soares and the PPD against the Communists, MDP, SUV etc. is about the forms of property; whether it is a future of private property or statified property. The democracy that arises from private property is to continue capitalism, repression, war and massacre in the colonies. The elimination of private property gives the conditions to eliminate these conditions of war, to elevate the creative capacity of all the Portuguese population. For example, the notorious and decisive fact, the collapse of fascism, prompted the development of the creative capacity of the Portuguese people. Part of the creative capacity is music, literature and painting. It is certain this is creative capacity; but infinitely more important than such creative capacity, is the creation of the SUV. One gives an intellectual explanation which reaches small circles, which stimulates and mobilises society in a very small way. The SUV allows the mobilisation of all society. This is creative capacity. And the revolution did this, and it is necessary to generalise such conclusions immediately. There, all have the right of tendency, the leftists, the ultra-leftists, the Socialists, the Communists, the Posadists, all including the Socialists who are not of the left but who are in accord with the elimination of capitalism. They have a right to be there, to go through a process of democratic Socialist education, to attract and convince them that they need have no fear of the Socialist future. But the counter-revolutionary Socialists who want private property, these are not Socialists; they are non-Socialists in disguise, because Socialists must ask as a minimum for the elimination of the causes of the evils of society, which is private property and capitalism. It is not the Workers States which are responsible for the evils of society. All the errors of the Workers States added together of the past, of now and of tomorrow, are zero compared with what capitalism does, because the Workers States impel the progress of history and the masses know this very well. The errors of Stalin didn't smash nor demoralise the course of history to Socialism. It did not demoralise the working class.

The working class, the vanguard, understood that Stalin was a transitory process of history. It prevented capitalism from smashing the Soviet Union, it defeated them in war. The Soviet masses defended the Workers State even with Stalin and the Stalinist repression. They show that they defended objectively the process of history, and now also. It is necessary to make the working class intervene in Portugal with much more importance, with much greater preponderance everywhere. It is necessary to discuss this openly. The Communist Party has to discuss openly the need for the masses to intervene, to discuss, to exchange ideas, to learn of the course of history. It is necessary to make the masses intervene, to discuss, discuss, discuss for nationalisations, why workers control? why workers democracy? and to appeal to the Socialists also to intervene. This is the basis of the new stage and this is the basis which shows that a great development of the revolution in Portugal is possible in a short stage. Capitalism has no strength to smash Portugal.

The preoccupation of all the Communist, Socialist and left comrades in Portugal is very important, but fascism doesn't have any strength. The essential basis of the small forces which fascism and world capitalism still have is the lack of initiative, of resolution, of the slow anti-capitalist progress of the Portuguese revolution. The more the revolution simply stagnates without progressing in anti-capitalist measures, the more the weight of the preponderance in the economy of capitalism increases and, as a consequence, in society. The basis of the intervention of the capitalists and the fascists, of bourgeois reaction, is private property because it is its point of support in society. To eliminate reaction, it is necessary to eliminate private property, eliminating the reactionaries is not to damage democracy, because they are not a necessity in history. Capitalism and the bourgeoisie don't incorporate,

don't contribute anything either in democratic rights or scientific capacity, nor human rights. They develop economic and scientific rights strictly for what is necessary to the accumulation of capital. As a consequence they amputate the sciences and economic development. On the other hand, the development of the Workers State is because it has an objective interest. The proletariat which has an objective interest in society, not an objective interest in itself, allows it to see science, culture and the economy without limits.

THE PRESENT CRISIS LEADS TO CHANGES TOWARDS THE LEFT.

The concession of the Portuguese government towards the construction workers is very great. This crisis leads to changes. The present crisis cannot last. The present situation is unstable and is going to change, not towards the right but towards the left. The masses have intervened and when the masses, when the proletariat intervenes, like the workers of the construction industry accompanied by other sectors, when it has reached this level, it is because the workers feel that the problem is not only one of wages but of programme, policy and objectives.

The right is going to try to repress, the Socialists are going to try to repress in a camouflaged form, dissimulating in the name of democracy, in the name of order, of democracy and the disorder of before, i.e. the assassinations which the right made accompanied by the Socialist right who killed the Communists and the Communist militants nobly defended their locales. Soares and the right didn't say anything and now they do.

The intervention of the proletariat, of the factory committees and the masses, is impelling the Communist Party, the leftists, the Socialist left, the democratic left, to feel that the problem is the question of a programme which secures Socialist development, and that this development has to have a basis in nationalisations, otherwise 'Socialism' is a decorative word. Socialism means the means to eliminate the injustices, to eliminate inequality, the exploitation of man by man, and this means taking economic measures and, at the same time, elevating the function of the masses and of the proletariat. It is necessary to appeal to the united front of the Socialists, the Communists, the left groups, the armed democratic forces who are in agreement with Socialist developments. There has to be an agreement on the basis of a programme, not the abstract definition of Socialism, but for a conclusion; for nationalisations, workers control, intervention of the population in all the problems of the country, and that this should be the real Constituent Assembly. Let the Constituent Assembly be an instrument of consultation with the population, in the factories, in the fields, in the offices and in the barracks. It is necessary to develop and support the democratic Socialist function and revolutionary function of the army as the SUV are doing, and as the majority of the soldiers and non-commissioned officers and, in part, the officers in Portugal want. It is necessary to demonstrate that it is necessary to resolve the problems of Portugal on the basis of this progress of the masses, showing that the present crisis is not a crisis occasioned by the intervention of the construction workers.

When the construction workers, who have a very great weight because of the little industry which exists, intervene with such resolution, such echo and such firmness that they attract the concentration from all parts of the country, it is because they are exercising a necessary function which the parties do not. The Communist Party acted through the workers in the construction workers or the engineers, which is good, but in addition they have to do it directly as a Party. When the mobilisation reaches such a level, it is because Portugal is mature for the Government of the Left. What is missing is leadership, maintaining the programme which is already on the road to Socialism and extending it. It is necessary to give an explanation of what Socialism is, that if there is no economic basis, Socialism does not exist, otherwise it is simply

burbling so that the bourgeoisie go on dominating. It is necessary to deprive the bourgeoisie of economic, political and social power. This is the road to Socialism. If it is necessary to do it piece by piece, we are going to discuss this, but it is clear that the masses are ready to do this and are ready now.

The conditions of the world favour from every point of view the deepening of the revolution in Portugal. Deepening the revolution means to nationalise, to plan the economy, to make the masses intervene in the workers areas, in the decisions and the leadership of the economy. There is still a lack of technicians, of engineers, of experts, and it is necessary to develop the population for this. Undoubtedly, there are difficulties because of a backward economy, but China, Cuba, Hungary were worse, and see where they are. The basis is to show that in eliminating private property, the essential part of private property, the most important aspect is the organisation of the economy to meet the needs of the population, in consumption and exports and the development of the economy.

Throughout the world, all the process is favourable. Capitalism has strength in arms but it cannot use them as it wants, either in war, or repression, or intervention. There is a process of elevation of the intervention of the Workers States, particularly of the Soviet Union, in support of the advance of every anti-imperialist measure and measures which suppress private property. Although this may be in a compensatory form or by reforms, it supports the correct measures which is a very great stimulus and a basis of alliance with the objective progress of history.

It is not possible to have the attitude of criticising the Soviet Union and the Communist parties, accusing them of being bureaucrats or being representatives of interests far from the revolution, when they are supporting the revolution. What it is necessary to do is to make the necessary criticism to elevate the intervention of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties through the intervention of the masses with Soviet democracy, and then to extend the use of the planning of the economy to more elevated levels which the bureaucratic forms impede. It is necessary to intervene, appealing for the United Front with this discussion.

On a world wide scale capitalism has failed, and it will fail, in all the efforts to determine the course of history. Capitalism can no longer do this. The Workers States do this with the struggle of the masses of the world. The crisis of capitalism is total, absolute, complete, because it overwhelms the economy, policy, society, and all the institutions on itself. The Church is in crisis with a very great part won by the revolution. The police is in part very greatly influenced by the revolution and by the progress of history. The army is influenced by the revolution more and more. The crisis in the structure of the supports of the capitalist system increases. This weakens and impedes capitalism, stops it from concentrating and centralising and monopolising power as a class to launch itself against the revolution. On the contrary, the crisis which it has increases its internal contradictions, intensifies them and prevents it from coming to agreement within its own forces in time to confront the revolution. Also, in this case, progress is demonstrated and in Portugal this progress is expressed. Hence one of the essential aspects of this crisis of the capitalist system is expressed in the armies which go over to the side of the revolution. Portugal, Ethiopia, Peru, which go directly to the side of the revolution. And they are not from any movements but from countries of very great importance, armies which were in the service of imperialism as oppressors. One of the most beautiful facts of history is this, that the world revolution persuaded the Portuguese army to give freedom to the colonies, to eliminate fascism. In this world process of the revolution the Workers States are included, and the heroism of the Soviet masses which smashed nazism, and the revolutionary guerillas of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Bissau. This relation still continues today. Let there be plurality so that Angola can intervene, so that the Workers States

can intervene in Portugal. It is necessary to appeal to the world workers movement, to the Socialist parties, to the workers centres, to the Workers States to defend unconditionally the development of Socialism in Portugal with concrete measures of nationalisation, of the planning of production, of workers control, and that Portugal supports fully and immediately the MPLA, with aid and maintaining trade. It is necessary that the Communist and Socialist movements and the workers centres accuse Holden Roberto, UNITAS, the FNLA, of being agents of imperialism. The MPLA has already declared in its programme that it is necessary to nationalise and develop a democratic economy for Socialism. The FNLA has already declared its support for free enterprise.

All Portugal should discuss this and that would be the real Constituent Assembly. Portugal voted for Socialism, it did not vote for the Socialists, the Communists of the democrats, it voted for Socialism... This was the unanimous vote of Portugal and this conclusion continues and is the vote which determines the course of the movement of the masses, which are the ones who are organising the process in Portugal.

The demonstration of the workers in the construction industry shows that the conditions are mature so that the proletariat can weigh more, so that the opinion, the thought and the role of the proletariat decides. Particular workers can have individual interests, but the proletariat as a class no. It is necessary to make the proletariat weigh; on the other hand, the Socialists and the sectors of the PPD base themselves on the top layers of the petit bourgeoisie and imperialism. These are the means through which they put themselves in the Socialist Party and the Social Democracy. It is necessary to break this; the proletariat does not have any links with world reaction, and the link of the proletariat through the Communist Party with the Soviet Union is not reactionary, but is progressive and useful. We criticise certain aspects of the policy of the Soviet Union and the Communist parties, but the function of the Soviet Union is totally progressive from every point of view, and it is necessary to support it. Our criticisms are aimed to impel objectively the process to Socialism in a more complete form than the leadership of the USSR is doing. But the role of the Soviet Union is an immense progress. It is not possible to put the Communist Party on the same level as the Socialist Party. The Communist Party does not seek an alliance to smash the Portuguese revolution. The Socialist Party, yes; and it unites itself to Holden Roberto.

It is necessary to appeal to the Socialist masses for a public discussion, to the Socialist Party with Soares also, but to the Socialist masses, so that they intervene on the objective of the revolution, the means and the conditions which are favourable for Socialism.

It is necessary to appeal for a Government of the Left with a programme for the development of the Socialist revolution, with a programme of nationalisations, planning of the economy, and of workers control, with the monopoly of foreign trade. It is necessary that the cadres, the leaderships, the parties and the trade union movement intervene, so that they determine that the programme of the Socialist revolution is applied. This is the conclusion to solve the present crisis, and in the meantime this is helping to form a new leadership from the Communist Party, the left groups, the trade union movement, the factory committees, the Socialist left and the democratic sectors. It is necessary to form a mass movement - which is missing - of a united front, and a leadership which has confidence and security in the programme of nationalisations, of monopoly of foreign trade, of workers control.

Yankee imperialism doesn't have the strength to decide what it wants, when it wants, and how it wants. It is obliged to follow the course of history which the Workers States map out with the masses of the world in objective alliance, and at times organic alliance with the Workers States as in Portugal. Imperialism goes from crisis to crisis. The stumblings of Ford, his falling about, are all signs of weakness. In reality

one doesn't measure imperialism by this, because it has atomic weapons in order to do great damage to humanity, but the insecurity of capitalism is shown in this falling about of Ford. It is humorous, but within this buffoonery, imperialism is like this. What his weakness expresses effectively is that Yankee imperialism has to base itself, seeks to base itself, on conflicts, on the competition of the Chinese with the Soviets, to try to win positions and time. That is to say it is not imperialism which determines the course of the process, but it falls behind the process even with atomic arms. This shows that they are conscious that atomic arms do not decide history. Atomic arms are means to decide part of the process of history, but they do not decide the course. What decides is intelligence and not arms, and human intelligence has already decided for Socialism.

The situation in Portugal, as in Angola, the support and immediate recognition on the part of the USSR of Angola, show the process of the Partial Regeneration in the Workers State which gives an impulse to the USSR to intervene supporting Angola, as such as Portugal. All the revolutionaries and the Communist parties, the left Socialists and the left groups, must realise this. Even if there are oscillations, this is the line of history - because the objective necessity of science, of the economy, of the objective necessity of the development of the Workers States, the masses of the world, of the class struggle and its elevation with the balance of forces, absolutely favourable to the Socialist revolution, give an impulse to the Workers States to intervene in this way. It is necessary to count on this but, instead this is not discussed in the Communist Party. To discuss does not mean to submit to the USSR and in any case, if it is necessary, it is then necessary to be centralised;

What they define as being 'submitted' must not mean the abandonment of critical judgement, but unconditional support as we Posadists have supported the Workers States at every opportunity. The unconditional defence of the USSR means that, in front of any difficulty, any problem for the USSR, we defend it. In consequence, we appeal to the world Communist movement to support this attitude, in which they must discuss the experiences of Portugal and Angola, so that the Communist movement receives this influence, this experience, and adopts the policy to substitute for, to change, and to overthrow the capitalist system everywhere - certainly advancing also with parliamentary, electoral methods, but these are not sufficient. Not even general strikes are sufficient, but are parts, means, instruments, to attract the more backward sectors who are won to the will to struggle, because they see that with struggle everything can be decided. Otherwise, what decides is electoral competition, and then it is a problem of the top strata of the petit bourgeoisie who can influence the lower and middle sectors and the peasants. The problem is one of the relationship and the quality of forces, because, afterwards, with the correct policy, the other sectors are also won and attracted. It is necessary to change history as quickly as possible to reduce the disasters and the crimes which capitalism will carry out. A proof of the latter is what Holden Roberto and UNITA are doing, who, if they had an objective interest in history, would discuss what programme, what policy is necessary, and then it would be seen that the progress of the Workers States is due to nationalisations, planning and state monopoly of foreign trade.

We make an appeal for this discussion to be made in the militant Communist base and to draw the conclusion that it is necessary to overthrow capitalism, which is not going to go by itself; and also to attract those sectors which capitalism attracts electorally, who have to be won by the security of the proletariat which shows that it can lead society. In this way they can be won, and also the army.

The world relation of forces is diminishing the weight of the bourgeoisie and its social, political and economic capacity. The world relation of forces is expressed everywhere. The Communist comrades, those of the left groups, of the Socialist Party of Portugal, as in the rest of the world, must consider

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THE CRISIS OF PORTUGAL

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that it is necessary to be based on this conclusion. Capitalism will not go; it is necessary to throw it out. It is necessary to throw it out with force, and the force exists. The electoral majority which Soares obtained was not for him. The proletariat was not present, in that the proletariat voted integrally for the Communist Party, for a Communist programme, for an anti-capitalist solution. The petit bourgeoisie, the peasant movement, from the elections until now, have observed the proletariat and this has increased its authority very greatly in comparison with the peasant movement and the petit bourgeoisie.

MILITARY DISCIPLINE AND POLITICAL REASONING.

In the present crisis, the solution can be contained by manoeuvres of the right, by movements of the apparatus, of the summits, which contain or push back in part the level achieved by the revolution. But the masses have already intervened and have weighed and have already seen that they decide and resolve, and they have obliged just now the government to sustain the independence of Angola. This is the product of the struggle of the masses in Portugal. The leadership of the MPLA must be grateful to the Portuguese masses who, with their struggles, in which are included the struggles of the Communist Party and the MDP, and their interventions have allowed the sustaining of the independence of Angola. This indicates the forces which exist, even if the right — supporting itself on the Socialists — succeeds temporarily in containing or in diverting the masses are already intervening directly and openly. The soldiers intervene openly as a political force, and the proletariat with the factory committees.

The soldiers have overcome the submission to military discipline, and now they have the order which comes from political orientation. They see the army as a political instrument and not as a means of assassination. The bourgeois discipline in the army is not going to return. Discipline is policy. What to do? An army which has given freedom to the colonies, which it previously oppressed, has already acquired the basis of reasoning, not of submission to the military hierarchy but to political reasoning; and political reasoning in such a way that a militant of the left groups of 18 years of age is as valuable as the general of 70, because it is a matter of ideas and of who is right. This is the contribution of Portugal to the world Socialist revolution, and a very good contribution of the masses and of the Portuguese people.

The resistance of the building workers, the way in which they subdued parliament, supported by the proletariat of the whole country, and by an immense part of the population and of the soldiers, shows that the proletariat feels that it must intervene in a much more decisive way, a more resolved way, to change the course of the political process of Portugal. It feels that, otherwise, Portugal is going towards a policy which favours imperialism, private property and the maintenance of the order of private property.

The building workers, the industrial workers, the agricultural labourers proposed nationalisations, planning of production, and the state monopoly of foreign trade. They do not propose property for themselves but that the economy should be nationalised so that the state can plan it. They show that they have an historic consciousness and practical, concrete resolution, infinitely superior to that of the political leaderships and that of the present government, because they have ideas which correspond to the necessity of the development of the economy; and, to develop it, it is necessary to nationalise. The relationships between the peasants show that they want to develop agriculture and the economy, and to elevate the life of the Portuguese people. They feel that they are the appropriate representatives, the conscious expression, of the process of history. Hence the peasants do not demand the land for themselves; they demand to work it together so as to develop and plan it.

There is a process of the occupation of the land in which it is shown,

that it is not a dispute over property, to make it pass into the hands of the peasants, or to develop a new type of owner; but they want the means to develop the economy. They show the immense superiority of their proposals to all the plans of private property, which this government and the Socialist tendency of the right are carrying on, and which limits all the development of the economy.

It is necessary to form the United Front with the peasants, agricultural labourers, the small and medium proprietors, with these last in separate organisms, in alliance with the workers to develop the economy. The workers, in separate trade unions, with organisms which are exclusively workers, are then in a position to influence the petit bourgeoisie which still aspires to and believes in the possibility of developing life through small plots of land. It is necessary to show them that the nationalised property is better and, in this way, collective work too because it elevates their standard of living, their culture and the human relations. It eliminates the problems arising from the obsession of having to struggle, to maintain property, which it carries all the time, creating a series of raging conflicts in the family, of antagonistic relations. It eliminates unemployment. This corresponds to what is already posed in part by the peasantry, in relation to the development of agriculture and the economy in this stage in Portugal. This important part of the peasantry is the vanguard which attracts all the rest.

The army is in agreement with this. Had the majority of the army or the decisive part supported the plans for a retreat in the economy or in policy, this would have found expression in repression. And, if the building workers have been able to make mobilisations and have had such a success, it means that they count upon the support, solidarity and intention, and the understanding itself of important sectors of the army. It is on these conclusions that public discussion must be based.

Hence we appeal to all the comrades of the left groups, of all the groups, to discuss, to intervene, to maintain their initiative, their combative resolution, and to discuss that the planning of the economy is necessary — public discussions, the intervention of the proletariat as an essential weight in the economy and in society. It is necessary to intervene in the navy, the army and the airforce, and in the petit bourgeoisie, making appeals to the proletariat to intervene, making appeals so that the proletariat weighs, because it has the objective interests of humanity in history, because its function in the economy prevents it developing individual interests, because its function forms part of the process of collective production and develops in it the collective sentiments of society.

For this reason it is closer to historic truth and to concrete truth. Its function prevents it from developing conservative and private sentiments. It has objective sentiments for the progress of history. It is necessary to make the proletariat intervene, to appeal to the Communist Party, to make the proletariat intervene more in political life, to discuss all the problems, drawing conclusions from the experiences and showing also that the cases of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn exist because there is not the full development of Soviet democracy, the right to write everything, but on the basis of the interests of the development of Socialism. It is necessary to let the masses write, not Solzhenitsyn or Sakharov.

IT IS NECESSARY TO DEFEND ANGOLA WITH ALL POSSIBLE FORCES.

The liberation of Angola is a tremendous blow at Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to see that the independence and development of Angola, with the MPLA, is supported unconditionally with a common programme to nationalise and plan the economy. It is necessary to make a world appeal of the peasants, the workers, the army, for the United Front, so that it can be an impulse to the complete programme for the development of the revolution in Angola.

The more the revolution elevates

in Angola, the more the dignity, the consciousness, the capacity and the revolutionary function of the soldiers increases in Portugal. There, the process of concentration is weighing, or synthesis, between the Portuguese soldiers, the proletariat, the peasants and the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie. This is a process which succeeds in breaking one of the most important links, one of the most powerful means of dominion of Yankee and French, German and Spanish imperialisms. The victory in Angola is an immense blow delivered at imperialism within the relation of world forces favourable to the world revolution. The development of Angola, with the support of the USSR, weakens a series of strategic, political and military bases of imperialism in Africa and it develops on the contrary, the strength of the revolution which advances. It is necessary to make an appeal to discuss publicly this function of the liberation and independence of Angola and to support it unconditionally, so that the Workers States support it and that China changes its reactionary policy of support to the FNLA.

It is necessary to make a programme of public discussions on the programme of the development of the economy, on workers control and nationalisations. The workers need to live. It is necessary to guarantee a minimum standard of living and cultural life of the population. If the capitalist in this way does not accumulate capital, well, the state does. All those who wish to maintain private property to develop the economy are speaking falsely. Private property still stimulates the enrichment of individual capitalists who do not develop the economy, or only very little, because they only do it on the basis of their own interest. And, in every case, also in this way, they take for themselves a disproportionate part of the surplus value which does not return to the market as a product to develop life, society, the economy, human dignity, and consumption.

It is necessary to defend Angola with all the force, with all the passion and resolution. It is necessary to give a salute and Communist fraternal salute to the Angolan masses and the political leadership in Angola which, in the worst conditions, have maintained and defended the positions of the development of the revolution. It is necessary to take positions also against the concessions made in relation to Sahara, whether on the part of Morocco or Spain. It must be independent and develop a Workers State. It is a measure of imperialism against the development of the revolution in Africa, and directly against Algeria. It serves to enrich the monopolies with phosphates, minerals and oil, against the development of the economy. They are seeking to contain the Algerian revolution through Morocco. The possible deals or agreements which Spanish or Moroccan imperialism can make are reactionary, profoundly reactionary. It is necessary to impede this, and that the masses function on the basis of self-determination, with full rights as with Portugal to support the freedom and independence of the Sahara, to advance towards the Revolutionary State and the Workers State, so that production is planned, so that a plan of industrialisation is made of development of the agrarian economy, in accordance with the Workers States, to sell the products and to advance, developing the economy. The progress of history is in the hands of the masses, in the programme of the revolution, for nationalisations, the planning and intervention of the masses in the leadership and the running of the economy.

Imperialism is preparing a counter-revolutionary blow, supporting itself on the rise of the Socialist Party, on the fear that this leadership has of nationalised property, and of the development of Socialist measures. Imperialism is preparing through these sectors a coup, using the arguments about the history of totalitarianism.

The Communists are not totalitarians! Totalitarianism means the economy is in the hands of a small layer of capitalists. And the Communists, even if mistaken in some political aspects, develop the interest of the nationalised economy, which allows a very great progress of the development of human relations.

Imperialism is preparing blows to contain the revolution. If the Socialists and the PPD accepted nationalisations and planning, the masses would find the forms to realise democratic relations, of discussion, opinions, supporting themselves on the social, economic base, which is the base of human relations. It will be like this for a whole period.

Fascism does not have the strength, either locally or on a world-wide scale. This is the stage of the Socialist revolution. It is necessary to appeal to the Workers States, above all to the USSR, so that they intervene more. It is necessary to appeal to the Portuguese workers, the soldiers, the petit bourgeoisie, so that they intervene, demanding, protesting and imposing on China the cessation immediately of its attitude of alliance with the capitalists and imperialism, whether in Angola or Portugal. And it is necessary to discuss openly with the USSR and with the Workers States a United Front, a centralisation for the development of the world Socialist revolution against the capitalist system, and unconditional help and support for the development of revolutions as in Angola and Portugal. And that they intervene to impose in the Workers States like China, the discussion on the development of the Socialist revolution. The Sino-Soviet dispute, the criminal behaviour of the Chinese in this case, is one of the essential bases for sustaining the capitalist system. It is necessary to communicate with the Chinese masses, and to do this it is necessary to intervene with a programme for the development of the Socialist revolution, of the economy in China and in the rest of the world.

It is necessary to undertake all this discussion in the trade unions on the development of the economy, on the leadership of the country, on how to suppress capitalism and how to make the United Front with the Workers States. All the trade unions must intervene and the workers confederations in a United Front, with the Socialists, Communists, MDP, left groups, Posadists, in a discussion on nationalisations and a programme of progress of Portugal for its economic and social bases of development; economically in relation to nationalisations and agreements with the Workers States; socially, for the intervention of the masses as the leadership of the economy in the factories, in the administration, with workers control. The objective is that of planning production to make the economy advance. Neither one or the other capitalist is responsible for the backwardness of Portugal. It is the backwardness of the system. Whether it is 'democratic' or fascist, it is

the same thing.

The United States is the country of 'democracy'. France is the country of 'democracy'. Well, there are repressions, crises, assassinations, a million and a half unemployed — and this is everywhere in the capitalist world, where the standard of life falls constantly. This is the essential basis of the class struggle.

On the other hand, the Workers States show — as the USSR has done with 58 years in existence, and the Workers States of Europe in less than 30 years — that they have caught up with all the capitalist countries. China, which came from a backwardness involving slavery, today exports technicians and engineers, and has eliminated unemployment and misery. These are the fruits of nationalisations of property, of the planning of production, of the monopoly of foreign trade; and it is necessary to add the democratic Soviet development of the masses, the intervention of workers control, the intervention with the most complete democracy for the masses so that they can make every type of judgement, of opinions, and make any type of criticism to exercise whatever control is necessary. This in itself eliminates every form of arbitrariness, of petulance, or arrogance, of inequality and, at the same time, gives the basis of the fullest democracy in literature, art, science, etc.

We salute with all our Communist love the Portuguese masses who emerge from a frightful misery of 50 years of fascism, overthrew it, and are now preoccupied with developing society, not with developing themselves individually. What can be more beautiful? This is the basis of objectivity. This is democracy. The Portuguese masses, with the Portuguese proletariat, must weigh in a more permanent, more constant way. To make them intervene, it is necessary to develop the public activities, the discussion, in which all the experiences of the class struggle are discussed objectively. It is necessary to show in the conclusions of the class struggle that capitalism will give nothing, that it has to be thrown out. And this is the problem of the line of history. Private property, or stultified property planning of production or individual production.

We salute with all our affection and our love the Portuguese masses, the Portuguese soldiers, these sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who contribute with their activity to this activity, to this process of the development of history. And we salute with all our Communist love the Communist and Socialist masses who are contributing to this process. J. POSADAS 13th November, 1975.

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

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consider this in the context of the necessity for a PLANNED ECONOMY BASED ON THE NATIONALISATION OF MAJOR INDUSTRY, THE LAND, BANKS AND FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION. To discuss the problems of Chryslers — and their solution — not in isolation but together with the problems of the economy and the working population as a whole. It is necessary to take measures to break from the isolation — one struggle from another — imposed by the bureaucratic structure of the trade unions, and the electoralist, parliamentary structure of the Labour Party. The experience of the flying pickets organised by the miners put them in contact with not only other sectors of workers but also great sectors of the population and has to be retaken. The steel workers of Corby are proposing, for example, a national strike in the steel industry against the proposed sacking of 44,000 workers and it is not such a great distance, geographically, from Coventry to Corby.

WE APPEAL TO THE WORKERS AND SHOP STEWARDS OF CHRYSLERS TO DISCUSS THESE PROPOSALS AND TO WEIGH ON THE LABOUR PARTY LEFT, INCORPORATING THE LABOUR PARTY MILITANTS IN THE DISCUSSION, DEMANDING THAT THE LABOUR MPs COME TO THE FACTORY TO EXPLAIN THEIR PROGRAMME AND POLICY, TO LISTEN TO THE DEMANDS OF THE WORKERS AND TO BE MANDATED BY THEM.

This is the major problem which faces the Chrysler workers and the whole of the working class. The Labour Party has neither the structure, programme nor policy to respond to the demands of the working class and the objective necessity to lead the anti-capitalist struggle outside of parliament and on the basis of the mobilisations of the working class. And yet, the Labour government cannot act entirely in the interests of capitalism. Nationalisations — like those of the aircraft and shipbuilding industry — are an attack on private property, and it is not going to be possible for capitalism to re-absorb these sectors of industry into private ownership.

The Labour Party is much more under the pressure of the working class and of the trade unions which are its base. It is a measure of this pressure that the home policy committee of the NEC of the Labour Party is now proposing the nationalisation of the four major banks. They don't

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TROTSKYISM IN THE LABOUR PARTY

The process of the disintegration of capitalism passes directly through the Labour Party and government. The agony of the whole system is shown in the dispute between the government and the NEC, the fact that the party no longer unites with the bourgeois sectors of the leadership. The contradictory character of the process is seen in the fact that urban building land, the aircraft and shipbuilding industries are nationalised or about to be nationalised and, on the other hand, the national enterprise board has been turned into a machine for subsidising a collapsing capitalism on a vast scale. A cabinet minister, Prentice, is thrown out by his constituency because of his rightist policies, while the government makes desperate efforts to save capitalism, allowing unemployment. And yet again, at the same time, the dockers are given immense power over employment in the docks.

Such a situation on the historic plane can only be transitory. The Wilson regime cannot sustain capitalism without entering into collision with the masses. The results of the EEC referendum demonstrated that the proletariat would not accept the resolution of problems on the basis of electoral games where their position was not represented. The referendum was an expression of the downfall of the old parliamentary structures where the Labour Party could contain the masses within the electoral process. All this means that the Labour government is no longer capable of guaranteeing a successful outcome for capitalism and, on the other hand, the party is open to a constant change of orientation towards the left. The immense polarisation of forces on a world scale has meant an immense concentration of the masses around the mass workers parties and trade unions. Thus the irrevocable logic of the process demands a discussion of ideas in the Labour Party to confront the situation not of the advance and expansion of capitalism, but on the contrary, of contraction and its downfall. This is why the bourgeoisie is obsessed with the danger of Trotskyism in the Labour Party, but also neither it nor the Labour Party apparatus are capable of discussing the situation objectively.

It is absurd for the LP to discuss Trotskyism and Marxism and then publish a report on various left groups, which is a dishonest charade. A great effort has been made to

centre attention on the 'Militant' group which, on its own admittance, has nothing to do with the IV International. The line of the 'Militant' is one of constant attack on the Workers States, ignoring the independent functioning of the working class, proclaiming the peaceful road to Socialism, and operating on the basis of capturing the Labour Party by 'winning positions', i.e. apparatus manoeuvres. This has nothing to do with Trotskyism, but is merely an expression of a parasitic group trying to use the crisis of the Labour Party for its private interests. The most revealing part of the LP text on Trotskyism was the very deliberate confusion made by the apparatus in the use of the Posadist Party title 'Revolutionary Workers Party' as identical with the Healy group which is bitterly hostile to Communism, and for purposes of confusion adopted the title 'Workers Revolutionary Party'. This is being persistently done by sectors linked with the bourgeoisie, to create confusion. Recently a whole article in the New Statesman referred to the WRP as the RWP, throughout. This is quite conscious. The texts of the Posadists are well known, not least to the Labour Party apparatus, but as they are incapable of discussing and fear the results of an honest discussion, they have to resort to lies.

The problem for the apparatus is that the logic of the development of the Labour Party leads to Trotskyism, and specifically Trotskyist/Posadism. It is no longer a question of invading the Labour Party from outside, but a question of the fact the sectors are going to mature towards Posadist positions, because the course of the process demands the policy and programme for the overthrow of the capitalist system. A current of the left in the LP is in process of developing outside the control of the parliamentary left, and this current is obliged to seek a world perspective and, in face of the total crisis of the system, is obliged to seek ideas. It can no longer operate just on the basis of electoral perspectives or local considerations. The process is uneven because the debris of history is not moved in a day, but it is inexorable and this is the reason for the pre-occupation of the bourgeoisie, their efforts to stimulate the right and the centre in the LP to take up 'firm positions' and 'stop the rot' (not that they have anything to propose because capitalism has only found support on the basis of giving material advantages; now it has

nothing to offer). Less favourable conditions allowed the containing of the 'Bevanite' movement, now it is impossible to head off the left current.

The left groups have no clear policy or programme; some sectors under the sheer concentration of the process abandon a sectarian attitude toward the Labour Party, but there is nothing consistent. Still, there are conceptions of capturing people in the LP. The LP apparatus tries to take advantage of these limitations to obscure any objective discussion. But it is also characteristic of the present situation that, in face of the report, no action could be taken on the question of Trotskyism in the Labour Party that is, against the left.

The central problem for the overthrow of the capitalist system and the construction of Communism in this country, remains the education of the left in the LP and the trade unions. It means, above all, understanding the function of the Workers States and the process of the Partial Regeneration in the Workers States, and the re-encounter with Marxism, linked with the total nature of the crisis of capitalism. This is what is meant by Trotskyism in the Labour Party involving the full discussion of the programme of nationalisations under workers control without compensation and the planning of the economy. All the experiences of Portugal, Chile, the common programme of the workers parties in France, the intervention of the Soviet Union in Angola, are fundamental for the enriching and re-orientation of the Labour left. It is a discussion, however slow or protracted, which cannot be contained. It is not only dependent on the direct intervention of the IV International, but on the objective advance of the world revolution and particularly on the level of maturing in the world Communist movement. We appeal for discussions on all these issues in the Labour Party for the writing of Party's bulletins to develop thought, for the calling of local meetings and conferences to discuss all the problems of the world process, unemployment, the need for a Government of the Left - meaning a government which overcomes the contradictions of the present Labour government and advances continuously on the line of nationalisations, planning, ending of state subsidies to the monopolies, price control, and a break with NATO.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST 'RAIL CUTS' DEMANDS A PROGRAMME FOR A NATIONAL INTEGRATED TRANSPORT SYSTEM UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

The demonstration mass meeting and lobby of Parliament called by the three rail unions - NUP, TSSA and ASLEF - in London on December 16th last, was an expression of the way in which the total crisis of capitalism, on the one hand, and the pressure of the working class, on the other, impose their solutions, force the trade union leaderships to go outside the normal structure of conciliation and negotiations. In a previous period these trade union leaderships - particularly in the nationalised industries - have conciliated with a process of rationalisation in the service of the capitalist system. The railways were cut previously in order to boost the profits of the manufacturers of private motorcars, and the oil companies. At the same time, the most profitable sectors of the railways were removed and set up as private companies, and the component manufacturers profit from a service which capitalism itself was unable to run. Now the total crisis of capitalism has resulted in a proposal that expenditure on the railways is to be cut to the extent that something like two thirds of the service will disappear. It is an aspect of the total inability of capitalism to give any perspective for the development of the economy. And it is only an aspect, because the car industry is in a state of collapse, the steel

bosses - another nationalised industry - are demanding 40,000 redundancies and unemployment has risen to 1,650,000. Capitalism has nothing to give and the trade union leaderships - like those of the rail unions - are being forced to look to the working class itself, to try to use it as a pressure on the government, on capitalism.

However, the Labour government - so long as it tries to run the capitalist system - and capitalism itself have nothing to offer and, in mobilising the workers, the trade union leaderships are helping to stimulate a process which will very quickly by-pass them. During the acute crisis in the railways over wages last July, we posed that the proposal by the NUR leadership for the organisation of strike committees, with a permanent functioning at the base, was an attempt by the leadership to contain the process of the construction of such organisms by the workers by organising committees themselves in the hope that they could keep them within the control of the bureaucratic structure. It would not have worked out this way because, inevitably, these strike committees would have generated a life of their own and either not disappeared after the strike or have been retaken at a later stage by the workers. In the event, Wilson and the Labour government gave suf-

ficient concessions to allow the NUR leadership to call off the strike. But, as we said at the time, the problem was not simply a question of wages, but a question, in depth, of who runs the nationalised railways for the benefit of whom. At that time, the leadership produced a leaflet appealing to the population, to the users of the railway - in the main the workers and their families - for support in the wage struggle of the railway workers. It was not incorrect, but it was totally inadequate, and now they are forced to produce a leaflet which calls on the population to defend the railway service itself. What is still not said is how this is to be done.

What has to be done, in fact, is the imposition of workers control on the railways and all the other nationalised industries and services. Weighell (secretary of the NUR) posed this - in a sense - at the meeting on December 16th, when he said, 'we could run the railways better ourselves'. True! And the original proposals for strike committees - made before the threatened national strike in June - would have been a step in the creation of organisms, of workers committees, which are necessary to impose workers control. It isn't possible to have workers control in abstract; it necessitates organisms, and this

USE THE EXPERIENCE OF CHRYSLER TO DEVELOP A PROGRAMME

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say how this is to be done, but the implications of such a proposal for financial institutions, which are not only central to British capitalism but to the world structure of the capitalist system, is revolutionary. And, if this is being proposed by the leadership (or a sector of the leadership) of the Labour Party, it means that the left within the Labour Party is discussing the means to impose the policy of nationalisations, and the Labour Party is preparing to confront capitalism and is being taken out of the orbit of the bourgeois structure of the Labour Party.

To impose such a programme, the mobilisations, the independent action of the working class, are going to be necessary. To advance on an anti-capitalist path - to structure itself as a revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party - the left has to base itself on the working class, on the factory organisation of the class, and on the world balance of forces.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT.

At the highest level, Angola expresses this world balance of forces, but it is enough to look at the process in capitalist Europe to see it. The revolution continues to advance in Portugal and despite momentary defeats of sectors of the left and pauses, none of the gains in the form of nationalisations have been taken back. In Italy, the masses are in constant action; in France, a mass of factories are occupied and there is the preparation for great struggles in Spain. All capitalist Europe is ripe for a series of Governments of the Left. The Labour and trade union left has to link itself with this process. It has to break out of not only the prison of parliamentary, electoralist functioning but out of the last vestiges of the isolation imposed in a previous period by imperialism. It is not possible to consider the crisis of Chrysler without understanding that it is a problem of Simca, Renault and Fiat... The proletariat already lives a world experience and has created organic links with the European workers movement, but this has to be elevated and taken on a political level. In particular it is necessary to draw conclusions from the developments in the Socialist movement, in the French Socialist Party, for example, which confirms its alliance on an anti-capitalist programme with the Communist Party and intervenes now to support and stimulate the development of soldiers committees in the French army. If the Labour left is to propose with any seriousness the nationalisation of the major financial institutions, it has to understand that the bourgeoisie will not simply allow it; Northern Ireland and the bombings, stimulated by British imperialism in this country, are forewarnings that the bourgeoisie are prepared to go outside of parliamentary constitutional means. Therefore, it is necessary to take the example of the French Socialist Party in intervening with a programme of political and trade union rights for the soldiers, which will disintegrate the army as an instrument of the bourgeoisie.

ABOVE ALL IT IS NECESSARY TO DEVELOP THE LINKS WITH THE WORKERS STATES AND THE USSR, TO MAKE APPEALS TO THEM FOR SUPPORT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONALISED ECONOMY. To take the example also of the social, political and economic superiority of a society based on a nationalised, planned economy. Above all, it is necessary for the Labour left to intervene in the discussion which develops in the world Communist movement on all the fundamental issues of the struggle for power, for the construction of Socialism. Zagladin, a member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, posed recently the necessity for united fronts of Communists with other parties on a more restricted - i.e. anti-capitalist - basis. The Labour and trade union left has to participate in all this discussion with the perspective of a European Conference of workers parties and trade unions, including those of the Workers States. We appeal to the Labour and trade union left to create the means - outside of the apparatus of the Labour Party - to discuss, to exchange ideas, to formulate a policy and programme which answers the total world crisis of capitalism which means the Government of the Left.

To go from the Labour government to the Government of the Left means the intervention of the trade unions directly in the government and the complete removal of all those who cannot accept the programme of nationalisations, planning and workers control. The fact that Wilson forbids government 'advisers' to meet with research staff from the Labour Party shows the enormous tension that exists between Party and government, and which stems from the fact that the Party feels the pressure from below to act as a leadership in the workers movement. It is an indication that the conditions are ripe to impose a Government of the Left. The working class is preparing for this and it is a struggle which cannot be advanced except by the independent action and organisms of the working class. The Labour left has to structure itself as a tendency, has to base itself on a world experience and on Marxism; and it has to link itself directly with the working class. The most immediate task is for the Labour left and the Shop Stewards committees to link themselves without either the bureaucratic structure of the trade unions or the electoralist apparatus of the Labour Party acting as a block between them. We appeal, therefore, for local conferences of the Labour movement in the centres of the proletariat, beginning with Chrysler and with a functioning which allows all to intervene, to speak, to pose ideas, and inviting workers representatives from Europe, from Renault, Simca, Innocenti and the rest.

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means committees of workers with delegates elected in each depot and work place and subject to instant recall by those who elect them. It means a functioning of discussion with the right of all to speak and the delegates being bound by the decisions of the workers. It has been an advance that the three rail unions - for once - have organised

a joint action, and this is the product of objective necessity. The division of the railway workers into three separate unions is nonsense, a product of a system of privilege of one worker over another which now has little basis in reality. The best capitalism now offers is shared misery and unemployment.

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THE DEATH OF FRANCO, DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES IN SPAIN AND MARXISM *Continued from page 1*

The most important aspect is not the assassination of the Basque comrades — this was an assassination which we repudiate — but they daily killed Communists, Socialists and Republican workers, daily! And the Spanish people did not submit. Had the Spanish people been submitted by fear, there would not have been the present reaction. This is to say that they live so as to fight, and why do not the workers' leaderships base themselves on this? They should have based themselves on this. Hence, what they are saying now that 'Franco was a personal dictatorship' is to justify the policy of conciliation of the leaderships of the workers' parties, not to analyse and show the situation which exists but to justify their lack of policy.

At the same moment capitalism is receiving blows from every side. Portugal, Angola, Vietnam, who are unifying. And the Algerians appeal for the rejection of the handing over of the Sahara to the Moroccans. All this has to be discussed.

Carillo has just declared: 'The difference with the Portuguese Communist Party is that we make agreements for democratic liberties'. This is absurd! The Portuguese Communist Party has much better positions and in many aspects very good, and the Spanish Communist Party has an attitude of suivism: in relation to the bourgeoisie. It is not ready to defend the bourgeoisie, but, yes, it has a policy based on lack of security in the working class, and it lacks also Marxist understanding. Hence they do not analyse, they do not make historic comparisons, they do not make evaluative opinions of events and experiences, otherwise there would be declarations. For example, when they say 'Franco was a dictator, it was a personal dictatorship', what is the source of this power? Its means? Whom does it represent? What has to be discussed is whom does Franco represent? It was a very small sector of the Spanish bourgeoisie. And the rest of the bourgeoisie did not animate themselves to overthrow him because they were afraid that, 'en route', the Communists, Socialists and anarchists would take the power. Although the leaderships of the Socialists, Communists and anarchists do not want to, the masses are going to take power. Hence the bourgeoisie has not made a real resistance to Franco. It has made a bourgeois, diplomatic resistance, resistance through tribunals and parliament, but it has not made any political or military resistance.

The problem of Spain, of the Basques, of Galicia, of Barcelona, of Andalusia, these exist. Ford and Reagan exist in the United States! They are the residue of history which cannot be disposed of as the Spanish Communist Party proposes. In the VIIIth Congress of the Spanish Communist Party they spoke of 'different regional Communist parties' which they would respect. Now they discuss 'the problems of the regions exist, but the bourgeoisie is incapable of resolving them'. It is necessary to discuss this problem; it is necessary to arm the vanguard to understand. They are very simple problems. It is a lie that the Spanish masses live dominated by customs and traditions. In social ideas and experience, the Spanish masses are guided by the world. And, in that, they see the USSR and China had enormous ethnological problems of language and dialects, with nomadic people the same as they now have in Somalia. And the Workers State

resolved all these problems. And the Chinese incorporated the women into life, who in the capitalist epoch had no value or social weight. And the women do not react in vengeance against the men, but integrate themselves with the men in the construction of Communism. The leaderships have not drawn sufficient conclusions from this process.

In Spain, they have already experiences to draw from the rest of the world: the USSR which incorporated the nomadic people in six years, and in Somalia — in less than this — the nomads have been incorporated. And they made a language whereas before, there was a real mixture. They were nomads, they had no conception of life, and now they have a new language. They have learned this in six years, and why do not the Spanish proceed to discuss these experiences? They have to discuss them! Spain has a cultural and social level superior, infinitely superior, to that of Somalia. They have experiences and trials infinitely superior to that of Somalia. How did the Chinese act? How did the Soviets act? How did they advance in Somalia? And how are they advancing in South Yemen? And also the Vietnamese? Vietnam was a place which imperialism tried to crush, and now they are making a unity. This is revolutionary science. It is necessary to be based on scientific experiences in order to promote progress. Scientific experiences are valid for the whole world. Marxism does not determine any stage in the struggle. It is a struggle which is waged without interruption. Hence it is mistaken to pose that 'the alliance with the bourgeoisie is transitory, but afterwards it is possible to advance to superior measures.' This is the Stalinist conception of the revolution by stages. With this conception the Spanish Communist Party 'interrupts' the class struggle to make this democratic front. They say: 'After this, then comes the class struggle'. Meanwhile, the bourgeoisie, how does it think? In the name of what? It works in the name of the interests of the bourgeoisie, and to win economic, social and military positions. In this way it is necessary to discuss, and to discuss the experiences of conditions similar to those of Spain, in the rest of the world.

The revolution is the most elevated of all the sciences, because it concentrates the most important activity of the human being — the necessity to concentrate, to centralise the leadership of society for the programme of uninterrupted progress. There is no science like this. The medical sciences, physics, mathematics, geometry, are all parcels, aspects of human activity. The revolution is complete because it resolves all the problems which permit, afterwards, the resolution of all the others. This is to say it requires the most complete and profound form of experience and to be based on experiences which have taken place elsewhere. And the experience of the Soviet Union is not elsewhere but with us, and the Chinese also, and the Cubans. These are experiences to discuss. It is not possible to have contempt for scientific experiences, they cannot be avoided. The scientific experiences which the masses make are superior to those of their leaders.

The process in Spain is very rich. The death of Franco didn't end the power of the Spanish bourgeoisie. It is not a question of the 'personal

power' of Franco. For seven years he hadn't thought or spoken. It was a question of classes, of a bourgeoisie which sustained Franco and which continued in power after his death. This is to analyse in a Marxist form.

This is the epoch of Marx and Marxism. Until very advanced Socialism, it will be the epoch of Marx: Socialism, not the present stage which is the Workers State. Marx is the scientific method of history. History has proved that Marx was right, that the method of Marx was correct. It is going to be like this tomorrow, as it was before, and now. Insofar as the classes exist, the method is correct. And, even after classes disappear, for a whole period Marxism will be the irreplaceable instrument. Marxism is not a question of analysing the capitalist regime only. Essentially, it is to analyse it but, fundamentally, it is to analyse the conduct of the classes, the conditions, the causes through which the class thinks in a determined form; which is the economy and society, so that the structure of consciousness is determined by economic interest, and that human conduct is determined by social interests and, in that, fundamentally by economic interests. This is the analysis which has to be made.

It is necessary to discuss why they made Juan Carlos king. When they put this person there, it is because in the bourgeoisie there is not a current which is politically capable of canalising the process of capitalism. They show the insecurity of the capitalist system, which has to resort to someone like this as a king. The Spanish Communist Party should say this. The designation of the King does not mean any future or capacity of the capitalist system. It is necessary to overthrow it. Carillo himself understands this when he says, 'We are ready to overthrow the regime by force in a general strike'. It is necessary to demand that they carry this out. This will be a cleansing for Spain.

All this is part of a process for the intensification of the class struggle in Spain and throughout the world, and one of the most elevated and beautiful aspects of the class struggle throughout the world is the unification of Vietnam and the organisation of the soldiers in Portugal.

In Spain, it is necessary to appeal for the united front for democratic liberties, for the independence of the workers' movement and the workers' parties, for a united front, for a programme of nationalisations and planning. It is necessary to show that the failure of Franco is because they don't have social basis nor social strength, and only very limited military force. It is the lack of a revolutionary policy which has allowed Franco and the monarchy to maintain power in Spain. But they don't have either social weight or military strength. If the soldiers in Spain saw the Communist Party and the Socialist Party ready for transcendental changes, they would rapidly organise a tendency as in Portugal. On the other hand, already Spanish capitalism is preparing the 'Spanish Spinola' with Diaz Alegria.

Together with the preparation and foresight, it is necessary to analyse this process with the Marxist method. The essential condition of Marxism is to be based on historical exper-

ience and the generalisation of this experience. When there is no fear in representing the legitimate interests of history, the basis is science and Marxism is the most important science of all sciences: it is the most complete, objective method. It analyses, reasons, determines, in accordance with the objective interests of analysis. All the other apparent sciences analyse, judge and determine in accordance with the interests of the groups and of the interests of a sector of the bourgeois class. Marxism is an irreplaceable instrument but, in its turn, Marxism increases the richness of its value — speaking in terms of the economy — because it confirms that its method is logical and necessary. It doesn't perish. It doesn't proceed to disintegrate; it elevates itself and extends itself because its method affirms its historic validity and affirms that history is an uninterrupted history of class struggle; that the class struggle determines the behaviour of society, and that the experiences of the most backward places of history show that countries without economic means, being geographical units on the map, develop — as in Somalia — by means of the planning of the economy. This means to plan in agreement with an objective which allows the development of the economy, of society and the interest of the inhabitants: people who develop from the backwardness of the nomad to integration in the construction of the basis of a Workers State. This is the experience which has to be made. It is necessary to draw conclusions from the experience of Italy, where the bourgeoisie is impotent and incapable and is trying to survive. Before the catastrophic situation of the economy, the bourgeoisie seeks to maintain itself. As it has not the economic means nor the social capacity to develop the country and elevate the standard of life, it just ambles about; and neither can it provide a military solution in its favour. It ambles about, seeking to sustain itself. The leadership of the workers' parties have the obligation to state that capitalism is impotent, not because it does not have the means but because it is impotent, because it corresponds to a class society, not because it does not want to invest, but it cannot invest; not that it does not want to develop, but it cannot develop. To discuss in any other way is to want to force capitalism somehow to make an effort. This is to save it.

Capitalism does not advance, not because it does not correct itself but because it is a system of contradictions. Karl Marx said this, which fact many would like to bury. But Karl Marx constantly wrote in his texts: 'The capitalist regime is a regime of contradictions'. The essential one is that, at the same time that capitalism develops science, technology, productivity, riches, social antagonisms, contradictions, misery increases. Then, in its development together with wealth, it develops the conditions of crisis, contradictions and antagonisms. Contradictory relations develop in the system itself, inter-capitalist competition and with the proletariat, a stage of antagonism. inter-bourgeois struggle is competition, with the proletariat it is antagonism. This is expressed at all levels.

Capitalism cannot correct itself, it can improve its investments, it can improve an aspect of production; but when it reaches such levels as

the present level of crisis, which is so complete, there is no solution. It is necessary to change it. The duty of the workers' parties is to discuss how they change it, using all the conditions, all the circumstances — including electoral and parliamentary — to advance to the maximum, to disintegrate capitalism, to break the capitalist front.

It can be done, and it is correct to do it, not at the cost of the interests of the workers' movement, but with the programme to replace capitalism. It is necessary to demonstrate that the responsibility for the crisis is not an error of one or other government — of one or other leader or minister. This exists because all the ministers are wrong and there is no competent capitalist minister. But what has to be discussed is that the bad capitalist administration is not responsible for the crisis of capitalism, but that the crisis of capitalism produces bad capitalist administration. Then, it is necessary to seek the causes not in bad capitalist administration but in the capitalist system itself. This is science. This is what Karl Marx said, which was valid then, for now, and for tomorrow, so long as the capitalist regime exists.

The situation in the world is beautiful. This present situation can last for a period, but the present leaderships are by-passed. This is not the epoch of the bureaucrats and administrators. People increase their capacity. And when the Angolan people come out from nothing — from such poverty — are surrounded and declare themselves representatives of Angola, and now go over to the offensive; and when very backward people who do not have enough to eat, decide directly to construct the Workers State and Socialism; this shows the level of culture of humanity. This is not of necessity and understanding. It is a question of structure, so that the Angolan people pass directly to construct the Workers State. This shows a very elevated cultural level.

It is historic appreciation of poverty and progress; and between necessity, backwardness and progress, there is the question of private property. The people do not want private property. They want the Workers State. This is the case in Portugal where people want the Workers State, not private property. Hence the peasants of Benja (in Portugal), one of the most important areas, do not demand property for themselves but say 'we want to produce collectively which is better for the country and also for ourselves'. This shows a high level of understanding. This is not the epoch for bureaucrats and administrators.

This is the level which exists in humanity. This level is not going to last a period as prolonged as the one of Stalin. The latter was an epoch of the retreat of humanity; this is the epoch of the advance of humanity. The leaderships make calculations of apparatuses, which prevent them from hearing the noise of history.

All this progress weighs in Spain, and elevates the conditions for the policy of the United Front, and the independence of the workers' movement and the workers' parties.

J. POSADAS 22nd November, 1975.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST 'RAIL CUTS' DEMANDS A PROGRAMME

The divisions which exist are now only maintained by the union bureaucracy which defends its own interests and tries to maintain its own apparatus.

The only force which has an interest in running the railway as an efficient service — and therefore the only force capable of running it as such — are the workers who run the service and the population — the workers, their families, and sectors of the poor petit bourgeois — who use the service. Therefore, together with the workers' committees there is a necessity for committees of passengers and workers to decide the frequency of the service, the quality of rolling-stock, the cost of fares, if any, and all the rest.

There is a necessity for a national, planned transport system, based on the extension of nationalisation. This is not in dispute, and the TGWU are now proposing a campaign for improved bus services and to limit the use of private cars. The problem is how this is to be achieved, and it cannot be achieved by lobbies of parliament, with mobilisations which are limited to the trade union leaderships using the weight of the working class to put pressure on capitalism, on the Labour government, for concessions which capitalism is unable to give. What is necessary is the mobilisation of the working class, the construction of organisms which are capable of imposing workers' control, capable of organising the transport service under the control of the

workers and the masses in the workers' areas. The meeting on December 16th was an advance, but there is a necessity of meetings in which all the workers can intervene, discuss, decide; and not meetings in which the trade union bureaucracy instructs the workers to lobby parliament. These meetings have to be based also on a world experience, on the factory occupations in France and Italy, on the Soviets in Portugal, on the advances made in such economically backward countries as Ethiopia and Somalia and, above all, on the Workers States which are a living proof of the superiority of a society based on nationalised, planned economy.

The statement by Weighell that the union would instruct their MPs to vote against the government on the question of rail cuts, was an

answer to the pre-occupation of the working class to impel the left in the Labour Party to weigh on the Labour government. This is why he made the statement in the meeting and retracted it later. But it has to be asked why, if this was the intention of the leadership of the union, the Labour MPs did not speak at the meeting? At the same time, the NUR leadership instructs branches to make links with — among other organisations — local Labour Parties, in the campaign against rail cuts. This is all very well but it cannot be done on the basis of one apparatus talking to another. What has to be organised is a series of meetings in every locality in which all can intervene — Labour Party militants, trade union militants, shop stewards, militants of the Communist Party,

the left groups and the Trotskyist/Posadists. Meetings based on the right of all who agree with a programme for a national, integrated transport system controlled by the workers and the population which uses the services. It is necessary to formulate this programme, but not in isolation, because it is easy to see the connection between the proposed rail cuts, the crisis in the car industry and in the steel industry also. This discussion, therefore, has to be part of a process of formulating a workers' plan of production based on the mobilisation of the working class to impose nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies, land, major industry, under workers' control and without compensation; and the planning of the economy on this basis for the benefit of the population.

The Labour left must adopt an anti-capitalist programme

The Labour Party NEC recently organised a meeting of four Ministers to 'ask' the government to reflate the economy. This only shows the pressure which exists on the Labour Party, which comes from the trade unions, to adopt programmatic positions. It requires more than just objections to the government's policy and policy requests. It demands a programme of nationalisations and planning of the economy, and the means to impose it. On one hand, the car industry is going bankrupt and the railway system is chaotic, whilst fares continue rising. There is a total lack of plan. This is absurd and also it shows how, in this stage, to manage capitalism is impossible. The left in the Labour Party must analyse and base itself on the class nature of the bourgeoisie, of its violent and single-minded thirst for profit, inherent to its function of accumulation of capital, its international structure, and its international preparations for war. The left in the Labour Party must base itself on the class nature of the proletariat, whose aspirations for the development of the economy, and actions in this direction - by having already constructed 14 Workers States and 20 Revolutionary States, some of these now in Europe - are fundamentally antagonistic to the continued existence of the capitalist class. What is required is not talk about reflation, timid hints at the necessity of 'mass support', nor just reduction of income for the rich, but a complete break with the capitalist system. The Labour left and the left in the trade unions have to formulate a public, clear and consistent programme against capitalism, of nationalisations, unification with the Communist movement and support to the USSR.

CAPITALISM IS WAR.

The discussion about the European parliament having powers, yes or no, is a complete diversion. It is a discussion within a bourgeois plane, just as the referendum alternative 'yes' or 'no' maintained the discussion in the Labour Party at the level of 'yes' or 'no' to this or that way of running the capitalist system. In the Labour Party, which is the Party which concentrates the British working class and is based on the trade unions, the left has to analyse what is the nature of the European structure of capitalism and for what aim? The aim is clear: through NATO it prepares for war and repression against revolution in Europe and acts as an ally of Yankee imperialism against the USSR and the Workers States. Through Europe, the large multi-nationals further concentrate themselves into smaller and smaller sectors. Whole sectors of medium and small firms are doomed to failure not because of Labour unrest but because of the ferocious competition of the multi-nationals and concentration of capitalism for war preparations. This has to be discussed, and not 'yes' or 'no' to Tinderman's proposals.

The re-organisation of Europe is integrally part of the preparations of imperialism against the Spanish, French and Italian masses, in collusion with Yankee imperialism. This was the sense of Kissinger agreements in Spain. The recent re-organisation by Giscard d'Estaing of his government goes in the direction of centralising more power in his hands for the objective of repressing the masses. The policy of d'Estaing in Djibouti, of outright murders just once again confirms the class nature of the bourgeoisie; only hopeless reformists can fail to see its thug nature. The recent speech of Kissinger that he 'would not permit another Angola', shows the sinister intentions of imperialism against the USSR. However, at another stage of history, imperialism would have simply carried out its threat. This is its weakness today and, on another front, the crisis in Iceland is a crisis among many which show how imperialism has lost the initiative when two NATO countries again confront each other. This should not be outside the pre-occupation of the Labour left. The recent declaration of Schmidt of the SDP in Germany has to be repudiated by the Labour left, when he posed that the Communists in Europe should not go to government, because they would be a threat to NATO! This has to be discussed in the Labour Party. What is NATO for? For imperialism, private property and against the USSR and the revolution in Africa, Europe and the world!

Portugal has not been defeated. Imperialism has been unable to crush it. But it shows what 'pluralism' really means. It means that the bourgeoisie can re-claim control of the press, of the radio, enterprises and land, and murders for this aim. The Social Democrats are embarrassed by the question of 'legality'. The bourgeoisie is not. It respects it only if it does not endanger its right to own. Spain today poses an even more acute problem for reformists than Portugal, because there is even less hopes for a bourgeois democracy than there ever was in Portugal. Spain poses today, for the whole of Europe, the prospect of the construction of Revolutionary States going towards Workers States, with the now guaranteed support of the USSR, in one way or another, which is not something what could be hoped for before! Already the impact of the Spanish revolution has started to make itself felt and has impelled, even if limitedly, the two world federations of trade unions to meet, and now the TGWU international section decision, together with the workers of International Telephones and Telegraph, to boycott the Spanish bourgeoisie. The traditions for support for Spain are great in Britain, as is confirmed in part by the coming Conference in London on Spain. But it is fundamental to see there that it is not sufficient to just pledge support, organise boycotts and solidarity, but to organise the Labour and trade union left in Britain with a programme of support for the Socialist Revolution, based on the nationalisation of the economy for its planning, in Spain and in Britain. The greatest solidarity of all in Britain which the Labour left can express is precisely by adopting a public and consistent programme for the construction of the Workers State in Britain by means of nationalisations, appeals for support to the USSR, and the unification of the Labour/Socialist/Communist vanguard in Europe on this programme. This is the best solidarity of all!

THE WORKERS STATE IS PLANNING

The Workers States are the nationalised and planned economy, which proved that to construct them force was needed, and to maintain them force is needed, and to extend them force has to be again used against capitalism, as in Angola. This is the law of the class struggle. Those who, like Marchais in the French Communist Party, find the need to defend themselves from these conclusions, have to appear today openly as what they are: conciliators with the capitalist system, fearful of bourgeois democratic opinion. However, the masses of West Africa or those of Mozambique, following Vietnam, nationalise and plan their economies on the basis of the violent confrontation and

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ON THE PREPARATORY DISCUSSION OF THE 22ND CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY - J. POSADAS

10th January 1976

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EXTRACTS OF A LETTER TO THE ITALIAN SECTION ON THE NECESSITY OF A POLICY OF NATIONALISATIONS

J. POSADAS

30th November 1975

(Title of the Editorial Board)

It is necessary to discuss a programme for the situation of Leyland Innocenti. We propose its expropriation and functioning under the state with workers control. It is necessary to explain why this is necessary; to explain that, if we propose a plan in Leyland which just changes the character of production, the bosses need have no interest in it - because it may not produce sufficient profit for them, or is not linked with their plans of world exploitation. If they do operate it, it is because it is convenient to them and profitable for them. Then our proposal would be to sustain capitalism because, in the last instance, who benefits from the exploitation? capitalism! Simply to propose a plan, a change in production as the Italian trade unions propose, is no solution. It is like hiding the sun so that nobody sees it, but the sun remains the same. Capitalism exists, and it is necessary to discuss in this way.

It is necessary to propose measures such as nationalisation. Nationalisation can be carried out. Doesn't the Popular Union in France propose nationalisation? Didn't the countries of Latin America, Cuba and China propose nationalisations? Then, why not nationalise in Italy? Why allow the capitalist to utilise the state, which simply takes the money of the workers to sustain his factory or provide compensation? If the factory changes its type of production, they are going to have to compensate the owner and all the profit which comes from the labour of the workers is simply going to prop up the enterprise and then the profit from the change in production will simply benefit the old or the new capitalist who is put in charge, that is to say, it simply fortifies the capitalist system.

Such an initiative and such a conclusion, such a programming of production for a change of production, comes from the workers movement and not from capitalism. Hence it is necessary to propose nationalisation and expropriation. This is going to vex the government and the capitalists. Moro and Fanfani are going to be annoyed, but the workers are going to be very annoyed when they see that they are making an effort and working so that the capitalists accumulate, using another plan or just changing owners. The measure is not only to give work to the workers, but to develop at the same time the country. For this, capitalism has to be suppressed.

The Communists speak of 'Socialist measures'. We are in agreement, but what are Socialist measures? The most important Socialist measure is the relation with the economy and the policy. The economy means that capitalism cannot have in its own hands the control, the organisation and the leadership of the economy, because it runs it just for itself and then goodbye. If the state simply helps the factory to function, then capitalist property still continues, and the

profit goes to the capitalist. And the workers, what do they do? The economy is restructured, production is re-organised, but the profit is for the benefit of the owner. So the answer to that is no. The other aspect is the question of democratic rights. Democratic rights are not a question of being able to go on strike; it is the right to be able to decide in the economy, on property and on life. And why, if it is a question of deciding on the economy, not decide on property? This is democracy. The rest, no. It is a limit of democracy which is for the benefit of private property.

The trade union leadership says, 'No, we are forcing the owners to invest'. They oblige them to invest, but for capitalist profit, because the money belongs to the bosses. We say, no. It is necessary to expropriate so that the factory functions in accordance with the interests of the country. It is necessary to discuss in this way.

It is not possible to discuss 'a programme to provide work', as the trade union and Communist leaders have proposed. This is a programme in defence of private property. In full complete crisis of private property, this measure is proposed which is a defence of property. If they discuss 'Socialist measures', it is necessary to propose to expropriate. These are Socialist measures. The rest are not Socialist measures. The right to speak, to give an opinion that 'Leyland must reconvert' is not a democratic right. The cash belongs to Leyland, the same as the accumulation and reproduction of capital. Improvements in the functioning of work is simply a question of trade union rights. It is not a question of democratic rights.

Democracy is whether this wealth produced by the workers is going to be utilised by us and the workers. This is democracy. But, for the bosses, democracy means that the multi-nationals continue to make their profit and their accumulation. Even taking into account the sentiments of the workers in increasing their control of the factory with better conditions for rest etc., this is very limited. There is no real increase in the standard of living of the workers. The limit which they put on the extra hours, compensating them with a day's rest, means an unpaid day. This means that the worker has extra hours and on the following day he doesn't work, but they don't pay him. They take this measure as a defence of the health of the workers. This is true, it is a defence, but it is very limited. The real defence is to expropriate the factory and then it isn't necessary for the worker to work extra hours. With expropriation work is available for the unemployed and the factory is extended. There are ways to combat extra hours which are not what the bosses propose, but which are a thousand times better: to extend production and the factory so that new workers are

added and the unemployed are integrated. This has to be discussed.

The bourgeoisie is a class and thinks as a class. The classes make history. The bourgeoisie produces what is convenient. If they are forced to produce something which isn't convenient to them, they are still in control of the profits. It's all done in the service of capitalism. The solution to give work to the workers comes, in any case, without any necessity for the existence of capitalists. Let the state expropriate and there is ten times more work for the workers.

It is necessary to develop a campaign on the re-organisation of the economic and social structure of the country, aimed at the factories, so that the workers discuss. The Italian Communist Party speaks of a restructuring, but it is aimed at the Christian Democrats and Parliament so that they do it. But neither the Christian Democracy nor parliament is able to do it. Zaccagnini, the general secretary of the Italian Christian Democrats, has not made any important programme and can't do so anyway. The Christian Democrats are frightened if the Communists develop. They don't want to make an objective programme of the revolutionary development of the country. The Christian Democratic left, the official left, doesn't have either the consciousness, nor the capacity, nor the understanding, nor the representation of the progress of the country. It represents the interests of a petit bourgeois layer and nothing more. The proletariat represents the interest of the country.

The proletariat has a policy of expropriation and the planning of production without compensation. This has to be discussed, and the bourgeoisie determine their judgement by their class interests. This is neither beneficial nor democratic, nor in defence of the country. If the country next door gives more profit than they invest there, although in their own country people may starve. The bourgeoisie couldn't care less. It certainly doesn't touch their hearts that the Italian masses don't have any work.

Neither the capitalists, parliament, nor the Christian Democracy can provide any programme for Italy. The solution must be expropriation, the planning of production according to the needs of the country. This certainly cannot be done by the Christian Democracy or by the bourgeois parliament. There has to be a leadership of a United Front of the workers movement. This is going to win the base of the Christian Democracy.

Why does the bourgeoisie think that the Communist Party must not make a Communist programme? It tries to praise and attract the Communist and Socialist parties, to stimulate the right wing of these parties, so that these wings weigh more in their parties and impede the penetration and influence of the Socialist and Communist masses.

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VIVA THE EXTENSION OF NATIONALISATIONS AND THE UNPAID WORKING DAY IN MOZAMBIQUE TO SUSTAIN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN RHODESIA SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA! FORWARD TO THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF AFRICA!

LETTER OF COMRADE J. POSADAS 10th January 1976

(Title of the Editorial Board)

The decision of Marchais — not of the French Communist Party — to abandon the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat, now opens the way also for other aspects of daily political life to be abandoned. This is going to provoke a very great indignation in the heart of the class of the Communist vanguard which has been expressed already in the discussion of the Party prior to the 22nd Congress which has a polemical quality that is unusual. It gave the impression every written intervention responded to another one. It is a virulent form of polemic, or sharp argument and definition, above all from those who defend the dictatorship of the proletariat, against the others who base themselves on pious hopes and sentiments. There are some who make interventions which are simply repugnant, which have nothing to do with Communism, because they are a form of piety, as though we are all suffering humanity and all can be regenerated and regained, and the Communists are the preachers

The most important aspect of this Congress discussion is to foresee the levels and the depth of the crisis, which this abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a programmatic form is provoking, because in practice they have abandoned it for some time. They maintained it just a few years as a programme, but in practice already the Popular Front of 1936 showed that between the objective necessity of history and the immediate difficulties, it was the immediate difficulties which determined the way they acted, for example the Popular Front, which represented different social layers. The causes are the social layers that the Communist Party led which were not revolutionary.

It is necessary to seek to understand, study and discuss all the aspects which they are abandoning of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The declaration of Marchais expressed the outlook of someone who abandons principle who cries out in fear and runs away. All the shouts which he makes: 'The programme...we maintain it...' end by showing that the dictatorship of the proletariat is felt as something which embarrasses him. He does not abandon it because he wants to remain on good terms with the bourgeoisie only; he abandons it because it embarrasses him also, because in the conception of power which these Communist leaders have, the dictatorship of the proletariat means for them an obligation, a complication, which they are not ready to put up with, which they do not have either the capacity or the experience or the resolution to carry out. But meanwhile history demands this more and more in a total form.

The declaration of Chirac is not a joke. He does not refer to Marchais when he says that it is a lie that the French Communist Party is going to abandon the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. He is really saying, 'The base of the Communist Party is not going to apply this'. Marchais says, 'The conception of the Soviets is that they want peace; they signed it in Helsinki'. Eh? And Angola? For Marchais and company, peace is not to intervene in Angola; but the Soviets have put themselves there.

The treaty for non-proliferation of nuclear weapons does not imply that the class struggle is ceasing, nor does it imply that imperialism will not continue with crimes and interventions in the backward countries. Marchais does not take any notice of this. The cries which he lets out are cries in the desert. They do not arise from reason. Thus, at the same time, he does not organise a response, he does not structure an argument: for example, well, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is finished, what comes in place of the dictatorship of the proletariat? They are going to govern democratically, he says. But it is not a question of the political will of the programme for an immediate policy, but of an historic structure, and historic structures are economic, and are sustained politically. Arms and armies exercise the function of defending this, but it is not the arms or the army which determine, but policy and the

economy. In capitalism, at times they do, when it is a question of substituting for a sector which is not capable of ruling.

Even so, the dictatorship of the proletariat is an instrument to construct a new society. It is a society antagonistic to capitalist society. Thus, if the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat is eliminated and if it is necessary to eliminate the antagonism of society, how is it going to be eliminated? Who eliminates the antagonisms of society? The dictatorship of the proletariat is not a formula and programme to win votes, to defend a small minority, that is a lie. It is the most complete form of democracy, and it showed, as in the Russian Revolution, that it could win over bourgeois sectors. The Soviet Workers State won over Tsarist generals, won over scientists and industrialists, as the Chinese also did. But this winning of particular individuals cannot be generalised as a norm, as a class conception. 10, 15, 20, 40 of the best capitalists may come over to the revolution, but the capitalist class remains. And it is a question of constructing a new society based on fundamentals, opposed in antagonism to what exists today. It is necessary to discuss this! The behaviour of these leaders is in reality infantile. When these people abandon such a conception, it is like returning to the mentality of the child, who is defending what is his, 'This is mine!' But they have to argue theoretically why they are abandoning such a theoretical conception, established as the result of thousands of years of class struggle. What relations can be substituted for the dictatorship of the proletariat? They do not exist!

It is necessary to discuss the stages from capitalism to the Workers State and from the Workers State to Socialism, because one of the most fundamental conclusions which is going to arise from this abandonment of principles is that the Workers State is unnecessary — the state of the Workers State is unnecessary! Thus, this is going to be linked with a co-ordination and agreement with some good capitalists who behave well and who go to bed early. It is necessary to discuss above all, to go to the government, even in the most parliamentary form, and from there to affirm and prepare the advance to power and social transformation. In the second place it is necessary to discuss why the Workers State is necessary. And, in the third place, that Socialism is a conception of history, social and economic relations, which are antagonistic to the existing situation. It is necessary to polemicise with the Communist comrades to develop these principles today starting for example, from China, Cuba and Vietnam, and demonstrating that the conception of Socialism is not a superior idea which can be accepted by the whole of society. No, it is going to be opposed and, in opposing it, capitalism has the means of utilising arms and sabotage. It is not true that it is possible to impede capitalism from making violence and war.

How can one impede capitalism from using violence? By depriving it of arms? Yankee imperialism has just said that there are so many atomic arms in Europe that they would take out 700 of these atomic weapons in exchange for a reduction in Europe of the conventional forces of the Workers State. One has to be simple minded not to discuss this concretely. If imperialism says that it is prepared to take out 700 atomic weapons — which is a lie, they are not going to do it — it is because they have 70,000. Is it conceivable to believe that reason is going to dissuade such a society which is preparing with atomic arms? Or that force is going to impede it utilising them? Is there some example which Marchais can give of social relations which show that it is possible to interfere with the structure of capitalism. How? 'Preventing them using arms', the Communists say. But how? It is not a question of commercial propaganda, but of facts which are fundamental. They don't say anything about this; they can't say they don't have the reasoning to reply.

On the other hand, the immediate experience in Poland, Yugoslavia, or wherever, shows that the defeat of capitalism was achieved by force, that they sustain themselves by force, and that force stops the currents of the Czechoslovak type in Yugoslavia and Poland also.

Now it is no longer going to be possible to discuss generalities, but it is a question of principles. As various Communist militants remarked in the tribune of discussion in 'Humanite', there is the question of 'What is to be done', by Lenin. It is not by chance that they return to 'What is to be done' and, besides, there is 'One step forward, two steps back'. It is not true that it is another epoch a different one and as a consequence, a different organism and means are necessary.

It is a different epoch, that is true, but better than before. It is not the epoch in which principles are abandoned. If it is an epoch in which to abandon principles, this means then, that the principles have already been superseded by social organisation. If we have already reached this epoch in which the principles of Marx are no longer necessary, where is the example that we have already reached this epoch? To do that, it would be necessary to eliminate the principle of 'to each one according to his capacity'. On the other hand, Marchais makes an aberration of the thought of Marx without showing theoretically, politically and practically that the conception of Marx is superseded by history. The same with his Italian friends; they are in the same situation.

The fundamental conception of Marx continues to be alive with all the force and all the vigour coming from the constant process of experience. Thus, they adulterate experience, they adulterate the consequences, and they proceed to adulterate the concrete interpretation of the class struggle. They are preparing for the most ignominious swindles. Although one or another leader won't want to be consistent with this abandonment and end up with the most ignominious swindles, they have left the door open for every type of deal. As part of this, the Socialists and Mitterand say, 'Marchais is coming to us'.

The Portuguese Communist Party has posed, in a declaration 'The Portuguese Communist Party does not have to give any explanations to the bourgeoisie; but it is necessary to explain to the workers and the peasants'. They haven't said this by chance.

These are indications of the stage and the process which is much more profound than what is indicated by Marchais. His declarations are the results of irritation, they show insecurity and when this happens it is because this sector is very insecure and petrified by fear of the atomic war. The Soviets, even having a bureaucratic origin, have a historic security. They have historic proof and the security given by fourteen Workers States. These Communist parties maintain noisy, high-sounding attacks against Giscard d'Estaing, and they speak about all sorts of discussion without specifying for whose benefit. In fact, they are for the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie, and they open the road to collect on route all types of conceptions. They are not agents of the bourgeoisie, but they are intimidated by fear and by a great nationalist chauvinist pressure on them. It is necessary to record that Marchais was one of these patriots shown in his book 'The Democratic Challenge', where he said, 'I don't raise the Communist salute, I shake hands, my colour is the colour of the French flag'.

This is not going to finish here. The Soviets are going to intervene, and the Albanian and the Chinese. The Chinese are to the right of the French Communist Party, but they sustain formulas and appearances which are not only formulas and appearances. They cannot abandon principles which, although they don't apply them, are principles that are fundamental for them. The Chinese are past masters in the field of conciliation and they have conciliated with Chiang Kai Chek, with Yankee imperialism and with Strauss

— but for necessity and convenience sake they are going to try to defend principles to attack the French Communist Party. If the latter was on their side, then it would be different.

What Marchais is doing is a consequence, not a beginning, of an abandonment of principle, of currents and leaderships of the world Communist movement, on the part of the Workers States, of the Communist parties who have ceased to apply or never had confidence in Marxist principles and methods. This doesn't come from just now, it comes from a very old process and they are seeking to generalise it. Our intervention must consist in an explanation of the principles of revolutionary struggle; why power, the Workers State, Workers State to Socialism, the relation of Party to trade union, the relation of masses, class, trade union, Party and state. They are all principles which were well developed by the Bolsheviks and later by Trotsky, but they have not had a sufficient diffusion and the possibility of being discussed. The world Communist movement does not have any experience to discuss these principles. Although there has been no antecedent for this discussion in the tribune of discussion, the pre-congress preparation of 'Humanite' has a very great wealth and importance. Letters of militants who defended just and necessary principles appear constantly. Yet there is no tradition of discussion and they regard 'What is to be done' as an old book.

Napolitano and the other leaders of the Italian Communist Party say that 'We live in another epoch and 'State and Revolution' is no longer of any use'. But they don't explain anything. What type of epoch it is, why and what relations and principles have changed in relation to revolution, the construction of the state and Socialism. There is no explanation, it is simply a question of aspiration, will and calculations, above all of calculations and manoeuvres. Throughout the declaration of Marchais, from beginning to end, there is a whole sentiment of manoeuvres, of a whole game of manoeuvre. It is complete manoeuvre because there is no reasoning, no programmatic formulation, determined by scientific analysis, by scientific experience, posing what conclusion.

As these people don't have any respect for Marxism, although they say they have, they don't have any interest or concern to draw conclusions from experiences. If this is a class society and continues being a class society, how can it be transformed without clashing with the class which is dispossessed; how?

It is a principle which is very simple, any one knows that this is the case — But they eliminate this question, thus 'by means of manoeuvre we prevent the capitalists!!! What manoeuvres? It is not with manoeuvres that the class enemy is deceived. In 'The great organiser of defeats' (The Third International after Lenin), Trotsky wrote some fine chapters on manoeuvres which are legitimate and those which are not. Lenin was the most capable revolutionary manoeuvrer. The manoeuvres of Lenin tended to confuse the enemy, to disorganise him and to stimulate the proletariat and the Bolshevik Party. The manoeuvres of Stalin were to satisfy capitalism and to deceive the proletariat. These principles of Lenin were maintained completely by Trotsky. They were, are and will be right for a whole period of history. Thus it is necessary to elevate the understanding of the nature of the Workers State, how one goes to power, and what is meant by the taking of power. Is the taking of power a historic necessity, or is it a dogmatic conclusion of Marxism? Marchais says this, 'We are not dogmatists'.

In the first place, Marxism is not a dogma. Marxism is a scientific principle which is enriched constantly. Invariably and imperturbably, Marxism doesn't fear any experience of history. It is the most complete method of history without fear, because it is a question of scientific principles proved by history. Then Marchais says 'We are not dogma-

tists'. Thus he yields, in front of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie and technical sectors. He submits to them, seeking a new platform of political and electoral support in order not to depend on the proletariat. It is a layer which situates itself between the Workers State and the capitalist state; and the reasoning of Marchais corresponds to this layer. It is afraid of being assimilated to the Czechoslovak wing, but neither is it antagonistic to it. Hence, they all defend the Czechoslovaks, and among the frightful lies which they have spouted, there is the one in defence of 'Czechoslovakian democracy' in the epoch of Dubcek. When they discuss the 'defence of democracy', it is necessary to pose what democracy and with what objectives. These people would like to utilise, as they are utilising, the Workers State to make a state between capitalism and the Workers State for themselves. They don't discuss concretely what Ota Sik or Pelican wanted, this Pelican which cannot fly. They support themselves simply on abstract principles.

The Soviets have a thousand ways and conditions to polemicise with them and to destroy them politically. They haven't done so, because the leading Soviet layer still has quite a link with them, because they have the same origin historically. Now the situation is different, but still they have certain links. But logic is going to oblige them to oppose the lot of them. A logical conclusion is going to push the Soviets to oppose them, and this is because the Soviet Workers State already has a solidity and they have an economic and scientific structure which prohibits unprincipled games of how the social antagonistic relationship between the Workers States and Socialism, against capitalism does not allow the existence of a new bureaucratic layer, as with Stalin or with Ota Sik.

The ingenuousness and, at the same time, the ignorance of Marchais lies in the fact that he believes it possible to act without being based on the experiences of history. Duhring was ingenuous and Engels dealt with him and castigated him severely. If Engels were alive today he would not refer to Marchais, giving him the emphasis which he gave to Duhring who, in the conditions of that epoch, was able to formulate a series of programmatic points when capitalism was expanding. But these people have the experience that capitalism is collapsing, they do not have anything on which to base themselves so as to deny that the bourgeoisie doesn't abandon power, doesn't abandon history unless they are thrown out. They never speak about, they have tremendous fear of the analysis of Marx that capitalism will use all its strength to continue in being. Hence they call Marx out — dated, but for us he remains very fresh. For them he is very old, very old; but for the proletariat he is very, very young.

This conclusion of Marx is based on class relations. These Communist leaders negate class relations and substitute relations between good people. Hence Pajetta defended the Christian Democracy before Marchais. Marchais cannot speak in the same way because there is in France a Christian Democracy worse than in Italy. The Christian Democracy in Italy has a left, but in France there is nothing like that. Thus, this attitude stems from direct and immediate relations of political forces, it is not a logical conclusion of the experience of history.

It is fundamental to discuss all these problems. But the leadership of the Communist Party is not going to allow their militants to discuss, they are going to distract them with a thousand tasks, with the organisation of dances, singing, all manner of daily activities in the trade unions etc. This is going to bewilder the militants, they are going to be overwhelmed with tasks, they are going to be stupefied with the appearance of fundamental tasks and it is going to add up to nothing. They are going to find a thousand ways so that the militant doesn't discuss any of this, and thus the discussion is going to remain in the hands of the people at the top, those who decide.

FOR A COMMON ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME TO UNIFY THE IRISH AND BRITISH MASSES

In Italy, the Communist Party operated with the Christian Democracy after the war was finished, and what happened? And did they weaken capitalism? Did the workers movement progress? Did the struggle for Socialism progress? No! After the Christian Democracy entered into the government, capitalism survived for another thirty more years. And how is history measured?

The Italians should also make a balance. The Italian Communist Party, like the French, intervened in the government after the war and saved capitalism, and then they declare 'There was nothing else to do'. Where is the discussion which they have made to arrive at this conclusion? There hasn't been any discussion!

It is necessary to realise in this process that the Soviets and Communist parties are going to oppose them, including the Portuguese and others. The Communist Party of Algeria, for example, supports Boumediene integrally in the policy with the Polisario, and Vietnam and the Soviets support Polisario also. When a fraction as small as Polisario receives the unanimous support of the Workers State and the Communist parties, it is because there is a programmatic orientation of the Workers State which is expressed in Polisario. When the Workers State supports Polisario, it is because already it is seeking for a world front, a world united front between all the currents and tendencies opposed to imperialism. In this sense, also, the French Communist Party and the Italian Communist Party are within this, although they are making concessions, although they are yielding on questions of principle.

Until now, the Workers State has been established and constructed by force. Why abandon this experience now? For example, is Rumania a capitalist state or a Workers State? If capitalism is defeated or overcome in an electoral form, capitalism still continues with its institutions, is it a capitalist state or not? All these discussions which were a basic norm of discussion in the era of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks have to be returned to. There is not a great diffusion of this understanding. The Communist parties have never discussed this. They just left Marx, Engels and Lenin on one side. As in the time of Stalin also, they published Marx, Engels and Lenin but ignored them. We are the ones who have to publicise, applying today all these principles which the Communists have abandoned. The necessity of history goes in the direction that it is necessary to publish, to repeat and to act like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky.

The conditions of history are not the same as in the epoch of Trotsky, they are better. They do not favour capitalism, nor do they change the course of the capitalist class; but they have weakened it and a part of the support of the bourgeois class is won by the revolution, the sons of engineers, top layers of the police, the army and the church. Hence the crisis of capitalism is total. 'Pravda' a few days ago published a text in which they posed as a synthesis that 'this crisis of capitalism is complete and total; it is not only economic but moral, social and political and as a consequence it is necessary to change'. These are not the arguments which they had up to a few months ago. But they are arguments which they have now to expound, to justify their policy and because it is correct.

One cannot expect that the Communist Party is going to stimulate the discussion, because the discussion is jumping out. Like 'Humanite', 'Unita' published ten pages on Monday and eight were dedicated to football and very bad because half was simply photographs, that is, simply to entertain. They are preparing to reject the dictatorship of the proletariat for entertainment by football. They are going to try to deceive, to conceal, but the present experience and facts show that Socialism is not constructed by manoeuvres, by fraud and by class collaboration. They show that the conception of democracy is not duality, or plurality of thought and judgement. No Sir, it is not like this. It is an historic task against a recess of history which is capitalism. J. POSADAS 10th January, 1976.

In the recent events in Armagh, in the process in Northern Ireland, British imperialism is revealed without the mask of bourgeois democracy as brutal and murderous. The sending of the SAS is simply British imperialism doing openly what it has been doing for years in a semi-clandestine way. There is a mass of evidence available of the existence of bands of assassins, soldiers in civilian clothes, with silent machine guns, patrolling the towns and countryside of Northern Ireland. Ireland is the training ground for the British army as an instrument for the repression of the masses and, as such, it forewarns the British working class that the bourgeoisie is preparing for civil war. However, in the midst of the intensification of the campaign of assassination and terrorism by British imperialism against the Irish masses, sectors of the working class are now intervening in a very powerful way. The strikes and demonstrations in Derry against the assassinations show this, and when this was followed by the brutal murder of 15 workers, 3,000 workers demonstrated in Newry. The assassination of five Catholic workers - members of the SDLP - on the way home from work, and then the murder of ten protestant workers in the same way, is the method of British imperialism to try to incite one group of workers against another. It is a well-tryed method of 'divide and rule', practiced by British imperialism in Aden, India, Malaya and Cyprus. These assassinations were also a direct response to the strike and demonstration in Derry. It was an attempt to intimidate and it failed. The Labour left, in the main, remains silent about the intervention of the SAS, about the assassination of workers and the bombings in this country but the working class does not remain silent, and it is another proof that, on a world scale, the working class is more advanced than its leadership. None of the workers leadership has yet said openly that the authors of this terrorism is British imperialism, although a leader of the Irish Communist Party went very close to it in a recent statement. It is certain that, in order to advance, the Labour Party and trade union left have to recognise the class nature of imperialism. This means to begin to break away from its continued respect for the institutions of the bourgeois state.

In all these developments in Northern Ireland the most important by far is the fact that the Northern Irish Congress of Trade Unions has launched a campaign for a 'better life for all', emphasising six points. These six points, which consist of the right to security of employment and well-paid work, the right to associate freely and to advocate political change by 'peaceful means'(!), the right to good housing, the right to equal education, and the right to adequate social services, are in the main correct. It is a series of demands which open the way to the formulation of a programme, and it is the basis on which the trade unions are already mobilising. It is a response to the mobilisations which the workers have already made and, whatever its limitations, the proletariat is going to take it further. We have to take into account that already the workers of Harland and Wolfe have demanded the nationalisations of their industry.

What is missing in this programme is the basic demand for nationalisations of all major industry, the banks and insurance companies and the land under workers control and without compensation. In common with the proposals for the right to advocate political change by 'peaceful means', the lack of a programme of nationalisation is an attempt by the trade union leadership to maintain the campaign within reformist bounds. However, they are going to stimulate, by this programme and these mobilisations, forces which will by-pass them. The programme which these trade union leaders propose cannot be attained without nationalisations, and obviously not by peaceful means. How can anyone propose peaceful means when they consider that the whole of the last years of assassination and violent repression directed against the masses of Northern Ireland, stems from the reaction of British imperialism to the peaceful mobilisation of the Catholic masses for the simple demand of 'one man, one vote'. The other major limitation is that the trade union leadership in Northern Ireland makes no direct appeal to the working class on the British mainland. It is true that, in part, by inviting representatives of the TUC to a conference last month, they do respond to the necessity to link the struggle in Ireland with that of the proletariat in Britain. However, it needs to be a direct appeal and on the basis of a common programme, an anti-capitalist programme which has, as its centre, nationalisations, workers control and the immediate removal of all British troops from Ireland.

The working class in Northern Ireland is now beginning to intervene as a class, is beginning to overcome the fragmentation of the workers movement. It is using the trade unions as a political instrument and the trade union leadership is giving the struggle some kind of programmatic expression, reformist in great part, but a programmatic expression. At the same time, the working class in Ireland - the Catholic sector in particular - have all the experience of the organisms of dual power, of the street committees and the free areas of a previous period. They are going to re-take all this at a higher level. Now the class intervenes as a class, unified in the trade unions. It is an indication of the advance in the struggle of the working class in Northern Ireland that the fascist 'loyalist workers groups' oppose the programme and mobilisation of the trade unions, but that they are unable to do anything about it. They were unable to launch another so-called workers strike in collusion with the British army.

ON THE NECESSITY OF A POLICY OF NATIONALISATIONS

This is the policy which the Christian Democracy is now making in Italy. At the same time it has to change because it feels that if it doesn't, the worker, peasant and petit bourgeoisie base will go, or a very considerable part is going to go. The left - which is not a real left - doesn't have a left programme. One or two Christian Democratic MPs can be of the left, pro-Communist or pro-Socialist, but it is not these people who decide. The structure of the Christian Democracy has been formed in such a way that it is the right that decides. In order to make a split, it is necessary to make it with a programme, forming a Catholic party of the left, making a policy for this. It is necessary to discuss that the Christian Democracy cannot make any revolutionary programme. It cannot

seek changes of social structure. They have said it clearly: we are not Communists. They believe in private property and that 'it is necessary to administer it better'.

The problem is not essentially or primarily better 'administration', but that private property is the origin of bad administration. What has to be done is to throw out private property. If a programme of production, of work, of development of the economy, is accepted by the majority of the base of the Christian Democracy, then the bourgeoisie sabotage and annul the lira and make a new currency..

The workers have taken the Inno-centi factory, have occupied it and are showing with this that the capitalist is not necessary. It is a very great conquest of the engineers

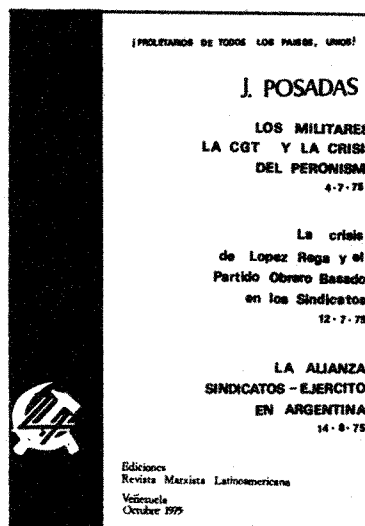
13th February 1976

We have to remember that the unity of the Catholic and protestant masses in Ireland is not new in history. In the early 19th century the bourgeois nationalist revolution against British imperialism, stimulated by the French Revolution of 1789, unified the small proletarian and national bourgeois protestant sectors of the North with the mass of the catholic peasantry. Indeed Wolfe Tone, who was the leader of the revolution and much honoured by the Republican movement (Sinn Fein), was a protestant. Also, at the time of the wave of workers struggles between 1911 and 1914, which saw the construction of the big general unions, the organisation of the mass of unskilled workers, there was a unity between the catholic and protestant workers. In 1913, for example, Larkin and the ITGWU led strikes in Belfast which involved the mass of workers, regardless of what sector they came from. It was a strike which also resulted in a strike by the police (the RUC), which had been sent to repress the workers, and this experience can be applied very well today. All this process led to the construction of the Irish Citizens Army, an organisation which Lenin described as the 'first workers army in Europe', and to the insurrection of 1916 in Dublin. This is part of the revolutionary tradition of the British proletariat which includes the Chartist Movement, the shop stewards movement of the Clyde around 1919, and the General Strike of 1926. The experiences are hidden from the working class by the reformist leadership of the workers movement, but they are not forgotten. They are experiences which are going to be re-taken in the next period at a higher level, at a level determined by the SUVs in Portugal, by the existence of 16 Workers States, by the struggles in Angola.

There is no solution to the problem of Ireland - which is British imperialism - in Ireland itself. The solution lies in the struggle of the proletariat on the mainland of Britain, in the linking of the struggles of the Irish and British workers. As we posed before, the instrument most open for this is the trade unions. It is necessary to implement the resolution of the TUC - of 1974 and 1975 - for a trade union conference on Ireland to include the trade unions of Ireland - North and South - and the British trade unions. But it has to be a conference on a common programme of no workers to be sacked, work-sharing without loss of pay, all factories threatened with closure to be occupied and run under workers control pending nationalisation and, above all, the immediate nationalisation of all major industry, the banks and insurance companies, the land under workers control and without compensation. And the planning of the economy for the benefit of the population on this basis. At the same time there has to be a programme for the army, for full trade union and political rights for the soldiers, in order to disintegrate the army as an instrument of imperialist repression and to isolate the assassin sector. We understand that the left Labour MP, Frank Allaun, is proposing trade unions in the army; we agree but it has to be linked with a campaign on the basis of a Socialist programme in the barracks.

The republican movement has to see that the only unification of Ireland is on the basis of the unification of the proletariat in the Republic with the six counties of Northern Ireland and of Britain, with the perspective of a Socialist Federation of the British Isles. There is no other way. These mobilisations in Northern Ireland by the trade unions have been a focus of attention and they show that the problem of Ireland is not one of sectarianism, of catholic against protestant. It is a class struggle, and when the working class is given a centre it acts as a class. On the other hand, all the attempts to find a solution in bourgeois democratic forms, in the convention which was an attempt to incorporate the SDLP as a means to contain the catholic masses, have collapsed. What it is necessary to do now is to extend the campaigns of the Northern Irish trade unions to the whole of the British Isles on the basis of a common anti-capitalist programme to unify the Irish and British masses.

THE LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL.



We salute the activity which the Posadist IV International has commenced in Venezuela. We salute the activity which a group of comrades has begun in Venezuela with the objective of constructing a Section. The cover which we reproduce here besides, is the last bulletin published by the comrades in Venezuela and contains three articles of Comrade Posadas on Argentina. We salute this activity which is part of the application of the organisational conclusions resolved upon in the Xth World Congress of the IV International. We salute the Latin American bureau, the International Secretariat and Comrade Posadas who are intervening, orientating and elevating this new activity.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

LETTER TO THE ITALIAN SECTION (CONTINUATION) ...

which has been made, but the effect is less than the effort because the factory continues in private property. It is necessary to show that, if the management is not necessary, if they free themselves from the owners and make a new planning, why private property? It is necessary to show that private property is not necessary and that it is the root and the real basis of all the social evils. Private property produces unemployment. Private property creates drug addicts, assassins and thieves. It is not the workers movement, nor the Communist Party nor the Socialist Party which does this. It is private property, and it has to be eliminated.

The Communist Press dedicates a space to the drug addicts etc. If, in Italy, the youth and the adults

were addicts or drunkards, there would be a degeneration and from where comes the degeneration? The Communist Party has 11 million votes and the Socialist Party 4 million. Together with the rest of the left, they are almost 20 million votes - that is, 65 to 70% of Italy. If the problem of Italy is determined because there are three characters who take and smoke opium and who assassinate or kill, where is the problem? And the pre-occupation of the youth is to impel the Communist Party, without accepting the policy of the Party, of submission to the Christian Democracy.

It is necessary to orientate to see in this way.

J. POSADAS 30th November, 1975.

GOLLAN'S ARTICLE IS A REJECTION OF THE PROCESS OF PARTIAL REGENERATION IN THE WORKERS STATE AND A PROSTRATION IN FRONT OF CAPITALISM

The recent article by J. Gollan, ex-secretary of the CPGB, on 'Socialist democracy - some problems', reveals very clearly the existence in the CPGB, as in France or Italy or Spain, as in the whole world Communist movement, of a current which comes out more and more clearly against the Soviet Union. The immense leaps in the process of Partial Regeneration* in the last period, as expressed by the Cuban Conference of Communist parties**, in the article of Rude Pravo on the necessity to smash the bourgeois state apparatus, in the declaration of Timour Timofeev in Pravda on the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', in the broadcast by TASS of the analysis by Soviet scientists who reject the thesis of 'Pluralism of Socialist models', and most importantly of all, the intervention of the USSR directly in Angola, in West Sahara, Vietnam now re-united etc., are the cause for the anguish of such sectors as the one Gollan represents, which are opposed to the changes in the USSR and in fundamental aspects remain Stalinist. Gollan expresses in this article the pathetic weakness of the apparatuses of the Communist movement in this stage and, in particular, the pathetic weakness of those who seek to block the authority of the world Communist movement and the USSR over the Labour Party and the trade unions. Today, updating Stalinism by means of further lies, only leads to ridicule and to confrontation with the USSR. This sector, represented in this country by Gollan, is cornered. It is the stage of the end of the apparatuses, which eliminates all possibility of lying, manoeuvring, deceiving, for the sake of parliamentary alliances with the parliamentary left of the Labour Party. The failure of Gollan to give a credible picture of his new version of Stalinism and to use this to attack the USSR, gives an index of the maturity of the world revolution and of the left in the Labour Party, the Communist Party itself, and the trade unions.

GOLLAN'S ARTICLE IS PATHETIC

The weakness of Gollan's attack on the USSR resides in the fact that he cannot attack it directly. He has to resort to subterfuges and lies in order to do so. But he cannot say what he thinks: which is that the USSR should not act as a centre of the revolutionary process in this stage. He has to support instead the 'right to dissent' in the USSR. He says: 'There are those who support change within the framework of Socialism and the Soviet system'. But it is necessary to define what is the framework of Socialism, and what is the Soviet system. No one has defended these better than Trotsky himself in his work, 'The III International after Lenin' and in 'Revolution betrayed', which even provide unadmitted elements for Mr Gollan's article, for example on the reasons for the degeneration of the Workers State. But, therefore, it is not enough to just repeatedly associate Trotsky, as Mr Gollan does, with the right wing opposition and not to explain his role, his programme, his ideas. If Stalin did such horrible things, after all what then was the position of Trotsky? This is not explained and there is no logic in this except that Mr Gollan just feels the need to up-date the previous theories about Stalinism which today become highly unsatisfactory to the Communist comrades and the labour and trade union left. And, in the defence of 'Socialism in one country,' of the struggle for peace and detente, of the 'British road to Socialism', Gollan shows himself to be no more than the Stalinist he has always been, and who did not see for 20 years what was happening in the USSR because 'only the Soviet people could know'. He is not arguing so as to correct himself or to rectify the policy of the Communist Party, but so as to make a shield between the discussion now raging in the world Communist movement about the most fundamental principles of the construction of Socialism and the Labour and trade union left, who feel that reformism now gives no answer and that it is necessary to intervene directly in the discussion of these principles, and to make relations with the USSR. This article is a pathetic cry of fear, because it fails in all this. The anti-Communist campaign raised by

Prentice in the Labour Party failed, and the TUC invited Shelepin in the face of the outrage of the bourgeoisie. The doom of Gollan resides in this coming into collision with the USSR.

AGAINST THE USSR AND THE PARTIAL REGENERATION.

This article by Gollan and the recent publication in the Morning Star of the speech of Marchais****, in abandonment of the principle of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', are the indications of a whole current which is leaving the Communist movement and the perspective of the construction of Socialism. In order to defend themselves, these sectors which include (with just only degrees of differences) Ellstein in France, Berlinguer in Italy and Carillo in Spain, and others like, of course, Marchais himself, have to drop fundamental principles of Marxism and the construction of Socialism more clearly than in the past. This is why Marchais drops the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Comrade Posadas has said, 'All the principles for the construction of the Workers State are now raised in the world Communist movement; the Party/trade unions relationship, the mass/class/Party/leadership relationship, the trade union/Party/state relationship'. All this is now discussed openly in all the Communist and even Socialist movements. The reason why this is so is because there is the process of the Partial Regeneration. The USSR is now intervening directly in Angola! It is orientating the discussion in the world Communist movement and denouncing those 'revisionists' who themselves use their rejection of 'dogmatism' to drop the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat; of monolithism, of internationalism. The Soviets have clearly intervened against the 'Pluralism of Socialist models', according to which Communists abandon the principle of the leading role of the Party and support the right of sectors linked with the bourgeoisie in the Workers States to speak, and to link up with imperialism. All this is what the USSR is combatting, not because there is no longer a bureaucracy there. It is clear that the Soviet Workers State is still led by a bureaucracy, which does not absolutely support the class and revolutionary content of Marxism, but which is forced to respond to the immense pressure on it by the Workers State as a form of state based on the nationalised and planned economy, and by 14 Workers States, now more and more linked to the Revolutionary States. The most outstanding index of the process of Partial Regeneration in the USSR is the support to Angola, the correct Soviet appeals to the Albanian and Chinese masses****, and the refusal of Brejnev to discuss Angola with Kissinger. This is the reason for the fears of sectors like Gollan, who see that the world Communist movement unifies, that the USSR is returning to play the function which it only played before at the time of Lenin, and confronts imperialism, no longer conciliates with it. This means the end of all national roads, the re-construction of the Communist International some time in the not distant future, the end of all opportunist, parliamentary alliances with Socialist parties the end of the possibility of maintaining the Communist policy independent from the working class. The historic roots for this process are that the Soviet leadership is based on the Workers State, on the necessity to assume the function of world leadership, and that the Communist leaderships are free of this type of pressure. This is what is analysed by Comrade Posadas who foresaw the process of Partial Regeneration, the necessity of the USSR to have to intervene against the Dubceks, and the development of revolutionary currents in the Communist and Socialist movements to go back to Marxism, under the impact of the policy of the USSR on one hand and of the proletariat on the other. This is why the article of Gollan is an expression of an immense resentment of the USSR and is in collision with it.

THE USSR IS INTERVENING PUBLICLY ON BRITAIN

In the midst of the total crisis of capitalism, as expressed in Britain, all reformist policies have failed. The 'workers co-ops', the schemes

of workers participation, the dreams of preventing the fury of capitalist exploitation by conciliation with it, all these failures have involved the Communist Party. The proletariat in the trade union elections is now rejecting these 'leaders' like Reid, who had no more to offer than this. At the same time, the Soviet Union sent Shelepin to visit the Scottish workers on the invitation of the TUC, and Shelepin saluted 'her majesty the British working class! And the Communist Party, which was not officially (and we suspect not unofficially) consulted by the Soviets, had not one word to say except, 'Democracy, right to speak, no to concentration camps, no to the KGB! The USSR lives the process in Britain dynamically, and is not waiting for the Communist Party of 'Great Britain'. It is going to intervene more powerfully in the future. The Communist Party leadership is trying to compete with the Soviets, to diminish their authority and thus diminish the impact of their prestige in the Labour vanguard in this country. This is dictated by petty, conservative sentiments of wanting to continue an electoral, 'peaceful' and careerist alliance with the Labour parliamentary left, which it would like to utilise so as to enter parliament without depending on the working class at all. But the mass Party in this country has no need of anti-Soviet 'Communists' in parliament, and the centralisation of the proletariat in this country excludes also this possibility. The USSR does not transmit all the necessary discussion on the inevitability of the civil war, on revolutionary preparations etc., but it does show, even if only in Angola, the principles of proletarian internationalism and how to confront capitalism and imperialism. This is educating the Labour left. Mr Gollan has the objective of blocking this process, which leads to the formation of revolutionary currents in the Labour Party and the trade unions. The Communist comrades who want to progress must say that precisely their role is to transmit to the Labour left the experiences of the construction of the Workers State; they have to declare publicly their support to and discuss the books of Marx and Engels and Lenin on the necessity of the Communist International, on the monolithic centralisation of the Communist International, on the dictatorship of the proletariat, on the inevitability of the civil war and the armed struggle; these are not old books with old theories, but are as valid as ever. As Comrade Posadas says in the text, 'On the declaration of Marchais on the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat', 'Marx is younger than ever! They must denounce publicly the British Road to Socialism, which is the continuation in a straight line of the policy of Stalin, the policy of conciliation with capitalism and imperialism, as the disbandment of the III International represented also. It is incoherent to say that Stalin had wrong policies and to continue to support his theory of 'Socialism in one country', and the 'British road to Socialism'. Even the Soviets are now intervening to rectify all this.

The admission by Gollan that Stalin assassinated the whole of the old Bolshevik leadership ends up with the justification of 'Socialism in one country', the conclusions of Stalin! The policies of Stalinism internally were shameful and so, for the same reason, were the external ones! There is no text in the Communist movement raising principles which explain why the disbandment of the III International was necessary, or why the theory of 'Socialism in one country' is necessary, and the USSR is now against this!

We invite the Communist comrades to make a public and honest discussion so as to orientate correctly the coming revolutionary tendency in the Labour Party and trade unions on how to construct the Socialist Republic in this country. Gollan's text is designed to contain the process of discussion in the Communist and Labour parties but it cannot succeed. Stalinism is going to be discussed as part of the process leading to the total regeneration of the world Communist movement.

EDITORIAL

AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME HAS TO BE ADOPTED BY THE LABOUR LEFT

of triumph over the bourgeois class. In the same way, the failure of all conciliatory attempts in Innocenti (Leyland in Italy: see article in this paper), like those at 'workers co-operatives' in Britain have failed. They failed because the road of reforms is closed and capitalism can no longer be ameliorated by a better boss. The comrades of the Labour Party have to discuss that it is not a matter of a better management of the capitalist system that is required, and that all the struggles in the world show this. This conclusion is even imposing itself in the Socialist movement: the proof is that, in the recent conference of the Socialist parties of the south of Europe, what they agreed upon was that united fronts have to be made with the Communist parties so as to 'rupture' capitalism.

Precisely when Marchais in France drops the slogan of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat', it is when the pressure is immense for him to take the road to apply it. Otherwise, the slogan could remain as before, a formula in the constitution which embarrasses no one because it needs not to be considered. What decides in France is the programme of the Popular Union, of nationalisations of thirteen monopolies, which include the banks and insurance companies. And there is a unity of the Socialists and Communists on the basis of that programme. Marchais has no power to retreat from the programme. In the recent conference of the Socialist parties of the south of Europe, it was precisely the French Socialist Party which impelled the resolution for united fronts with Communists, and the idea of 'rupture' with the capitalist system. The Popular Union is an organ of the proletariat, not just for France, but which weighs in Europe and imposes a form of dual power which expresses itself in the Socialist parties, against the sectors of the right like Soares who took flight in the United States on the occasion of that conference. This shows how isolated those who defend 'pluralism' are, even in the Socialist movement.

THE PROGRAMME FOR THE WORKERS STATE.

The same crisis affects Britain, the same impossibility of the Labour government to govern the capitalist system, and the same pressures influence the Labour Party and demand from it a programme and an alliance with the Communist parties. The recent declaration of the NEC of the Labour Party to make fresh contacts with the Communist parties, even if it is only 'on the merits of each case', is an expression of the necessity which imposes itself on the Labour Party. It comes from the world and is transmitted into the party through the British proletariat. The discussion has to be raised in the Labour Party that no amount of taxing the rich or increase in control of the capitalist class, its exports of capital or its imports, demands for reflation etc., is going to replace the irrevocable necessity for the control of the Labour Party and the trade unions and the proletariat directly over the economy. The banks have to be nationalised, and so has the car industry under workers control, and a massive work of re-conversion and public works has to be effected in the economy and arms expenditure stopped. Partial controls, exerted against the capitalist system, do not permit planning, and today it is not possible to plan anything in capitalism. If capitalism survives, it has to be at the cost of a fantastic cut in the standard of life of the masses, with continuous reductions in expenditure on social services, and at the cost of being totally submitted to the policy of war which capitalism is preparing against the Labour and Communist masses, and against the USSR. This requires, therefore, a public campaign on the basis of a consistent demand by the Labour left in the trade unions for nationalisations, workers control in the nationalised industries, and planning. It is necessary to pose also that this programme will not be imposed on the government by any other way than force. Therefore, it is necessary for the Labour left to mobilise effectively in the factories, the trade unions, and organise the Labour Party so that the proletariat imposes its programme in it. This is the process of the construction of the Government of the Left in Britain. Capitalism will resist every inch of the way. As in Portugal, nationalisations will come from confrontations with capitalism, the comrades of the left in the Labour Party have to see the struggle in Portugal, Spain and Europe as theirs, and pronounce themselves against NATO. Britain out of NATO! This programme is the best solidarity, the best human support which the Labour comrades can give to the workers, the Communists and Socialists of Europe. 10.2.1976.

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW

CONTAINING: THE FOLLOWING TEXTS BY J. POSADAS

- * THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, THE DEGENERATION OF THE WORKERS STATE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM
 - * THE CLOSING SPEECH OF THE V WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL
 - * THE REFERENDUM ON THE EEC, THE ABSTENTIONS AND THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN
 - * THE WORLD IS READY FOR COMMUNISM
- OBTAINABLE NOW FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS: 60p

We call on the Labour Party and the trade unions left, to organise public discussions, journals, tendencies, conferences etc. to discuss the experience of the construction of the first Workers State of the USSR, to draw the conclusions from the Soviets which took all the power. The Soviet functioning was the most elevated form of democracy which ever existed; i.e. the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, the crushing of all forms of arrogance and exploitation. This has to be discussed directly in the Labour Party, so as to construct the Workers State and the Socialist Republic in Britain.

* Read 'The process of Partial Regeneration in the Workers States', a selection of articles by J. Posadas in 1975. Published in January, 76. From the Party's address: 15p.

** This refers to the recent Conference of the Communist Parties of

Latin America, in which the resolution was passed that power had to be sustained by armed struggle, among other conclusions, stimulated by the Soviet Union.

*** This refers - even if indirectly - to the appeal by the Soviets to the Chinese masses made recently for the rejection of their leadership and to the declaration - also indirect - of the Soviets to the Albanian masses to assist the process of unification of the world Communist movement, which they made on the occasion of the anniversary of the setting up of the Albanian Workers State.

**** This has been analysed in depth by Comrade Posadas in the article: 'On the declaration of Marchais on the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat', 10th January, 1976. Published here.

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

FINISH WITH THE HEALEY/WILSON CLIQUE AND IMPOSE THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The cuts in social service spending contained in the Healey proposals are designed to lower the standard of living and raise the cost of living of the masses. No amount of juggling with figures can disguise the bourgeois scale of values reflected in these measures. Spending is to be cut in the health service, education, transport, school meals and food subsidies are to be ended. At the same time, spending on defence, on armaments, is to continue to rise. It is true that the rise in spending on armaments is not as great as first proposed, but it is to rise nevertheless. These proposals of Healey are a direct attack on the working class and are as much a measure of civil war as the terrorism and assassinations of British imperialism in Northern Ireland. This is the form it takes in this country, measures of economic terrorism. The Labour and trade union left has to denounce in unequivocal terms this offensive against the masses and to oppose it in the most effective way.

At the same time they have to understand that there is no possibility of a balance between the classes, between the bourgeoisie and the working class. There is no solution in the 'mixed economy'. It is a question of a class struggle, of the antagonistic interests of class, and that if one class prevails the other loses. The Healey measures are only possible because the interest of the working class has not prevailed in the Labour government. The Healey 'plan' is the reaction of a sector of the Labour Party which is committed to the maintenance of capitalism, and it is a blatant attempt to make the masses pay for this crisis. One week the government gives millions of pounds to Chryslers and no end of money is spent on the equally socially useless 'Concord', and the next moment the finance is deducted from social services. What would be more blatant? At the same time both the Chrysler episode and the Concord have meant finance for the bosses and the sack for thousands of workers. These measures of the government are intolerable and so is the continued existence, in the Labour government and Party, of the whole Healey/Wilson clique. It is time for the Labour and trade union left to say so and to prepare an effective, viable, anti-capitalist alternative.

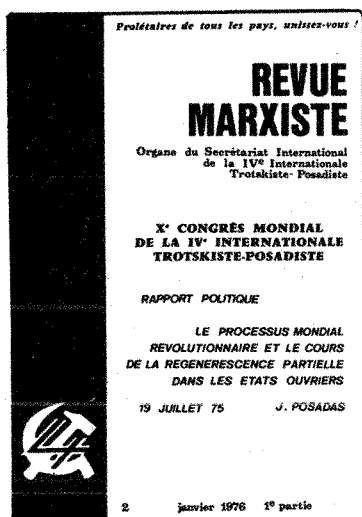
A CONTINUOUS PROCESS OF DISCUSSION IN THE FACTORIES.

If the bourgeois leadership of the Labour Party can impose such measures it is precisely because the left does not propose any effective anti-capitalist alternative. The resignation of Joan Lestor is not an effective means of opposing such anti-working class policies. At best it is simply on the level of personal protest and, as such, organises nothing. At the same time, the proposal for an 'Emergency Labour Party Conference' was a very limited method of opposition. In the event the proposal was defeated in the NEC, a fact which once again shows that the Labour Party apparatus is the servant of the right wing. However, if the Labour left thinks that a national conference is necessary, why not call one unfettered by the bourgeois structure of the Labour Party? What is to stop them? Even if they do not feel the strength to organise a national conference immediately, it is possible to organise local conferences of the labour movement open to all tendencies that agree with the programme of nationalisations contained in clause 4 of the Labour Party constitution. It is necessary to open a process of discussion immediately in the factories, in the workers areas, in the centres of the proletariat, on the means to oppose the Healey proposals, on the basis of the anti-capitalist programme. We do not propose a particularly difficult task to the Labour Party and trade union left, but we are aware that the prime reason that they do not undertake it is that they lack the anti-capitalist programme which is essential. The proposals put forward by the left - particularly the 'Tribune' left - are totally inadequate and without perspective.

Proposals such as 'selective import controls', 'increase in government spending' and 'reflation', are no more than proposals to tinker with the capitalist economy when the problem is capitalism itself, the system of private property. To propose 'selective import controls' means to defend the most inefficient sectors of capitalism, because if such firms were efficient they would be able to compete on the world market without protection. One of the reasons why such firms cannot compete is that their prices are higher than imported products. Textiles are an example of this, and British textiles find it impossible to compete with textiles produced by the more advanced economies of the Eastern European Workers States. To ban these products would simply force the masses to pay higher prices for locally produced products. The argument that such measures would reduce unemployment does not stand up either. Unemployment is inherent in the capitalist system simply because the capitalist expropriates in the form of profits a large proportion of the product of labour. This means that the purchasing power of the working class - the majority of society - is always inferior to production. Thus consumption is limited and the result is overproduction and unemployment. An important aspect of the total world crisis of capitalism is that two of the solutions the system used previously - inter-capitalist war and the exploitation of colonies - have been taken out of its hands by the advance of the world revolution and the existence of 14 Workers

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THE LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL.



This issue of EMR No 2 in French, is of an enormous importance to make the texts of Comrade Posadas on Partial Regeneration weigh in the Communist movement. It is the Marxism of this epoch, which maintains the purity of scientific thought and leads the world Communist movement to unification, on the basis of the smashing of what is left of the capitalist system, and by the only possible means: the Dictatorship of the Proletariat! VIVA THE FRENCH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL TROTSKYIST POSADIST! FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE! VIVA COMRADE POSADAS!

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DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN J. POSADAS

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Anti-capitalist solutions are going to be posed in Spain quite soon. A measure of the reaction of the masses is to be seen in Portugal. Portugal had fifty years of fascism, worse than in Spain, because it didn't have the worker base of Spain and does not have its tradition of struggle, nor the Socialist and Communist parties, nor a large tendency of the left, which Spain now has, neither did it have the anarchists who have a considerable weight in the workers movement - a combative weight, in fundamental zones, not only in Asturias, and neither did it have the trade unions. Thus it is necessary to have the new perspective that there is going to be a very dynamic development of the class struggle.

It is possible to foresee in Spain a first stage of struggle for bourgeois democratic demands. Hence we propose a united front, including the bourgeoisie, for democratic bourgeois demands: demands for trade unions rights, the right to speak, to publish, and the right of assembly. But together with these it is necessary to propose demands to develop the economy in Spain and to develop the social will of the masses, the petit bourgeoisie and the large peasant sectors, since it is possible to advance much further. Also it is possible to find support in a sector of property administered by the state which is quite large, which in some sectors counts for as much as 60% of the industry. There has been considerable industrial development in Spain, but the weight of nationalised industry or of nationalised factories has created a sector of technocrats, of administrators, based on the factories of state property, which on one side are very linked to the workers movement and, on the other, to private property. But the dynamics of the process to develop the economy put these enterprises, these administrators and technicians on the side of nationalised property and production, and not on that of the private sector.

Private property has produced some highly paid technicians, but it is a small team and the rest haven't developed and the privileged sector is going to be eliminated as a privileged sector, like private property. It is going to be eliminated and it is going to work in production like the rest. On the other hand, the technocrats, under the state, have a more direct interest in the development of the country, because they see that they can extract from the state more than the whole of this team can extract from private property. It is not, as the Communists say, that nationalised property only means that all the technicians, that all this team, work afterwards as a function of capitalism. A part, yes, but as a whole, no; because the nationalised enterprise does not have an interest in giving privileges to the technicians, because otherwise these would take the profit of the enterprises.

All this is a factor of weight, of importance, to ally the technocrats to the workers movement. The Socialists and the Communists seek a policy of alliance with the parties of the bourgeoisie, to contain everything at the level of bourgeois democratic demands. It is necessary to consider that the development of Spain is not subject to the economy only, it is not correct to pose it in this way. Scientifically it is absurd to consider that Spain is going to become alive because

the economy is stimulated. This is true historically and concretely, in some cases it is like this; but with 14 Workers States and 20 Revolutionary States, such a revolutionary ferment in the world and such a crisis, the re-animation of the Spanish economy is not only going to be achieved through investments, planning or the development of democratic rights or the free democratic play of competition, but from the fact that the proletariat receives all the influence of the world and is going to apply it.

When ETA achieves such important actions as it has done and has such revolutionary behaviour and attitude, this is because it reflects the will of the Spanish masses which is not reflected in the Communist Party, the Socialists or the Anarchists, nor among the separatists. It is an organic decision which does not arise from nationalist bourgeois ideas nor from bourgeois democracy, nor the conciliatory conceptions of the Communists and the Socialists. It arises only from the will of a Socialist perspective. Such courage, such resolution and decision do not come from the bourgeois camp. They do not come from the conciliatory camp nor from the camp of the revisionists of the Communist and Socialist parties. On a world wide scale, the process is going to tend to drive Spain very rapidly towards the camp of the revolution.

The trade union organisations already say that, in the first stage, the struggle is only going to be for democratic liberties, just as Carrillo speaks of 'the political revolution'. But it is necessary to discuss what programme for Spain, what programme to confront the crisis. The bourgeoisie, under Franco, has shown itself impotent and incapable of smashing the Spanish masses and, at the same time, of developing the economy of the country. The other sector of the bourgeoisie, which they call liberal - that's a lie, it accompanied Franco throughout and didn't say a word - is less powerful than the other and less capable. Thus it needs the cover of the Communist and Socialist parties to contain the masses on the plane of struggles for demands and prevent them from re-organising the Spanish economy. They do not have perspectives or possibilities. Moreover, even if they had perspectives and possibilities, the duty of the proletariat is to do what it has to do.

The Spanish regime emerged from the death of Franco broken, divided and disintegrated. Franco fell and it has to allow certain freedoms. This shows that it can't contain much longer. Thus, why should the proletariat depend on what they do and only demand crumbs such as the freedom to discuss increases in wages. The proletariat has to propose a programme for the development of the economy: a programme of nationalisations, of workers control, of the planning of production, of nationalisations without compensation, at the same time as the workers make and accompany a united front with the bourgeoisie. Thus, the proletariat pushes forward the struggle for complete democratic liberties but, at the same time, its own programme in its own organisms: a united front of Communist Party, Socialist Party and trade unions, with a programme of nationalisations with workers control and the planning of production and also there is the united front of the small and medium traders,

artisans, small industrial sectors, small and medium agricultural proprietors, with democratic demands but acting separately from the proletarian united front.

It is necessary to have a discussion, promoted by the united front of the parties and the trade unions, which explains that the crisis is not only because Franco existed. It is a question of the stagnation of the Spanish economy and the fact that the bourgeoisie is impotent and incapable. The responsibility cannot be only concentrated on Franco but it is the whole of the bourgeoisie which is responsible. What impeded the bourgeoisie from developing the country? If Spain hasn't developed more, it is because the bourgeoisie is not capable because it doesn't have the means and because there are not the historic conditions for the bourgeoisie to develop. What the bourgeoisie require is that the workers don't compete with a revolutionary programme. Thus it is necessary to see the significance of the Socialists and the Communists. These Spanish workers feel this and feel the great impulse of the workers of Europe, above all of France where the programme of the Popular Union is not a bourgeois programme.

The workers movement must discuss all these problems and not only democratic liberties and democratic rights. It is necessary to discuss an economic programme for Spain, what economic development is necessary. It is necessary to intervene in the workers movement, the trade unions, the workers centres, the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, with ideas on what programme to organise. There must be no subjection to the bourgeoisie, but the workers centres have to come out with their own programme to develop Spain, on agriculture, division and distribution of the land, formation of Socialist co-operatives, to show how production can be increased - on the mines and the factories. Then it is necessary to discuss all this within the workers camp, and also to discuss the crisis of the world Communist movement. The crisis of the French Communist Party and the resistance which exists in relation to the capitulationist policy over Marxist principles, is the same in relation to the Spanish Communist Party. Carrillo has done the same as the leaders of the French Communist Party who pose that it is necessary to abandon the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Although, in some aspects, Carrillo is at a higher level because he poses that the perspective is Socialism and that it is necessary to nationalise everything, he poses this for afterwards and remains subject to what the bourgeoisie do.

There is no perspective, nor reason for the proletariat to be dependent on the actions of the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has to have its own class initiatives in order to demonstrate that it is more capable of leading than the bourgeoisie. This is going to influence the army, the police and students, and the petit bourgeoisie. It is very important not to depend on the concessions of the bourgeoisie; the fact that it is weakening so rapidly shows that the bourgeoisie is very weak and that, to save itself, it wants to develop the economy on the basis that the proletariat remains quiet. Then it yields because it cannot sustain an offensive of the

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proletariat. Otherwise it wouldn't do this, it would try to distract the proletariat by means of the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions to contain them, giving certain democratic liberties and a certain development of the economy.

THE BOURGEOISIE IS INCAPABLE OF DEVELOPING THE COUNTRY

Carrillo and also the leaders of the French and Italian Communist parties affirm that now it is no longer the epoch of violence, of civil war and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is false. Violence does not come because it is an epoch of violence but because there are antagonistic classes in which there are material interests which the capitalists are not going to abandon. Violence is expressed throughout the whole capitalist system, war, strikes, repression, the killing of workers in accidents at work, the killing of people through the adulteration of food - all this is violence. It is not that we seek violence. If this ceases in capitalism, this means that it is going to be possible to persuade or prevent the bourgeoisie from utilising it. But it is necessary to use force otherwise how is capitalism going to be prevented from using violence? It is not the case that, by going into the apparatus of government, of the 'democratic sector', this is going to impede violence. What possibilities have the apparatus? In Chile, the bourgeoisie did not have the apparatus but it had the army and the police, and it did what it wanted. It is possible to go to government, but it is necessary to disarm the apparatus of the enemy. Then the force which the bourgeoisie is going to employ is diminished in its possibilities of action, it is not negated but it is diminished.

On the proposals of the Communist leaders that now it is not the epoch of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the polemic in the French Communist Party is a demonstration of the rejection of a certain level of Socialist human relations, not of the planned economy, nor of the elimination of the principle of 'to each one according to his capacity', for the Communist principle, 'to each one according to his needs'. Then other human relations are created as the peasants of Alentejo propose to equalise wages. Still, we are not in the more advanced stage and thus the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary to eliminate an enemy, an antagonistic class which is going to oppose the process through armed force, through sabotage, in a thousand ways. This enemy has an organised structure of scientists, of technicians, of power, of property, and it is going to intervene. Then it is necessary to act by force, and what does that mean? It means using material, military force such as the strength of imposition of the organisms of the population, imposing by number and also by force, meaning war. Imperialism is preparing war, it has local wars as in Lebanon, as in Angola, in the countries of Latin America and Asia, and it prepares total war.

There is nothing which shows that capitalism can be eliminated without violence. The Communist Party says, 'It is necessary to prevent capitalism using arms', but this is a desire! Concretely, where has capitalism been prevented from using violence? How is it going to be impeded? By taking its arms! Depriving it of power! This has to be done and it can only be done by violence. Very well, let us take the power and the arms from capitalism; how? It is necessary to purge the apparatus of the state, to change it of the people who support capitalism, with the ideas of private property, otherwise how can they be eliminated? Besides, all the strikes which are developing show that the Communist Party of Spain is a small party. They show that the Socialists, the anarchists and the trade unions have quite a lot of strength. Besides, the Communist Party is a party which lives a backward conception of politics. It is absurd to pose still in Spain that every region should have its own party. All the problems which there are of nationality exist because the bourgeoisie pose them. The masses do not have these problems. It is the well-to-do petit bourgeoisie which transmits this to the heart of the middle class, and this to the proletariat and the peasantry, trying to maintain the whole population submitted to regionalist senti-

ments. But, in all these events - and the civil war showed it - the masses intervene as a unity. Then the problem to resolve the nationalities is that these exist more on the periphery than in the historic depths, and that this can be resolved with the economic unity of the country. Vietnam, like China, had more national divisions than Spain. In China there were a great number of dialects and the people of one province did not understand the people of another.

In Russia, before the Revolution, it was also like this. The structure of the Spanish Communist Party of parties by regions is false, it is the typical attitude of a small party which does not have the strength to solve problems. Then it created this condition with a Stalinist mentality to gain success and to unite to the local bourgeoisie. The Communist militant feels this, in any region he feels that he is with the Catalan, the Basque, the inhabitants of Galicia or of Madrid. Thus, the ethnic problem of which the Communist leaders speak, of language, of traditions, are false. It's a fractioning, a parcelling of the Party which prevents the concentration of its force and which favours the bourgeoisie because it makes the proletariat of each region subject to its cultural and traditional authority. But it is necessary to give to the proletariat the cultural and traditional influence of Socialist ideas which homogenise everything. It is a lie that the period of conviction is necessary, because the proletariat is convinced and has the example given by 14 Workers States and 20 Revolutionary States.

The USSR intervened in Angola and in Lebanon. Syria would not have intervened if there had not been Soviet arms and Soviet support. If the Soviets had not supported them, the Yanks would have invaded Lebanon by means of Israel. But it is the Soviets which stopped them, and Kissinger failed in all respects in wanting to reach an agreement so that the Soviets would leave Angola and Lebanon. One day before Kissinger arrived in Moscow, the Palestinians invaded Lebanon and took two thirds of the territory. It has been a very great blow to imperialism which is going to stimulate the struggle against Israel which has also realised that the Soviets didn't intervene in Lebanon in order to withdraw.

In this relation of world forces, this King Juan Carlos doesn't have a point of social support. If Spain enters into the European Common Market it has to compete with the other countries of the European Common Market. To compete, it needs two fundamental bases: a very high productive capacity which is the actual functioning of the factories to elevate production and then, in order not to have any alteration in the functioning and to be able to compensate for the lower productive capacity compared with all the other capitalist countries of Europe, to use means of repression or imposition on the workers movement, so acquiring an increase in surplus value. This can be achieved by increases in two forms: a better productive capacity, that is to say, a better technical organisation of production; or they increase direct exploitation which is the increase in the amount of work, an increase of production for the same hours of work by the worker. All this is going to be posed in Spain.

And also the elevation of the productive apparatus, so that it is in the right condition to compete with the EEC, so that Spain can develop itself economically, to enter the EEC and compete. One of the essential bases of the crisis of the bourgeoisie is this: isolated, the bourgeoisie dies; entering into the EEC it dies also, because it does not have the indispensable productive apparatus. And consequently, it does not have the competitive capacity which the European and Yankee capitalists have. The country which has a very powerful base from tourism is, in all respects, a country which industrially is a very poor competitor. It is true that there is a very important development of industry; in the steel industry it is quite important, but not competitive. Germany, France, Britain surpass all this, and Spain is going to be a poor Italy of the Atlantic Mediterranean.

In this process the workers movement has grown a hundred times more than the whole of Spanish industry. The whole of the Spanish workers movement has developed its capacity to think and to reason. The strikes and mobilisations have not been organised by the Communist Party. They go beyond the Communist Party. Hence, now, there is the new trade union centre which competes with the workers commissions, and the democratic juntas, and seek to make an alliance with the French CFDT*. The workers movement has grown infinitely more in industry and the understanding, the intellectual development of the masses, is superior to the development of industry.

It is necessary to be based on this to consider the level of political organisation of the masses, which is not seen in the mobilisations of the Communists, nor is it given by the image of the whole period when the country was submitted to Francoism. The Basques, even in a limited form, express a combative ardour as the proletariat has not found the means to canalise and express it. The movement of the Basques is a national movement whose origin is bourgeois, but whose actions are not now bourgeois. It is stimulated by the workers movement. The methods which they employ have nothing to do with the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, in this stage of history, is not going to form a local nationalism or separatism by means of bombs, fights and war, and much less, when the two leaders who were shot expressed clearly their Socialist conceptions. Thus neither the Communists, the Socialists, the trade unions, nor the anarchists express the will to combat of the Spanish masses and, as they do not express it, they do not represent the possibilities which now exist in Spain.

The timidity with which the king and the bourgeoisie advance, in seeking a re-organisation of the economy, results from the fact that they feel the weakness of the productive apparatus of Spanish industry, and fear the reaction and the social weight of the masses of the country. From the economic point of view, from the relations to the European capitalist countries, the Spanish economy is one of the most backward. But from the point of view of the struggle of the masses, it is one of the most advanced European countries. It is not true when the Communists and the Socialists say that the Spanish masses 'have to learn, still have to advance'. It is not like this. They have a lot of understanding and great resolution, but what they don't have is leadership. It is not possible to move the masses as they want to move them now in defence of democratic bourgeois forms and institutions. The masses feel that they have the capacity to go beyond them, when, at the same time in France (even with all the errors), the Communist Party proposes a government which is not a bourgeois government, which even if it maintains the capitalist system, is not a bourgeois government.

THE 'POLITICAL REVOLUTION' IS A FALSE SOLUTION GIVEN BY THE SPANISH C.P.

All this is not discussed, either by the Communist or the Socialist Party. But this is the living reality which they elude. The Communists have, as a perspective, the 'political revolution'. But there is no reason to value or foresee a 'political revolution' in the small sphere of the capitalist system. There is no political revolution within the capitalist regime. To pass from Francoism to the King Juan Carlos, and to democratic bourgeois rights, is not a political revolution. They are norms which occur, develop within the capitalist regime, so that one does not wait for the fall of Franco to liberate forms, democratic bourgeois forms and forces, and to give pre-eminence in the leadership of the country to the bourgeoisie. Why? It is necessary to enter into conflict with the bourgeoisie for the leadership of the country. If the Communists and Socialists do not do this, it is because they do not have the programme, the policy, or the preparation to do so.

The strikes in Spain, the development of the trade unions, the development of the authority of the trade unions and the population, show that it is not true that the bourgeoisie has the initiative, that 'there is the in-

itiative and a movement in the hands of conciliatory, revisionist leaderships in alliance with capitalism, simply following capitalism, a whole period of capitalism has passed with the impossibility of co-ordinated movement nationally, and it is necessary to acquire the possibility of being able to do this and to find the means to do this - which is the leadership - a stage of democratic demands is thus opening. There is a crisis within capitalism which creates very great contradictions and the king shows that the economy cannot be developed in the present form, which impedes the free functioning of the structure of production and gives opportunity only to groups, small in number but large in financial capacity, linked to imperialism, which drown Spanish capitalism. This is the conflict which exists between sectors of capitalism, and the king seeks alliances and agreements with the local capitalists. He seeks how to develop the economy and try to contain the flowering which is going to come in Spain, to provide work, to make the petit bourgeoisie weigh on the proletariat, on the peasants, to contain them. In this way the policy of the Communist Party is useful to them.

The policy of the Communist Party is beneficial in part to Carlos, as it was to Franco, because it impedes the possible solution which cannot be found now - the struggle for democratic demands to go towards the solution of the Workers State. It is necessary to discuss in the workers movement the struggle for democratic demands - the right to speak, to publish, to give ideas - together with anti-capitalist, economic demands, demands for expropriation and division of the land, of the big estates, of the Church. It is necessary to pose this and also to develop the Spanish economy, which cannot be done by the capitalist system either with Juan Carlos or any other. But this can only be done with the forms of the organisation of production. If this is done in a capitalist form, the development is very limited, including the capacity to be able to compete in the EEC.

The masses have shown that they are ready to go much further, and the petit bourgeoisie also. There are a number of technicians who are also affected; they are influenced by the development of the Workers State, by the struggle of the masses of the world, and see that the possibility of development is not only in the margin of the capitalist society. Thus, it is necessary to envisage the possibility of agreements, of discussions with basic groups, with tendencies of the Communist Party, of the Socialist Party, of the anarchists, who can be ready - and it is necessary to confirm this - to push forward a struggle, at the same time as democratic demands also demands for nationalisations, for workers control, for the division of the land, and to take in part the experience of Portugal and to push a similar process in Spain, taking into account the experiences already gone through by the agricultural proletariat and the peasants of Alentejo. It is necessary to apply the experiences of Portugal and the influences of Portugal in the rest of the world. The Communist and Socialist parties take the masses as though they are static: in fascism the masses were static and therefore it is necessary to expect that they would rebel. But the masses rebelled all the time; it is not true that they are smashed, that they are not united, that they have to mature and that the 'progressive' bourgeoisie is ready to lead the country. It is not like this. What is happening is that there is no leadership. If the masses had been smashed, Juan Carlos would not have succeeded Franco, the previous regime would have continued. When on the day following - Franco really died about twenty or forty days before - Franco's death, the conditions were created to finish with Francoism. What does this mean? It means that the figure of Franco was someone who did not speak, who did not think, was without power, and in the second place that the king has no power either and bases himself on objective conditions which there are - class and sectors of the class, economic power - which thus has military power. When Franco fell, all the power of Francoism fell, and this is because he had already collapsed previously. And this power

did not exist before, only incapacity and ineffectiveness and lack of determination and decision to overthrow Francoism and capitalism, which allowed Franco to exist. The responsibility for this lies with the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, the Democrats and the trade unionists. In its decomposition, the regime led to the appearance of ETA**. ETA is not a particular question, but a question of power in Spain. These cases of separatism do not devolve through peculiar conditions, because there was no movement or force or tradition for this organisation. There was a bourgeois tradition of literary, of very superficial protest. But now there have been movements of bombings, attacks similar to the anarchists and the nihilists. When this happens, it is because the decomposition of the regime was already very profound. It is the lack of political understanding of the Communist and Socialist leaderships, which give rise to this decomposition; otherwise, the Socialists and Communists would attract and include in their movements the demands of these movements. Part of this is also the Communists' conception of accepting the separation of Spain into different states. It has the responsibility for this: the Communist Party of Spain, of Catalonia, and Euskadi. This is absurd! This is the fragmented conception of the Communist Party which does not represent or interpret what is happening in Spain, and neither do the Socialists or anarchists.

This is not the epoch of the 'political revolution' for the capitalist regime. The political revolution is aimed at a change of leadership and not to transform the regime. And Trotsky posed it for the Workers State. But the change of the capitalists' political leadership does not require from capitalism any revolution; it passes from the monarchy to the bourgeois democratic regime without changing the class in power. And, besides, with the monarchy there is a bourgeois democratic regime. In Britain, the kings are idiots; the whole court is idiotic. But it is a democratic bourgeois regime and one of the most bourgeois democratic regimes which exists. In this way, to invent the 'political revolution', as the Spanish Communist Party said, is a justification to conceal its incapacity to understand that what has to be done is to overthrow the capitalist regime, with alliances and the united front with sectors in the bourgeoisie, because the bourgeoisie, making the 'political revolution', is not going to transform anything at all. The same regime and the same conditions will continue as before. And, if the bourgeoisie makes democratic bourgeois concessions, it is not because it is a revolution but because the development of its economy requires these. It does not have the strength to impede them. It needs to weaken the links which impede them. It needs to weaken the links which oppress it and oblige it to dedicate all the political attention, the social and economic attention, to maintain power in a small clique of capitalist sectors which crush the rest. Then the rest of the bourgeoisie is the sector which demands the 'political revolution'. To demand 'political revolution' which does not exist is to return in 1976 with 14 Workers States to the infancy of the workers movement. It is incongruous.

In the capitalist regime, within itself there is no political revolution. We insist there is no possibility of political revolution in the capitalist regime. The changes which exist are not political revolutions, but changes imposed by the relation of forces with the workers movement, not by the bourgeoisie itself. If they change the political leadership, they provide the democratic bourgeois conceptions, because they require them for their own development. But this is no change, this does not mean a stage of historic changes. The bourgeois democratic rights which the Communists call the 'bourgeois revolution' can be achieved with an alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie. We did not invent this now; it was posed by Lenin in his time, and also by Trotsky. It is an alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie for democratic bourgeois demands, accompanied as we said, in a text in the VIII Congress of the Spanish Communist Party of 1973, with the independence of the workers movement, of the Communist Party, of the trade unions, the struggle for their own demands, not remaining at the level of the bourgeois concession but advancing much further and

DEMOCRATIC LIBERTIES AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN SPAIN

showing the limitations of the possibilities of conquests.

The world Communist movement is discussing all these problems. It is an important discussion, and it is necessary to develop it in Spain. Then, it is necessary to discuss these conclusions. The conditions exist for an alliance, for a democratic bourgeois demands and, at the same time, the trade unions, the Communists and the Socialists should pose nationalisations, planning of production, reform and expropriation of the big agricultural properties, showing that it is possible to do infinitely more than the bourgeoisie, who limit the measures to production which is to limit everything within the bounds of the bourgeois camp. The objective of the proletariat is not the defence of the bourgeois democratic regime, but to struggle for democratic rights and the organisation, at the same time, of the United Front of the Communists, Socialists and trade unionists, revolutionary tendencies of the workers movement, for a Government of the Left with an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist policy.

It is not true that the proletariat and the peasantry do not understand. The bourgeoisie benefits from the struggles of the proletariat and, within these, of the Communist workers to gain an advantage for itself and to contain the demands of the masses and the struggle to obtain the solution of nationalisations and planning of production which are conclusions superior to those to be obtained now, merely with bourgeois democratic reforms. This is a false conception of the Communist Party which it is necessary to discuss and which the Communist masses reject. For this reason the Communist Party pose that, at the moment, the proletariat is not in the conditions, does not understand, and does not move. It is not like this: the proletariat has undertaken heroic actions. Now all the mobilisations which they are making have importance. It does not have precise class objectives, because the Communist Party, the Socialists, give bourgeois objectives. Then the proletariat limits the capacity for action, its resistance and its decision. One thing is the objective of achieving an increase in wages, and another thing is to overthrow capitalism and to nationalise production. If it was like this, it would see the objective and would attract the rest of the population but now, with its present tactics, it limits the area, the time and the development of its struggles. It limits them because the perspective is missing, they only have the demands of a sector and there their struggle terminates.

But, if the proletariat sees that it can nationalise and develop the economy, then it sees that it has a much greater level, attracts the peasantry, the petit bourgeoisie, and unifies them behind itself. But, with this tactic, the proletariat feels that it is just running behind the bourgeoisie, with its 'political revolution' invented by the Communist Party. All this is being discussed by the Communist movement. They are discussing the revision of Marxism which is expressed in the French and Italian Communist parties. This is not a mistake by Carrillo or a false policy by the leadership of the Spanish Communist Party. It is a conception which revises Marxism and negates it. The French Communist Party leaders, the Italian and Spanish leaders, speak quite a great deal of Marx and they don't treat him badly; but they revise Marxism. They make a revision of the Marxist conception of history and of the experiences of history.

The present stage is not different to that of Lenin and does not require a policy of adaptation, of expecting that violence, war and revolution are not going to exist. It is not like this. Hence the conclusion of the Communists finally arrives at saying 'violence is not now necessary in history'. This is what Carrillo is saying. Violence is not necessary. And consequently, neither is the revolution, and the war also can be avoided. They understand by war simply the result of the will of people. The war is not the result of the will of capitalism. The criminal will of capitalism expresses the necessity of war created by the relations of a capitalist regime. The war is not produced because capitalism says, 'We will make the war'. If it is convenient to the capitalist, instead of the war he may produce and work. Capitalism makes war because its regime does

not have any other way of existing. It is an inevitable and inexorable consequence of the existence of a capitalist regime, as is also the revolution. Thus the war is not a result of the fact that there are good or bad types, or conceptions, or measures, so that it is possible to impede and deprive the capitalist from using his forces, but it is an inevitable consequence of the capitalist system in which, in the middle of the most acute crisis of the capitalist system, the central sector decides upon war.

The capitalist system thinks as capitalism and its mentality is criminal. Hence before launching the war, the global war, it launches little wars by killing in the factories, assassinating by hunger, poisoning the food and poisoning the population. This is war! It is the mentality of capitalism which thinks about profit and the accumulation of capital and consequently war. Capitalist relations are made through competition, and war is one of the forms of competition. As Clausewitz said, and Lenin constantly cited him, war is politics by other means. Politics is the genuine representation of the economy. War is the representation of politics and this stems from the economy. All these problems which the Communists don't discuss are going to emerge in the discussion, whether in Spain, France or the Soviet Union, because the French, Spanish and Italian Communist leaders are making a revision of the Marxist conception of history, a revision of the concepts of the class struggle, changed by the conception of the will of people. These leaderships are revising at the same time the basis of Marxism, changing them for a base of interpretation and adaptation to the capitalist regime. This is going to push forward conclusions in the workers movement. It is a discussion which is going to acquire a world level, not only Spanish, on the methods: dictatorship of the proletariat, class conciliation, stages in the class struggle, alliances and the seeking of alliances of the workers movement for the anti-capitalist struggle, the function of the trade unions and the Party, the alliance of the proletariat with sectors of the bourgeoisie for democratic objectives, so that it is possible to obtain the limited objectives which these set but, at the same time, accompanied by the programme and objectives, the anti-capitalist objectives of the proletariat.

AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME IS NECESSARY.

In Spain it is necessary now to draw up an anti-capitalist programme, together with a programme of democratic bourgeois demands or an alliance, an agreement with the bourgeoisie for democratic bourgeois demands, of class conquests, of nationalisations, agrarian revolution, and of progress in the intervention of the workers movement. It is not a policy to achieve tomorrow or immediately. It is a programme over a short stage based on the situation in Spain and in the world, on the will to combat of the Spanish masses, the students who accompany them, the peasants, and also an important wing of the army and the police, who will accompany or will support or will stimulate the intervention in the struggle to change the capitalist economic structure of Spain. These are the perspectives. The Spanish bourgeoisie has to seek a democratic opening (although they can cut it short), to be able to develop the economy, otherwise they collapse. They have to develop a certain freedom and, in order not to dedicate themselves to repression which only a top sector uses, because the rest of the bourgeoisie wants this opening, which is expressed by the review 'Cambio 16' and the daily newspaper 'YA'.

In this process, the programme of nationalisations is necessary, the planning of production and, instead of entering the European Common Market, entering a Socialist Europe. We propose a Socialist Europe. The Communists accept this perspective but elude it on the question of when. We propose a Socialist Europe now, not the European Common Market.

Imperialism is going to intervene and the Soviets also, as can be seen by the example of Angola and Portugal. The Soviets are going to intervene wherever they can put themselves to create a base, to stimulate resis-

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tance to imperialism and to organise the struggle with imperialism. Yes, they are going to intervene anywhere whatever their limitations, but they are going to do it because it forms part of their political strategy of winning bases in preparation for the war, or to impede it. The Soviets cannot impede the war, although they believe they can do so; but they are trying to win relations of world forces to weigh. Every economic opening of Spain which the bourgeoisie is going to make has a direction for which there is no substitute, either by Yankee imperialism, European capitalism, or the Japanese. All this is very small: Yankee imperialism, Japan, capitalist Germany, France Britain and nothing more, countries which in their turn have a profound crisis. And Spanish capitalism has to compete with these. In their turn, world capitalism has an interest in maintaining Spain within the bourgeois camp. The capitalist economy is not in a condition to hold Spain, nor even help with loans, because a loan means to impose what to produce, to whom to sell, with whom to compete, i.e. it wants guarantees. It is the same in Portugal where capitalism is looking at what is happening, doesn't see anything certain and doesn't send money: it sees Melo Antunes, who makes a trip to the Workers State. Thus, all this is going to mean a very acute struggle in Spain which the bourgeoisie is not going to be able to contain.

There is a whole fascist apparatus which is going to intervene undoubtedly. But, in Italy, there was also a fascist apparatus and it is necessary to recall that Italy went from fascism to the present process. It is not the same situation, undoubtedly fascism in Italy lost the war, but in Spain without losing the war Franco was liquidated by history - which is the class struggle in the rest of the world and the Workers States. Then it is necessary to see as a perspective that the Workers States are going to intervene, and to expect also that the 'ultras' (as they call them) are going to want to intervene and to massacre; but the perspectives of the world are all favourable to the impulse of Spain to get rid of fascism, and it is the masses which have to do this and not the bourgeoisie.

Hence the bourgeoisie wants to reach a peaceful agreement, a smooth settlement, not to allow the intervention of the masses, nor the Communist Party nor the Socialists, but to rely on them to contain the masses. Hence the agreement with Juan Carlos is delayed, because they realise that any opening of the free democratic process is going to lead immediately to a leap forward by the masses. Hence one cannot wait for the bourgeois democratic process in the hands of the bourgeoisie.

The Spanish working class has a great tradition of struggle. On the development of the struggles is a fact, a great number of Spaniards who are in other countries and are going to return. The Portuguese returned after 25th of April, but only relatively few. Many are going to return to Spain because they have a tradition of struggle. In the majority they escaped because of the civil war and they hope to return, whereas the Portuguese emigrated in general for better work. The Portuguese refugees were few, but there are many Spanish political refugees who are enthusiastic to return.

Capitalism is going to try to use in depth and stimulate the policy of retreat of the Communist Party, the changes which this party is making, and the reformism which it is developing. It is going to stimulate this in depth, it is going to create conditions so that the Communist Party might be useful to the bourgeoisie. But the Communist base is not going to accept this. Then it is necessary to expect struggle in the Communist Party. In a somewhat concealed form there is already a struggle of the base which rejects the revisionist policy of the leadership. But, at the same time, it is necessary to consider that we are in the beginning of a stage. These mobilisations which exist in Spain, even if they have importance which is not fundamental because they do not mobilise a great number of people. There have been and are mobilisations since the death of Franco, but there are not all that many. They serve to show to the vanguard, to the workers, the petit bourgeoisie and the peasants, that

they can find an agreement for a united front of the class, combining it with a front of the bourgeoisie, but without remaining there. These mobilisations do not have a general character which can shake and pull down the regime, but they indicate a very great combative will. It is necessary to expect that the students will intervene and, above all, that the proletariat will be incorporated much more profoundly in Asturias, Catalonia and Eskadi.

The class senses and understands but it requires time to be able to put itself in agreement with its own forces. Neither the Communist Party, nor the Socialists, nor the left Catholics, have been leaderships which have mobilised and united the masses. Then it is necessary to allow time. The masses are not going to mobilise in a week or a month after the death of Franco. It requires time, conditions which are what the government is trying to contain, trying on the other hand to compromise the Communists and the Socialists in the field of a merely democratic policy. This is going to clash with the necessities of the masses and conflict with objective conditions which are going to impel the masses to go much further. The masses are going to discuss also the revisionism of the Communist Party and of the Socialist Party but, above all, of the Communist Party.

It is necessary to see this process on a world scale, not to see only Spain but the world. To see also the revisionism of the Communists of France, Italy and Spain, and the Soviet rejection of this revisionism. It is a rejection which has bureaucratic origins, of the bureaucratic interest of the Soviets, but which is in agreement with the contradictory character of the Workers State. This bureaucratic interest coincides more with the historic necessity of the Workers State, than with the bureaucratic desire of the leadership - because the Workers State, or rather the bureaucracy, continues to be contradictory because it bases itself on a contradictory power.

It is necessary to make a front with the bourgeoisie for democratic demands and, in the course of the struggle itself, the proletariat has to make a movement independent of the bourgeoisie and, while supporting it, without subjecting itself to any of the achievements of the United Front of the bourgeois parties. It is a policy of a Front which has been made and can be repeated. The Communist Party has done this, but it has submitted itself to the United Front with the bourgeoisie and then the forces which lead and decide politically are the bourgeoisie! But, if the bourgeoisie accepts the United Front with the proletariat, it is because it has no solution. It wants a contact with the proletariat to try to contain it, otherwise the contradictions internally are explosive. They are obliged to make the Front, hoping to prevent the proletariat from gaining advantage.

THE YANKEE BASES ARE AGAINST THE SPANISH PROLETARIAT.

Imperialism needs Spain as a base and, for this reason, they have made new agreements which shows what imperialism is aiming at. At the same time, the Spanish masses are expecting to re-organise themselves.

It is necessary to await another stage. There is a sector in the bourgeoisie that now wants to negotiate with the Soviets, with the Workers States. Hence, the Minister said that they wanted to negotiate with everyone, including the 'countries of the east', not only with the USSR but with all of them. This is to calm the weight of the petit bourgeoisie which has quite a lot of weight in nationalised property, which is weighing and has an interest in negotiating with the Soviets and the other Workers States.

The agreement over the Yankee bases is going to give the Spanish bourgeoisie a profit of \$1,000 million a year. It is money which comes in,

but not into production. At the same time, the agreement speaks of withdrawing atomic weapons. This is a lie. They can show themselves pulling out one lot, and then they leave all the rest. What is important is that the Yanks, with these bases, are controlling and making an additional army, added to that of the Spanish themselves, to confront the masses.

The bourgeoisie seeks its guarantees with imperialism and, to contain the workers, it seeks guarantees with the Socialists, the Communists and the trade unions. Then, it is necessary to give the programme of the working class, which responds to the possibility, to the necessity which exists, of developing the economy and political and social freedom, completely superior to anything the bourgeoisie wants to do. The bourgeoisie wants to give crumbs to contain the process, and meanwhile it makes the agreement with the Yanks. The suicidal policy of the Socialists and Communists facilitates the containing of the masses, submitting everything to a series of demands for democratic liberties. It is possible to achieve a thousand times more than that!

It is necessary to develop within the programme of the United Front of Communists/Socialists/Anarchists/trade unionists/Posadists/Trotskyists/ an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist programme as an immediate perspective, not for a long time to come, but immediately. We struggle for a United Front with the bourgeois parties also for democratic liberties, while we, independently, with the Communist, Socialist parties and trade unions, struggle for the programme, in an independent form from the bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie accepts the United Front, it is because it does not have any strength and we accept the front with it, because still the workers movement is not organised sufficiently.

The working class is mature but what it does not have is a Party. It sees its leaderships retreating from the class struggle, which is violence. Violence does not mean just to come out shooting, but to be ready to utilise all the means to overthrow capitalism, to make the programme of nationalisations and planning, considering that the bourgeoisie is going to oppose and oppose by force. Then it is necessary to organise so that the proletariat does not wait with the idea that the bourgeoisie is going to yield, because afterwards it is going to be disappointed and disorganised. But it has to expect that the bourgeoisie is going to oppose and it has to be prepared to confront it. Then, it means authority in front of the petit bourgeoisie and peasantry, because they see that it is capable, that it is a 'realist' class as they put it, which gives a perspective. It shows that it is capable of foresight. Meanwhile, the United Front is formed for democratic liberties, but this can be made with an independent policy. There is no contradiction.

The working class can for a period, not immediately but in a period of time now opening up, show a perspective in a short stage for a solution of nationalisations, planning of production, workers control, and a Workers and Peasant Government. This is the perspective in a short stage. The failure of fascism shows this. If fascism had triumphed, the Spanish government would not now be retreating. They are doing this to try and sustain the capitalist regime, but show that they have no strength. They resort to the Yanks, because the Yankee bases are not only against the Soviets, but are against the Spanish masses also.

We appeal to all the Communist/Socialist/Anarchist and trade union vanguard without a Party, to discuss all this.

J. POSADAS 23rd January, 1976.

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW; FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS: 60p

CONTAINING: THE FOLLOWING TEXTS BY J. POSADAS

- * THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, THE DEGENERATION OF THE WORKERS STATE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM
- * THE CLOSING SPEECH OF THE V WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL
- * THE REFERENDUM ON THE EEC, THE ABSTENTIONS AND THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN
- * THE WORLD IS READY FOR COMMUNISM

RESOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL BUREAU

Continued from page 1

States. To increase government spending does not solve any problems for the masses either. Indeed, government spending is increasing — but on armaments, on Concord, Chrysler and British Leyland. The Labour government has spent something like £4,000 millions in the last two years on subsidies to industry, and the result has been a rise in unemployment and a lowering of the living standards of the mass of the population. Equally, 'reflation' would mean a certain increase in production, but capitalism produces for profit not for social need, and to stimulate the capitalist economy is useless if it means more Concorde, or more cars to crowd the roads and pollute the atmosphere.

NATIONALISATIONS AND PLANNING ARE NECESSARY.

The Labour and trade union left has to grasp the fact that the problem is not the bad management of capitalism in one sector or another, nor is it the bad intentions of some bosses; the problem is the system itself. The working class understand this by its nature, its class instinct, and this is why it cannot be mobilised by 'half-measures' and proposals to 'run the capitalist system better than the capitalists'. The British working class reacts in the same way as the Spanish working class. As Comrade Posadas analyses in 'Democratic liberties and the class struggle in Spain' — which we publish in this issue of 'Red Flag' — the Spanish proletariat does not mobilise its full strength because it does not see a leadership or programme which allows it to intervene fully to lead and attract other sectors of the population. If the Labour left is to advance towards the imposition of Socialist measures, it has to find its basis of support in the working class, and it cannot do that without the anti-capitalist programme. There is an obvious necessity to plan the economy to produce for the necessity of the population. Factories which produce socially useless articles like cars and the Concord have to be re-tooled, re-organised, to produce necessities. It is not possible to plan the economy without controlling it, and this means to nationalise. It is necessary to nationalise all major industry, the financial centres — the banks and insurance companies — and the land, under workers control and without compensation, and to plan the economy on this basis.

Capitalism does not face a local problem. On the contrary, it is suffering a total world crisis from which there is no escape. So long as the Labour and trade union left confine themselves to the boundaries of this country, they understand nothing. The development of capitalism and imperialism determined the world structure of the economy. The left has to enter the world process and, above all, it has to participate in the developments, in the discussion in the world workers movement. The discussion in the world Communist movement on the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat is fundamental. It is a discussion which poses that to advance to Socialism means to nationalise the economy and that this is the dictatorship of the proletariat, since the bourgeoisie is not going to be expropriated voluntarily. To propose the nationalisation of the 'commanding heights of the economy' is to propose the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means the Workers State, and the fact that the leadership of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States defend the perspective of the dictatorship of the proletariat against the leaderships of some of the Communist parties, results from the existence and the experience of the construction of the Workers States. The bureaucracy of the Workers States has not disappeared and the dictatorship of the proletariat does not exist fully in the Workers States but this discussion is a prelude to the end of the bureaucracy, to the existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Workers States.

The reality is that there is no middle road, no way of persuading the bourgeoisie to surrender. Vietnam, Angola, the Soviet Union, Cuba and China all represent living proofs of this fact. This is Marxism in a concrete, material form, and the Labour and trade union left in this country have to base themselves on Marxism in both the material form — the Workers States — and theoretically. It has to be seen that this discussion is not confined to the world Communist movement but it develops in the world Socialist movement itself. The French Socialist Party, because of the organic link it has with the Communist movement in the Popular Union, is involved in this discussion. Thus, Mitterand — and a whole tendency in the French Socialist Party — is saying 'no' to the proposal of Marchais (secretary of the French Communist Party) for a 'Popular Front' of the French people — which means to submit the workers movement to the bourgeoisie. Mitterand, in fact, defends the Popular Union and the programme of nationalisations which would mean, if applied, in reality the dictatorship of the proletariat in France. In this, the Socialist Party reflects the attitude of the proletariat at the base of the Communist Party. We are not uncritical of Mitterand in all this, but his evolution does serve to show how this discussion develops in the whole of the workers movement. It is part of the world crisis of all the apparatuses of the workers movement. The left in this country cannot stand outside this process.

INTERVENE IN THE DISCUSSION IN THE WORLD WORKERS MOVEMENT.

At the same time, it has to be recognised that to isolate oneself from this world process is to be deprived of the full strength which comes from a world balance of forces which is against imperialism and favourable to the advance of Socialism. It is to be deprived of the strength which comes from the victory of the masses in Vietnam, in Angola, in Portugal and Ethiopia. The left has to take account of the fact that it suffered a defeat at the time of the referendum because it contained itself within the boundaries of this country. We propose to the Labour and trade union left that they enter this discussion in the world workers movement immediately, using whatever links that exist, particularly the trade unions. It means, once again, to throw off the fetters of the bourgeois structure of the Labour Party, not to break from it but to be free of an apparatus which serves the interest of the bourgeoisie in isolating the British proletariat from the world process.

Marxism is the system of thought which allows a conscious, scientific interpretation of the objective course of the class struggle. The logic of the class struggle is that one class imposes itself over another — there is no agreement between them. In a very real sense, the measures of Healey are the bourgeoisie imposing itself on the working class. To resist such measures means to impose anti-capitalist measures. The means are there. If we take the case of the Rail Unions which are now protesting against higher fares: this is just, but how to oppose them? Well, the fares are collected by the workers and nothing exists to prevent the union leaderships from organising not to collect

THE BEST SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA IS THE OVERTHROW OF CAPITALISM IN THIS COUNTRY

The victory of the MPLA in Angola and the intervention in support of the revolutionary masses by the Soviet and Cuban Workers States are not simply African events. On the contrary they are events of world significance and effect. In their depth they represent a concrete organic link between the two fundamental forces for the progress of humanity: the Workers States and the world masses. The most obvious effect of these events is to put the continuation of the colonialist regimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia into question and this means, also, the end of the last remnants of British imperialism. In its turn, this means that the events in Angola have an immediate repercussion in this country, in the Labour government and in the Labour Party. The fact that the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Labour Party has questioned the attitude of the government towards Namibia, and has proposed support to the South West African Peoples Organisation (SWAPO), which is leading an armed struggle, means that the question of what policy is to be adopted with regard to Southern Africa is being raised in the Labour Party.

It is clear that the attempts of the Labour government to find a 'solution' in Rhodesia — which means to compromise with the settler regime of Smith — has to be denounced. It is obscene that people like Callaghan, who has done nothing about the Smith regime in Rhodesia, now sends Lord Greenhill for discussions. This is sufficient proof that what moves the right wing of the Labour Party — and the bourgeoisie — is not the 'freedom' and 'independence' of the majority in Rhodesia but the maintenance of the system of private property, of the investment of British imperialism. Angola shows that the nationalist movements now take a Socialist direction, and independence is quickly followed by nationalisations and the expropriation of imperialist property. There has to be an immediate denunciation of these manoeuvres with Smith and a demand for full support to those organisations which represent the majority in Rhodesia, full support for the armed struggle of the Rhodesian masses. At the same time, the proposal of the 'Tribune' left for immediate 'majority rule' has to be rejected. What does it mean anyway? The depth of the question is not for elections or universal suffrage in Rhodesia (or anywhere else for that matter). The question is who owns the means of production. This is central because there is no democracy unless the decisive factor in society — the economy — is in the hands of the

masses. Thus, if we are to talk of majority rule it has to be on the basis of the nationalisation of the mines, the land and banks, under workers control and without compensation. 'Majority rule' is worse than meaningless without it. Anyway, there is no perspective of the 'settler' regime of Smith giving 'majority rule', no perspective at all of setting up a black bourgeois regime which will act as agents for British imperialism. It is sufficient to look at Amin in Uganda to see that the creation of black bourgeois regimes in Africa is simply not on. It has to be seen also that, even if this were possible, it does not serve the African masses to change the colour of the faces of those who exploit them.

What is to be done then? It is necessary for the Labour Party and the trade unions to give full support to the armed struggle which is developing and, at the same time, to put themselves in alliance with the Workers States. It is to be stated quite clearly that there is no middle road. Imperialism — using UNITA and the FNLA in Angola — tried to give an impression of a middle road and all this has now collapsed. There are only two sides. Imperialism and its allies, and the Workers States in alliance with the revolutionary masses. All else is illusion and the Labour and trade union left has to make up its mind to this. And not because we say so, but because these events in Africa are an objective factor in the development of the class and revolutionary struggle in this country.

The same is true of Namibia and the Union of South Africa itself. The resolution of the NEC on Namibia underlines how the Labour government has continued the imperialist function of Britain. In Namibia, for example, the number of concessions for the exploitation of minerals by British imperialism has risen from 36 in 1963 to 569 in 1974. British imperialism controls about 25% of the trade of Namibia and this is growing, particularly with the development of the exploitation of uranium. In South Africa itself, the extent of the investment and exploitation by British Steel, British Leyland, Barclays Bank (which is now under attack by the Church of England on the subject), and many other companies. It is an investment which means the exploitation of the African masses, and this is underlined by the appeal of black African trade unionists in British Leyland in South Africa for support from the TUC.

Angola puts the end of these colonies and semi-colonies in South-

the fare increase. In this way the masses who use the service are won to the struggle of the workers. It would be a measure of workers control in a nationalised industry which would provide a basis to advance towards workers control in all the nationalised industries. Nationalisation is no advance unless it is in the service of the mass of the population. There is now a necessity to propose measures like this in the social services, in the hospitals, the schools, in housing. The trade union and Labour Party left have to develop a programme of workers control in all these areas, and to link themselves with the masses which use these services. It is possible to begin to take them out of the hands of the bourgeoisie and their allies. What is necessary is the will, and the will comes from an understanding of the process. At the same time it is necessary to develop the organisms which allow the workers and the mass of the population to intervene and control. Committees of health workers and patients in the hospitals, tenants in housing, workers, teachers and students in the schools, are all examples of this.

With regard to Tomney in Hammersmith and Prentice in Newham, the right has suffered a defeat and no doubt others will follow, but such measures are below the necessity of the objective process because they are contained within the bourgeois structure and apparatus of the Labour Party. The right rests on this structure and apparatus, it is all that it has left. Therefore, we propose to the Labour and trade union left that they free themselves from the apparatus, that they organise a series of meetings and develop a permanent discussion on the basis of the factories and workers areas, on the anti-capitalist programme containing such demands as ALL WAGES TO RISE WITH THE COST OF LIVING, RENTS LIMITED TO NO MORE THAN 10% OF THE WORKERS WAGE, ALL UNOCCUPIED AND LUXURY PROPERTY, ROYAL PALACES ETC. TO BE EXPROPRIATED TO EASE THE HOUSING SHORTAGE, THE NATIONALISATION OF THE LAND AND THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRY, NO WORKER TO BE SACKED, WORK SHARING WITHOUT LOSS OF PAY. ALL FACTORY BOOKS TO BE OPEN TO THE WORKERS COMMITTEES, ALL FACTORIES ABOUT TO BE CLOSED TO BE OCCUPIED AND RUN UNDER WORKERS CONTROL PENDING NATIONALISATION BY THE LABOUR GOVERNMENT, THE NATIONALISATION OF MAJOR INDUSTRY, BANKS AND INSURANCE COMPANIES UNDER WORKERS CONTROL AND WITHOUT COMPENSATION. In this way the left can begin a process of breaking with the bourgeois structure of the Labour Party and replacing it with a structure which is based on the organisms of the working class. This is how to advance to the removal of the bourgeois Healey/Wilson clique from the Labour Party and the creation of a GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT with an anti-capitalist programme. 29.2.1976

ern Africa on the order of the day. All the masses of Rhodesia, Namibia, and South Africa are being stimulated by the victory of the MPLA, by the end of Portuguese colonialism and, above all, by the fact that they are guaranteed the direct support of the Workers States. The fact is confirmed by the statement of the Cuban government that Cuba will support the people of Namibia in their fight for independence from South Africa and would do 'whatever must be done' to support the Namibians. This is not said, we may be sure, without the full agreement of the Soviets. Since there is no possibility of transitional black bourgeois regimes in these countries, then the process will go immediately to expropriations of imperialist property, and this means another twist to the total crisis of British capitalism. The support for SWAPO by the Labour Party NEC is correct, but it has to be seen in the context of a struggle which is opening in Southern Africa for the end of imperialism and capitalism, and for the construction of Socialism. The Labour Party has to give its support fully, therefore, on the basis of a perspective of a United Socialist States of Southern Africa, including Namibia, Rhodesia, South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Zambia, and extending to Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Zaire. The Workers States will continue their intervention and it is necessary for the Labour Party to discuss with them a common programme of support for the masses of Southern Africa.

All this is not a question of solidarity with the African masses in abstract. In its depth, it is a question of British imperialism. If the Labour Party is to go beyond simple abstract declarations of solidarity, it has to challenge directly British imperialism, and this, in its turn, means that it has to free itself from the attitude of respect for the structure of British imperialism which still pervades the Labour Party. The acceptance of the House of Lords, the monarchy and the rest of the symbolism of British imperialism is an expression of this. We have to be quite clear that acceptance of the symbols means also to accept the reality which lies beneath. It is not possible to envisage nationalisations and Socialism in Britain — which the Labour Party constitution and those of the trade unions do — without a programme for the destruction of British imperialism. Socialism in this country cannot be built on the exploitation of the masses elsewhere, even if it is done under the facade of bourgeois democracy. It has to be made clear that the only difference between the 90% of the African population in Rhodesia, who are controlled by the other 10%, and the masses in this country is the facade of bourgeois democracy. In the fundamental aspect of society — the economy — neither the Rhodesian or British masses have control at this moment. Democracy is a concrete thing and there is no democracy without the common ownership of the means of production.

As Portugal has shown us, the greatest aid that can be given to the colonial masses by the masses of the metropolitan countries, is the overthrow of capitalism. It is the revolution of April 1974 in Portugal which ensured the end of colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. The adoption of an anti-imperialist programme by the Labour Party and trade union left is, then, an essential step in the development of a full anti-capitalist programme based firmly on the demand for the nationalisation of major industry, the banks and insurance companies and the land, under workers control and without compensation. However, the anti-imperialist elements are essential — and Ireland has to be included — both for its immediate material consequences and for the development of thought, for the freeing of the Labour Party and trade unions from the attitude of respect for British imperialism. We propose to the militants of the Labour Party and trade unions, to the shop stewards committees, to the Communist comrades, to all the left, that they develop a campaign of support for the struggle, the armed struggle of the masses of Southern Africa. In addition, we propose that they draw all the strength and encouragement that there is from the defeat of imperialism in Angola by the combined forces of the African masses and the Workers States for the struggle to overthrow British imperialism in its heartland, which means capitalism in this country.

WHY THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IS TOTAL J POSADAS

3/11/75

It is confirmed that there is a very acute fight in the Communist Parties, in the nationalist movement in the capitalist countries. It is not a usual struggle for elections or better trade union positions or winning trade union struggles. It is not the usual struggle against capitalism, for wages, or for better conditions of work. What is happening is an intensification and a deepening of the struggle to overcome and defeat, to substitute for or to supplant the capitalist system. This is the tendency of history and this is the tendency which is developing in the Workers States with quite a lot of force.

This process is combined with the crisis of the Workers States, in China and now in Albania. They feel the necessity, the necessity exists, for the development of every country, for the world process of the unification of the Workers States, of an agreement or of a discussion on this. The discussion in the Workers States develops in an empirical form. Since there is no leadership, there is no programme which corresponds objectively to the immense possibilities of defeating the capitalist system. This makes the process slow, and the discussions are also very empirical, superficial and indirect.

The world Communist movement doesn't discuss what is happening in the world. Now recently some Communist parties begin to discuss it, as, for example, the Italian Communist Party: 'Yes, the crisis of capitalism is a total crisis'. Now, But they use total only in relation to the economic crisis. They see unemployment and there is no increase in production, so they have a list: 'In February they produced less than the previous month, they produced less than before, they invest less than before, they consume less than before, there is more unemployment'. All this is very good and it is necessary to do it. But this could lead to capitalism taking economic measures if they allow it and, unless there is revolution, to reorganise itself. Even considering that capitalism doesn't launch an inter-capitalist war - because it would favour the Workers States - it could win time at the cost of the liquidation of other capitalist sectors and of the petit bourgeoisie, and then overcome the crisis. For this, it would have to subject the proletariat. Then the Communists and the Socialists would have to carry out the function of domesticators of the proletariat, and the proletariat is not going to allow itself to be domesticated. The proof lies in France, Italy and Britain, even though the leaderships can dominate and impose certain measures for the protection of capitalism, as in Britain where they voted a plan for controlling the increase of wages to save capitalism, and they say this is to 'combat inflation'.

Inflation is not the fault of the workers, it is the fault of capitalism and to overcome the problems of inflation it is necessary to overthrow capitalism. Although the leaderships may generalise what has happened in Britain, even in Italy itself the workers are not going to accept. The crisis is not only economic. It is moral, social, scientific and political. The causes of the crisis do not only arise from the cyclical nature of the capitalist system. This crisis was delayed, but it accumulated, and now it is infinitely more profound. This is one of the bases of the crisis, but together with the economic crisis, there exists the understanding that in the progress, for the continuity of life, capitalism is unnecessary. Now people understand this. Before also this was so. But today there is a multitude who understand.

Capitalism is unnecessary for the progress of the economy and science. It is an obstacle. People understand this and immense layers are won as, for example, is shown in the discussion occurring in the Church in Brazil and throughout the world, even in the Anglican Church. In the army, in the police, in scientific sectors, in the administrative apparatus of capitalism, there are tendencies which are won by the Socialist progress of history and are the expression of the influence of the revolution. All this is combined in the Church, in literature and in culture. All this is combined. Thus the crisis is total, because the economic crisis is united to the dis-

integration of the moral, economic and political support of the capitalist system. All this is being discussed in the Workers States but, at the same time, they discuss how the revolution can be avoided, how it is possible to substitute for capitalism and, at the same time, they exert a pressure to intimidate and make a show of strength to impede the war. At the same time, there are more and more clear-cut tendencies and influences which say that the war is inevitable. This is so in the Workers States and outside the Workers States.

There is an intensification of the contradictions of the bureaucracy, contradictions between the objective necessity of revolutionary policy which has to impel the advance to power and the necessity of containing, so that tendencies do not emerge which go further in policy than the conception of dislodging capitalism without revolution; that is, Leninist revolutionary or Posadist/Trotskyist tendencies. This is the situation which influences the world.

What determines the course of history is not the junta of assassins in Chile, the power of Yankee imperialism, nor of the capitalist countries. What determines the course of history, the force which attracts, organises, stimulates and gives confidence, is the progress of the revolutionary process. And there is a very clear and decisive expression in many capitalist countries, that is, measures of re-organisation and re-structuring of the capitalist system, including the armies, i.e. in Norway, Sweden and Denmark. The armies which were the centres, which were the most solid sustainers of capitalist thought, which were created for this, are deteriorating to an ever greater degree and Portugal and Peru are part of this. There is an absence of an understanding of this process in the discussion of the world Communist movement, in the movement of the left groups, of the left Socialists, or of the Socialists. They take the crisis of capitalism as an economic crisis, which is very profound but exclusively economic. They do not see the total crisis of what they call 'the values of society'. It is a total crisis in which people who are guided by the ambition of making capitalism develop, of possession, of property, of investment, of accumulation, reject this perspective and accept a Socialist perspective.

This process creates in currents of the world Communist movement aspirations, tendencies, movements which are reformist, which correspond to the reformism of this stage of the capitalist system. They are tendencies which think of annulling capitalism by means of movements, by making use of this process and of a very great, enormous number of layers of the population won by Socialism. This is, for example, the movement of Carrillo who speaks of 'Socialist pluralism', of a 'plurality'. This is to say that it creates currents and tendencies which are quite firm in the world Communist and Socialist movement, such as the Socialists of Portugal, in part the Socialists of Italy, and the Communists of Carrillo. But, even so, they are not defined, secure currents who substitute for the total class analysis, a reformist, compenetrative, evolutionist accommodation with society. They cannot be crystallised completely because, compared with the reformism of the epoch of developing capitalism, these tendencies need measures which inevitably require a relationship with the masses, and organise them. And the masses intervene and give a revolutionary direction to their intervention. It is an intervention which means that capitalism cannot be changed towards Socialist methods without transforming society, and to transform society means the intervention of people. In intervening, the masses give a perspective which does not remain limited at the leaderships. The masses have more understanding than their leaders.

This gives rise to discussions, to tendencies with interests created locally. Spain, Italy, Portugal and the Workers States; local interests. The process which constantly advances of the total crisis of capitalism, of the historic definition of the process passing through the atomic war, advancing towards

Socialism - instead of creating the integration of the world Communist and Socialist movement, creates the disintegration of the right and the necessity for changes. It creates a disintegration which isn't very important of small sectors, of parties, but this is nominal. It is not a historic current.

All this is expressed at the same time in the Socialist movement. Tendencies in the Socialist movement advance towards the necessity and the understanding that 'social transformation is necessary through violence, there is no other way'. There is a necessity for total changes to be able to advance, otherwise history cannot advance. The economy cannot advance, unemployment cannot be resolved except through nationalisations. These are all the elements which flourish in the very limited definition of the process. The depth of the crisis is hidden and the character of the total crisis of the capitalist system is concealed. The leaderships of the Communist parties are stunned in front of the process and do not know what to do. In that there is the declaration of Carrillo, 'We want a pluralist Socialism'. This is not the declaration of a reformist, but of a comrade who does not know what to do in front of a process of history. He does not know what to do and feels intimidated.

We have to understand this process, to understand and see, within the Workers States and outside the Workers States, the current and, in the conflicts of the Workers State, in the polemic dispute of China and the USSR, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, with the other Workers States. The objective necessity of the progress of the economy, or the social struggles pushes them to unification, not to disintegration. The conditions develop for unification. But there is no leadership which has the theoretical, Marxist understanding and the practical experience. This experience does not come from the Soviet Union because the bureaucracy itself comes from Stalin. Now it wants to be the father of the world Communist movement, and the world Communist movement with reason reject this, but, in their turn, they do this incorrectly, as Tito rejected Stalin. Tito tried to advance well and afterwards nearly went back to capitalism.

All this creates favourable conditions for the countries of Africa and Latin America, with the development of nationalist movements which can pass rapidly to the condition of Workers State. In these countries, the Communist parties are minute. The historic conditions do not give the historic basis so that the Communists can develop, because their policy has not enabled them to understand the process, and this has left very profound roots in the consciousness of the masses, in the experience of the masses, the petit bourgeoisie, the scientists and intellectuals.

This requires an understanding as an organism to intervene everywhere: in Latin America, Asia and Europe, that is to say, what we are doing in Portugal. This requires a theoretical and political understanding, a theoretical preparation much more profound than at present, a very disciplined functioning of the Party, a conduct superior to that of the present, a superior organisation of time, of intellectual pre-occupation and of intellectual dedication, superior infinitely to that at present; theoretical, practical and political understanding of this process, separate activities, which afterwards are joined together.

This is the definition of a process which is accentuating and not diminishing. It is going to be accentuated. The recent crisis of the United States responds to this process. They are seeking a reform of the apparatus so that it can be more useful, more dynamic, and so that they can eliminate the conflict between the CIA and the Pentagon, or construct another organism superior to the CIA and the Pentagon. The crisis can be this or it can be a game, in part real, to make the Soviets understand and help the reformist wing in the Soviet Union.

This is a process by leaps. Marx defined the process of history as a process by leaps. But, from the

epoch of Marx to today, there are changes - not in principle but in forces. As a change of relation of forces and not of principle, there is the army of Ethiopia which is won by the revolution, because the relation of world forces and world influence is absolutely favourable to Socialism. The Bishops of Brazil take a position whose historic root is not to sustain the Church, but they sense that for the Church, to continue living, it has to accommodate to Socialism. It is not a historic manoeuvre to conceal or lie, but it is a question that to be able to survive they have to adapt to the process of history. This allows the Communists their present reformist policy. But it is a revolutionary reformist policy because inevitably it has to go against capitalism. Then it has to feel what Marx proposed, the pre-occupation of Marx for the leaps of history. Now there are more frequent, more dynamic, more united leaps. In the epoch of Marx, even of Lenin and Trotsky, the leaps of history were events. Now the leaps of history stop being events. Now there are constant leaps in progress, progress, progress; for example, Ethiopia. That was a feudal country in which the dogs ate more than people, but now people give food to the dog but they also eat. It is notable, as was commented on by the journalist in 'Le Monde', they treat dogs well but also people! Before it was not like this. The Negus gave food to the dogs and people died of hunger.

This process by leaps is the process in which we are participating; and we also prepare for a process by leaps. Leaps mean that the process accumulates and concentrates, and we are preparing for leaps. We are preparing to live in a much more profound cultural form. Culture is not to know everything, but to prepare in an adequate form to achieve our objective with the time we have for this task, because the leaps which are going to occur are going to be very concentrated. Already the leaps that are taking place are objectively very concentrated, and they are going to be much more concentrated; that is to say that they are going to bring together a greater proportion of elements of progress. One of the enormous leaps of history, superior to the epoch of Lenin, is the integration of people with the Party, ideas and decision impose themselves. The epoch of Lenin was like this but very slow; now it is much more rapid, dynamic and consistent. We prepare for this and I prepare for this, and I try to prepare the International for this.

It is necessary to prepare for this process of dialectical leaps which is very profound. It is necessary

to achieve discussions of a very elevated theoretical level, as they are doing now. Even if, in a concealed way, the Soviets have to make a series of proposals which they don't do by chance, but they are aimed to try to influence the Communist movement and the world workers movement. It is necessary to take into account that, in the principle countries of Europe outside of Italy and France, the Communist parties aren't strong. The Socialists have strength and Germany and Britain are important and have decisive weight in history. We are influencing these countries quite a lot, that is to say with a small nucleus, with limited economic means and we are carrying out a gigantic task. If we increase our theoretical and political capacity, the intellectual life, intellectual experience, intellectual order and discipline, a more active intellectual contribution, the intervention and the weight will be more profound; and it is all going towards this. This experience of Portugal is one of the most beautiful. It is an expression of all we have expressed and seen, and in that the forces of the revolution are winning, like Carvalho who made the experience with the nine and now confronts the nine. It was logical: a leadership was missing and now a leadership is being constructed. It doesn't mean that this is advancing without obstacle, without difficulties and without retreats. There are going to be difficulties, obstacles and retreats and blows. But it is evident that one of the more logical experiences is that there is a lack of a leadership, and that the leadership is being constructed.

It is clear that the revolution in Latin America is not determined by the Communist parties now by Cuba One conclusion of the weakness of the Communist parties is that Cuba does not influence as an organism. Organically it does not influence in Latin America. It influences from the objective fact of actually existing and to that extent it is organic. It influences as a Workers State but not as a Party. On the other hand, we foresee and we must have a much greater influence.

For this process we base ourselves on the fact that Socialism cannot be constructed without Marxism and cannot function without the Party, the Party cannot function without Soviet Democracy. There can be no proper functioning without the dialectical capacity of the process, of seeing the process as it is; that is to say, against the interest of layers, of structures arisen and developed from the revolution through the backwardness of the intervention of the masses. This was how history developed. But the dominion of the bureaucracy is not going to be perennial, nor will it continue for a long period.

THE OBJECTIVES, THE SOCIAL CONTRADICTIONS AND THE PROGRAMME TO DEFINE THE CLASS CHARACTER OF THE PARTY (REPLY TO A QUESTION). J. POSADAS, 15th February, 1975.

The question whether it is necessary to be a worker to be a leader, or if the idea and the Party are sufficient, should not be posed in this way. The Party has a programme, a policy and an objective. When the militant enters the Party - independently of the fact whether he is a worker, a petit bourgeois, intellectual or even a bourgeois - he accepts the programme and the policy of the Party; he is already adopting the proletarian, revolutionary point of view. He adopts the objectives of the proletariat, not of the bourgeois or of the petit bourgeois. Including himself in the Party, through conceptions, through objectives, he becomes proletarian. But if his origin is not proletarian, he is insecure, doubts or vacillates, because he has the petit bourgeois, individualist organisation. His roots do not come from the working class but are petit bourgeois or even bourgeois. Having accepted the programme, the policy, the objective of the revolution and of Socialism, his behaviour and conduct in the process has a structure which can make him vacillate, doubt, delay, retreat or abandon positions. The proletarian, through his structure and origins, no; because in the proletariat's origin the basis exists which gives conviction. The social origin, function in the economy and society, is unified with the objective of overthrowing the capitalist system, because this originates and develops the thoughts, the collective consciousness, the collective capacity, the objective necessity of Socialism.

This is through its function in the economy and in society. But also, once entered in the Party and in the trade union activity, the proletarian achieves his perspective through intellectual understanding combined and developed with his class origins. This is given by class solidarity. He does not fear, does not doubt. There are no historic bases which make him vacillate, he does not have the pores where the water can get in and weaken him. He has the solidity of the class. The proletariat is solid.

The petit bourgeois comes to the Party, accepts the objectives, the programme and the policy, but all his perspectives, his experiences, his life, is individual and subjective, full of individual problems, with bases which incline him to doubt, to insecurity, to individual inclinations, to substitute himself for the instrument of the Party, to resist experience, communication, the continuity of experiences which the proletariat makes. Arrogantly, he puts himself above the proletariat. Although he accepts the Party, the programme, the objectives and the struggle for it, through his petit bourgeois origins, his life is developed through individual qualities, as is the petit bourgeoisie and professions. Such a quality is included in his political struggle, and makes him insecure. Then the Party is the programme, the objective and the policy, but the base of it is not proletarian and is petit bourgeois, is insecure, vacillates, feels uncertain, is disturbed by events and yields. If its base is proletarian, it can be isolated, but whatever the circumstances it does not yield.

Hence, the essential condition is the programme, the policy and the revolutionary objective. But the proletarian base is solidity, firmness and consistency in policy.

The British Section of the IV International has held its V Conference which is aimed at fusing the objectives of the British Section with those of Comrade Posadas as he orientates us in his texts and those of the Xth World Congress of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International and its conclusions: to construct the Marxist tendencies in the world Communist movement and, in Britain, in the Labour Party and trade unions. Our task of impelling Marxist tendencies in the Labour Party and trade unions is integrally part of the task of the Posadist IV International and in the world Communist movement, for the return to Marxism in the USSR, the return to the Soviet functioning in the USSR, the establishment of Soviets in all the Workers States, and the reconstruction of the Communist International. Imperialism is preparing for war against the system of the Workers States, because it sees that everywhere it is being smashed, expropriated, and that the nationalised and planned economies are becoming a universal norm. But, in the face of this threat of nuclear war, the masses of Vietnam, of Cuba, of the USSR and the world, proceed to impel Communism without fear. They already acquired the security which comes from every experience in history, that weapons do not win in the end. What wins is intelligence and human fraternity, united in the objective functioning of the nationalised and planned economy. We base our confidence on the conduct of the masses, who show in their struggles and audacity that they are not determined by fear of war, but by the security that Communism will triumph. We base our confidence in Britain on the security of the world masses, of Cuba, Vietnam, Africa, who, far from being submitted to the fear of being bombed by imperialism, show to us the dignity of humanity in the construction of the internationalities, so as to finish with what is left of imperialism on a world scale. This is the source of impetus and also moral support for us in Britain, to construct the nationalised and planned economy in all the British Isles including Ireland. As none of this would be possible without the USSR today, the lessons from the construction of the USSR, the first seven years of Soviet functioning, are an enormous experience to bring to the Labour left in Britain for the construction of the Socialist Republic in the British Isles. Our function is to participate in the clarification now taking place in the world Communist movement, for the honest rectification of the functioning of the Communist parties and their programme and to plan, with other workers parties, the construction of the Socialist Soviet United States in Europe. Our Conference discussed that our function in Britain is to be fully part of the function of the Posadist IV International, to be the Trotskyist Posadist wing of the world Communist movement, assisting the Communist parties of any importance to rectify the structure and functioning which they developed in Stalinism, as a result of Stalin's policy of conciliation with the capitalist system. The visit of Shelepin in this country was a powerful indication that, as is the case on the world scene, it is the USSR which is taking the initiative to construct a tendency in Britain to fight against British imperialism. This shows that the total crisis of the capitalist system is intimately linked to the process of Partial Regeneration, the extension of the number and quality of the Workers States in the world, and the unification of all of them; this deprives capitalism of zones of investment, but more still, it deprives it of the possibility of its continued existence.

The USSR has now reached the point where the process of Partial Regeneration has led it, even with a bureaucratic leadership, to intervene in Angola, following the historic victory of the people of Vietnam.

This means that the combined struggles of the world towards Communism have impelled a unification between their struggles and the Soviet Workers State. The massive strikes of the proletariats of France and Italy, seeking the nationalised and planned economy, find their objective and natural continuation in the form of the Workers State, the planned economy. The uninterrupted struggles of the masses of the world, particularly those of Portugal, have imposed on the world Communist movement a theoretical clarification of 'democracy', 'pluralism', the meaning of the strikes in the West - which

the Soviets now say are 'prelude to revolution' - how to smash the bourgeois state apparatus, and the concept of 'permanent revolution' which Basmanov now calls 'uninterrupted revolution'. There is a clarification on all these themes which are central to the fundamental task of finishing with what is left of the capitalist system. Also, a fundamental conclusion is being drawn, particularly in the Cuban Conference in Latin America* and in Rude Pravo**, with regard to the fact that the bourgeois state defends private property and will never accept to let itself be expropriated. To nationalise it, private property must be confronted by force by the mobilised proletariat. The struggles of the masses of the world, particularly those of the proletariat of Portugal, stimulated this conclusion in the world Communist movement. This was part of the process which demanded that the USSR, Cuba, intervene directly in support of the world revolution.

This does not mean that the bureaucracy will no longer be an impediment but that increasingly the nationalised and planned economy demands that the bureaucracy gives way for a superior and more scientific organisation of all the Workers States, to finish with world capitalism. This means that the conception of Socialism in one country, cornerstone of the policy of Stalin, has now gone. The warning of the previous policy of the Soviets and Cubans 'not to export the revolution', which they used against the Posadist and against Guevara, has now been buried. History goes towards the unification of the Workers States. This is the basis of the confidence which Comrade Posadas shows in his texts; the base of our own confidence. We feel the unalterable joy of being part of this combined process of the world revolution and the Partial Regeneration. Our objective is to be the fundamental conscious part of the whole world Communist movement for the construction of the mass Communist International, for the unification of USSR and China as a fundamental first step.

CONDITIONS ARE MATURE FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT.

Portugal has been a profound experience in the world Communist movement. The formation of the SUV (Soldiers United will Win), which are organs functioning at a superior level to that of the Soviets of 1917, organs generated inside the imperialist army, has been an event of immense importance. It has broken the justification of the Communists 'that the conditions are not mature to take power'. How are the conditions not mature, and committees of soldiers organised the fullest political discussion and the fullest intervention of the masses in the economy? Comrade Posadas said that they functioned at a higher level than the Soviets did, this is not to say that these SUVs are at the historic level of the Soviets, because they are not. But their function is superior to that of the Soviets.

In the sense that in Portugal such committees developed without the intervention of the Bolshevik Party, which is a beautiful confirmation of Trotsky's 'Permanent Revolution'. This is what our conference discussed. We call on the Labour and trade union vanguard to discuss this! How are we going to construct Socialism in Britain without being able to judge what is the actual stage of the revolution? The SUVs are a fundamental means of judging what stage we are in. How is it not possible to construct a Socialist/Communist Popular Union in Portugal with the programme of nationalisations? Or in Italy? Or in Spain? How is it not possible to impel these to go to government, for the Government of the Left, to nationalise and plan the economy? Also, in Britain, it is clear that the trade union and Labour left can and must intervene at the level of government for the Government of the Left in Britain, which is a Labour Government in which the trade unions and the left of the Party weigh directly. Why is this not taking place? Not from the strength of the Tories, but rather the lack of political discussion in the Labour and trade union left, a lack of organisation of it so that it can discuss without being submitted to the apparatuses. This is what has to be discussed. It is in Britain like

in Portugal, not the strength of the right which prevents the government or the Left, but just a lack of organisation of the left. We propose that this is discussed in all the Labour movement in Britain and Ireland.

THE TRADE UNIONS MUST DECIDE DIRECTLY IN THE GOVERNMENT.

Our Conference assessed the period which elapsed in Britain between the last Conference and the present one. What characterised this stage is the crisis of all apparatuses of the workers movement. The balance from UCS was drawn on the basis of the analysis of the world crisis of capitalism and imperialism, and the impossibility of further reforming the system in this stage. Today, the intervention of USSR and Cuba in Angola are the mark of the stage of history when the Workers State fuses directly and physically - even if there is still a little while to come before this is complete - with the world revolution. This means, concretely, that the Workers States, and particularly the USSR, open the perspective of the elimination of the Stalinist currents in the Communist movement and of the ending of their conciliation with the capitalist system. This alters also the relationship between the Communist and Socialist parties and the possibility of conciliation with a system which, in any case, has no more to give. UCS had to break from the cycle of capitalist production, call for the extension of occupations, form a left in the trade unions and the Labour Party. The same lesson for all the other factory occupations is to be drawn. Today, all half-measures or substitutes for workers control, like 'workers cooperatives' and 'workers participation', have failed. All the policies put forward by the trade union 'leadership' and the actual Labour 'left' as it is, for 'reflation', 'selected import controls' are policies which remain within the capitalist system. If there is 'reflation', then money is just recycled from the workers labour into the capitalism.

Meanwhile, a further lease of time is given to capitalism at the workers expense. The Conference discussed the Letter to the Belgium Section on the necessity of the left in the trade unions organising itself on a programme for the total control of the economy to plan it, through nationalisations, and the method to apply this - which is to impose workers control, occupy. As the bourgeoisie will not let itself be expropriated, it is necessary to impose this programme, starting with organising a left in the trade unions, shop stewards committees, in Britain and Ireland, for the expropriation of the land, banks, insurance companies, building societies, the major industries, under workers control and without compensation. This must be coupled with the programme for a massive housing programme with nominal rents, re-planning of cities, re-organisation of transport, the massive re-tooling and automation in mines, factories etc. as the Workers States have done. All this means that it is possible to maintain open all factories, extend them for the infinite need of the people and re-absorbing all the unemployed. This demands also workers control in the nationalised industries. This means a leadership in the trade unions prepared to impose the struggle for planning and, at the same time, a direct intervention of the trade unions at the level of government, for a Government of the Left which is a Labour government in which the trade unions decide directly.

THE LABOUR LEFT MUST BASE ITSELF ON THE TRADE UNIONS.

The Conference discussed the general strike which overthrew Lopez Rega in Argentina. As Comrade Posadas analysed the proletariat, in this stage, has found the means to expel the right from the government it stimulated without permitting the bourgeoisie to return to it. This process is world wide. In Portugal, the trade unions themselves impelled the nationalisation of the banks, the nationalisation of large concerns, of newspapers, radio stations, and land reforms, by occupations and making the government agree with them. Whilst the trade union left must adopt the programme which we have pointed out, it is in the Labour Party that the political leadership for this struggle has to take place. We discussed that already there is dual power in

the Labour Party. This is expressed in a number of examples, such as the sending of representatives of the Labour government to the funeral of Franco, whilst the NEC was violently opposed to this. Or the NEC denunciation of the overthrow of the Whitlam Labour government in Australia, when the British government said nothing, or the crisis over Chile. There are many other examples, such as the attitude of the NEC over Prentice or the support it now gives to Angola and SWAPO, whilst Callaghan warned of the 'dangers of Angola spreading to other countries in Africa'. All these instances express the gap between the government and the NEC, which, in reality, is the expression of a widening gap between the government and the party. The point of departure of this process could be placed at the time of the anti-EEC campaign launched by many sectors of the Labour Party in direct opposition to the government.

In this, the Labour Party shows that the crisis of imperialism and capitalism now passes through the Labour Party, sharpening the struggle between left and right in it. It tends to elevate the role of the Labour Party as a Party as opposed to the electoral, careerist structure of a Party solely geared to parliamentary interests. But, as shown in all the instances given, it is the right that dominates in the Labour Party as a whole regarding all the main decisions. Why? Because the left cannot go forward, if it respects the apparatus of the Labour Party, its bourgeois structure in which the right always can decide. The proletariat has long since discovered this. This is precisely why it tends to utilise the trade unions as political instruments. The smashing of the anti-strike laws was an example. The imposition of this present Labour government was another. The trade unions mobilisations, their close relationship to the class, are precisely what is going to give the Labour left the possibility of pulling itself out of the control of the apparatus of the Labour Party; far from damaging the Party, this goes in the direction of making it function better, as a leadership of the working class.

NATIONALISATIONS MUST BE FOR COMPLETE PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY.

The fact that the question of Ireland is discussed primarily in the trade unions, and that it is them, together with the TUC, who have made the proposals for 'a better life' campaign, confirms the analysis made by Comrade Posadas many years ago that it is from the trade unions that the changes would be impelled. The fact that, in all the demonstrations of the working class, more and more Labour MPs feel the necessity of pledging support, shows how the Labour Party, is being impelled from the trade unions. It flows from this that the Labour left has to organise itself consciously on the base of giving support to the struggles of the working class, and to formulate for these mobilisations the programme to nationalise and plan the economy. The Labour left must retake the Clause IV of the Constitution, which is for the public ownership of the means of production and exchange. Our Conference called for a National Conference of the Labour movement, to discuss the total nature of the crisis of the system and the necessity for a complete programme of

* This refers to the recent Conference of the Communist Parties of Latin America, in which the resolution was passed that power had to be sustained by armed struggle, among other conclusions, stimulated by the Soviet Union.

reconstruction of the economy on the basis of nationalisation and planning. The perspective is that this cannot be achieved peacefully, but by the working class imposing its dictatorship on the bourgeoisie. The Comrades of the Labour Party must also discuss how this cannot be achieved without the support of the USSR and the Communist and Socialist parties in Europe. The enormous crisis in Rhodesia, and soon South Africa, the revolutionary process in Spain, are going to be powerful impulses for the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions. It will inevitably bring them closer to the USSR. The construction of the Socialist Republic in the British Isles is on the agenda. The Labour left cannot go forward now, without adopting a programme for the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland, and not one single soldier to Africa. It must call on the USSR to support and seek international organisation of the working class, with the Communist parties of Europe and the USSR.

We have planned to fuse ourselves further in all aspects with the IV International Posadist, so as to assist the Labour and trade union left in structuring itself on the basis of Marxism. We have planned to do this in every way through regular publications, the publication of our own texts, with better cultural and theoretical level. We have decided to make a plan to grow and extend our periphery whilst continuing to extend our publication of European Marxist Reviews and Bulletins.

The visit of Shelepin in this country was the sign that the USSR is starting to intervene towards the British proletariat to organise a tendency - as Comrade Posadas analysed (1) - which is for the smashing of imperialism, and particularly British imperialism. We call on the USSR to support the Posadist IV International on a world scale, and to assist us in Britain, for this task which is not the construction of ourselves but of the revolutionary and Marxist left in the Labour Party.

The Vth Conference of the British Section saluted the conclusions from the Xth World Congress, particularly fusing itself with the conclusions on the necessity of the unification of USSR and China, and with the task of developing Marxism in the USSR, with the Soviet functioning, which is the central task to organise a Marxist left in the Labour Party.

VIVA THE UNIFICATION OF USSR AND CHINA!

VIVA THE FUSION OF THE COMBINED PROGRESS OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION AND THE PARTIAL REGENERATION IN ANGOLA!

FORWARD TO THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY!

FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC IN BRITAIN AND IRELAND!

(1) 'The tasks for the left in the Labour Party', J. Posadas, 15.9.74. in Red Flag 235

'The Programme for the organisation of the left in Britain', J. Posadas, 26.4.75 in Red Flag 244.

'The referendum on the EEC, the abstentions and the Socialist solution to the crisis of capitalism in Britain'.

J. Posadas, 8.6.75 in Red Flag 245.

'The Tenth World Congress of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International', J. Posadas, 19.7.75 in Red Flag 255.

** This refers to an article in Rude Pravo, the paper of the Czechoslovak Communist Party which recently raised the question that 'it is necessary to smash the bourgeois state apparatus'.

VIVA THE EXTENTION OF NATIONALISATIONS AND THE UNPAID WORKING DAY IN MOZAMBIQUE TO SUSTAIN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN RHODESIA SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA!

FORWARD TO THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF AFRICA!

THE REVOLT AGAINST THE HEALEY BUDGET

WILL INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE FOR THE ALTERNATIVE
ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME:

The uproar caused by the left MPs rejecting the Healey budget is the continuation of the war between government and party which is one of the forms that express the total decomposition of the capitalist political structure. One of the Labour MPs, Litterick, actually registered this struggle without drawing the conclusion from it. The bye-election in Coventry has shown the continued polarisation of class forces and that, even when the Labour government takes constantly anti-working class measures, the class turns out to sustain its party, not Healey or Wilson but its party. Another aspect of intervention was the massive general strike in Dundee, although this is not the typical class action of this stage. The key to the future development of the workers struggle lies in the party, its re-structuring and organisation on a class and revolutionary programme and policy.

When the Wilsons and the Healeys denounce the left MPs and find it impossible to speak, giving a perspective of sweetness and light to incorporate all in the task of saving capitalism, it is because they see that the left MPs are only the trail representatives of a much more profound and implacable process - the party is going outside the control of the parliamentary cliques. It is in the party that the political opposition to the policies of Wilson have been most felt, and it is in the trade union apparatuses that the policies of collaboration have been expressed most directly. Even now, in relation to the Healey budget, Scanlon says he is only opposed to a few items, no perspective is given of an anti-capitalist orientation. Thus, although the decision of the proletariat is the basis for the opposition of the left MPs, the trade union apparatus is doing all in its power to contain the workers and only propose changes well within the structure of capitalism. The impotence of the trade union leadership and its interest in containing opposition with mumblings such as 'the right to work' or 'reflation' or 'something will have to be done', poses in the sharpest possible way the need for a new leadership of the working class; and this can only be done on the basis of a clear class orientation, the development of a consistent world perspective and the rejection of capitalist norms and modes of thinking. How is it possible to talk of 'democracy' when Healey was thrown off the NEC of the Labour Party and proceeds to impose his budget on that party? How speak of 'democracy' when Britain has not even reached the level of a republic? How speak of 'democracy' when none can pretend that the mass of the population is allowed to intervene directly in government and the economy? It is necessary to bring Marxism into the heart of the discussion and the organisation of the left in the Labour Party. This is the most important task because without the weapon of Marxism, all the terms of discussion are within the camp of the bourgeoisie.

The disproportion between the rate of decomposition of capitalism and the lack of a clear anti-capitalist programme, tendency and policy, has rarely been more striking than over the last period. Everywhere the incapacity of capitalism proclaims itself as a monotonous norm. The Liberal Party enters into a crisis of leadership that reflects the disorganisation of its own base. It occurs because less and less can this bourgeois party respond to the diverse interests in the party. It does not correspond to reality. At the same time, Thatcher - after lurching to the right and making a fetish of anti-Communism - tries a pseudo conciliation with the unions. It is all political fraud, but exhibits the lack of strength, the inconsistency of Tory policy. The party of big business is no longer central to history.

The profound disintegration of the structure of capitalist dominion in Britain, Tory Party, Unionist Party in Ireland, Labour Party, as collaborator with capitalism, crisis of industrial expansion, alienation of large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, finds no base for recovery in the world environment. There are no large ordered sectors of the world to be opened up to capital investment and, worst of all, the force of the Workers States as a pole of attraction to the exploited masses is undermining all efforts to prolong the existence of capitalism. With the new stage of struggle in China, capitalism cannot even maintain a perspective of continuing to take advantage of the Sino-Soviet dispute for much longer. The new phase of Soviet policy, intervening against imperialism directly, now finds open expression in the new Cuban Constitution where Cuba will give aid to any country combating imperialism. This is a return to the days of the first Workers State, the days of Lenin and Trotsky, the days of the export of revolution, a return to the objectives of the Communist International.

The intensity of this world struggle of system against system, receives its most concentrated expression in the discussion now developing in the world Communist movement as seen at the 25th Congress of the CPSU. It has enormous importance for the Labour Party, however much the apparatus tries to contain or ignore it. With characteristic respect for ideas and 'democracy', they do not have any discussion of Marxism. Fear of Marxism, fear of ideas, characterises the apparatus but it is not possible to conceal the present discussion between the CPSU and the leaders of the French and Italian Communist parties. The discussion over the meaning of 'democracy', over the dictatorship of the proletariat, over national or international roads to Socialism, touch on all the issues which affect the perspectives of the Labour Party. This discussion tends to centralise the more generalised impact of the advance of the world Socialist revolution and raises it to the level of theory. The gigantic crisis of growth of the world Communist movement affects all of the Socialist parties, none is immune, and when the Labour Party announces its attendance at meetings of the Communist parties, it is simply because it is obliged to gravitate to the organising centres of the world revolution. Whatever the limitations of the present discussion in the world Communist movement, it allows a basis to bring ideas into the Labour Party and overcome the soporific electoralist functioning, the obsession with trivialities which is the outcome of bourgeois empiricism and the utilisation of the Labour Party as an appendage of the bourgeois state.

The constant attacks on the Labour Party apparent in all the bourgeois organs of opinion are the cries of alarm and fear of capitalism. Already they sense civil war. The purgings in the police and Mark's speech on the importance of military intervention in aid of the police are the signs of this preparation. The purgings in the police are analogous to purgings in the CIA; the attempt to centralise the force, eliminate sectors pre-occupied with special interests, to concentrate the attention on 'law and order': this is the real face of the bour-

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LETTER OF COMRADE POSADAS (EXTRACTS) on the CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

24/2/76

J POSADAS

Workers of the World, Unite!

RED FLAG

organ of the

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

NO. 260

FRIDAY 19TH MARCH 1976

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THE WORKERS AND PEASANT ALLIANCE WITH THE ARMED FORCES TO SUSTAIN AND ADVANCE THE REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL. J. POSADAS

25/1/76

The process in Portugal indicates that there is very great progress in the attempts at intervention of the counter-revolution, in the government and the military. The counter-revolution has not reached the programmatic aspect but the government, and the army, yes, quite a lot. In the army this is shown in the release of assassin types who are linked to, who depend on and are functionaries, leaders of the government of Caetano, counter-revolutionaries of the government of Spinoza. In the economic measures they tend to contain the process of nationalisations, of planning. In this they are trying to advance in quite a pronounced way. In the political problems, however, they have not been able to advance, but they are preparing the conditions for this with the trial of Carvalho. They are preparing counter-revolutionary repressions, like that in front of the prison, the provocation in front of the prison which they made.

The mobilisations of groups linked to the right are being made constantly, attacking houses, locales, destroying the car of a Communist singer and other cars. They are seeking to intimidate the working class, the sectors which support the petit bourgeoisie, the peasants and the leaders in the government. They are trying to create conditions which show that a more decided resolution of repression is necessary to proceed to the re-organisation and the handing back of the land and the nationalised enterprises. This is their plan. It is a plan which has very little possibility of being able to advance or to be applied.

The mobilisations of the masses - workers or peasants, or even petit bourgeoisie - is very profound and they are the immense majority. In the recent office workers trade union election in Lisbon, the Socialists returned to win - they had the majority before - and the Communists obtained a great number of votes, a very great weight in the votes which indicates the maintenance of the authority of the Communist Party. The Socialists have not increased their authority, their social and political weight, neither in the masses nor in the army. On the contrary, the experiences of the peasants, of the workers, of the ordinary militants, are increasing. A leftist sector sees the necessity of an explanation, a discussion and a re-organisation resulting from the previous stage, which was empirical. And it gives itself a sense of organisation and order.

The majority of the country is for revolutionary transformation, but there is a division in groups, sectors and tendencies, and this facilitates the right which is the minority. And it facilitates the centre, which also is the minority. As the centre and the right act in a unified and centralised way, they appear to have a power which they do not have, above all from the peculiarity of the Portuguese revolution which went immediately from fascism to Socialist measures,

to develop a Revolutionary State. For this activity it did not have the prepared political leadership; political leadership, not the working class. The working class was prepared: it did not have the political leadership. Hence in quick succession all the uprisings and the creation of such great Communist, Socialist, left-wing left group currents. This reflected itself in the armed forces and in the tendencies of the left which the social transformation favoured, the Socialist transformations going towards measures of nationalisation and planning of production.

This is the present stage after the defeat of the coup of 25th November; this is the present stage which came after the uprisings or the agitations of sectors of the army, in order to impede the triumph of the right; sectors of the army which used, also, a disconnected movement, without orientation, without a centre, without authority and without a mass movement; a movement which wanted to organise itself via the military coup. This has produced sentiments of disappointment in the masses, who have seen that it was a coup given in a vacuum. But it has not smashed the proletariat, nor the peasants, nor the politically active petit bourgeoisie. These sectors do not feel implicated in this process of the coup and, in consequence, they do not feel defeated, nor blocked, nor impotent, nor incapacitated. They did not participate.

The present process stems from the coup which the right used, supporting itself on the Socialist Party of Soares. And Soares was the instrument which facilitated all this, from the conclusions which the coup of the 25th signified. The coup of the 25th of November had a revolutionary intention, but preparation no; it was a disorder, a disorder which facilitated the measures of counter-revolution. It did not provoke them, nor determined them, but facilitated them. The lack of leadership left the coup of the 25th isolated. Had there been a leadership, it would have joined itself to this movement and would have given it the conscious character and path, and with a conscious programme it would have won. As there was no leadership and no decision to intervene, it was left to drown.

If these comrades of the Communist Party and the comrades of the armed forces had studied the Russian Revolution, they would have seen that the Bolsheviks had profited very well from the situation in which they, comparatively, had less forces than existed in Portugal on the 25th of November. The Bolsheviks had much less than this, but they knew how to use the spontaneous reactions of the masses, they knew how to use the explosions which it is logical should occur in a revolutionary process where there was no centralised leadership with a programme, decided upon transformations. A

centralised leadership would have taken advantage of such a movement to give it a general character of demands, and a programme with social aims maintaining all the democratic rights.

All the campaign of Soares of 'plurality', 'plurality', was in order to conceal the resistance, the opposition to measures of nationalisations and planning. What the leftists were planning in the coup was not to kill, nor assassinate, but to maintain the revolution against the right. Had there been a leadership they would not have posed just this, they would have responded, demonstrating with nationalisations, that they would annul the right.

The base to annul all the political force of the right is to deprive it of its economic and military power. Outside of this it has no power. To expropriate its economic and military power is to leave it isolated. It can continue working and acting, but then it no longer has the power of mobilisation, of the resources of the state apparatus or of the economy to organise. The right remains isolated. It can continue working and acting, but then it no longer has the power of mobilisation, of the resources of the state apparatus or of the economy to organise. The right remains isolated. Neither the Communist Party nor the Socialist left, nor the leftist groups had the notion of discussing theoretically or programmatically where is Portugal going, how can Portugal advance. There has been no theoretical and political discussion. There is a lack of theoretical and political discussion in Portugal, a lack of public assemblies of discussion, discussions on how to advance from the economic backwardness to economic progress towards the Revolutionary State, and from the Revolutionary State to the Workers State.

The essential economic base is the planning of production, the appropriation of the key centres of production. The will of the masses exist; the planning with nationalisations of the key centres of production and exchange can be done now, there is the will to do it. The masses of Alentejo, who are peasants, have decided on the elimination of the differentiation of wages so that everyone gets the same. They are thousands of peasants, not just a few. Thousands of peasants - it is not the proletariat of the factories - who invited the engineering workers to do the same. The masses do not feel eliminated; they have made mobilisations, demonstrations and meetings after the coup of the 25th which showed that thousands and thousands of demonstrators came out to defend the conquests of the revolution.

The right has sought to weaken the apparatus of the government in order to confront this in Alentejo. And Alentejo indicates a state of

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VIVA CASTRO'S VISIT TO THE POLISARIO FRONT IN WEST SAHARA!
VIVA THE INCLUSION IN THE CUBAN CONSTITUTION OF THE CLAUSES TO SUPPORT ALL
REVOLUTIONS WHICH ASK FOR HELP!
VIVA THE USSR IMPELLER OF THIS HISTORIC RETURN TO A FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE OF
THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

the Portuguese people, the agricultural workers, the factory workers. And they are workers who have been repressed, considerably repressed and intimidated because they have constantly been besieged by the army. The army went to intimidate them; in spite of this they maintain such resolution, such a conclusion that wages should be equal for all. This indicates the elevated level of comprehension and decision for the progress of the revolution, and also in workers of Lisbon and Oporto.

The petit bourgeoisie who voted for the Socialists did not vote for the right nor to reconstitute capitalist power, nor the power of Caetano. It wants progress, even limitedly in relation to necessity, because it wants an economic and social progress, it does not want the return of the right, of Caetano, the Spinoists, of the PIDE. It doesn't go further forward because its leadership, the leadership of the Socialist Party, maintains it isolated and because the policy of the Communist Party is undecided and insecure. Half the pre-occupation of the Communist Party is to declare 'fascism is coming, fascism is coming', instead of saying how to impede fascism. There is not a constant, coherent proposal of the Communist Party to show how to impede fascism.

In order to impede fascism, it is necessary to expropriate and to agitate for expropriation, planning, to make an analysis showing that the economy cannot advance without nationalisation. The economy in the hands of private property remains dead. It is necessary to make a public discussion on the significance of private economy, nationalised economy, the intervention or the exclusion of the masses in the economy. This discussion does not exist at the moment. It is necessary to make it, and to demonstrate how Angola progresses. The army, which has been capable of such heroism, does not go backward, a part of those who command have retreated, no more. When an army produces the SUV, it is not the result of a group, it is the level reached of revolutionary cultural comprehension which expresses itself in this way, which is expressed in the SUV. Also in the peasants of Alentejo and in the engineering workers. That is to say, in the three essential sectors of the population there is the same resolution, organisational and political comprehension. All this comes from before and now.

The conditions for the revolution to retreat or be limited, or to say that it is in a 'tight spot', do not exist. If it was very exhausted, it would be a catastrophe because there would be no advance in the economy, it would have met social resistance and would not have stimulated what happened in Alentejo, the SUV, and the concentration of the most important sector of the proletariat in the Communist Party.

Capitalism and imperialism do not have their own forces to make the process retreat in Portugal. They supported themselves on the Socialist Party, on the careerist ambitions of the Soares tendency, and also on the limitations, on the lack of revolutionary and scientific culture, scientific representation of this leadership of Soares. If there had been a scientific representation the logical conclusion would have been that, to advance in the economy, it is necessary to nationalise. In stimulating private property, there is no progress of the economy, there is progress of the capitalists but not of the economy. And there are the conditions - already the masses have proved it - which are ready for a whole range of measures for the development of the economy. This is the front between the peasants, the workers, and the military to develop the economy.

In the name of whom did they want to impede nationalisations? In the name of what? Of science, of progress, of the people? Or in the name of interests, mentality and conceptions backward in history? The masses accept all the economic progress which tends to elevate their participation in the economy. Private property is limited for the development of the economy, and in the full crisis of the world capitalist system. It is necessary to propose a public discussion on all the forms of the economy for the development of Portugal.

All the tales of 'pluralism', 'democracy', conceal and cover in a

sinister way the depth of the problem which is - how to develop Portugal. If 'pluralism' was the base for the development of Portugal, well then, what is 'pluralism'? Pluralism in economic positions, nationalisations and private property? Pluralism meaning to return to private property? Pluralism meaning several conceptions to develop the economy and social relations? Already history shows what the conception is - the Workers States. It shows that 14 Workers States started from nothing, from the level of the stables, from the most profound economic backwardness; that the Soviet Union in 56 years has reached a level, particularly the Soviet Union, in part superior to that of the United States. And, moreover, it is the economic and military power of the Workers States which support the progress of the struggles of the peoples. Even not being co-ordinated or consistently the same, they support this. The backward peoples like Cuba, Hungary, Yugoslavia, have developed the economy and are developing socially, culturally, and in capacity. Therefore it is necessary to discuss 'plurality' in this way. If 'plurality' is for other economic ideas, other ideas of planning, of programme, or if it means to respond, to respect, or to yield to the interests of a series of private persons, we are against. If they are social and economic interests which are against progress, we are against, and therefore we pose: what plurality?

Socialism can only be constructed in one way: the economy is the base of the development of society and it is necessary to nationalise. What plurality is there, then? There is no plurality. It is necessary to discuss what is this plurality all about. If the Communists have not discussed it, it is because they themselves are insecure, otherwise they would have done so. There is no plurality whatsoever. There is only one way to advance in history: nationalisation, planning and workers control. It is necessary to organise a current for this discussion.

Without doubt the counter-revolution is trying to advance. We do not believe that they have a base in order to advance. The next uprising of the masses is not going to be like the SUV - who are going now to weigh everything up. The masses are going to rise and they are going to act. Already the peasants of Alentejo indicate this when they have the social confidence to eliminate the inequality of wages. Already there is a high historic, social decision to push forward measures for Socialism. The workers of Lisbon and Oporto have the same decision and draw the same conclusion.

It is necessary to raise this discussion to show that all the errors committed in November** in the uprising of the paratrooper regiment, were not the product of the empiricism of all the soldiers, of all the military, but of a situation which created these conditions, the fear that the right would advance substantially supported by the Socialists. It was an attempt to contain the right. The lack of co-ordination of the Communists with the peasants and the workers was not due to resistance or lack of interest, but to a lack of political leadership which would have been able to see, organise and foresee these events. It lacked political leadership. It is necessary to organise a political leadership.

For this it is necessary to elevate and consider that the Communist Party is a small party with authority in the proletarian masses, but a small party in the whole of the country. It is necessary to elevate the conditions to eliminate the counter-revolutionary attempts of the right, discussing how to advance in the economy, to act in such a way that the armed forces support this, that they support nationalisations and the planning of the economy; that the workers and the trade unions intervene in this process, so that the level of demands from the trade unions is maintained, that it is posed as an essential condition for the development of the country that the necessities of the population are attended to. If they only maintain attention in the economy to exports or imports, the power of the monopolies and of the big bourgeoisie increases and, in consequence, the political and social power of the right. These increase because they have the means and the economic force.

It is necessary to encourage the Soviets and the Workers States to intervene much more, infinitely more, and that they should see this. It is necessary to show that there is a

very dynamic process. Dynamism shows itself as much in the will of the peasants of Alentejo and in the engineering workers, as in the Frente Polisario and in Angola. This process is inevitably going to reflect itself in Portugal. It is going to be demonstrated that the army is useful and is strong when it has a programme and an objective necessary for the development of the economy; a programme for the population, not a programme for the rich or for capitalism. If not, inevitably camarillas continue.

The struggle stimulated in Portugal is not in Portugal; it is world-wide. The attitude of Soares, who did not go to the meeting of the Socialist parties in France, is because he is frightened to confront Mitterand and the alliance with the Communists. His policy is to break the alliance with the Communists. Soares fears to compromise himself and fears to confront Mitterand. The fact that in that meeting France Cardozo of the Portuguese Socialist Party went, who is the Minister of the left, and he did not criticise the Communists, indicates very clearly that Soares doesn't have power in the Socialist Party. He doesn't have absolute and complete power in it. It is possible to change the relations in the Socialist Party. It is necessary to reach the base of the Socialist Party, the petit bourgeois Socialist base. The base is not essentially worker, but petit bourgeois. But, to reach the Socialist base, it is necessary to analyse economically and socially. Analysis, analysis, analysis and not just present a programme. The Communists say that it is necessary to go, to advance and to make Socialism: but how?

It is necessary to incorporate this policy with a life of discussion, of full democratic discussion on all the problems and with the programme of nationalisation; and why it is necessary to nationalise, and appealing to the Socialist base to participate. Nationalise and plan, not simply saying that it is necessary to call out 'the counter-revolution is coming, be careful'. It is necessary to give plans demonstrating what can be done. Plans of economic production, economic development, planning, nationalising and workers control.

It is necessary to open a public discussion directed to the army. It is a lie that the army has a reactionary majority. According to the news the majority of the armed forces is with Antunes. It is necessary to break this difference between the north and the south, the north to the right and the centre and the south more to the left. This is a lie. The north is not to the right. It is necessary to eliminate the fear that the Church is against the revolution. The hierarchy, yes; the other Church comes nearer, and is with the agrarian reform. It is necessary to prepare a programme towards the Workers State. It is necessary to do it for the north as much as for the south. The resistance which there is today is not going to be greater tomorrow. This is what is going to be seen. It is necessary to agitate for an objective programme of development of the economy, of planning and of nationalisations. It is a lie this, that 'the process is going very fast, it is necessary to go more slowly'. The velocity has to be measured by the existing conditions. And these conditions are the will of the masses, the weakness of capitalism and the favourable world conditions. Had they gone more quickly before, the triumph would have come quicker, and the Soviets would have done what they did in Angola. This conception of 'it is going very fast' is a lie. It is a limitation of the lack of programme, of objectives, of the objective of making the Workers State, on the part of the Communist Party. The indecision over advancing and before the capitalist state has given an opportunity to the right. On the other hand, if they called for making a Workers State, that all the population makes a Workers State, there would be no room for the right. To make a Workers State means to nationalise, plan, produce for the population, to supply the needs of the population, food for the population. To provide food gives an enormous security to the population, it makes the masses intervene in this process elevating the cultural education in all the problems, discussing the problems of the economy, science, technology, in the trade unions, the factories and in the streets; not letting only the leaders discuss.

Let everybody intervene, let everybody participate!

The right has few forces, Portugal is a poor country, very poor. Being a poor country, the right gains force in the ignorance, the incapacity of intervening, in the fear of intervening in the backward religious sentiments. All this can be overcome; how can it not be overcome? Socially, where is the power of the right? The right is a small minority. Socially there is a small minority in the north, in the centre and in the south: above and below. What gives force to the right is a lack of an adequate policy to mobilise the peasant masses; making them participate in all the problems and, moreover, making a plan of production directed at supplying the population which responds to the necessities of the population. Not production for commercial exchange, which is not determined by what they call the balance of payments, but by the interest of accumulation and profit of the capitalists.

If the Soviet Union supported Angola which has infinitely less than Portugal, it is also going to support Portugal. This is within the plans of the Workers States. The plans signify the economic, social and political front which prepares the military front against imperialism. The leadership of the Portuguese Communist Party has not moved in this way, it has not understood and it has been intimidated. This is the consequence of the previous Communist life. In all this it is necessary to progress and we intervene concretely and constantly.

It is necessary to make a programme of nationalisations, planning, distribution of land and planning of production of the land. This experience of the intervention of the army in public life has been good; what has been bad is the policy which they have made. What is necessary to correct is the incorrect policy, not the participation. It is a lie that the SUV has been a tragically bad experience. What better quality has Azevedo than a sergeant or a soldier who discusses politically, what better quality? Does the rank give him better political capacity? The rank gives him the command, but nothing more. And what decides is not the command, it is comprehension, capacity of analysis and of political organisation. The SUV attempted to shorten this distance. They did not do it consciously, it was an empirical organism, but spontaneously created, which responded to a level already reached in Portugal, if not they would not have appeared.

The Portuguese revolution, even with the limitations which it has, achieved the very great conquest and historical experience of the SUV, which are going to re-occur later. The SUV is a form, a functioning superior even to the Soviets from its functioning, not that it is an organ superior to the Soviets. It functions in a form superior to it because it did not have the Party. Had it had the Party, it would have been different and it would have functioned the same as in the USSR.

The other experience and historic conquest is that of the peasants who proposed the equality of wages, which is a level of very great attainment, a revolution which in two years reaches the level of the SUV and the army intervenes actively as a leadership. This is a rapid process which has not given time to the right to hold its power and, moreover, now nowhere can the right maintain power in a stable form.

It is a lie that the development of the revolution has ended. The right doesn't have force. I repeat the right is a small nucleus which supports itself on the indecision of the others, in the empiricism of the others, and that is all. Soares played this role. Soares lends himself to the right. He lent it the name and the party, but this is all. As he cannot speak in the name of the right or of private property, he speaks in the name of pluralism. It is a mythical language,

indirect and empirical, which serves him to define the fear and the 'danger of a dictatorship' which did not exist. save against the workers in Portugal. Pluralism, what economy does it mean? In order to advance in Portugal, it is necessary to nationalise and plan. The revolution does not make sense if it is made from the point of view of private property. Democracy is never superior to the economic power, never. When the economic power is small and democracy is immense, it is because power is revolutionary, as with the Bolsheviks. They didn't have anything to eat and they lived in a complete democracy and, for this, they went to defend revolutionaries in other parts of the world.

Pluralism is a lie, destined to deceive. What is pluralism? The right of the bourgeoisie to intervene with private property? We are against. Pluralism means the alliance with the bourgeoisie against the workers. If the bourgeoisie is the force which commands, it has the laws, the structure of the state, therefore the power is for them. It is not a matter of pluralism, but so that the bourgeoisie can intervene. It is necessary to discuss and propose a programme of nationalisations, planning and workers control, of planning of agricultural production and not to hand back any land but increase the expropriations; to explain and extend the resolution of the peasants of Alentejo on the equality of wages; to make the proletariat intervene with a programme which proposes nationalisations and planning at the same time as they maintain the struggle for all the demands. Already there is a great maturity in the Portuguese people which is going to impede all attempts to retreat. Spain is not favourable to the right. The Spanish government, to show this, has thrown out all the Spinoists which were there. If Spain does this, it is not because it seeks to remain on good terms with Portugal, but because they do not want internal disturbances.

It is necessary to consider the world relation of forces and their perspectives in Portugal, Angola, Frente Polisario, Cuba, Madagascar; the generalisation of the elevation of the revolution in a world base which facilitates the re-animation of the Portuguese revolution. The objective in Portugal is to re-animate the revolution, re-animating the programme of nationalisations, planning, advance in the political rights of the masses; to go back to discuss the alliance of the army, trade unions, Communist Party, Socialists, and left groups. It is necessary to consider that in any case the Soviets are going to intervene to impede the retreat of Portugal. This is why Melo Antunes went off to the Workers States, seeking Soviet support.

It is necessary to propose the mobilisation of the masses and a programme for the economy and an alliance with the armed forces. These are the conditions to advance. If the Frente Polisario was very backward, Angola was very backward, and they go forward. It depends on the political leadership. In Portugal the political leadership was mixed up with interests of big capital, of the capitalists, and Soares represented them - not just Soares, but the Socialist Party which is an ally of the right.

There is throughout the world a process of enormous development of the revolution. In Portugal it is necessary to discuss the re-animation of the struggle to go to the Workers and Peasants government.

* See J. Posadas: 'Letter on the killings of workers in front of the prison of Oporto', 2nd January 1976.

** See J. Posadas: 'The military uprising of the 25th of November and the process of revolution and counter-revolution in Portugal', 30th November, 1975 (published in 'Red Flag' No. 257).

EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW

- CONTAINING: THE FOLLOWING TEXTS BY J. POSADAS
- * THE BOLSHEVIK PARTY, THE DEGENERATION OF THE WORKERS STATE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM
 - * THE CLOSING SPEECH OF THE V WORLD CADRE SCHOOL OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL
 - * THE REFERENDUM ON THE EEC, THE ABSTENTIONS AND THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION TO THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN
 - * THE WORLD IS READY FOR COMMUNISM
- OBTAINABLE NOW FROM THE PARTY'S ADDRESS: 60p

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT DECIDE THE DEVELOPMENTS IN BRITAIN

The declaration of Berlinguer (Italian Communist Party) at the 25th Congress of the CPSU that 'opportunism weakness and sectarian errors of the Communists in the twenties and thirties facilitated the rise of fascism', and also the declaration of Marchais (French Communist Party) who said that the Communist International was 'wrong when it advised Maurice Thorez against the Popular Front with the Socialists and Radicals in France (note that the USSR also later supported the Popular Front through Dimitroff), shows that a discussion is opened in public in the world Communist movement on the nature of Fronts between Communists and Socialists. The present support that the USSR gives to such fronts made by Communists 'on the basis of not dissolving the Communist Party or its objectives', is an immense support for the proletariat to unify Socialist and Communist parties and push them towards government. The Popular Union in France is an example of this. Even though this discussion is centrally taking place in the Communist movement, it involves directly the Labour and Socialist movement which will be drawn, of necessity, by the total crisis of capitalism and by the only solution to it: the nationalised and planned economy, into a superior relationship with the USSR and the Communist parties. This discussion is integrally part of the left of the Labour comrades and we call on them to discuss this.

POPULAR FRONTS AND UNITED FRONTS

The discussions raised by Berlinguer and Marchais, concern the past policies of the International at the time of Stalin, which was fundamentally a policy of conciliation with the capitalist system. Sectarianism towards the Socialist parties on one hand, and opportunism on the other, are, as Trotsky analysed in his 'Stalin', the two sides of the same coin. They are both aspects of the policy of 'Socialism in one country', not the result of the interest of the interest of the development of the world revolution. The Popular Fronts in France, Spain and Italy, were alliances of Socialists and Communists in which the Communist aim of nationalising and planning the economy through the dictatorship of the proletariat were silenced and submitted to the Social Democratic programme of reforming capitalism. The Popular Fronts meant a strengthening of Social Democracy and weakening of the Communist objectives in the Communist parties.

The Popular Union of France, on the other hand, is based on the programme of nationalisations which, if applied, would mean the taking of power in France. It is the United Front of the Socialists and Communists on the basis of smashing the capitalist system. To be carried out, the programme of the Popular Union in France demands the dictatorship of the proletariat, as no electoral or parliamentary resolution will convince the bourgeoisie to accept its expropriation. Chile showed this. The construction of the Popular Union of France (and the Popular Unity of Chile) show the change that has taken place since the twenties and thirties. The decisive centre for this change has been the change in the Soviet Union itself, which from Popular Frontism has now elevated to support to the Popular Unions.

Berlinguer and Marchais, who raise this discussion, use the same device as Gollan (British CP) or Elleinstein (French CP) etc., who feel that they have to attack the USSR and its more and more anti-capitalist world policy. As they cannot confront the USSR head-on, they use the previous policies of the Communist International under Stalin to resist the USSR today, which seeks to return to some form of international functioning, and a more revolutionary policy against the capitalist system. Berlinguer and Marchais represent sectors which, as comrade Posadas analysed, have a boss interest, a private interest in the Communist movement, as opposed to the interest of the proletariat to take power, and as opposed to the leading role of the proletariat in the economy and the USSR in the world.

However, they are weak because Berlinguer had to speak in Moscow and acknowledge the very fundamental importance of the USSR. His criticisms of the opportunism and sectarianism of the past Communist Inter-

national will not so much weaken the USSR as elevate in public in the world Communist movement a discussion on how not to repeat this again. This does not go at all in the direction of building Socialism in Italy 'the Italian way'. It shows how the Popular Front was inept in doing so. Socialism in Italy is made the way humanity has to do it, shown by the USSR, by uniting the population and workers parties behind the Party of the proletariat, the Communist Party leading the struggle to impose the dictatorship of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. This has nothing to do with the 'historic compromise', and the 'public consensus' which Berlinguer and his friends still hope for. This is the historic weakness of the position of Berlinguer. For what concerns Marchais, in the above quoted declaration he apparently supports the Popular Front of Maurice Thorez. However, he now has to support the Popular Union in France, the objectives of which are historically opposed to that of the Popular Front. Besides are these people not preposterous, when only just now discovering the wrong doings of Stalin's Communist International themselves, still apply its main directive, 'Socialism in one country', i.e. 'Socialism with the French Colours' and the 'Italian Road to Socialism'.

THE WORKERS STATE AND THE PROLETARIAT DECIDE

The Soviet Union has intervened over the last year in Pravda, also through Comrade Pelsh in the last ceremonies of commemoration of the setting up of the USSR, and in the Conference of Havana (there are, unfortunately, partisans of Socialism who to defend their so-called 'originality', their national particularities, revise the principles of international proletarianism), and directly in the last 25th Congress, through Macherou in particular, against those who revise Marxism and hope for national roads in the Communist movement. The Soviets reject the 'fronts' in which the Communists dissolve themselves or dissolve their objectives. This is no longer the time of Dimitroff who accepted in the name of the CPSU the French Popular Front. The USSR has changed fundamentally, because it is a nationalised and planned economy which, by its very nature, represents on a world scale, the conquest of the proletariat (nationalisation and planning), raised at the level of the state by means of a revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, maintained by force against degeneration as shown in Czechoslovakia, and now extending itself by means of force, supporting increasingly directly the world revolutionary process as in Angola and Mozambique. The class struggle demands that either one form of economy - private - or the other - collective - wins. The two cannot co-exist, they are antagonistic. Today it is Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, which triumph and with the direct support of the USSR and Cuba. It is the nationalised and planned economy which triumphs, it is the Workers State which triumphs. The opposition of Marchais and Berlinguer to the USSR is precisely aimed at countering the revolutionary effects which the USSR's policies are having on the Socialist parties and the petit bourgeoisie. The conduct of the USSR today tends to promote in the world workers and Socialist movement a discussion on the necessity of fronts with the Communists and the USSR to finish with the capitalist system.

The other pole of revolutionary force, the most fundamental one, is the constant struggles of the proletariat. The Popular Union of France was the result - and directly - of the Revolutionary General Strike of 1968. The fact that the present leadership and particularly Marchais have been unable to retreat from that conquest resides in the continued struggles of the French proletariat to maintain the Popular Union, and very importantly, the support which the USSR has given to the Popular Union. It is there that, in a concentrated way, is to be found the expression of the unity which exists in the objectives of the proletariat, which has constructed a United Front to go to power; and that of the Workers State, which sustains this conquest and now intervenes directly against the capitulation of Marchais, saying that this is revisionism. We draw this conclusion to show the identification in historic perspectives, the identity of interests between the proletariat and the Workers States.

THE HEALEY BUDGET. THE DISLOCATION OF CAPITALISM, AND THE NEED FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME AND POLICY.

The Healey budget expresses both the mounting contradictions between Labour Party and Labour government (Healey himself was thrown off the NEC) and the hopeless impasses of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie for some time have been indignant at the massive increase in the state budget, massive increase in loans etc., but their system also has to survive on this massive budget. It is not quite the burden they say it is, but what they are interested in is liquidating those areas of interest to the working class. This has to be seen in the Labour Party, to develop a much more powerful dialectical understanding of this phase of the collapse of the system, to see how the system is in its agony, and not simply to bleat about the cuts.

Healey's cuts are an attack on the working class, on the pretext of finding the resources to improve investment and how guarantee that resources saved are going into productive investment? But also there is no guarantee that it reduces unemployment, on the contrary more capital at this stage in the collapse of the system is more capital for concentration, more competition, higher productivity and more unemployment. Yet the budget is no solution for capitalism. Nothing can satisfy the needs of the capitalist system save a fascist solution which reduces the standard of living of the masses and submits the economy entirely to the preparation of the war against the Workers States. But, socially, capitalism does not have the strength to achieve this. There is no solution for capitalism via the budget - nor any solution for the masses via the modifications in the budget of itself.

Still, in spite of the budget, capitalism is obliged to maintain some guaranteed unemployment pay, otherwise the class struggle intensifies dangerously and, even if the leaderships are a dead loss to the working class, capitalism has no social protection against the masses.

The bourgeoisie make a centre of attacking the massive weight of state expenditure, but the state expansion of credit is an essential means to maintain the means of payment for increased production. The increasing difficulty of realising surplus value means that, even when there is a down turn in production or a slowing in capital accumulation, prices will increase to maintain adequate profit. The character of capitalism is no longer that of a relatively self-regulating system - slump, unemployment, fall in prices, recovery. Now it is recession, unemployment, increase in prices, areas of recovery, unemployment etc. It is more difficult to counteract the tendency noted by Marx for the rate of profit to fall and thus, as a rule, prices tend to remain relatively higher because of the higher proportion of fixed capital as part of

THE SOCIALIST PARTIES ARE DISCUSSING THE NECESSITY OF A CLASS ALLIANCE.

What determines the Conference of the Italian Socialist Party, which pushed its leadership towards the Communist Party, the recent rejection of Jospin of the French Socialist Party of Marchais's newly invented concept of 'alliance of the French people', is that the Socialist parties see that there is no solution with the previous policies of Popular Fronts.

The historic reason why it is so is that the conditions do not exist today, and the workers at the base of the Socialist parties reject the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie.

Fundamentally, the Socialists are not equipped to take power, but the Communists - whatever their present readiness, or lack of it, of some of their present leaders - historically are. Besides, and most importantly, the Communists have constructed the Workers State, corner-stone of world progress. The actual process in Portugal shows the impossibility of the Socialist Party leading to Socialism by itself. All this is integrally valid for the Labour Party. Whilst the Social

total costs. The example of the nationalised industries shows the tendency of capitalism - a rise in investment accompanied by an absolute fall in employment. Stagnation and inflation, state intervention and the rule of multi-nationals are the expression of this stage of capitalism. Thus, in an epoch in which capitalism tries to extend credit with an immense velocity of circulation, depreciation of the currency and devaluation become a norm (sanctioned in the recent Bermuda conference). Interest rates in falling do not mean greater possibilities for investment but in the regime of high prices a lack of confidence, simply the reflection of a decline in production. Constantly dominated by falling rate of profit and the need to increase productivity, capitalism develops a propaganda, lashing out at 'taxes', excessive spending etc. But they do not object to all state spending, and certainly not taxes on the working class.

The increasing intervention of the state has been a necessity of capitalism, partly to mitigate the worst excesses of capitalism, and partly to provide crutches for a system that cannot stand on its own feet any longer. At least a third of real state expenditure is spent in the private sector - all sorts of commodities bought by the state benefit the private sector and something like 10% of the output of the manufacturing industry is purchased by the central government. The intervention of the state is necessary for anti-cyclical measures, but also for all the actual needs of capitalism at this stage. All manner of needs for the better use and higher quality of labour, i.e. education, welfare, town planning, health, require the intervention of the state, with the inevitable need for supervisory functionaries; but the inability of capitalism to develop and expand, wrecked by its own contradictions and intensified competition, means that it tries to grab more surplus value for itself and attacks even modest gains made by the working class in the previous period and aspects which are also useful to capitalism socially and technically. The Healey budget is the mark of a very profound and deepening agony, in which capitalist attacks on inflation and the mounting costs of central government are disguises for the real issue - inability to realise surplus value, inability to compete with other capitalisms, a brutal need to smash the working class, and the total inability to do so. Hence the ludicrous Thatcher denouncing Communism and desperately trying to mend

the fences with the trade union bureaucracy. Like the Healey budget, this is no solution for capitalism.

As part of the discussion on the cuts, it is necessary that the character of the crisis of capitalism is seen as international. It is absurd to talk of recovery when there is no basis for the expansion of the capitalist economy. When even Germany undergoes unemployment and American plant capacity remains on average under 75% plus 8% unemployment, with record government and deficit financing to fuel inflation, it is a lie and a non-perspective to speak of recovery. The insoluble contradictions of the system announce its downfall. At the same time capitalism's social incapacity has been registered for a long time in the evident rebellion of whole sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, teachers, civil servants, local government employees, nurses etc. The discussion cannot be confined to being against the cuts, but it has to impart understanding and perspective, so that the Labour vanguard sees the objective basis for the alternative programme and the real weakness of capitalism. A superficial discussion of the cuts, outside analysing the scope of the crisis - economic, social and political - gives no sense of direction. Everything is reduced to a protest against certain 'evils', when it is necessary to show the hopeless character of the system itself and the immense unused possibilities to throw it out. In this the enormous budgets of the Soviet Union, the vast regulated expansion of credit, the capacity to sustain in production, increases in consumption and enormous arms expenditure, plus aid to a mass of countries such as Angola, show the strength of the superior system of the Workers State - nationalisations and planning. The Healey budget is the budget of an impotent capitalism with its back to the wall - the cuts in road building and the chaotic transport policy in general, show its incapacity to maintain even a viable infrastructure. The stagnation in education is another indication of the non-perspective of capitalism.

The logic of the discussion points to a planning in the interests of the masses, which can only be on the basis of nationalisation. Planning for capitalism means the Healey budget. The proof of planning and the justification of nationalisation lies in the Workers States. These are the discussions and explanations which are required to organise the Labour left.

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Democrats of Germany or Sweden or the Labour Party in Britain are not in electoral competition with the Communists, they have to be pre-occupied with some form of alliances with the Communist parties and relationship with the USSR, because they do not have the structure, programme and organisms to construct the Workers States themselves. The process passes unalterably through the USSR and the Communist movement; the present definition in the world Communist movement is going to alter the perspective of the Socialist parties and the Social Democratic parties. This is why Brandt said recently that an 'alliance Socialist/Communist on a world scale has to be considered'. The fact that he said that this should not lead to Popular Fronts only shows his fear that, in this alliance, it would be the Communists who dominate now because they are more equipped to reply to the problems of the present rotting capitalism than Brandt or the other Social Democracies. On the other hand, it shows that a large discussion is opened. Brandt has little to fear electorally from the Communists in his country. The same for Palme of Sweden. The fact that both raise a possible relation with

Communists shows clearly that this is a discussion in the Socialist movement - not dictated by electoral gains but by the very nature of the class struggle which demands a programme of nationalisations and planning. How could Britain be outside of this? We invite the Labour comrades to discuss all this.

In the Labour Party the struggle between left and right is a replica of the problems posed by the class struggle which is world-wide, which demands also nationalisation and planning of the economy. The left, in order to go forward, cannot ignore the discussion which is centred in the world Communist movement, but not confined to it since it is opened in Sweden, Germany, France, Italy. There are two clear sources of revolutionary forces in this stage which constantly seek each other: the proletariat, on the one hand, the Workers State on the other. These cannot be contained by just 'commercial relations' between the Labour Party and the USSR. They are going to demand theoretical, political and cultural links, to transmit in Britain the irreplaceable conclusions from the USSR of the Workers State in the British Isles.

Editorial Note: This letter of Comrade Posadas was produced on the first day of the Congress on the basis of limited reports, but it contains the complete and necessary foresight to understand all the content of the Congress. Other texts will be edited immediately on the Congress of the CPSU, developing all the aspects expanded here.

Today, we know something through reports of the Congress of the CPSU. If there are no changes, it means the process goes against imperialism because, not having changes means that they are affirming the policy, the sustaining of all the anti-imperialist struggles. The Congress of the USSR has taken place after that of Cuba and Fidel Castro went to the Congress of the USSR, and also Berlinguer, which is interesting. On the other hand, they did not let Marchais go, and I believe that the Soviets said that he was not to go. The going of Berlinguer gives value to the Congress and facilitates the pressure so that the Communist parties do not go further to the right.

It is necessary to see more because the news is quite limited. But they have re-iterated the previous position of detente and support to all the anti-imperialist struggles. In all this, the most important aspect is that of the anti-imperialist struggle, whose decisive proof is Angola. But, more important than Angola, is the constitution of Cuba which in one of its articles says that Cuba will give military assistance to every country, which ask for it, in order to liberate itself from imperialism. This is the first time this has happened since the Soviet Union originally did this, because neither China, nor Poland, nor Czechoslovakia have this article. In the Soviet Union, in the first Soviet Constitution, it was like that. Afterwards, Stalin threw it out when he made the reform of the Constitution in 1936. He threw it all out, all of it, including the International, and returned to certain patriotic dogmas.

A change is not to be expected. The Congress makes resolutions and the USSR afterwards does everything which it has to do, without the Congress making resolutions. What it is necessary to see in the Soviet Union is not what the Congress resolved but the concrete policy of the Soviet Union. If there was a struggle of open tendencies, if there was an open political life, then, yes, the Congress would be an expression of this. But, as it is not so, then the Congress continues the line of the leadership which existed before. There is no change and, above all, the most important aspect is that there is no change to the right. That Breznev is there has no importance, it does not mean that the Breznev line is there. But even the Breznev line is not an imperialist line. It is detente. But detente which includes also 'struggle for Angola', 'the class struggle continues'. And the does not say this starting now. Breznev posed this in 1966. Before, they posed that detente was for the ideological struggle, now they say, instead of ideology, that it is the class struggle and, in the next few years, they will have to pose: no, it is not for the ideological struggle, it is for the armed struggle. When Giscard d'Estaing went to the USSR he wanted the Soviet Union to make a declaration to soften the French Communists, and Breznev answered that this was a matter for the French Communists and that, besides, the class struggle continues; and he did not go to the meeting on the following day, which is not simply a diplomatic event but one of the relation of forces. France went to seek support in the Soviet Union to compete with Yankee imperialism, the Germans and the British. The Germans are very dangerous economic competitors of France because they can assemble and instal industries in France much cheaper than the French can.

It is necessary to discuss that the resolutions of the Congress of the USSR are good, they are not revolutionary but they are good; they go towards the revolutionary road because they posed the necessity of the struggle of the people against imperialism. And Cuba. They brought up the resolution to support the anti-imperialist struggles which is in the name of the Soviet Union. It is not Cuba alone as a country which brought up such a resolution; they live alongside the Yanks. When Cuba brings this out, it is because there is agree-

ment with the Soviet Union and the Workers States in such a way that, in this Congress, there is no retreat towards conciliation and yielding to imperialism. In a certain way, it is a policy of reformism with capitalism, but it is revolutionary reformism. It is reformism which maintained detente, but also detente of Angola against the reaction.

It is necessary to wait; but this is the conclusion in general. And it is very important that all the Communist parties of the world went. The fact that neither China, Albania or Japan were present is of no significance, they simply continue on the same line they had.

A very fundamental aspect which is not in this Congress of the CPSU and which Breznev did not refer to until now, and I do not believe he is going to refer to it, is why there are divisions between China and the USSR. One of the very great deficiencies of this Congress and of its preparation is the one which has the most importance. The Congress in itself does not have great importance, because it was already prepared on previous lines. The Congress approves or concentrates the objectives. This is why the unification of the Communist movement is not posed, which includes political and economic unification. Economically, it means the planning of production which takes all the countries into account, not the Soviet Union only but all countries, and then planning elevates the most backward. In planning the capacity of production is elevated and in a period of ten years production could be doubled and the problem of backward agriculture resolved.

The agricultural backwardness of the USSR, in any case, although it is backward is relative. What does agricultural backwardness mean in capitalist countries? That there is a very great limitation in the standard of life of the population. The capitalist countries have to import, to pay high prices, there is a reduction of consumption and, as a consequence, the life of the proletariat is under pressure and wages are reduced, the standard of living that has been achieved.

In the USSR there is a very great deficiency in agricultural production. Nevertheless, they help Angola, Vietnam, Polisario. Then, it is necessary to see that the limitation of low agricultural production, or to continuity in this respect, does not have anti- or counter-revolutionary effects. In the capitalist system, yes; in the Soviet Union, no. This is very important to discuss because the Communist parties of Italy and France say 'agricultural production is low'. And they don't see that the Soviets have helped Angola and Cuba in every way, and these 500 to 1,000 million dollars a year which the Soviet Union gives to them could be used to increase agricultural production. Then it is not deficiency in bureaucratic planning, but a part of the gross national production goes to Vietnam and Cuba - we do not stop criticising, but we criticise taking all this into account.

We propose in this sense that it is necessary to make social changes in production, not only in forms - like throwing out one director and putting in another - but changes. This means increasing the Sovkhos and increasing the democratic life in the Sovkhos. As is well known and as the Russians taught, democratic life means full discussion and full participation of all the masses. This elevates the capacity of thought, the capacity of work, of a country. On the other hand, the capacity of thinking now comes from the leaders, the secretaries; but no, the capacity of thinking of a country comes from everybody discussing. For a stage, it will lead to a certain amount of difficulties although not great; but insofar as the masses take problems into their own hands, it means an enormous richness! For the previous bureaucratic structure and the great bureaucratic sectors need the Kolkhos as an alliance. This is united to the advance of the revolution.

Insofar as the revolution advances and they intervene in Cuba, and Cuba intervenes and supports Angola, and Angola advances, the Soviet Union reflects this. It does not reflect itself like a mirror, but has the reflection of the power of the atom: it innundates with heat and makes them advance. It is not the inanimate reflection, but the reflection of an animation.

It is not necessary to see all these resolutions of this Congress. It is a bureaucratic Congress. They have organised the Congress and say that thousands of cells have met. We have not read one resolution, nor has there been any political life; because, if there had been, they would have been published. But, even bureaucratically, it means that the USSR must advance, because the development of the economy, of science and of social intelligence of the Soviet people, impels, demands and imposes this.

Thus, we do not expect from this Congress 'changes'. All those who expect changes to arise from the Congress are people who want surprises. We are going to wait and see how the Congress discusses, because it is not necessary to expect changes from the Congress; change will have been arrived at before. Also, in the language, in the structure of the exposition, maintaining the same positions, we can see changes. Without being changes which speak of the class struggle, they are going to be seen; and they can speak of the class struggle. I believe that, inevitably, someone is going to refer to the elimination of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the changes of the Spanish Communist Party, above all, the Spanish and the French.

What it is necessary to see is that there is no reason because there is no historic force, which can make the USSR retreat. There is the USSR and Cuba, and Cuba brought out the resolution which the Soviet Union fulfils, which is to support every movement which wants support against Yankee imperialism, the most oppressive force is that of imperialism. This is a concrete conclusion. The resolution on Cuba, of the Cuban Constitution, of support to the revolution, is present in this Congress. This is very important. At the same time, it is necessary not to remain dependent on these resolutions, but to see the world development of the class struggle and the crisis in the Communist parties, which can express and is expressed clearly in the conflict in the Finnish Communist Party, where there are two tendencies. One is the official one, which is non-Soviet and seeks the democratic alliance with the bourgeoisie; and there is the other, which seeks also alliances but maintains the class struggle, that is to say, what is happening in Finland is going to be the norm for all the others. This shows the roots of the two opportunists. But one opportunist is showing that it receives the pressure of the class struggle through a certain understanding and the pressure of the USSR.

The other very important and decisive aspect is that the world crisis of the Communist parties is not going to be discussed in Moscow but, anyway, now and afterwards, they are going to make a campaign on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and there is a single way to construct Socialism - not private Socialism for each one. Although the Soviets affirm that, yes, there are particular conditions and that one can construct Socialism with local methods, there are norms which cannot be avoided. Nationalisation of property, centralisation of production, planning of production, monopoly of foreign trade - otherwise the gates are open to allow the conditions for the penetration of the capitalist system. All this has to be discussed, because these are the elements of Marxism which are of fundamental importance now.

The resolution of Cuba to incorporate in the Constitution the armed support to defend the peoples against imperialism, has a very great revolutionary meaning. The bourgeois newspapers, for this reason, do not comment, neither do the Soviets comment. It is a combined measure, uniting the revolutionary conclusion and the military necessity to defend themselves from imperialism, because the Soviet bureaucracy tries to extend to the maximum the struggle against imperialism, to acquire more solid points of support in the war which imperialism is preparing. It is a necessary conclusion of the Workers State. The bureaucracy utilises it, but it is a necessary conclusion of the Workers State. In 1940, Stalin invaded Finland and Poland, and this was necessary for the Workers State, to defend itself from imperialism which prepared the war.

But, differently from that time, in a very superior form, the defence of every revolution implies an affirmation of the basis of the Socialist structure of the world. Then, this influences the Soviet Union, and Poland and Finland had a very great influence on the Soviet Red Army. An army which does this is an army which does not have confidence in private property, but in collective property.

This means the basis of the indestructible and unchangeable structure which determines the course of social thought. According to the leadership this can be clear, decisive, consistent, or not. This determines the economy from which arises the social relations which, in turn, create this economic basis. The Soviet Union in 1913 had 14 Kilowatts per hour of electricity per inhabitant, i.e. nothing, 80% of the population were peasants, and peasants had nothing and the bourgeoisie everything. The Russian Revolution led to only 3 Kilowatts per hour per inhabitant, because everything was destroyed. Now, they have 11,000 Kilowatts per hour per inhabitant. There is no capitalist country which has this development, and it is necessary to realise that not every place in the Soviet Union has electric light, there are zones where there is still none or a very small amount; yet, within 10 or 15 years, they tripled the production of electrical energy and it is double all the rest of the world production. With all the errors of bureaucracy, it is the Workers State which has achieved this, not the bureaucracy. It is

the Workers State, that is, the structure and the planning which this requires.

In the Soviet Union there is a very great Marxist knowledge in chemistry, physics and mathematics. But this has not resolved the problems of history. Afterwards, it will be so; but first it is necessary to resolve the economic and social problems, which is not how to produce and with what machine, but how to organise and what system of organisation of production. Afterwards, the rest follows - hence we are concerned with this task to give continuity to Marxism.

In the Soviet Union it is not Breznev who commands, nor the Breznev line; it is the line of the leadership of the Party which supports the colonial revolution. Stalin was against the colonial revolution, and he allied with capitalism against the revolution. This bureaucracy is allied to capitalism, but supporting the revolution. But they alone are not going to correct themselves because they are bureaucrats. They posed supporting the revolution and, at the same time, they do other frightful things. It is necessary to have the continuity for example over the Sino-Soviet divergences. If the USSR brings out a conclusion and discusses this publicly, it would produce within China the necessary elements so that there can be a real discussion. This is not found in 'the cultural revolution in China', which is only a little revolutionary and even less cultural. The return to Marxism is more than ever indispensable.

Editorial

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oisie and the Labour Party has not only to protest against 'cuts' in expenditure but comprehend that 'democracy' is a bourgeois fraud and it is a question of confronting the bourgeois state and its armed forces, not respecting the institutions of capitalism, the flag, the monarchy, parliament.

In all this crisis, as we have discussed before, there is an immense need for an anti-capitalist programme. In France, they have the programme of the Common Front, in Argentina the programme of La Falda, and Huerte Grande, and even with limitations they touch key sectors of capitalism. But in Britain there is no such comprehensive programme. To do this means to confront the apparatus in the trade unions and also the Labour Party, and it means the necessity to dis-ideas and finish with the line of just protest. Certainly the more profound the crisis becomes, the more trade unions will be forced to reject capitalist policies, it will become impossible to contain miners, railway workers, engineers; but all the time the apparatus seeks to decentralise and contain any class conclusions. Thus, in Argentina, Lopez Rega was thrown out but the leaderships sabotage opportunity after opportunity to finish with the present capitalist regime, which survives by using directly fascist methods. Nonetheless the programme and the perspective and the policy have to be discussed. The policy of passive protest solves nothing, there has to be an unfettered discussion of nationalisations, planning and centralisation of the economy. To ignore the Workers States arises from respect for bourgeois public opinion, fear of hurting the delicate nerves of the bourgeoisie, i.e. property. In all the discussion over the budget, defensive attitudes have been uppermost or proposals well within the bourgeois framework.

We appeal for discussions throughout the Labour movement, the calling of mass meetings in the factories and workers areas, not just long-winded apparatus meetings for the 'bona fide delegates', i.e. the conservative, respectable functionaries; where all can intervene and where there is full scope for discussion. It is necessary to discuss a programme which does not just propose futile reformist trivialities well within capitalist functioning and which solve nothing, but the alternative programme to capitalism, i.e. nationalisations of all key industries and banks, workers control, central planning, public works, a budget to meet the needs of the masses (not a support for capitalist investment), open discussion with the Communist and Socialist parties of Europe. As part of this it is necessary to pose the end of the monarchy and the House of Lords, a Federation of the British Isles and Ireland, a Government of the Left. In all the discussion the nature of 'democracy' and the 'state' is going to arise. How is capitalism going to react, how is it reacting already? It is through unfettered discussion plus the power of the world process which imposes itself - as it has imposed itself on the Soviet bureaucracy - that the left in the Labour Party is going to acquire the confidence in the possibility of a British Workers State, the need for an anti-capitalist programme, the need for the Marxist method as opposed to gross insult to the human intelligence - bourgeois empiricism and respect for superficial gains as opposed to the objectives of history.

13.3.76

Available from the Party's address: 6 pages, 5p (excluding postage). Bulletin by the British Section of the IV International 'For the organisation of the left as a tendency in the Labour Party, on the basis of the mass mobilisation of the proletariat and Marxism!'

For the Government of the Left!
For a Socialist Republic!

To open the way to a Government of the Left requires a consistent anti-capitalist programme and policy

All the events of the immediate past period show conclusively that the essential problem confronting the working class is the construction of a new leadership in the Labour party and the trade unions. Leadership is not a question of protest or pointing out that budget proposals are outrageous or saying that inflation is too high or that wages are being reduced, it's a question of posing a consistent alternative programme and policy stemming from a scientific understanding of where society is moving ie that capitalist society is in total crisis and decomposition and the only solution is socialism passing through the construction of the workers state.

The government has based itself on alliance with the trade union summits to reduce the standard of living of the masses. The trade union leaderships work within the norms of the capitalist system. Based on the aristocracy of labour, they accept the conceptions of capitalism, the need to "save the nation", accept the monarchy, conciliate the classes. Their object is to contain the masses and block their independent class initiatives. But again the historic conditions do not allow them to carry out their traditional role. They are caught in a vice which undermines their authority. To maintain themselves becomes increasingly difficult because if capitalism cannot deliver the goods, the aristocracy of labour cannot function, and is deprived of arguments to maintain its hegemony. It becomes more and more difficult to guarantee control of the working class and the miners crushing defeat of capitalism is an anticipation of even more concentrated blows at a later stage. The aristocracy of labour does not have the means to restore the damage to the structure of capitalism.

The recent Assembly of Labour in London is an example of the problems facing the working class. It certainly brought together a large number of delegates but on what basis and with what conclusions? There was much emotional heat but very little programmatic certainty, calls for the setting up of local action committees but again with what policy and programme? Tribune were congratulated for simply carrying out the most elementary of functions-opposing a capitalist budget. Such a meeting brings out the central problem, there is a lack of a consistent policy and programme. May 26 has been set as a day of action and, it's necessary that it is used as a means of developing ideas and programmatic discussion, mere agitation against the cuts is an impasse; it is necessary to develop the discussion for the programme of nationalisation of key industries and banks under workers control with the objective of a government of the left imposed by the masses and the trade unions.

One of the gravest limitations in the forces of the left in the labour party is the refusal to take into account the experience of the Soviet Union, the first workers state. This is an aspect of accepting the grounds of discussion suitable to the bourgeoisie, to accept the bourgeois arguments about the "lack of democracy" of the Soviet Union. To accept the Soviet Union as the fundamental experience from which to learn, including taking account of the phenomenon of Stalinism is a first step for socialists. The expansion of the workers states has all been dependent on the Soviet Union. Fear of relating to this is based on fear of confronting bourgeois public opinion. No party of social democratic origin has ever constructed a workers state. Periodically "an extension of public ownership" is referred to in various speeches on the left but never consistently and certainly never campaigned for.

Thus the present controversy in the world communist movement is totally central to the problems of the Labour party. The Soviet Union even with a bureaucracy which does not represent all the forces of the workers state is obliged to defend certain basic principles of marxism, in face of the attempts of sectors in the communist parties who are concerned to defend their own regionalist interests in the interests of conciliation with the bourgeoisie ie the abandoning of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the sabotaging of the conference of the communist parties, so as to defend themselves from the positions of the Soviet Union. Izvestia's latest pronouncement on the fact that the Russian revolution is the fundamental guide for parties advancing towards the overthrow of capitalism, and the Soviet Union is the essential motor of the world revolution, is part of the whole return to marxism in the workers state, even if this is qualified by the limitations, empiricism and absence of profounder elaboration by the soviet leadership.

These discussions have to be assimilated in the Labour party. It has to learn from the workers states and it has to take marxism seriously. Outside Marxism there is only the empirical rules of the capitalist mentality with notions such as formal parliamentary democracy as a high point of human history-to accept this rubbish is to accept the framework of capitalism. Now Foot talks of the need for the "Dunkirk spirit," well, well and an essential aspect of British imperialism in the second world war was the murderous assassination of thousands of Germans by terror bombing, while allowing the soviet population to bleed to death as Yankee and British imperialism watched and waited. All this "saving the nation", "maintaining democracy" etc goes with high moral protest about unemployment. But what is in question is the class war and that is fought to the finish. The bourgeoisie wage it and call in the labour bureaucrats to help them ie the latest gambit of making the capitalists invest as if it is a norm that the working class must accept being exploited. Capitalism accepts the class war, what it does not accept is the socialist perspective.

The rapid decomposition of British imperialism is part of the downfall of the world system of capitalism. The failures of investment, the rate of inflation, the famous "crisis of profitability", the social loss of authority of capitalism in Britain is conditioned by the world failure of capitalism. Vast military budgets and the failure of capitalism to develop new areas in the world sufficient to give it a prospect of expansion provide no solution for British capitalism. In spite of the attempted Thermidor in Portugal, the constitution is obliged to speak about the need for nationalisations and socialism as the

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THE COUP IN ARGENTINA AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE

J. POSADAS

28-3-76

This military coup is an attempt by big business sectors to contain the deterioration of the capitalist system. It is not to contain the increase in the cost of living or other problems, but to contain the political disequilibrium which is influencing the political organisation of the proletariat. The latest stages, the most recent years in the trade union movement have seen a process of disobeying of the leaderships which are linked to the three As, to the bourgeoisie, to Isabel Peron. There has been a process of independence so that trade union leaders are elected who are combative with class positions. The bourgeoisie, the army has seen that the bourgeoisie, Peronism was incapable of containing this process and responded with the assassinations of the triple A, the murder of trade union leaders but they still could not contain it. The coup is not only to stop the deficiencies of the economy, the profound commercial disequilibrium but to block essentially the class mobilisation in the Peronist camp, with the conclusion of tendencies and currents in the Peronist base seeking a new movement with a revolutionary class position which takes the road to Cuba. Hence this coup.

On the other hand the army now does not have the strength to maintain itself in a reactionary position. The world influence of the revolution including Portugal, and now Mozambique and Angola and Rhodesia has influenced the world revolutionary movement and also the soldiers. The soldiers of Ethiopia, and of Portugal and the struggle of the masses of Mozambique, of Polisario, of Cambodia and of Vietnam influence the military movement.

There are now in the Argentinian army, wings which seek the anti capitalist revolutionary development, not adapted to capitalism but with measures which effect the capitalist system, together with tendencies which seek to maintain the Chilean solution.

This is a military coup aimed to try to induce equilibrium in the economy, to maintain, and contain the independent development of the masses. There is a very great maturity of the masses and an important sector of the army seeks a development on the Peruvian, Cuban and Algerian models, and also on the Portuguese. The conditions are already prepared. These are experiences which the military have lived through, and they have seen that for the progress of a great Argentina, capitalism and imperialism are no use. They see that a great Argentina has to be independent of the capitalist system and there is a process, a struggle between the sector in the army which defends private property and other sectors within which seek an anti capitalist, nationalist progress with the masses.

It is a process which inevitably is going toward - and this is the line which the revolutionaries of Argentina must take by feeding and stimulating the army - making a plan of the economy, of nationalisations, to develop the economy of the

country, and to seek a united front against imperialism and to develop as a consequence all democratic, political and trade union rights.

The most important aspect of the situation in Argentina is the fall, the liquidation, of the Peronist regime, not of the Peronist base. It shows the failure of the national bourgeoisie, of wanting to combine the national development, with alliance to international capital and imperialism, even if making the policy for this interest of agreements and recognition of the workers states among them Cuba. It showed that it does not have a future. And all the workers movement which depends on this policy is annulled and liquidated.

What history has taught is that the national bourgeoisie can begin a movement which attracts the masses and then the working class develops, to seek to transform it into a revolutionary movement. The policy in these countries consists in stimulating the masses to free themselves from the limitations of the national bourgeoisie. In this process the workers can win a sector of the petit bourgeoisie, of the peasants to break the front of the bourgeoisie or the co-ordination of the bourgeoisie with the army. But it cannot expect the transformation of the national bourgeoisie. Distinct are the political forces which support the movement; the army itself can be won. The Peronist movement was not accompanied by a class policy because the base was contained and, it was the bourgeois summit linked to the big financial sectors which formulated the policy. The development of the national bourgeoisie allowed the policy with the workers states, the agreement the recognition of Cuba, but it blocked the workers movement. In the first stages the bourgeoisie sought the support of the workers movement. It had to make a series of concessions to the workers movement and others dragged along by the workers movement. But this agreement, this co-ordination is transitory. It is a transitory alliance which does not last and which a previous progress did not permit. But it was necessary to feel that it was a movement of the national bourgeoisie which placed in movement the class and weakened the power of imperialism and in consequence of the national bourgeoisie, of the Argentinian bourgeoisie itself. The error of not having understood this movement in time by the socialist and the communists prevented the socialist and the communists being able to collaborate and continue the development of revolutionary tendencies within the Peronist movement, which there were and are.

This is the failure of the national bourgeoisie which ended in a fascist policy, of daily assassinations, like the three As, with the elimination of the right to strike, of every right and of the camouflaged death penalty. In less than one year, they had assassinated a thousand, without the death penalty, by decree. Then it is necessary to draw the conclusions to show that this is the failure of the

national bourgeoisie.

On the other hand it has brought out also the failure of the communist and socialist parties who have been incapable of understanding. At first they accused Peronism of being fascist and then they practiced suivism with it. In the last stage they sought to sustain the government of Isabel Peron who represented a fascist policy. Through its nature it could not be fascist, but through its policy yes. Her policy is the same as the fascists, with assassinations, crimes, sentences, prohibitions of democratic political activity.

This indicates at the same time that every movement of the national bourgeoisie which tends to mobilise the masses, puts into contradiction the capitalist system and the capitalism of the country determined by imperialism. In mobilising the masses it allows the influence on the masses to advance on the terrain of the class. It shows that the bourgeoisie cannot fulfill even the democratic bourgeois revolution

This is clear and decisive, these are the conclusions analysed by Trotsky in 1905 and expressed with the Russian revolution. The bourgeoisie cannot make the democratic bourgeois revolution, because it clashes with its own interest. In Italy the bourgeoisie does not have to make the bourgeois democratic revolution, it has to defend bourgeois democracy and it has no interest. Its a past phase.

The national bourgeoisie has been incapable of finding a current which sustains it. It was evident that this movement led by the national bourgeoisie, led by Peron, ended in an independent development of the workers movement or of the reaction through the army, because the movement does not have its own leadership. The Radicals showed that they were impotent and incapable. They do not represent the line, the policy, the perspective of the development of the country.

At the same time that Peron fell, and was liquidated and the last stage of Peron was one simply of assassinations, the workers movement advanced in the understanding, in class security and in the Peronist movement of the need to free itself, to organise currents, movements seeking to exercise the class necessity, the Montoneros, the authentic Peronists, the technologists. It was a discussion in the communist base and among the middle communist cadres, not in the Peronist summits which expressed the need for a socialist solution to the bourgeois nationalist process headed by Peron. This movement existed and remained. But it did not remain a mass movement. At the same time this showed how at the same time that the movement with a policy of revolutionary class character was not created, bands of assassins were formed in the trade union movement who in the name of the trade union assassinated the workers, as was the case of the assassin bands of the CGT. They were bands of assassins in which the three A's were involved

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**VIVA THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL
REVOLUTION IN CHINA!
FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE SOVIET
UNION AND CHINA!**

For six months there have been discussions over the renewal of contracts, wages, factories etc, and as before there has been no change. Six months of appeals of the PCI to the government to yield and no reply. On the other hand there have been very important events relating to embezzlement, business deals, and the open intervention of the United States through ambassador Volpe and through the declarations of the government and now of Ford and Kissinger; all that is going to be consequences in the communist party and in the Soviet Union which will intervene.

There is no solution to the crisis and this government is a paper government which lets the lights go out but the embezzlers in oil or airplanes remain. The newspapers say they sell airplanes without wheels so that afterwards they have to buy them. There have been six months of discussions and now they are going to have eight months of elections and there is no concrete change. This means that the will of the electorate which was expressed in June continues to show itself in strikes, stoppages, demonstrations, meetings and factory occupations which envelop all Italy.

Big business, middle and small industry, the peasantry, the employees, the public service, all are involved. No sector is excluded. There is a constant and permanent will expressed in struggles, and advances in the will to struggle, for various demands, better conditions of work, for the substitution of the management in various sectors of production, for planning, investment, for the orientation of investment, but at the same time a reduction in the function of the factory councils. The factory committees do not appear as the motor but the trade unions appear, the leaderships and the factory councils losing their strength.

The university elections showed a firm and solid inclination to the left. There was a great abstention but it was the left which abstained not the right. Even in conditions of the frenetic increase in the cost of living, a frenetic increase in unemployment, reasons to smash, to awaken terror in the working class, in the workers families thus to give a base for the right, the Christian Democracy, the communist right, socialist right, for a plan of liquidation, there is nothing of this. The class is unified, it wants integral solutions, anti capitalist solutions as in Leyland and Fiat also.

Neither the government, the bourgeoisie or the management have found a weak base of fear, of individualism in the working class, in which every one looks after himself, deserting struggles; they have found no base by which to impose the contracts which they want. It is not the Cassa Integrazione¹ which has achieved this, because the workers have rejected it and they want it to pay the full wage and the management to be responsible for this and provide work. This conclusion of the workers indicates a very elevated political understanding. It is a lie, that it is a desperate desire for work. If this was so, it would mean they would grab hold of the Cassa Integrazione and accept what the management offered. But they do not accept what the management wants to give them and in the sentiment there is a control of capitalism and they do not accept the Cassa Integrazione. It is a very very mature attitude of the class.

In this are included the socialists, the communists, and the Christian Democrats. In this activity if there are elections the Christian democracy would get 0.50% of the votes. When no class solution is seen, each one votes for his party because he does not see another way out. The proletariat sees its strength which it can express in the trade union field but sees that it cannot do this integrally in the political field, but the trade union activity may have results in the political field.

Then in these conditions, negotiations with the management for the labour contracts, and with the bourgeoisie in the government, for the leadership of the country are two aspects which are united. The renewal of the contracts of work, the trade union mobilisations, the peasant, student mobilisations, means the country is in mobilisation, advancing in the unification of combat. Together with this there is the crisis in the political field. There are perfect conditions to weigh on the apparatus, on the petit bourgeois masses, the worker masses, the peasants, the Christian Democracy and to attract them and the socialists also.

In all this mobilisation of the class, the workers and the petit bourgeoisie, there is no desertion. The women are intervening with a decision, and very elevated political understanding. They want to work, lead and show they are capable of running the factories, and they demand right of way to intervene. Still the trade union leadership does not accept women trade union leaders and they have separate trade union conferences for women. Yet the women are a very high percentage, 40% of the manpower in Italy, and in some factories they are the majority and they are not trade union leaders. They have a Congress of women and they treat a woman as a housewife.

This is the framework of Italy, in which there is a great will, a great concentration and centralisation, a constant and coherent manifestation of the class unification in meetings, demonstrations. The will is shown in the demands which they put forward and for the political leadership of the country. "Now, now power to those who work". This is heard from the children of seven to the old people of ninety. There is no decline in the will to fight or any slowing down in the increase in the cost of living. It is sufficient to see how consumption diminishes and how it proceeds to effect not the small shop in the popular areas but the big supermarkets who have a reduction of 15-25% in sales. This is sufficient to oppress the working class and to make it seek desperately a solution.

This does not depress, or terrorise people either the workers, the women, nor the children. This process is evidently the one expressed in the CP in a very direct way, in the form of dissidences, divergences, discontents, lack of will and militant activity. In these conditions the CP, the SP and the trade unions must be a boiling pan of activity because the concern of the class is expressed and lives integrally constantly in the intellectual trade union, factory activity but in the workers parties there is no activity. The centres of the parties are voids. They call empty conferences and the class does not intervene.

In these conditions of such a class mobilisation which is constant, the attitude of the masses is expressed in the whistling directed at the speaker who is a reactionary and an agent of the bourgeoisie, conciliatory with the bourgeoisie, Storti, or at a negotiator of agreement or reforms with the bourgeoisie like Lama. But even so there are different types of behaviour. They throw stones at Storti but not at Lama or only one or two, not continued. This is the reasoning of the class which seeks to impel the communist party. They do not seek to impel Storti or the Christian Democracy but to throw them out. But they want to impel Lama, hence the attitude to Lama. They go to participate not to throw stones but neither do they applaud. The silence is equivalent to a stone, it is a lesser grade of stone. They are making the stone. In silence they make the stone. Within each silence there is a stone that is waiting.

This problem of Marchais does not appear suddenly, but it arises at the moment when the leadership of Marchais working in the name of the tendency conciliatory with the communist parties of Europe, that is the two most important in France and Italy, with a less important one in Spain, seeks to conciliate with the petit bourgeoisie or with the tendencies of capitalism. This is also expressed in the communist party. The abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is not a sudden abandonment but the stating of a fact which they have been doing already. They have never applied the dictatorship, never at any time. It's true it's not in their statutes but in the past they used to speak about it constantly, it was enough to read Rinascita or Unita.

They present the dictatorship of the proletariat as a synonym for oppression, of one oppressing another. It is not possible to be freer than in the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand scientific preoccupation develops in constant elevation and attention and that means to organise the economy in such a way that leads inevitably to advance from private property to nationalised property and the planning of the economy. This is the objective of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the basis of everything.

From this all the social and political relations originate, the centre is the economy, it lies behind daily relations. Socialism cannot be con-

structed with ambiguity and diversity and plurality of ideas, of economic relations and bases, it has to be on the basis of nationalised property. It is not a competition between nationalised property so that private property emerges to see which is the best. It is a scientific conclusion of history. Socialism is not constructed with diversity of economic lines but there has to be an essential base, to eliminate competition, and private interest which leads to the disaster of the economy, to the capitalist system.

Then it is necessary to nationalise and plan the economy in a centralised way. Socialism requires scientific bases. This does not require any plurality, it does not need it. On the contrary it rejects all plurality, because every plurality attacks the progress of the economy, of human relations, of human dignity which develops from human relations and the economy. What is this plurality? The dictatorship of the proletariat is to defend this principle. Socialism is constructed scientifically. It is not possible to construct with plurality of ideas, of economic thought because these are private interests, not tendencies of history, they are private interests. Meanwhile in socialism, planning is not a private interest, it is for all.

If the political leadership does not correspond to this necessity, what it is necessary to change is the political leadership, not nationalisation, planning and the objective of these leaderships. They are simple principles which are not resolved with plurality because plurality harms all this and impedes the functioning of the centralised economy. It's not possible to discuss in this way. The process in France is unified with the process in Italy and there are very rich conditions to discuss theoretically and politically. Hence the leadership of the communist party feels that it must discuss, because there is this concern.

The disposition of the Italian masses is to want to triumph. They are ready to overthrow this government, and to make a government of the left. Who said that the conditions do not exist for a government of the left? Who is against? The leadership of the workers parties; but the masses no. The analysis shows that they are all unified, all! Reasoning must be based on the state of the will, what is the class disposition, what is the class maturation. The class is unified in everything. Neither Storti or Nanni represent the working class. They have nothing to do with it. Lama represents more directly still a sector because he represents the communist party. But Storti and Vanni represent minute layers. They do not represent, or reflect the will of the masses. They represent small groups and the communist party negotiates with them to contain the masses. It is a lie that it is necessary to have a government to stimulate a programme to cleanse the country. No capitalist government is going to do this, there has to be a government of the left to achieve this.

THE CP LEADERSHIP DOES NOT MAKE A CLASS ANALYSIS

The bourgeoisie is a looter, unprincipled, assassin, immoral, corrupt because this is the characterisation suitable to its structure. This is the bourgeoisie. It is not possible to demand of the bourgeoisie that it should be a clean government like Berlinguer or Amendola. The bourgeoisie acts for itself as a class. The CP lacks a class analysis. They make limited analyses of the economy, they are not class analyses. There is no scientific preoccupation. The communist leadership directs itself to the bourgeoisie and reproaches it for what they are doing. And the government says "this is what is done because it's convenient" what else can it say. If they want to stop it, they will have to overthrow it.

If they have to make a programme for the development of the country, the bourgeoisie is not going to do it. The bourgeoisie only does it if it is convenient to itself, not for the country but itself. At no instance is there a class analysis, in which it is clearly shown that the accumulation of capital is an interest of the bourgeoisie. The economy now does not greatly interest them because they lack the means to expand production as they do not have the strength to compete with the other capitalists and hence they seek capital elsewhere. What then has to change, the person who leads or the system which produces the person. It is a very

simple conclusion already affirmed by Marx and Lenin and the result was the Russian revolution. These are the conclusions of the Russian revolution, fourteen workers states and Cuba has the great honour of saying (and we embrace it with all our heart): "Cuba is at the disposal of the struggle of the oppressed peoples". There is no doubt that the communist militant sees this behaviour of Cuba.

It is necessary to consider in consequence that this representation at the base of the class conception will have its consequences, already has its consequences. This is not expressed completely in the discussions in the communist party because the militant is contained, because he does not have political preparation. There does not exist any political preparation. It is not true that they are prepared politically. Unita does not prepare politically, Rinascita just as little and the life of the sections not at all. The communists demand a change in the political leadership of the country; it goes well, it is important. But if capitalism and the political leadership of the country maintains the bases of the system, the system produces the corruption whoever makes the changes. It is the system which produces corruption without which it could not function.

What has to be abolished is the capitalist system, but this means to say to the workers, to the peasants, to the clerks, to the police, to the soldiers "it is necessary to change all this". There is no need to do things secretly, little at a time. No, it is necessary to assert! We propose to do the following!

Marx in the Communist Manifesto says: the communists have nothing to hide, nothing to lose, they have only chains to lose and a world to win. This is not a rhetorical or literary phrase. It was a direct scientific expression of the process of history. The communists do not hide their intentions. They do not hide them which does not mean that we are honest and morally pure, we are this, communists are like this, but this method is the way to convince others, to convince that this is necessary. But if the communists say "look at that scoundrel" and they change this one for another minister, it is only a question of stages. Perhaps he does not start thieving the day after, because he does not have the key but within six days he is plundering and swindling, and even if directly he does not rob, he will act by planning in favour of capitalism, planning for capitalism.

The communists do not conceal their objectives and intentions because the intentions and objectives of the communists are necessary for the progress of humanity.

This is the method. The PCI conceals it. Despite this the Americans are against the entry of the communists into the government, because they see that the communist base behaves differently and they see the influence of Cuba with the present Constitution and the fourteen workers states.

THE PERSPECTIVES DO NOT FAVOUR CONCILIATION

Capitalism fears the conclusions and the consequences of nationalisation and planning. It is afraid because it would stimulate the working class to push forward its own party and also the socialists. On that account the fear of capitalism is that it may not be given time for the right wing of the communist party to take power and contain the process. There will not be time because this is no longer the stage of history in which the right imposes on the base, respect for conciliation with capitalism. The base respects nothing. It is the same as happened with Innocenti. While they are seeking to save the capitalist enterprise, the workers are saying "now, now power to those who work". This is the intention of the workers. In their minds it is like this, even if now they must accept these conclusions of the agreements of Innocenti. All this is shown in the crisis of the communist parties and it is necessary to intervene with a class analysis. The class analysis does not mean to attack the CP but to analyse scientifically. The analysis made by the communist party is not a class analysis. They do not speak of the historic strength which is the working class. They attribute all the strength to capital, to capitalism, to parliament. They do not say that the proletariat has already held five constituent assemblies, that is the whistlings in Bologna, the elections in Sardinia, the

Referendum, the 15 June and the last mobilisations. These are the referendum and what a referendum! The Christian democrats, the socialists, the social democrats all voted for the fall of the government.

It is necessary to see that the perspectives which are developing do not favour conciliation. The base is not favourable to conciliation, the proletariat is not quiet, it is not closed up. This does not express itself in the PCI, but it is expressed in the trade unions. Undoubtedly this produces delay, perturbations, very great obstacles, as with the apparatus. But it shows that the apparatus will not be able to impose its conclusions on the working class. It is sufficient to consider a very simple fact, the historic compromise of Berlinguer of two years ago is not the same as he is putting forward in Parliament, now. The previous "compromise" has nothing to do with that of today. While the previous attitude meant waiting on the Christian Democracy, in these last declarations he says that the "compromise" is a popular government, a regrouping of popular forces. This is today the historic compromise; it does not depend only on what the Christian Democracy does. There is a change in Berlinguer and a favourable change not towards the right but advancing towards popular solutions, with a Popular government which does not mean conciliation with the Christian Democracy and which in every way involves certain changes in the capitalist regime.

All this is an index of the influence which there is in the PCI, even if very light, of the revolutionary process. Napolitano in the interview to Corriera della Sera posed among other things "yes we propose to nationalise the principle centres of production, it will not be all nationalised property, a part will remain as private property". Also the Russian revolution maintained in part private property to a certain extent but not in the essential aspects. But the Russian Revolution did not do this as a method but because there was no other way. If there had been other conditions they would have nationalised everything. Instead of finding resistance, this would have found the support because it would have developed the economy and satisfied the needs of everyone who would have less preoccupation with being boss, of thinking how to work and eat. Every owner in principle is a candidate for the hospital because he must live submitted to the oppressing degradation of the fear of losing everything, and if he does not possess anything he does not have any life. This has created an individual conclusion in relation to property, to production, to life, and then the individual feels less dominated. Hence in every proprietor there is a candidate for madness.

This crisis of Italian capitalism does not finish here. This is a transitory government which is very ephemeral. But afterwards what happens. We must foresee what comes after this government. This government will profit from the crisis to plunder the population with tremendous taxes. It will seek to impose laws repressing the strikes, it will seek to contain strikes and in this respect it is already favoured by the trade union leadership with the regulation and the limitation of the strikes over the issue of the railworkers, which if not being completely incorrect utilises the regulation and the limitation of the strikes in a conciliatory way with capitalism. The Bolsheviks were the first to make strikes combining them with the demands of the population. But one of the essential conditions of the strike is that it damages the capitalist apparatus.

To damage it, means to break the interests of the capitalist. On the contrary the trade union leadership prepares these strikes with a conception of confrontation with capitalism in which it is not necessary to harm the nation not even the owner. But if they do not harm the owner, they damage the workers and peasants, the sons of the peasants. Is this not the nation? The strike must damage someone and necessarily the owner, the interests of the owner.

The difficulties in which the users of the public services are placed are very well understood by those who accompany these actions because they know that it is part of the struggle. Besides the workers do not have any other means than this. The owner, yes. If the strikes are done with the approval of the owner as is done with an orchestra, they have no effect. The proletariat does not see the class

struggle, it sees the conciliation with the management and this is what the trade union leadership is preparing. These strikes which the railway workers prepare warning the population, have to be supported and the objective should be that of imposing workers control of the enterprise, nationalisation and workers control so that the finances may be determined by a council of workers who control.

THE CAPITALIST REGIME IS IN QUESTION

Capitalism does not have a solution. This Moro government is a transitory government to save the capitalist system. It is a failure of Italian capitalism. But the reason is not that the ruling class does not know how to lead but because capitalism is a failure and whoever happens to be in charge of the system does not have any importance. It is not only this government but the capitalist regime which is in question.

All the Christian Democratic parties, all the bourgeois parties, are parties corrupted from head to foot, because they are parties developed in a stage of disintegration of the capitalist system, corroded constantly by competition, by the revolutionary world competition of the workers state which is decomposing the capitalist state. They are all corrupted parties, all! Throughout the whole of their existence, the bourgeois parties have been corrupt. In this stage of history they are all corrupt from top to bottom. Watergate and the denunciations of the CIA indicate the decomposition of their apparatus. Lockheed indicates certainly their decomposition when they arrive at public denunciations. It means that they do not have faith in the future and that the apparatus is shaken with insecurity. Otherwise it would not have made these public denunciations, it would continue as before and cover up.

The working class is disposed to wage this struggle. The will of the working class attracts the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, the youth, the women and attracts them. The working class with its behaviour attracts and brings them to demonstrations to factory occupations, to the general activity of the class. It is necessary to make a government of the left with a programme of nationalisations to underline that the Bank of Italy in front of all the swindles, corruptions and transactions should be placed under workers control and the control of the bank employees. It is necessary to programme the plan, planning and investments in the Mezzogiorno combined with that of the rest of Italy.

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objective. Spanish capitalism is in its agony. Despite the delays and timidity of the Italian communist party, Italian capitalism decomposes and opportunity is given yet again for a government of the left. In France the upheaval of the students announces a condition of civil war, all the pressures go towards a government of the left irrespective of the fearful efforts of Marchais to commend themselves to the bourgeoisie by jettisoning the "dictatorship of the proletariat". The most recent meeting of the Common Market showed only a picture of every capitalism trying to save itself with no centralisation of purpose. Yankee imperialism also with its divided counsels about the entry of communist parties into government is a picture of incapacity, slowness of response and ineffectiveness.

The workers states, even under bureaucratic leadership, in order to develop towards socialism have to expand to increase the number of workers states. Stalin never wanted the expansion of workers states but nonetheless it happened and spelt his downfall. This is the law of history now, the permanent expansion of the workers states and the revolution, the contraction and downfall of capitalism, finally convulsed and overthrown in the inevitable war; revolution war revolution. That is the class war. The struggle for socialism is not compatible with the existence and acceptance of monarchy, suppression of the Irish masses, suspension of the law to enable the police to jump on who they like, pumping huge sums into capitalist industry, wage freezes and "national unity". Over the majority of these issues there are objections or protests from the labour left but nothing consistent, nothing brought into the factories with publications concluding with a clear class programme and policy. In Britain there is the dual problem of contending with the remnants of the old social democratic thinking and the void left by Stalinism, but on the other hand the working class is not submitted to these forces, as its actions show, and the whole world structure of the revolution and the workers states is breaking the spine of British imperialism. The state of mind of the bourgeoisie is shown in its desperate hopes for Callaghan. The old phonies are going, the Wilsons, the Browns, all getting out and what is left in the labour government are simply the old cliches without any force or meaning. It is a grotesque farce which can only continue because the left in the Labour party is unprepared to take full advantage of the situation.

The tension between the interests of capitalism and those of the working class is going to deepen. There is no capitalist solution. The depreciation of the currency and constant devaluation means a more furious working class but at the

For nationalisation under workers control of every factory which does not wish to produce because it is of no interest to them, because it is not convenient, because they do not have a sufficient market for capitalist profit, while there is a market for cookers, hospitals, and hospital services.

It is necessary to guarantee a minimum wage and it is necessary to reject with all force and indignation the demand of the CGIL, of the CISL, of the UIL, of the workers parties, socialist and communists that the workers contain their demands for the increases in wages. This is an insult to the working class. The working class does not demand wages above its necessities. It's absurd. These leaders want the working class to pay for the consequences of the capitalist crisis. It is necessary to reject it. The working class must not pay for the capitalist crisis. Capitalism must be overthrown. The working class is not responsible for the crisis of inflation; it is not the demands for wage increases which provoke the crisis and paralyse it but it's a consequence of the capitalist system. It is necessary to insist on the fact that it is the capitalist system which is responsible.

It is necessary to appeal to the socialist and Christian democratic masses and to the socialist and Christian democratic leadership of the left. It is necessary to appeal to the Christian democratic left, not to those who are involved in all the capitalist corruption and business deals. It is necessary to appeal to the left Christian democracy to constitute this front and this party. There will never be a progress in revolutionary authority of the Christian democratic masses as long as there are leaders like Storti. What link can there be between Storti and the working class? What progress? Now he leaves the CISL and goes as president of a state enterprise, goes to another bureaucratic apparatus.

It is not possible to win the appeals and with electoral competition, the socialist masses, the worker and peasant Christian democracy, but only with a programme in which these masses may see a tendency to rectify, to correct, to elevate the struggle to achieve a programme of production, of wages, of distribution and of leadership which may not be capitalist, showing that it is the capitalist system which is collapsing. In this way they can be won. It is necessary to demonstrate that to cleanse, to have clean hands, it is necessary to break the apparatus of the capitalist system, because it is this which creates the condition of corruption.

J. POSADAS. 22.2.76

¹ Cassa Integrazione - Fund For Unemployment, Contributed by Management and Workers.

who killed a thousand workers and petit bourgeoisie. If they were not able to do more and the workers movement overcame them, creating leaderships against them, it is because of the vitality of the workers movement, through the world influence of the course of the socialist revolution and in part of the Cuban revolution.

The experience which exists is that the national bourgeoisie is no longer the head. The movements have freed themselves from Peronism. Freed or emerged from Peronism, they have changed. But the problem is to have a programme which shows how the road to the development of the country is the Cuban road. It is necessary to plan, nationalise and develop democracy, the total intervention of the population. This is the clear experience which it is necessary to take.

The communist and the socialist parties have been incapable of understanding the nature of the nationalist process, because they competed with it and saw them as competitors. They did not support objectively a movement which in its origin was a movement of great progress and which served to stimulate and impel the struggles to organise the class, as was the Peronist movement in that stage. Hence the result today of all these movements now which are movements of the Peronist left seeking the historic class necessity.

The masses have made a very great progress stimulated by the world process of the revolution. Educated by it, living the experience, the masses have assimilated, have learnt in the world class struggle from the development of the workers state, of Cuba among others, a class orientation. Hence arose from the first moment a powerful trade union movement which has acted and maintained itself unified, although controlled by the leaderships. It has succeeded in winning very important programmatic conquests although it could not apply them, but now it has in its consciousness the programme of Huerte Grande and La Falda.

A series of nationalisations and interventions and conquests have been made by the masses. The bourgeoisie has not been able to conquer them and has been divided into twenty pieces, twenty fractions. Hence the band of assassins of the triple A and before, there were other movements independent of the state apparatus and of the army who sustained this movement of the triple A. It is not a simply a conclusion of the failure of the national bourgeoisie but also a great progress of the workers movement. It has no leadership, it lacked a programme, policy and leadership. Its origin, in the national bourgeois movement was very weak, from the point of view of the organisation of the leadership, but also through the lack of stimulus, of examples, of support and solidarity of the workers movement and the world communist movement. And they left the workers movement in Argentina isolated above all through the lack of orientation and political leadership. Neither the communists or the socialist were a leadership. They were a world movement and neither the communists or socialists in the

epoch of Peronism had a position which helped the Peronist masses to organise themselves on a class basis within the nationalist bourgeois movement to bypass the bourgeoisie and to push forward the programme of the revolution towards socialism. Today we have the consequences. But at the same time the bourgeoisie has not succeeded in conquering or defeating the will of the masses.

The masses put up with seventeen years after the fall of Peron and put in afterwards Campora which was one of the biggest conquests of the history of the political and revolutionary movement of Argentina, in which they made a series of very important conquests, trade union and political; recognition of all the workers states among them Cuba, and Vietnam, North Korea and the increase of democratic rights, freedom for ideas, release of political prisoners, and the elimination of all the list of political detainees. These are enormous conquests which the masses have lived through and which they are going to repeat again. The masses have not allowed themselves to be intimidated with military power. They showed that they put up with seventeen years organising themselves in a public and clandestine form in combination and it was in this process that they made the programme of Huerte Grande and La Falda and prepared the conditions for the return of Campora.

Now it will be the same. The masses are not going to allow themselves to be smashed. The world process does not favour any military coup or retreat. Circumstantially the makers of the coup can maintain themselves, but there are no historic conditions for an important retreat. Neither can the Argentinian economy sustain the coup. The masses are going to rebel and again they are going to find the road and the way to organise and to push forward the process of the revolution in Argentina. The process from the nationalist to the socialist revolution in Argentina is combined also with part and wings of the army.

There is a total crisis of the capitalist system. The fact is that capitalism has had to depend on Peron and constantly there were coups and these have not degenerated the political and trade union life of the masses, but yes of the bourgeoisie. The masses receive the world influence of the revolution, the bourgeoisie, the total decomposition of the capitalist system. The masses will know how to continue and reorganise again, seeking the road to retake, to free themselves from the Peronist bourgeois tendency to retake the road to Huerte Grande and La Falda extending it to follow the road of the Cuban revolution.

To advance the economy in Argentina cannot be done from the capitalist point of view. Nationalisations are necessary, planning of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, planning of the production in accordance with the needs of the population. To reiterate the capitalist solution is to drown the economy and deepen the crisis. This is going to divide the army again, because there are tendencies who have seen that this is not the road of the progress of the country of a great Argentina.

same time an impotent bourgeoisie, because unemployment and rising prices have failed to demoralise the workers, who demonstrate with confidence. Sectors of the official left are hoping for a capitalism that is run "more efficiently", where the banks are nationalised to give more money for private industry and where capitalism can be made to invest. It is a genteel fancy which leaves out of account the class war. Workers do not want to be exploited by a modernised capitalism and the latter is not going to relinquish its control over the economy without violence. "Import controls", "directed investment" are all part of the mentality which refused to give a socialist perspective for the discussion over the Common Market. Its all part of the "national" roads to "socialising capitalism". Here the legacy of Stalinism and British empiricism and Fabianism join hands. But even here it's no joy for capitalism, as the latter exists notoriously without logical justification. Only an honestly expressed socialist programme is going to stimulate the overthrow of the system - nationalisations of all the key industries and banks, workers control, no compensation, sliding scales of wages and hours, the planning of production, the end of the monarchy and the House of Lords, workers intervention in all aspects of planning and pricing.

The statement of the NUM for a programme of direct control of management is an attempt to contain the powerful pressures among the miners for the insurrection that is meant by workers control and it shows whatever the efforts to block the working class, that the pressures remain constant. The process is leading to the end of protests, anger, and emotionalism, it is leading inevitably to the consideration of a central socialist programme. In silence as Cde Posadas has analysed of Italy, the workers are manufacturing a stone to smash the hegemony of the apparatuses. 13-4-76

They are going to feel the examples of Portugal, of Ethiopia, of Uganda, of Angola, and they are going to be influenced by this process to seek the road to advance the economy in Argentina towards planning, and nationalisations from anti capitalist standpoints.

The masses were not intimidated. The masses have conserved their will to combat, their decision. They do not feel responsible for the fall of the government, the coming of the military coup, they do not feel that they have been defeated. They have not participated at all. They never came out to defend Isabel Peron, no one came out to defend her movement. The workers movement did not come out at all. On the other hand conditions are being prepared in which all the leaderships are being changed, for example in the trade union commissions of the right and committees of the left formed, great mobilisation of strikes, of factory occupations. There have been conditions for increases in wages, for democratic demands, conditions for the mobilisation of the masses, but no one came out to defend Isabel Peron.

The military coup is in part to contain this process of class independence, of mobilisation of the masses who are installing representative delegates, of class interests against bourgeois interests, bourgeois interests of the trade union leaderships.

This continues, hence it is necessary in these conditions while expecting internal struggles in the military camp, to feel and consider that the effects of the world process will have effects also, will have consequences also in the internal struggle of the soldiers and at the same time the workers must seek a united front of all the tendencies, socialists, communists, Posadists, revolutionaries, radical trade unionists of the left, intransigently, to make a united front for democratic liberties, for a programme of production of wages, of increase in salary, sliding scale of wages and hours to maintain employment, the standard of life and to elevate production, and for the workers party based on the trade unions, elevating at the same time the working class as an essential factor, appealing to the army to intervene to make a plan of economic development of the country on the basis of nationalisations, planning and monopoly of foreign trade, with nationalisation of the banks.

We want a great Argentina, but to do it, cannot be done from the capitalist point of view. A great Argentina means to develop the economy to respond to the needs of the masses, to develop complete democratic liberties and this cannot be done with imperialist and capitalist control. The masses understand it, feel it and it is the essential factor. They have not been intimidated. When Peron was defeated with seventeen years in exile and when Campora came there was an avalanche of votes-63%. They will do the same now. The masses are not intimidated, they will not let themselves be intimidated. The military coup does not have still a secure and certain perspective. The leaders are fearful because they fear the reaction of the masses. It is necessary to promote the internal struggles caused by the difficulties through the crisis, the struggles of the masses and through the world influence of the revolution.

It is also necessary to be based on the internal struggles of the soldiers because they reflect distinct currents, and tendencies and the seeking for solutions, some combine with the masses, others with the petit bourgeoisie, others with capital and the national bourgeoisie, big business and imperialism. In the conditions of crisis of the capitalist system, the competition between the capitalist sectors become more intense and weakens its capacity for action, its capacity for concentration and of orientation and direction of the country which is the direct product of the progress of the revolution. It is not a division or differentiation of confrontation, the product of circumstances, but of the crisis of the capitalist system in which each one seeks the solution for his own sector which answers and at the same time to try to make a reply in the general defence of the capitalist system. Meanwhile the masses have an influence which disorganises the concentration of capitalism and intensifies the competition between them.

On a world scale of the revolution as in Argentina there is the advance of the class struggle, of the workers states, of Angola, of Vietnam, of Polisario.

J. POSADAS 28.3.76

THE EARTHQUAKE IN GUATEMALA: COLLECTIVE ASSASSINATION BY THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

J POSADAS

23. 2. 76

The earthquake in Guatemala is a collective assassination by the capitalist system. The longer the capitalist system continues to exist the more Guatemalas, massacres, Angolas, Vietnams are going to occur. If capitalism does not do more of this it is because the advance of the revolution prevents it doing more. Among the factors which prevent it acting more aggressively is that within the United States there is an enormous pressure of the masses which stops it intervening. The masses do not have a party or trade union which expresses this. All the rottenness is brought to light in the church. This is not new; it came out in Britain a long time back in the case of the perverted ministers, and other characters, gangsters pure and simple. It's a decomposition. What happened there, now happens in North America. It shows that capitalism continues killing and assassinating people as before.

Guatemala is not a surprising fact. It shows the viciousness, the lack of human interest of the capitalist system and it is the existence itself of the capitalist system which prevents the preparation for and the anticipation of events such as earthquakes. They let the earthquakes happen and kill people. In Guatemala they have killed more than 40 thousand political opponents, workers leaders, communists, nationalists, socialists, Trotskyists, Posadists. Assassination after assassination. The earthquake is not a chance event.

The responsibility lies with the capitalist system. The longer the system lasts the more these events are going to occur. The quicker the capitalist system is suppressed, the fewer earthquakes and massacres, and accidents at work will diminish to the point of disappearing. In a year capitalism produces many thousands of accidents at work which cor-

respond to wars; Capitalism is responsible for wars, accidents at work and earthquakes. To suppress it, means to eliminate empiricism, the egotistic interest of the capitalist system which is not interested in the welfare of the poor because it is only interested in exploitation. Society is going to take the responsibility to foresee earthquakes, to control energy above all atomic energy. When utilised, it will not be for arms but to control, to organise, to regulate and utilise the strength and energy signified by earthquakes, which is a wasted energy. It is a type of congestion of displacement and this force can be foreseen and utilised. It is not a question of saying as some communist leaders are saying "We have impeded the war"; well if they have impeded it so far, capitalism is still going to launch it. But what does it mean anyway? The killing of 40,000 in Guatemala, the people who die in the United States and in the rest of the world through drought, hunger, killings, the wars which exist, the war in Lebanon, these are thousands and thousands of dead equivalent to the atomic war.

There is not a general war but there are partial wars. This earthquake is a war. This killing has a brutal effect on the population, which makes them feel inferior, on the defensive in front of nature when it is a lie. The human being already has means to make a dialogue with nature, to place humanity in harmony in complete agreement with nature, and to see then that nature does not produce in an empirical form, all this energy. Humanity can regulate the movements of nature.

Capitalism is responsible for all this massacre! Hence it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system, as soon as possible to impede them. We do not have an individual urgency, but the

urgency of human dignity which means to defend human life, the essential basis of human dignity. It is not the defence of individual respect, but human dignity!

For all those who speak of "human dignity", the thousands who died in Guatemala, what is this? It is human indignity! And what of the indignity of the Communist parties and the Socialists? They must denounce the capitalist system as responsible, and that it is necessary to overthrow it. It is necessary to terminate with this, and to prepare to overthrow it as soon as possible. It cannot be allowed to go on like this massacring people. We don't have an individual urgency. It is a necessity of humanity, not an urgency but a necessity! If the capitalist system had been overthrown before, there would have been none of this. It would have been eliminated and atomic energy would already have been utilised for the benefit of humanity, in controlling and dominating earthquakes, eliminating the functioning of earthquakes, controlling movements and displacements.

The consequences of the earthquakes, all the consequences go against the poor population, the peasants, the workers, the poor petit-bourgeois, the pensioners, the small peasant proprietors, the small artisan proprietors, the small proprietors, and the small workshops. All these pay the consequences, that is the ones that are deprived of every protection, such as the working class, the peasants and the poor petit-bourgeoisie. Their houses have been destroyed, everything they have has been destroyed, the little which they had to live, the few clothes which they had.

There hasn't been - as there was not before in the other earthquakes in Nicaragua - any effort to come to the aid of the population or to foresee. This was foreseeable and it is the capitalist regime which instead of being preoccupied with the population - and they don't have any interest in this - is concerned with itself, with accumulation, and with throwing into the river fruit, bananas and potatoes to maintain prices. It is the interests of the capitalist system which prevents it foreseeing these earthquakes,

protecting the population and developing human settlements in the right places and giving aid. In Guatemala there has been no aid. The capitalist regime has provided an enormous quantity of material resources to kill in Angola, to assassinate, to impede the popular republic of Angola and comparatively there has been 0.0001% of aid to Guatemala. We make an appeal to the Workers States, to Cuba itself to provide aid.

Even though the aid may be concealed by capitalism and by capitalism in Guatemala, all the world is going to feel - with the working class of Guatemala - the solidarity of the Workers States and the relation of the Workers States which is concerned to protect human necessity and human dignity. It is not economic interest, but the consequences meant by the prolongation of the Workers State which has to aid humanity to eliminate every form of oppression. It is necessary to give this aid and the sooner the better.

Capitalism is responsible for all this, it spends enormous sums in assassinations, in killing, in counter-revolution, in preventing the liberations of the peoples and in preparing the atomic war. All this can be dedicated and must be dedicated to the investigation, the scientific analysis, the experiences with nature to foresee earthquakes, to orientate, dominate and to guide them, and to see that the energy which they have can be a dynamic and mechanical force to power machines.

At the same time that in Guatemala there is a disaster resulting from the capitalist system, Cuba takes the resolution - which we salute with all our Communist love - to write in the constitution that "Cuba will come to the aid of all the populations of the world who call for it, who struggle against imperialism and oppression". This resolution to serve the objective interest of humanity has to be compared with the earthquake of Guatemala to which the capitalist system has been indifferent. It has not been impotent and incapable, it has been indifferent to the tragedy and the

mortality of the population.

This creates in the masses of Guatemala sensations of incapacity, of weakness, of submission in front of nature. It makes them feel weak. This is false. They are blows aimed at smashing the Guatemala masses to submit them to the capitalist apparatus. It is necessary to make a world mobilisation, involving the trade unions, the workers parties, the Workers States, China, the USSR, to make a world campaign to prevent earthquakes and as a consequence to pose as one of the most urgent necessities of humanity, to finish with the capitalist system which is the cause of the lack of foresight in front of the earthquakes. It is not a lack of science or of technical or material means. These exist. What does not exist is the regime, the social organisation and leadership concerned with this. The capitalist regime is concerned with the preparing of the war and it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. The quicker it is overthrown, the more humanity will gain in security, and will feel itself powerful and secure to conquer all the difficulties - including earthquakes - and love and affection for humanity will be acquired so that humanity will feel protected by its own capacity.

This will be the time when humanity will be concerned with itself, not with particular or national interests or in the investment of capital.

We make an appeal to the Workers States, to the trade unions of the Workers States that they make declarations, collections and donations for the victims of Guatemala with the application of control. Undoubtedly the government of Guatemala is going to steal, it will utilise all this for plunder, for loot as they did before with collections for other earthquakes, for the victims, but the masses of the world will see the dignified behaviour of the working class, of the Workers States and will see that this is the norm and the guide and will see what is the road which they have to take to resolve all these problems. It would be an example and a conduct, one of the most important bases to show the need to overthrow the system and to install the Workers States.

J. POSADAS 23. 2. 76

Over the last period there has been no country left untouched by the very rich political developments. Whole continents prepare to end the final remnants of capitalism, thus unfolding the perspective of the complete reorganisation of human society. The question of what form it should take is again being raised, despite the fact that this was dealt with clearly by Marx and Engels in the nineteenth century. At the very time when it is absolutely possible and necessary to go towards Socialism by imposing the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leaderships of the French, Italian and Spanish Communist parties resist this, culminating in the rejection of the dictatorship of the proletariat at the French Communist Party Congress recently. It is fundamental therefore for a theoretical clarification on these issues.

We live in a society which is based on classes - divisible into the exploiter class and the exploited masses. Human society developed in this way because at a certain stage, material resources were not sufficient to provide adequately for all. As classes exist and Socialism by its very nature means the elimination of classes, as a first step to construct Socialism it is necessary to deprive the ruling class of the power which they have under capitalism. This entails smashing the state apparatus, the means by which the bourgeoisie maintain their dictatorship over the rest of the population at the present time under capitalism. Capitalism may have given certain democratic rights - which were all concessions given to the working class after long violent battles - but it can never give true democracy. The bourgeois democracy of capitalism is in reality, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. All the institutions, the economy, are controlled by the bourgeoisie; the factories, banks, workplaces, education system, press, everything. Until the proletariat at least has workers control of industry and the financial institutions and has a nationalised planned economy, it is not possible to talk about democracy.

The Marxist conception of the need to smash the state apparatus and to replace it with organs of the proletariat was not an individual whim of Marx, but was a conclusion based on a whole series of historical experiences, in particular, the Paris Commune and this conclusion was reaffirmed in 1905 and 1917. Nowhere

and never has any class ever left its stage of history without using all the means it has to defend itself, which includes the state apparatus - the police, army, courts, etc. Where are there any examples otherwise? There are none. It is illogical to suppose that as society is divided into classes, the ruling class can maintain itself by anything other than force. It certainly does not expropriate surplus value from the working class by popular consensus! In reality therefore, the dictatorship of the proletariat means the smashing of this apparatus of the bourgeoisie which maintains by force private property, and its substitution by organs of the proletariat. All the institutions of capitalism will be replaced by those of the masses, ie. Soviets, a popular army, popular tribunals instead of the bourgeois courts. It is not a dictatorship against the petit-bourgeoisie, but functions to suppress the bourgeois class. In other words, the reconstruction of society in the interests of society as a whole and not in the interests of a minority. Proletarian democracy is thus infinitely more democratic than anything capitalism has to offer.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the force to suppress the bourgeois class and thus it creates the completest democracy possible (before Socialism). All those who want to develop the economy for the collective good are able to participate fully in the decisions of how to develop the economy. The reconstruction of society inevitably develops through mass committees in the workers areas, factories, workplaces, neighbourhoods, etc. There is a natural tendency for these organisms to develop in a revolutionary situation, for example the neighbourhood councils in Portugal, the Fokonolona in Madagascar, committees in Vietnam, and Cambodia. In the past these have also occurred in Britain in the 1926 General Strike. It is around such organisms that the masses can constantly discuss, decide and apply directly. All the masses, from the children to the old people and the women - all can participate fully to decide what is socially necessary. This is the democracy of the proletarian dictatorship, and not

THE NECESSITY FOR THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

the "democracy" ie. the barbarism of capitalism, which kills and assassinates daily in Argentina and Spain and has no concern in developing anything outside its own interests. No! The assassins have no right to speak in the Workers State!

The leading force in the construction of Socialism is the working class because of its class nature and role. Socialism means the abolition of private property and the working class is the only class which has no private property. It therefore leads the struggle, attracting other sectors of the population to its programme of nationalisation of all forms of property and the planning of the economy. It is the only objective class in history, as it is not based on private property. Its interests are those of developing the economy for the whole of society, not just itself. The class struggle is irreconcilable because the bourgeoisie and the working class have completely opposed class interests. As the bourgeoisie cannot be won over to Socialism by persuasion, it becomes necessary to use force, if the proletariat is to fulfil its class role. Hence the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential in order to construct Socialism.

The dictatorship of the proletariat faces the reality of the class struggle. It is a long way off from the utopian conceptions of parliamentary democracy. Parliament never has and never will be used to construct Socialism. How can you legislate classes out of existence? How can one call a system which allows a vote every five years for people without a mandate and above all no mass discussion on programme or policy "democratic"? This is why the recent capitulation of Marchais over the dictatorship of the proletariat goes back to bourgeois conceptions and norms. To win a broad alliance of people from all sections of society, which is what Marchais proposes, goes against all understanding of the class struggle and flies against historical experience. What Marchais and company are trying to do is conciliate with the bourgeoisie, by dropping all phrases connected with the class struggle. This shows the leaderships in the Workers movement are totally un-

prepared for this stage. They lack ideas and audacity, hence they are very afraid. At a time when capitalism is collapsing everywhere, there is no excuse for manoeuvres and delays. Lenin spent time devastating the ideas of Kautsky, but at least at that time, Kautsky had more basis to maintain reformism, than now, because capitalism was much stronger. Now, more than ever, all the fundamental questions are being raised because what has to be faced is how to reconstruct human society. This needs ideas and it cannot be done without Marxism.

The abandonment of Marxism which took place during the Stalin era has left a whole legacy of lack of ideas. But because the Workers States have a constant need to expand as vehicles of Socialism and the Soviet Union, in particular, has the historic responsibility to centralise all the forces to confront Yankee imperialism in preparation for the atomic war, this means that the Workers States are obliged to re-encounter Marxism, reasserting

the class character of the struggle for Socialism. There is a direct conflict between interests on a world scale, represented by the Workers States and local interests - those of the "national roaders". The dialogue between the Workers States, such as USSR, Yugoslavia and Albania who have reiterated firmly the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the Communist Party leaderships in the West show that this discussion will rapidly gain momentum. However, as the dictatorship of the proletariat was abandoned during the Stalin epoch, now it does not exist in any Workers State. Any consistent intervention by the Soviet leadership explaining what the dictatorship of the proletariat is - the need for Soviets, the independence of the trade unions and the Party from the State - is excluded because this negates their bureaucratic functioning and raises all sorts of questions about how Stalin arose. But as the political process is so profound all these issues are brought to the fore and the discussion will not be able to be contained or prevented. Hence there can be no historic basis for Socialism à la Marchais. All this discussion is part of the return to Marxism in the world Communist movement.

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THE FAILURE OF IMPERIALISM AND THE RACISTS IN RHODESIA AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN AFRICA

J. POSADAS

26.9.76

The Soviet Union has to elevate its intervention as it is now doing in Rhodesia. Kissinger issued a warning to the soviets not to intervene. The soviets replied "we are going to intervene" "But we are in detente", "Certainly we are in detente but also in the revolution". And Kissinger had to put up with it. And the soviet reply forced Kissinger to say to Smith that it was necessary to make more concessions.

Rhodesia is a country of five million negroes and two hundred and fifty thousand whites rule everything. There is not much plurality. It is absurd, completely absurd. It's the whites who decide, not half and half but the whites, who have everything in their hands. Although they are not all buffoons, it's convenient to them to have an opposition but a moderate opposition. And all the negroes who enter the government are all of the apparatus, which is linked to imperialism.

The intervention of the Soviet Union is a very elevated event. It shows that the Soviet workers state and the other workers states - China, is shortly going to see although today it attacks the Soviet Union, that they cannot tolerate a retreat of the revolution. And they have to support every movement which tends to limit, to smash or to separate from capitalism. The Soviet Union has to intervene.

Hence the reply of the soviets to Kissinger in South Africa is decisive. This is partial regeneration and it is very elevated. "Detente does not negate support for the revolution" - this is the first time that the official organ of the Communist party, of the government says this.

It is a very great defeat of imperialism in Rhodesia. The agreement which they have reached has no value. It is a heavy defeat. They have to proceed in a matter of three weeks from complete intransigence to accept an agreement. This is a fraudulent arrangement which leaves the white majority in the same position. The five million negroes, and the two hundred and fifty whites have parity in voting rights but the police and economic power is in the hands of the whites. This means that the whites decide, not the blacks. Nonetheless when they have to recognise that the blacks have to intervene in the leadership of the country, this affirms that the struggle of the blacks is right, and the struggle in Namibia and in South Africa is affirmed with this. But also the blacks in the United States see "well that is what we have to do". The blacks are 15% of the population in the United States, then they want to have more representatives in the government.

This defeat of British imperialism, Yankee and French imperialism, the lot of them, is not expressed in the resolution which was taken but imperialism has had to take a resolution of recognition that it is necessary that the whites must yield the power, at least to share it with the negroes. It is a swindle because in proportion the whites should have a tenth and the blacks nine tenths representation. As it is the whites have the economy, and banks, the army and the police.

But this resolution was taken after the Johannesburg movement which is the first time since 1937 that such a movement has developed. This

means that the uprising of the blacks was the factor which obliged the whites to yield and made imperialism intervene in polemic with the local interest of the whites because otherwise the soviets would intervene. And this is to build Rhodesia not a Berlin. It is a wall of Rhodesia against Mozambique, Angola and Tanzania also. They want to place a wall which is their base and they forced Smith to yield, because they saw that if they did not yield, this would give bases to the guerillas, leading to the overthrow of the regime by the guerillas and the soviets would intervene through Mozambique and also of Angola and the Cubans.

This is an effort to stop the advance of the revolutionary struggle in Africa. This is the depth of it, and with a very weak conclusion and with the demonstration of force of the workers stages which is going to stimulate the intervention to overthrow this new government. It is going to harden the internal struggle of the blacks, because there is a camarilla of blacks accommodated to the whites.

Then there is the matter of the reply of the soviets to Kissinger. Kissinger made an appeal saying "after this arrangement we hope that the soviets will not intervene, will not create obstacles for these agreements". And the soviets replied "Detente is one thing, the struggle against imperialism and for national liberation is another". We continue detente but we make the revolution". It is a conclusion. It is a resolution of principles of the Soviet Union which is going to have a very great echo and it is a very great blow against the right in China. Part of the attitude of the soviets is motivated and determined by the anti imperialist struggle in Africa which is necessary for the Soviet Union and also against the Chinese. The Chinese support the other side, they are against.

In the world class struggle, the Sino Soviet divergences are not to be resolved between China and the Soviet Union in isolation but in the world course of the revolution, as now Rhodesia. The soviet position is very significant because it shows that the Soviet Union cannot tolerate a retreat in any country as it affects its own security. This is not the bureaucratic interest of plunderer but the function of the workers state, as when they defended themselves against Hitler.

It is an aspect of partial regeneration. It is the bureaucracy which leads, but it is not in the name of the bureaucracy that they take this measure. As in 1939 before the invasion of the naxis, the Soviet Union intervened not in the name of the bureaucracy but of the workers state in the contradictions of the workers state. In these contradictions it was the workers state which won and Stalin who lost. The Soviet Union intervenes throughout the world and declares that this agreement on Rhodesia is a lie, a swindle.

It is necessary to appeal for the mobilisation of the masses of the world to overthrow the whites of Rhodesia. They have no right to be there. If they want to remain as citizens, the power has to be in the hands of the blacks. Not only this, but it is necessary to satisfy all the key sectors of production, all the sources of wealth, all the transport system, the banks. It is necessary to satisfy and plan the economy. This is the conclusion for the progress of Rhodesia.

The contrary of progress is the rule of the whites and a black camarilla. The fight is going to continue anyway.

We appeal to the soviets, to the Chinese, to the workers states to intervene in this way. It is necessary to appeal to the negroes for the struggle to expropriate, to transform private wealth, private property in Rhodesia into nationalised property, and to plan production, so that it does not depend any more on diamonds and mines but on a development of

the economy agrarian and industrial, seeking a Federation throughout Africa to plan production. Meanwhile to develop the agrarian and industrial economy, they should demand help and aid from the workers states from Cuba to the Soviet Union and China also. They should appeal to China not to support or make a united front with the whites of Rhodesia, with imperialism, but sustain the struggle to overthrow imperialism, militarily, politically, socially and financially.

This struggle is going to favour the internal fight in China to eliminate the conservative and conciliatory wing close to imperialism and stimulate the revolutionary wing to intervene in the course of the world process at the side of the Soviet Union, to expel imperialism from Africa, Asia and Latin America and to seek an agreement, a united front with the Soviet Union and the unification which is necessary of China and the USSR and of all the workers states.

This resolution of Kissinger was dictated by the pressure of the African revolution sustained by the soviet intervention in Angola, Mozambique and the intervention through Cuba, and Lebanon also. Thus it is necessary to see that it is not a simple resolution that Kissinger went so that they would weaken, to win votes. No, he went through fear that the soviets would intervene. This indicates the weakness of imperialism that it does not make a confrontation with arms because it fears soviet intervention. This shows that the soviets intervene, and are going to intervene and have to intervene, because the defence of the Soviet Union does not end with the Urals, it finishes with Lebanon. When the soviets cannot make the concessions that they made in Yalta and Tehran, it is because this is the phase of the final settlement of accounts. The security of the workers states does not terminate in any frontier, it has to extend the workers state throughout the world.

The Chinese say that this is imperialism. This is anti capitalism even made in a bureaucratic form and, not so bureaucratic because it is anti capitalist to eliminate the capitalist system. This stimulates any people which wants to free itself from colonial oppression, from backwardness and racism to rely on the workers states. And to rely on the workers states, it stimulates social changes and economic transformations, as is going to happen now in Rhodesia and as it is now expounded by one of the very important black currents which wants social transformations.

Kissinger went to seek a stopper to give confidence to the African bourgeoisie to resist and sustain points of economic and also military and strategic support. He went with arrogance but he could not frighten or intimidate with economic and military arrogance either the blacks or the workers states or Mozambique which was nearby. He sought to win over a black minority to function within the capitalist system with economic concessions. This for capitalism is the least evil. But it cannot succeed because the influence of the revolution is much more powerful over the black population than these notables who have neither weight or authority to decide for the rest of the black population. But the workers states, yes.

Hence the radicalisation of the black movement is very rapid. The level of the strikes in the combativity of the strikes indicate that imperialism should go, the whites should go and they seek also social transformations. Transformation of private property into state property, planning of production, is the next step which is going to be discussed there.

It is a new stage for Africa in which Zambia, Mozambique and Angola are going to play a very great function. Angola and Mozambique are going to

be the centre because they are the ones most free of local interests and through them works Cuba and through Cuba the USSR.

The liberated zones in Rhodesia are still very precarious. They are aided by Mozambique and Angola in a very indirect form, in part by Tanzania and Zambia. But they are not very firm zones, because they cannot do anything, they cannot form an economy and still live a tribal life.

They have quite a few tribal conflicts. Besides the bourgeois wing already constituted, there are tribes of particular origin, language and culture and they clash. The ideas of socialism unites all, as in Lebanon. In Rhodesia there are twelve particular cultures, small sectors who have developed with particular cultures and then the leading layer exploits this, to negotiate with the others.

Lenin posed; self determination on the basis of progress, and all the representatives of these conflicts are eliminated. This is not the epoch of separate cultures, separate ethnic races, but even with the maintenance of this, it is necessary to unify all, so that afterwards separate cultures can disappear. Culture is indispensable. This is a very beautiful problem to resolve. The original problem of the USSR is reproduced among the negroes. In the USSR they united many separate populations which also had tribes. There was Mongolia, yellow blacks and in Rhodesia they are all black which is the same. In the USSR they united them. It is true that the proletariat was there and the party which carried out the function of unifying them through the workers state.

The solution in Africa is an African Federation in which all are united with cultural self determination but centralised economically so that in twenty years ethnic and cultural self determination would be eliminated. Capitalism is based on all this to maintain the differences, the confrontations, the local interests and that is the error of the Soviet Union, in not having related to these problems and not having developed a programme.

And one of the necessities which is imposed is that they have to provide a programme, otherwise they cannot advance. And they cannot advance creating a new bourgeoisie and based on a bourgeoisie. Imperialism does this. Liberation elevates the conditions to resolve, to see with the programme of socialist self determination.

Through the ethnic antecedents, separation is maintained but there is a unified planning of the economy and in a few years the differences are eliminated. In Yugoslavia also it was like this. There is still the backwardness in handling these problems, which is the backwardness of the bourgeoisie, who cannot resolve any problem of history, because the progress of humanity is not made through private property but collective property. All the forces of progress are based on collective property.

All the racial, ethnic, tribal problems which are very great in Africa only find a solution in socialism. This is science.

J. POSADAS. 26.9.76

The death of Mao Tse Tung, the unification of the Communist Movement and the world situation

J. Posadas

10.9.76

The death of Mao Tse Tung is not going to change fundamentally nor partially the process in China which is determined by the internal struggles. Although Mao Tse Tung had not intervened for fifteen years in any important problem, nor had positions, nor texts, he was a political centre and co-ordinator of tendencies. His disappearance leaves a void and it is going to impel the tendencies to more acute and open confrontations. But the level of confrontation is determined among other things by the base itself of the tendencies which until now did not appear solidly.

Chiao Kuan Hua has just declared that "in a class society war is inevitable". That is to say that the war is inevitable between capitalism and the workers states. Although he refers to the USSR as if it was going to launch the war, it is a very indirect accusation because he poses the "class struggle" and the "class war".

This process has to produce changes in China. There is no political life, there is no trade union life, there is no intervention in the world problems in accordance with the need of the workers state but only with the need of the leading bureaucratic layers. The support to the fascist Junta of Chile, the support to NATO does not respond to the workers state. These are not mistakes, they are counter revolutionary positions which express the existence of bureaucratic layers which have very profound interests like those of Stalin when he was against the revolution, when he betrayed the Spanish revolution.

But now the conditions for Stalin do not exist. On the contrary today the conditions are more and more pronounced to impel the unification of the workers states or at least the planning in common of the workers states, economically and politically. There is no scope for the right, because capitalism cannot tolerate any alliance, any lasting agreement. In every capitalist country, the crisis advances more and more and the revolution also. In Germany the dominant discussion during the present electoral campaign is "what to do with the other Germany" which shows that the public opinion of people is very profound, and the capitalist crisis also, because they see the influence of the German workers state.

The disappearance of Mao Tse Tung is going to stimulate the more open intervention of all the currents although it is necessary to wait for a period to see how they develop. But a current which is essential and is going to appear very soon is that of retaking the alliance with the Soviet Union. This is going to be one of the most profound

forms, as the changes in China are going to show the maturation of the political revolution in China. If in a short or long run - but above all shortly - there is a closer link with the USSR, it is going to create a new world situation, because imperialism now is not going to have a centre to support, to speculate and play with. Moreover China is not very consistent and sustains "the dictatorship of the proletariat", "proletarian internationalism", the "construction of Socialism", the "intervention of the popular masses". Although it does not apply them - because to support Chile is not proletarian internationalism, to support NATO is not proletarian internationalism - they are principles which they must sustain and that are going to weigh in the world communist movement, principles which are concessions between distinct currents which they have to allow to be formulated even while they make another policy.

These concessions are aimed at layers of the party who want this. It is not simply to make a eulogy of the peasants or normal people but for the people of the party. They are two vital principles of the revolution which express necessary and just positions. And this is going to revive and produce above all two very great effects. The first is that it is going to increase the forces of the world communist movement, the programmatic positions and principles "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "proletarian internationalism" and in the second place it is going to correct also the chauvinist and reactionary position of the Chinese. It is going to reanimate the discussion and open a period in which we must intervene very, very acutely but with much ductility and flexibility to weigh in the world communist movement, in the socialist, nationalist and catholic movement because this process in China is going to impel the left.

At the same time it is necessary to observe the reaction of imperialism, because imperialism did not base itself on Mao Tse Tung but on the bureaucratic layers who being bureaucratic are in the party. The most recent changes i.e. that of Teng Peng and the last confrontations in the factories including a part of the army, show that there is a very acute fight which does not come to the surface in a programmatic form but which is a very great struggle. Although it may not appear immediately it is going to break out. It is not that conditions have changed with the death of Mao Tse Tung but that a containing force has gone. As the programme did not exist, the role of Mao Tse Tung was fundamental, because it substituted for programme and policy. He was programme, party, tradition, consistency; he concentrated the forces and determined the political decisions, containing the functioning and the life towards revolutionary tendencies. He contained them through the authority and the weight which he had and through the lack of a Bolshevik party. Stalin exercised the power which he exercised in the USSR, after he had assassinated the Bolshevik party. Before he could not do it. Before he discussed programme, policy, experiences Congresses. In China there has been none of this, there has not been a Bolshevik party.

The death of Mao Tse Tung is going to impel a great deal the discussions and alter the relation of world forces. This is not an immediate process, it depends on the level of internal struggle and agreements, because the tendencies are strong. With Mao Tse Tung, the right had quite a lot of force. But undoubtedly it is going to stimulate the struggle.

The bureaucracy is not the result of this process. It makes a policy determined by its social interest. In the beginning the bureaucracy cannot have social interests; it can commence by political interests but immediately the social layers who have social interests, in the usufruct of the workers state follow them. It is not simply mistakes and errors but social interests, that are at stake. If it was just mistakes and errors reality would correct them. It is a social layer based on power and has a part of itself inserted in capitalism and in the conception of private property, of private usufruct. It is this which creates the policy which affirms these interests and afterwards it is itself taken with this policy and cannot escape. This was Stalin. But now it is not the epoch of Stalin, now it is not the epoch in which the bureaucracy can do this. It can make a bureaucratic policy, but the whole world does not allow it to sit down, to stabilise and develop itself. And there is no bureaucracy of any country of the world which can sustain itself in stages or for much time if it does not extend itself on a world wide scale. Hence Albania retreats and China in part also. There is no place for Stalin.

This process is going to develop a series of problems, among them the intervention of the trade unions of China which until now has not existed; to throw out this National Chinese Assembly, placing its functioning more linked to a soviet form, with the principle that the soviets apply - although not consistently but they apply it - which is the revocability of mandates, accompanied with the programme of the candidate, what programme does he have? What policy? and to retake and reanimate the political discussion on the basis of achieving the principles. It is not that this arises through the death of Mao Tse Tung. If he had lived, the same process would have come about, but as he was a centre of authority which contained events, then with his death a centre disappears and makes way for the free play of tendencies. But as they are tendencies which have a mutual fear, the free play is controlled. But anyway it is going to break out. It is symptomatic and important that the Chinese people came out on the streets with red flags and singing the International, something which is seen on quite a small scale in the USSR.

This is going to produce also at the same time a change of relations of forces with imperialism. If the Chinese enter into an acute fight, although they do not succeed immediately in returning to unite with the USSR, it would alter all the world relations, as much with capitalism as with the workers states. Hence it is going to force an accentuation of the soviet principle in the workers states and is going to weigh on the communist parties. All the conciliatory and opportunist communist parties are going to have a lesser weight because China and the USSR are the two essential centres without which there is no communism. They can unite all the other communist parties together - of which the two biggest are the Italian and the French - but the influence of China and the USSR is very great, infinitely more.

The fundamental aspect of the death of Mao Tse Tung is the changes which it is going to mean in the relation of world forces and between the workers states. It is not going to be immediate, because the centre which supports itself on the right has strength but it is going to accentuate the internal struggle and define the steps much more: because imperialism is based on the policy of China. For this reason imperialism has to some extent a complacent attitude in relation to China - but has never stopped recognising Formosa and it has given them atomic arms. This is to say that imperialism sees this policy of the Chinese as provisional.

This is going to accentuate the internal disequilibrium and favour the tendencies which seek a consistent class policy. It is not an immediate perspective but it opens the road because ideas, experiences, analyses are defined that none of them have in a complete form, neither the soviets nor the communist parties. The closest to them on a general level are the soviets; also the Cubans, Mozambique and the Vietnamese. But the ones which weigh and determine are the soviets. As a consequence this is going to accentuate also within the Soviet Union, the

tendencies which are close to the workers state. It is not necessary to expect immediate results but in a short stage, yes, taking into account that the Chinese bureaucracy and the imperialist government of North America accepted the visit of Nixon to China. It was all prepared, and the result was zero. In the recent period almost all of the great leaders of world capitalism went to China and they gained nothing either. On the contrary the soviets a short time ago declared "important changes will come in China". And this present situation is going to favour enormously these changes and it is going to favour consequently the revolutionary tendencies of the world - among them ours - because they have to discuss ideas, experiences, objectivity and objective programme. If the centre supporting the right can continue dominating - because the right alone cannot triumph - it will be for a short time because they do not have perspectives. The perspective of China is not the war against the USSR but the elimination of imperialism. Now there are no more stages for Stalin nor for Hitler. The conditions do not exist for this anymore. While Pius XII blessed the guns of capitalism, today the church has to fight within itself seeking to impede support for progressive movements or shut up. The centre was to sustain capitalism, today it is against.

Together with the progress which is meant by China and the intervention of Mao Tse Tung, it is necessary to emphasise and discuss the later stagnation, a stagnation which does not come from China but from a previous stage of the world revolution, a political stagnation together with economic and social progress. But in fundamental problems China had to decide with the workers states. Even taking backward positions, when it had to decide, it was with the workers states. This is to say that the structure of the workers states weighs more than the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy of the Stalin type cannot give any more, because the world revolution weighs on China and impedes the consolidation of a layer far from the revolution. If the revolution does not live, this layer dies. Hence it tries to control the programme the revolution so that it does not bypass the limits of interest for itself. But it cannot do it, hence it is overcome.

But the bureaucratic attitude of the Chinese was not new. The soviets did it before and in part also now, i.e. conciliation with capitalism. It is not just the particular policy of the Chinese but it comes from the bureaucratic conception of the revolution. This cannot be followed, because the workers state cannot tolerate conciliation with capitalism nor can capitalism sustain conciliation with the workers state.

It is necessary to propose public discussions throughout China, in the trade unions, in the factories, in the country, on the consequences of the death of Mao Tse Tung, the succession and the programme, a programme for the united front between all the workers states with an anti capitalist programme, to eliminate the policy of support to Chile with the intervention of the trade unions, so that meetings, congresses, are called with an anti capitalist programme and with appeals to the masses of the world for the struggle against capitalism, so that the trade unions in the factories, and in the country intervene in all this. The trade unions at the moment are annulled, neither does the movement of the Communes function. Before they functioned. This is to say there is no organised political life but there are apparatuses which substitute for the functioning of the cell, of the party, of the factory meetings, of the trade union, including the National Assembly which being a copy of a bourgeois parliament, never meets. It is the apparatus of the party which substitutes for all the organs. The soviets do not criticise, do not attack this functioning of the organs in China because then they have to draw the conclusions for themselves also. But Vietnam which is to the left of the Chinese and the soviets, is impelling China, and the situation in China in its turn is going to favour Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

A programme is necessary which accompanies the economic progress of China, which is very great with the political intervention of the masses. It is aimed to form an agreement between all the workers states for the planning in common, for the unification between the workers states in a united front against the capitalist system, and in that particularly the unification of China and the USSR.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the communist parties and to the workers states, so that they intervene in China, offering a united front, agreements, and planning, and aimed at the Chinese masses also, so that the soviet trade unions, and the workers states intervene towards the Chinese masses and the leadership, appealing for unification against capitalism for the final settlement of accounts. Capitalism is preparing the atomic war as the last means to survive and it is necessary to foresee and prepare for it by taking the initiative. It is a final settlement of accounts between capitalism and the revolution. As a consequence the workers states have to take the initiative with the necessary military measures to smash imperialism before it reacts, because capitalism is going to launch the atomic war whatever the circumstances. There is no other means to try to survive, consequently the workers states have to win historic advantage, which although it may be only half an hour, is an immense advantage to save lives, prevent disasters and catastrophes which the war of imperialism is going to bring to humanity.

J. POSADAS. 10.9.76

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THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL AND THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY

J. Posadas

14.3.76

This Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has to be received in all the spirit of communist love and affection. It is the same bureaucracy which killed Trotsky and these descendants who killed Trotsky, we support and call upon to impel the communist regeneration and as part of that to discuss the need to organise and reorganise the mass communist International.

The communist International is an objective necessity of history. It is not the instrument to measure one party or another. It is a scientific centre of organisation of the collective life of the world. It is a centre which develops the most elevated scientific principles. This is the communist International. It was like this in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. If afterwards there was a retreat, it was through Stalin but not the power of Stalin but the historic conditions which allowed Stalin to develop. The communist International is indispensable. The communist International generalises the experience, communicates it as a scientific instrument, allows one to achieve in the communist parties, the unification of the level of theoretical understanding, political understanding and of the most elevated experiences.

It is a lie when capitalism says and some communist parties, that the "Communist International is an instrument which now does not correspond to history". The Communist International is not an instrument to defend the interest of the most powerful country against the smallest but to generalise experiences to unify the creative capacity of the masses through the workers states and to come together to organise the power where it is. In this way the communist International functioned, if it did not continue in this way it is because Stalin degenerated the communist International.

The Sino Soviet unification is an instrument which is very powerful and necessary for the progress of humanity. This has to be discussed. The Chinese leadership is bureaucratic, conciliatory with capitalism but the Chinese workers state has a base superior to the bureaucracy which leads it. And in this way just as Stalin was defeated, also the conciliatory tendency within China will be defeated. It is necessary to propose in the communist parties, all the communist militants must propose that the Sino Soviet unification is necessary! The unification of all the workers states is

necessary! It is necessary to make this discussion rapidly, now, immediately without stopping, without interruption; it is necessary to unify the workers states, to plan the economy of all the workers states, to plan the economic, and military policy with the full right of the discussion of the experiences, of the conclusions of all the parties. It is necessary to measure the parties not as "the small and the large", not as the "largest party has more power than the smallest" but as with science to give scope to the scientific capacity and intelligence of the workers states. It is not the most powerful which wins or determines the course but intelligence can be the contribution of the smallest, Albania for example. This is the Communist International.

The degeneration of the Communist International, of the Third International was not a work of the programme and the policy of the Communist International but of the retreat of the world revolution which allowed the rise of Stalin. It was not an error of Lenin or a mistake of Lenin. No! These were the deficiencies of history which today no longer exist. One of the essential points of the discussion of the communist parties must be the unification of the communist world movement on the basis of the anti capitalist programme and of the construction of socialism, on the basis of soviet democracy.

All this must be done with the participation and the support of the revolutionary world movement, whatever its origin, or strength. On the basis of the movements of the most backward countries - as in the Sahara with Polisario - they go directly from the Polisario to the workers state. They say "they want to construct socialism". This is the most urgent task which the communist parties must discuss. Every communist party closed in itself, develops a consciousness, understanding, policy and sentiment of isolation which segregate it and make it a small island in the world which is united by communism. It segregates and develops then the bases for bureaucratisation, for the apparatus. It is a constant and uninterrupted necessity that all the communist militants should have this conclusion present in their mind.

Socialism is not constructed with the unification of countries. Socialism is a scientific conclusion which is supported on, based on an objective need for the development of the economy, of science, of

technology, of productivity. Economy, science, technology and productivity are strangled by capitalism which does not allow them to develop. In the workers state if they are in the custody of the bureaucracy, they are not held back or strangled as in capitalism. In the workers state, they are in custody with the elimination of the bureaucracy, they are going to develop unquestionably.

For the construction of socialism, the base for the statification of property is required, the planning of production, the elimination of the bourgeoisie and nothing of pluralism but socialism. In the Congress of the CPSU they functioned as a Communist International; not the same but similar in many aspects to the Communist International. The soviet bureaucracy has had to function like this to defend itself, and also because the soviet working class has a level of political culture, of organisational intervention, of combative resolution that the bureaucracy is obliged to make these changes. It is not a merely reproductive change of the bureaucracy. It is a limited, contained reply from the formidable impulse of the soviet working class.

This resolution of the Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union at the same time that it expels 500,000 members linked to bureaucrats, that it shoots functionaries as thieves, expresses the very great drive of the soviet working class. The soviet working class is the most formidable, the most complete and the most powerful in history. Without the marvellous soviet working class, fascism would have triumphed. The soviet working class has weighed in the CPSU. It has not weighed in an effective form in the constitution of workers in the leadership of the party. There are some, but very few.

The resolutions which they have taken are on the road of the necessity to develop workers power in the world. This increases the conditions for the development of the workers movement.

We feel that we are an indispensable factor in history. Undoubtedly, even without us, history goes on the same path, even without Lenin, it would have done so, but with a very great slowness which would have allowed a retreat in history. We are conscious of our function and seek to carry it out in the best possible way.

J. POSADAS. 14 MARCH 1976

USE THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE SOCIAL CONTRACT TO PROPOSE THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The Callaghan government, with the active co-operation of the trade union leaderships, sustained by the aristocracy of labour, is totally dedicated to reducing the standard of living of the population and to stimulate the competitive capacity of capitalist industry as against the other capitalisms. It is the failing expression of the alliance of imperialism and the social democracy. It shows the incapacity of capitalism in this ultimate stage of its agony to reconstruct itself or provide any perspective of recovery. The last speech of Callaghan is a declaration of war on the masses — nothing but reduced standards of living with no perspective of improvement. Healey prepares the way for further attacks on the mass of the population, by foreseeing that a new world recession is developing for 1978 — with the world capitalist economy not having recovered from the last major world down turn.

The working class has had to endure a great deal from the structure of the now decrepit British Empire, but it is aided in its quest for emancipation in this epoch from the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, by the scope of the world socialist revolution and the elevated intervention of the Soviet Union and the workers states. The working class and those sectors in the Labour Party, intellectual sectors, etc. who want to advance, work now in an environment which favours them and on the other hand deepens and precipitates the crisis of British imperialism. Thus the rejection by the workers of the pay freeze, shown especially in the intervention of the car workers, throws the trade union leadership into confusion and exerts a pressure on the Labour left to seek for a coherent solution to a crisis for which capitalism has no answer. This cannot be found simply in the posing of new wage claims, without an accompanying programme.

If the alternative is left at wage freeze or wage increase, the basic issue remains the same. If there is a wage freeze, capitalism rationalises everything in its class interest, reduces all the social services and increases prices with that cynicism renowned the world over, calling it "freedom and democracy". If there is a wage increase, capitalism raises all prices accordingly, ejects the small capitalist and continues to reduce the standard of living. This is also referred to as "freedom and democracy". Naturally the workers, who reject the rotten charade of the trade union bosses called the social contract, are not seeking another substitute called "free collective bargaining", but a genuine recovery of what has been lost and a further increase in the standard of life, which capitalism cannot concede. This means in the short run the imposition of an automatic increase in wages according to every price increase, with the objective of imposing workers control in all enterprises and the expropriation of the key industries and the banks. **THIS IS THE ONLY SOLUTION, THE SOLUTION OF THE WORKERS STATE.** Capitalism functions in its class interest. All the talk of investment is a lie. The standard of living has been reduced but where is the investment? Certainly not in manufacturing, rather in finance, or real estate. It is not a question for the capitalists of an objective assessment of the economy for public interest, but where they can gain most profit. And if they do not like the perspective in Britain, the money is used elsewhere.

This immense crisis of the Callaghan government, its confrontation with the masses is part of the daily polarisation of forces on a world scale, capitalism versus the forces advancing towards socialism. The fundamental reason why there is no solution for the Callaghan government or any government geared to capitalist perspectives, is that the world economy of capitalism has no means of generating new markets and it devotes a high proportion of its resources in research and investment to military confrontation with the workers states. All the capitalist economies are in this abyss. They are all submitted to the needs of the final encounter. The Barre plan in France, the Andreotti "austerita", the crisis of lack of investment in Germany and the insurmountable unemployment and drop in living standards in the United States, are all the symptoms of a regime in mortal sickness and faced with a structure of worker and revolutionary states, led by the Soviet Union, with which it cannot compete.

THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY MUST SEE THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS STATES — WITHOUT THIS THERE IS NO PROGRESS

British capitalism has no ideas and little authority, it retains its capacity in part to resist the process, because of the weight of the imperialist infection of the past. All the rubbish about royalty, about the uniqueness of parliament, all the anti-Soviet bilge has been constituted right into the Labour movement by the aristocracy of labour, whose most classic expression was the support given to the first imperialist war in 1914. Taking advantage of the degeneration of the workers state and parties in a previous period and limitations since the epoch of Stalin, the sectors linked to capitalism in the Labour Party and the unions try to prevent the maturing of new teams in the Labour Party, by making anti-Sovietism the key centre. They try to inhibit discussion of the role of the Soviet Union, ignore the historic significance of the defeat of the nazis by the Soviet Union, and now conciliate with capitalism particularly for example over the

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THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT WITH AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

J Posadas

30-12-76

The actual level of the class struggle in Britain shows the necessity and possibility for a tendency of the left functioning now, even with the resistance of the Labour and trade union leaderships.

As we have analysed before, the lack of a life of marxist tradition and of democratic soviet functioning of the trade unions, has led the workers' movement — the trade unions, workers centres and Labour Party — to impede the functioning of revolutionary tendencies.

The non-existence of an important Communist Party — there are fewer and fewer members of the British Communist Party — the stage of Stalin, reformism, before, during and after Stalin, together with the development of the British economy and the power of British imperialism which was based on exploitation and massacre in the colonies, has generated a workers bureaucracy and the Labour Party is based on this. A trade union and political structure has developed which supports the workers aristocracy and on this the capitalist system rests and is based.

The Labour Party has been formed, structured, organised and developed, based on this function in these conditions.

Now, it is not the same. What is being discussed and in a very powerful form, is that the progress of the world is made by the workers states. Neither North America, nor Britain, France, Germany or Japan, the only five powerful capitalist countries, can compare their development with the Soviet Union. They conceal all this, and at the same time, there is an open dispute of these capitalist countries, which are all imperialist, with the workers states. It is a dispute on the superior level, function and development of the workers states, whatever their origin from their formation until now; for example, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Yugoslavia. The masses of the world see the development of these countries, which have come from a very profound, an enormous backwardness in history and in 40 or 50 years, they have all become very developed industrial countries, which have eliminated the hunger, unemployment and epidemics of the capitalist system.

This is also being discussed in Britain. It requires more time, because the structure of the aristocracy is more powerful and because there has not been a revolution, as in countries of central Europe, which are now workers states. But this is discussed in Britain, in the workers vanguard and in the advanced sectors of the proletariat and petit bourgeoisie. Also it is discussed in the trade union camp, because they see that any demands which are achieved, wage increases and better conditions of work last only a short time, because they are immediately followed by price increases and increasing difficulties of living. The masses are learning that demands are not enough, but it is necessary to make a government which ensures employment and security. They see this in the workers states and not in the capitalist countries. The British masses live with this preoccupation and they show it.

The Communist Party has not developed or participated in any important activity. It is being liquidated, disintegrated. They have fewer people than before, because

they have a policy of a sect and moreover, right of the right and with an alliance with private property. They are reformist and conciliatory with capitalism in conception and analysis of thought of the economy and the history of class struggle. As a result of this they cannot have any influence in this process. They cannot channel, nor gather or organise any revolutionary force. On the other hand, the intellectual base of the Labour and trade union movement is concerned to know and understand. They see that all the future of British imperialism has collapsed. The lira is an unstable currency, but the pound is a currency which trembles. In other words, the instability of the pound indicates the decay and collapse of British imperialism.

The liberation of the colonies, the struggle of the colonies against imperialism, the lack of possibilities to keep colonies as they did before, and now the cost of keeping them is more than the benefits they receive, all this weakens British imperialism. Conditions are developing which are a base for the development of revolutionary tendencies based on a programmatic and political analysis. It is necessary to take the discussion onto this plane. At the same time as it is necessary to intervene supporting strikes, to orientate and to give our opinions, it is necessary to intervene in this form, and analysing, as a marxist conclusion that the Communist Party does not understand anything of this. It has neither the capacity, nor the pre-occupation or the force and cannot develop the force. On the other hand, the Labour Party and trade unions are where the masses are concentrated and from where currents and tendencies can arise and develop. Nevertheless, in this stage they do not have the possibility to be leaders or to advance much. But it is essential to develop this discussion.

British imperialism is dis-integrating. The fall of the pound is not the only expression, but also its lack of influence and authority in the world. It doesn't have any influence, any authority. Therefore there is no possibility for capitalism to pass from this situation to reanimate itself. This

indicates that capitalism will not be transferred or succeeded either in a parliamentary form, or gradually, but the step from the fall of British imperialism to a socialist government will be violent. Now there is a "socialist" government. The masses have very big and continuous experiences of the Labour government. Looking at the Labour government, they feel that it works as an administrative agent of the capitalist system. The essential pre-occupation of all labour governments is to maintain the competition of British imperialism with respect to other capitalist countries in the world. Whether it is the problem of the pound, the problem of wage increases, inflation, the cost of living, they adjust it all in accordance with competition, the competition of British imperialism with the rest of the capitalist world. They are Labour and trade union leaders from which one cannot expect any change, any transcendent measure. All the changes that they make, are because they have to concede to the enormous pressure of the masses, in order to avoid even worse evils.

There are the conditions to influence a public discussion between intellectuals, trade union and political leaders, that British imperialism cannot advance any more and the crisis is not passing, but is total. Analyse how the structure of British imperialism has weakened, disintegrated and collapsed, how countries want to liberate themselves and to make agreements with other countries. If they still remain in the Commonwealth, like Australia and others, it is because of layers which have interests with British imperialism and feel that if they are independent from British imperialism, they will fall. They want to be bound to British imperialism in order to be able to continue living. But these layers do not represent the power of the masses.

The recent events in the Caribbean, with Jamaica, Guyana and Trinidad, show the very elevated growth of the struggle against British imperialism in all the colonies. This weakens British imperialism internally as well.

It is necessary to carry on an activity, publishing texts and writing articles which illustrate, teach, orientate and explain to intellectuals and trade union and political leaders of the proletariat, to the petit bourgeoisie and leading cadres of the workers movement and militant cadres, the necessity of a socialist programme that cannot be a Social Democratic programme.

A socialist programme has to be based essentially on expropriation, statification and planning of production. Any programme within the framework of the capitalist

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THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN BRITAIN

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system is not of any benefit for the masses. It is simply a programme within the capitalist system, whoever produces it, aimed to defend and maintain the competition of British imperialism with other imperialisms. It is nothing more. While the standard of life of the masses doesn't advance, it falls back, while the level of wages falls and unemployment increases, then what is there to expect of the Labour government, what is there to hope from it?

The discussion shows that no Labour government can respond to this necessity, when the masses are ready to advance. It is necessary to push forward a campaign of public discussions, persuasion, clarification on all these problems, showing that there is no perspective possible within the capitalist system, no improvement, no agreement, no change. It is necessary to make a plan of expropriations, planning and workers control and to discuss.

It is only necessary to make a comparison with the workers states. There is a resistance in Britain to the workers states? But who has this resistance? It's the leaders. The British masses, no. The British masses, stimulated by the workers states have made a series of soviet type measures, seeking to nationalise private firms and to control them. It's not the masses who are prejudiced and reject the workers states, it's the leaders.

The life of the apparatus, the product of a selection has impeded the development of revolutionary tendencies and revolutionary cultural life and British imperialism has in the leaderships of the Labour Party and the trade unions, a layer which dominates all the anti-soviet apparatus. Anti-soviet means anti-statisation, anti-planning, they are against all this. They are based on the errors committed by the workers states, by the bureaucratic leaderships, the criminal policy of Stalin and still their bureaucratic policy at the present moment. But this does not justify nor approve the measures of these leaderships in defence of capitalism. On the contrary. When forces are against the bureaucratic policy of Stalin, of Stalinism, it is necessary to make a policy which corresponds to the need for the progress of the economy and the revolution which can only advance by means of revolutionary and anti-capitalist measures. This is soviet democracy, public discussion which before the crisis of British imperialism poses the solution of statification and planning; it is necessary to discuss publicly.

This discussion and proposal for a programme does not depend on the errors of the soviet bureaucracy, but it is a question of an economic measure of centralisation which allows the economy to progress and respond to the needs of the population. It is necessary to make a public discussion to separate the errors and the bureaucratic and criminal character of Stalin, the bureaucratic character of the communist leaderships and the workers states, from the progress of the workers states. It is necessary to show that even under the most bureaucratic conditions, all the workers states pass from nothing to resolve all the problems of the economic crisis. They resolve all of them. Then what is it necessary to discuss? The prejudice that there is no liberty is simply a subterfuge to avoid discussing the reality, that in no workers state is there unemployment, hunger, poverty or repression of the masses. There is repression of one or other intellectual which isn't really repression but are measures of hygiene, in general, measures of hygiene.

There is a layer of the Labour, socialist, communist and leftist leaderships who live this problem and do not know what to do. Above all, the mysticism of British imperialism weighs, when now there is no such imperialism. The Labour leadership, the Labour left, the communists, the left groups conceal all these problems which relate to the workers states; the workers state is an example of how to emerge from the crisis of the capitalist system to progress. Criticism of the leaderships is independent of support for progress. To measure progress, take an example, what was Hungary before 1946? It was a field and a holiday

resort of the Austro-Hungarian empire. Today, what is it? Today, they have finished with these people. There is a bureaucratic government but the economy has developed; there is no hunger, poverty or unemployment and they export technicians and machinery. This is what has to be discussed, comrades of the British Communist Party, comrades of the Labour Party and trade unions.

To have an intelligent, reasonable and logical concern does not mean saying, "look at these bureaucrats", but to see how they progress, not go droning on about how awful these bureaucrats are. If a train is being built and a wheel is no good, one does not say, "it's hopeless, it's iniquitous"; the wheel has to be changed, the train is good, the road is good and also the destination. British imperialism has neither wheel, road or destination.

It is a lie that British imperialism is omnipotent and that it has poisoned the working class and the

THE ABSENCE OF POLITICAL LIFE, THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE BRITISH MASSES AND THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Undoubtedly there is no political life in the Labour Party, as there is no political life in any party of the working class, even considering those parties that have more resolutions, more meetings. The masses do not go to the regular life of the parties because they do not trust them and they have seen that the problems which they are in a position to discuss and want to discuss are not discussed; on the problems of taking power, the advance of class demands, anti-capitalist measures, analysing Angola, Mozambique, China, on the anti-capitalist programme.

But in the centres, the locales, the federations and the sections of the Socialist and Communist parties they discuss the policy of how to amend the capitalist system. Then it is for this reason that the masses have no interest in going.

But in the great strikes, demonstrations and meetings, the masses and the class go integrally. There is no disparity or contradiction in behaviour and class conduct. This would mean a lack of political interest, a lack of concern and political capacity. But the support for the Labour Party, the strikes, the demands for anti-capitalist measures show that the masses have an interest. They do not go to meetings of the parties because these annul them, they impede and eliminate all capacity for objective political discussion. There is no programme of any objective policy or discussion, or only very superficially, and at most they can ask questions and nothing more. There are very general meetings in which a question can be asked and the speaker who can defend a position opposed to the position, to the dynamic of the class struggle has all the time to hold forth giving neither argument or reasoning. This shows why the masses do not go to the parties but afterwards vote massively for the socialists and communists. They do not go to the trade unions but they make strikes and stoppages massively and they take initiatives.

The masses are ready and have the understanding and the resolution to deal with problems and to impel the Communist and Socialist parties, the left groups and the trade unions to take anti-capitalist measures. The education, the formation and the political understanding of the class is realised not only with the class struggle in the country, whether it is in Britain, France Italy or any other country but in the world. The masses observe and see the process in the world, assimilate the experiences and see the weakness of the capitalist system, the impotence, the incapacity, the contradictions within the capitalist system which prevent them agreeing among themselves, although they are in agreement to launch the war against the workers states.

The masses see a lack of unity in capitalism, in the process of the economy and in the political discussions with the workers states, they see the weakness of capitalism in which capitalism is antagonistic to the workers states but impotent to impede Angola, and Mozambique. The working class draws the conclusion, "the strength of our side, the power of our side, the weakness of them". Then it seeks in every country to resolve the anti-capitalist problems and constantly exerts a pressure. The lack of political life, of arguments and scientific conclusions makes the masses retreat and intimidates them, like the discussion that the dictatorship of the proletariat is not necessary and there is no argument showing why it is not necessary. Meanwhile the experiences of Angola, Mozambique and Cuba demonstrates that the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary, without which the bourgeoisie has the opportunity to retake power. The problem of every revolution is to prevent their retaking power, because this would mean the retreat of history and the revolution means the progress of history. The masses see all this. Hence the conduct, the unanimity, the unanimous concentration of the masses in support of every revolutionary movement and every country which is liberating itself from imperialism and capitalism. They see that every

population, as some say. British imperialism has an apparatus which does not allow thought, and their democracy is a form, an etiquette. "Democracy is here but anybody who speaks out of line will be busted". As there is no discussion, or discussion is not allowed, it is not possible to propose the example of the workers states. If there was real democracy in Britain, they would allow the workers, the masses and the British people to see the workers states, so that it is explained. This is democracy.

Our section must continue with the activity of publishing texts of the International, of Posadas, because they educate the vanguard, orientate and persuade them, they explain the nature of the problems of the world and how they influence Britain and how Britain influences the problems of the world. It helps them towards a harmonious understanding of the world process of the crisis of the capitalist system, of the workers states and the struggle for socialism.

example, as have been formed in a series of countries, particularly in Italy. Workers area councils to develop a function superior to the Mayor, but which do not have the power of the Mayor or the commune. When they have succeeded in organising workers area councils, it is because the masses distrust parliament, M.P.'s, the commune, they distrust all of them and do not believe them.

Otherwise instead of forming councils, they would say to the parliamentarians "do this, do that". As the masses know that they cannot do it, that they are not going to do it and that parliament does not let them do it, through the structure which it has, then they resort to these organs linked to the population. The masses of the world see that the organs linked to the population, to the daily life, determines the course of progress and elevates politically and socially the masses, which afterwards is expressed in the class struggle; in support to Angola, Vietnam, China, political support to the workers parties, the socialists and communists. In Britain the masses live this, as well.

The British bourgeoisie continues with a queen, although the queen plays no social, political or scientific function. She is simply a person who eats and nothing more and uses the palace so that in every room, there is someone different for each night. They have an empty life and they hand it over to sex or riding like Margaret. It is a void. Among the conclusions which are posed and which is urgent in Britain as an immediate slogan is why the queen? What political, scientific or leadership function does the queen play? What importance does she have? For example the government or the president represents currents and political tendencies. But the queen is impartial with a Labour or a Conservative government. The Communists in Britain say that there can be a queen of a Communist government. The queen says, yes she would not oppose this.

One of the essential slogans is to liquidate the queen, to liquidate the jurisdiction of the monarchy and on the other hand to propose the republic, not the bourgeois republic, but the socialist republic, to oppose the functioning of the monarchy with the socialist republic.

The persistence of the labour leadership in omitting and concealing the discussion of the problem of the monarchy is because in proposing to eliminate it, the question arises where do we go from here? The masses are going to impose socialist measures, a socialist republic and no bourgeoisie. To pose in Britain as in Belgium, the elimination of the monarchy is to pose a socialist republic.

The masses have the understanding that capitalism cannot resolve any problem. It is not only the economic necessity of employment and wages but the political and programmatic understanding that capitalism cannot resolve anything, because there are eighteen workers states and twenty revolutionary states. The masses see this. "They have resolved it in this way, why cannot we resolve it?" What impediment is there? Imperialism is strong, it also had it in Angola, in Mozambique and in Vietnam. One of the causes of the defeat of imperialism in Vietnam, not the essential but one of the causes was American youth which was against the war in Vietnam. Now it has come to light that five million periodicals a week were published.

It was a resistance which intimidated capitalism and which showed that if they went any further a resistance, an uprising and a stimulus to organise themselves would develop. Hence it yielded to prevent the masses organising themselves. The masses of Britain as of Europe and the world listened and saw; capitalism resolves nothing but Angola does. Mozambique resolves them, without the military means which the British masses have.

There is a very great influence in the British army and also in the police. The British police were among the first who posed a trade union organisation of the police. The British masses, the worker masses,

the middle and poor petit bourgeois, feel that to resolve the problems of Britain, it is no longer the British Empire which has the means. The Empire is disintegrating and dislocated, so that a social transformation is necessary. It is necessary to discuss from this point of view.

It's not that the masses do not know what to do. They are above the leadership of their party. The party does not know how to explain what to do, while the masses know what to do. Hence they say Angola, Mozambique, Cuba, the Palestinians, Algeria, Benin (formerly Dahomey). They see that they resolve all the problems on the basis of statification and planning.

It is necessary to discuss also that the perspective of British imperialism is a deepening of the crisis which it has economically, socially and politically. Economically this is expressed in the pound which falls constantly with the rise of prices in Britain and in an indirect form. Prices do not rise as much as in other countries, but a series of social services which form part of the wages are now being liquidated. As a consequence the cost of living is increasing. Shoes, dental services, medical care, housing all increase in price and the investment of the government in social services does not correspond to what is necessary. All this is an increase in the cost of living and is part of the wages of the masses. The Labour government is acting as a sustainer of the capitalist system, and to do this, it has to increase the suppression of economic benefits in social services, medicine, holidays, help to children and the elderly. When capitalism reaches such a stage of making such cuts, confronting the population so brutally in this way, it shows its impotence, because these are sectors which have no other means than this and they trusted capitalism in these services and when capitalism acts like this, it is because, it is on the edge of destruction, otherwise they would not do it. They consistently diminish the value of pensions.

The masses see that in Angola where they did the same, the Angolans overthrew the imperialist government and resolved upon this.

Angola is not different from Britain. The British army is very strong but so was the army in Angola, stronger than the British individually, because behind the imperialist government of Angola, of Portuguese imperialism were the British, NATO and the Yanks, who were going to intervene and before had prepared themselves to intervene. Why didn't they intervene? Because of the intervention of the black masses and the relation of world forces, including the workers states.

Every exploited population of the world counts upon the Soviet Union for its liberation. The leadership of the Soviet Union does not draw these conclusions, although it sees them, because the bureaucratic form of functioning, the bureaucratic conception of defence of economic and social interests prevents it. Any movement for progress in the world counts upon the Soviet Union, any movement. They understand this because they see that the Soviet Union supports Cuba and Cuba has the historic joy of saying "we are sending twenty thousand men and would send more but we don't have them". This is said whilst the Yanks have their nuclear missiles trained on them. The masses see this and draw the conclusion that it is not a question of Cuba but of the relation of world forces.

It is necessary to consider and rely upon the intelligence, the political understanding and the anti-capitalist resolution of the masses of the world. It is necessary to measure this in the progress of the anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist struggles of Africa, Asia and Latin America; for example, the formation of organs throughout the world, organs like school councils, in which parents and pupils intervene, even on a limited scale. Now the school council is no longer where the state but the population intervenes. In the factories and the workers areas also, they intervene and the masses see that it is their organ which develops and clashes with the measures, resolutions and programme of the capitalist system.

They see that the masses resolve

and not parliament. They see that their mobilisation, force and weight attracts all the population. Even those who politically and electorally support the government or vote for the government, see the authority which they have. They see the progress of the masses of the world, supporting them through the workers states and the constant retreat of imperialism. For Britain it is necessary to count on the same process. It is undoubted that now this exists and that there is not any more elevated expression of formation of tendencies to develop these principles and these experiences, through the lack of prior organs, the lack of life in the Labour Party. This initiative to make this political life and these conclusions cannot come from a factory, from a workers area, from a workers area committee, they have to come from elements who have the security to develop ideas, the programme of experiences, of comparison and who are concerned with these problems.

All the workers area committees, the trade unions are concerned with the problems of their sector and have to be leaderships concerned with these problems. Without minimising the workers committee — later it is a very great point of support to develop — they are not the ones who have the initiative, the capacity or the possibility to carry out this particular task, then we have to do it.

It is necessary to make a very great effort to increase the weight of our section, in number. This is going to allow the development of the capacity of the party and at the same time as the publication of our texts, the section must publish other texts.

British capitalism is exhausted, the British masses have given examples an infinity of times, of anti-capitalist solutions. There have been very elevated solutions and initiatives of the British masses. They were the first in the world to inaugurate the occupation of houses in 1945. The Labour masses finished the war, occupied empty houses and gave a principle to the world proletariat that the solution of destruction of houses in war had to be resolved momentarily like this.

Another principle of the British masses was the "sit in". In this, sectors of the "stiff" and the "white collars" participated. It was not only privileged sectors who did this, but the petit bourgeoisie, workers and students. This was the impulse to the "sit in" which afterwards passed to North America. That is to say there are mass traditions in Britain.

Afterwards there was the period of nationalisations, of the docks, of railways, leading to shipyard, aircraft and car factories. But the Labour Party never developed the concern to discuss, to plan, to understand and publicise statification. On the contrary, it maintains attacks against every nationalisation and does not accept the workers state in its historic and essential function which means nationalisation, planning and monopoly of foreign trade. The rent of the workers in the workers states is 4 to 5 per cent of wages, instead they take Biermann saying they do

DISCUSS THE ORGANISATION OF THE UNITED FRONT AND THE ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

It is not necessary to avoid the discussion which determines all the problems that is the economy, the attitude of the masses, the situation of the masses, the life of the masses. It is necessary to discuss this. Together with this there are the criticisms of the bureaucratic leadership, bureaucratic limitation, but in this case it is the least important aspect. The problem of criticism and overcoming the bureaucracy must be made maintaining these principles and generalising them and the more the workers states are generalised in the world, the less power has the bureaucracy. The weight of the population increases more in the policy, in the resolutions and in the scientific cultural life of each country.

It is necessary to launch a series of slogans, to discuss in the workers movement, in the Labour Party and in the trade unions, a programme to emerge from the crisis of the capitalist system, to discuss that within the capitalist system there is no solution to the crisis. It is continuing and deepening against the working population and the middle sectors. Meanwhile the workers states even with the bureaucracy have resolved all these problems; then it is necessary to pose that we do this and not the bureaucratic leadership. The example to follow is the effective experiences of the development of the progress of humanity and not the measures which have impeded it. It is necessary to discuss the united front of the trade unions, Labour Party and groups with an anti-capitalist programme; to give an alternative solution to the crisis of the capitalist system. The alternative

not allow him to sing.

The conservative, labour bureaucracy and also the communists have concealed all these problems. There has been no activity aimed at the cultural assimilation of these experiences. All the activity of the Labour Party and the Communist Party who elude discussion, was concentrated in saying that "in the USSR there is no freedom, they don't discuss" and "In Britain we all have work, we are doing well". It is necessary to develop an activity aimed to make this explanation because it is necessary to satisfy, to plan. The workers state must be measured not by political leadership, the political errors or the political mistakes, but by the historic and concrete progress which is the workers state. Then it is necessary to discuss that the workers state is not measured by Stalin or Khrushchev or because they don't allow Biermann to sing.

In the Soviet workers state when it was Czarist Russia, 80% of the population was peasant and 60% didn't eat properly. The daughters of the peasants were sold so as to eat and live. They were assassinated tortured and murdered. There was no culture and 80% were illiterate. In the Soviet Union there is no illiteracy. The cultural level is the most advanced in the world. The social level is the greatest in the world. There are no social problems. There is a discussion on leadership, of criticism of the bureaucracy but there are no social problems.

The masses do not live the anguish of rent at the end of the month or wondering how they are going to live, of the son whose parents are anguished because they do not have food to give him. There are no social problems. Still with the limitation of the bureaucratic leadership, even so the necessity of the workers state which is centralised imposes itself and they have to develop a policy in accordance with the interest of the population. Even being limited and conserving the essential privileges of the bureaucracy, this has to answer more and more to the interest of the population. It is necessary in this way to discuss the workers state and then to see what Russia was like before the revolution, with Stalin, with Khrushchev and what exists now and then to see the progress.

We look at Britain, continuing to have the same stupid queen as before. But differently from the workers states, British capitalism is concentrating, diminishing in number of employers and increasing concentrated economic power. Poverty increases with unemployment, lack of housing, an ever diminishing standard of living. The cultural level constantly falls. The level of hygiene and medical care is constantly falling. In the Soviet Union and the workers states even the smallest like Albania, the standard of living, treatment in medical care, constantly improves. This is what has to be discussed comrades of the Labour Party. This is the Soviet Union and this is Britain.

is an anti-capitalist programme with all these experiences, the elimination of the monarchy, which is a problem of hygiene, and the socialist republic which has to express itself in the programme, not only in the name. The socialist government is the name but the measures, the policy, the objectives are capitalist, while the masses of the world see that the government is socialist in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia Rumania, because they satisfy property, plan production and this is expressed in the fact that the masses of these countries, the population do not have more economic problems. They have queues to buy but not to receive subsidies against hunger, they have limitations in production because still there are insufficient leaderships and because still they have not developed sufficient means to overcome the backwardness from

which the workers states developed. But on the other hand there are no more problems of hunger, there are no problems provoked by strikes. The strikes in Poland do not provoke the paralysis of the country and on the contrary are an impulse for the right to strike which now is close to being actually legitimised, although they have constitutionally the right to strike. But this partial repression has met the reaction of the population which is not anti-worker state as the capitalist system wishes to make it appear.

The workers have declared clearly we want to make the strike to correct the defects and not to damage our socialist country. All the workers have said this while the bourgeois leaderships, small petit bourgeois capitalists and the Socialist parties, the trade unions and Labour Party present it, as though the workers in Poland were against the Polish workers state. Lies! The workers intervene to correct. These are the problems of the construction of the socialist leadership. They advance and express their elevation resolving the problems of the economy, of the needs so that the population resolves and very well. They create a superior level of relations in which they discuss against reactionary measures, insufficient or anti-democratic measures, without damaging the aspects, the structure of progress of the workers state, statified property, planning and development of soviet democracy.

No movement of the workers, of the revolutionary petit bourgeoisie of Poland or any workers state or of the Soviet Union, together with the demand for the right to strike, demand to return to capitalism. But they do this to affirm the principles of the socialist state. These capitalist slob conceal all this and they say Biermann represents the efforts of the workers to elevate soviet democracy in Poland or in the Soviet Union. Biermann represents the petit bourgeoisie, desperate that it has no room either as singer or as idiot.

It is necessary to appeal for a united front with an anti-capitalist programme of expropriations, of nationalisations, discuss a united front of trade unions and the Labour Party. Appeal in this discussion for a programme of nationalisations of the key industries, opposing every subsidy of the state to all enterprises, even state undertakings which are not controlled by the workers and with a plan of production controlled by the workers for the benefit of the population. This means opposition to every subsidy, investment, help of the state to every enterprise which is not directly for the benefit of the population. This means reduction of the price of sale to facilitate access to the purchase of the population. No finance subsidy or help financially or politically or socially to any capitalist enterprise or state enterprise which is in ruins because

the management is capitalist also. Replace and liquidate every management of state enterprises which is not carried out as a function of planning under workers control and for the benefit of the population, which means better conditions of work, elimination of brutal murderous work that condemn the workers to a shorter life, to anti-hygienic forms of work, the brutality of death by accidents, to diminish the price of sales and to increase as a result the standard of living of the masses, to damage the capitalist but favour the masses.

This discussion is necessary and it is necessary to elevate it and in front of the arguments which say that it cannot be done in Britain, through tradition and structure, to show that Britain has more tradition than countries like the Soviet Union. Czarist Russia had more tradition in private property than the British, because it was more backward, had less cultural and social development. All this "British tradition" is nonsense and the situation cannot be discussed in this way but as we point out. We believe that this is the task of our section.

One of the essential aspects to develop in Britain is that the trade unions have to have a more elevated political function, not to be submitted to the limitations of the Labour Party nor to the political leadership of the Labour Party but to make a direct political intervention. Between the trade unions and the Labour Party, there does not have to be difference in objectives. The two must struggle in different spheres but with the same objective; to abolish the capitalist system. The trade union struggle has an aspect which is not confined to the trade union struggle. It must unite as a consequence the appeal for a programme to struggle to improve the conditions of life to maintain employment and to develop the social advance of the masses of Britain, with the elimination of the capitalist system.

It is necessary to unite the struggle over strikes, wages, for employment, for reduction of hours of work and improved healthy conditions of work, with the understanding that capitalism cannot achieve this. It cannot give a thirty hour week, good working conditions, maintain full employment, on the contrary it's going to sack more. Then it is necessary to resolve, at the same time as the struggle for transitory demands, a programme of anti-capitalist struggle, expropriation, statification, planning under workers control. In every statification the workers must control, on the basis that statification must serve the development of the economy, of production, with a reduction in prices, and an increase in the consumption of the masses. It must not be to sustain, to salvage the capitalist system or an administrative

apparatus replacing capitalism. Hence it has to be under workers control and the workers movement has to make a programme for the development of the statified factory, of wages, prices, remuneration to the administration and eliminate the bourgeois administrative apparatus. It is necessary to make an administrative apparatus in which the workers appeal for the collaboration of the technicians, administrators, for a programme for the benefit of the population, not to sustain the workers movement in one or other sector, but to develop the standard of life of the population, appealing to these technicians to collaborate and to become identified with this objective of the workers movement.

The monarchy is sustained by the bourgeoisie and the Labour leadership and trade union leadership, because if the trade unions and the Labour Party put in question political change, they put in question all the capitalist system. Hence they stop. They are all part of this and responsible for the situation in Belgium, Holland and Sweden.

In Greece they threw out the monarch. It was an effort of a sector of the bourgeoisie with the army to replace it with a regime less expensive, more open to develop economic relations, which the king did not allow because he was limited to the landowners and NATO. The objective was not wrong but there was no leadership to push it forward. Then the objective of throwing out the king must be accompanied by a socialist republic and although immediately they did not make a socialist republic, this is the objective. Thus the workers movement and the parties defend such an objective accompanied by transitional demands.

In the next few years they are going to discuss programme, policy and objectives. The ability of the Labour bureaucracy, of the Labour, capitalist leadership has no more margin in which to develop. Neither has North American capitalism. In the next stages they are going to discuss an objective, anti-capitalist programme for Britain. It is an activity with quite a lot of opposition, because there is a whole apparatus which is involved in the capitalist regime and is a prolongation of the capitalist regime in the workers movement. But the masses of Britain and our section have the support of the world advance of the struggles of the masses to overthrow capitalism. Thus the road to travel is not very long. The preparation of the left and the new leadership is made through the world and this has an effect on Britain. If it was only Britain, it would be very slow, very long, but as it is the world, it is very simple. The necessity for a leadership is developing which means the objectivity of programme and the objectivity of the tactic.

J. POSADAS. 30.12.76.

TROTSKYIST PRESS

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ARGENTINA
'Voz Proletaria', Organ of the Partido Obrero (T), Casilla de Correo 2938, Correo Central, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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'Socialist Revolution', in Arabic, Organ of the Arab militants of the IV International. Bulletins in Iranian. (For publications in Arabic and Iranian, write to other European Sections.)

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question of the "dissenters" in the Soviet Union. Carter, the leader of world imperialism, has intervened aggressively in support of the dissenters, why? Because of his preoccupation with legal issues? No, but because he is stimulating the friends and allies of capitalism in the workers states, (there are very few of them, they are totally isolated burkes). The whole campaign over "civil rights" in the Soviet Union is an attempt to block the weight of the workers states and, in the Labour Party, to prevent the growth of a mature left team which sees the world objectively and not as capitalism wants it to see. The Sakharovs and the Bukovskys are the "whites" in this epoch, friends of fascism, friends of Yankee imperialism, worthy followers of the Denikins and the Wrangels of a previous period. It is absurd to put the workers states and capitalism on the same plane. Capitalism chucks out Agee and Hosenball without giving any reasons at all, why are they so interested in civil rights in the workers states? Only because Sakharov and company are their class allies. People who accept the line of capitalism in relation to the Soviet dissenters are playing the game of capitalism in the Labour movement, but their scope diminishes, diminishes because capitalism is losing its struggle in the world arena. The development of the left in the Labour Party is taking place in the most favourable circumstances compared with earlier epochs — which does not mean that there will not be a most strenuous resistance to objectivity about the Soviet Union and slogans to advance to the workers state, from sectors in the workers organisations imbued with hostility to the Soviet Union and communism, i.e. the representatives of the aristocracy of labour.

THE TIME OF THE EMPIRE IS OVER

It is evident that the Empire as a force is no more. Countries like Jamaica turn to the left, the crisis over Rhodesia is an example of the catastrophic collapse of imperialist prestige and authority. The Richards mission to save Smith was a washout. Permanent revolution has replaced the Empire. All this undermines the authority of capitalism in Britain and on the other hand, what replaces white dominion in Africa of which British imperialism was a fundamental part, with its old ally Portuguese imperialism? Well, in Mozambique they proclaim a party to construct socialism on a marxist basis with a Bolshevik functioning and a foreign policy geared to the expansion of the revolution, the conception of a country which does not live for itself but as a function of the revolution. This is progress, this is the replacement for imperialism in Africa, this is experience for the Labour Party to be assimilated, to break the remaining fetters of thought stemming from imperialism.

Allied to this, the type of discussion developing between the Soviet Union and the Communist parties of Italy and France over proletarian internationalism, the role of the Soviet Union, the meaning of democracy, proletarian or bourgeois, is going to weigh in the Labour Party. However protracted this discussion, the objective advance of the world socialist revolution and the twin collapse of capitalist and social democratic ideology in the Labour Party, will lead to the rout of all those elements linked to capitalism and hostile to the workers states.

THE NEED TO DISCUSS THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME IN THE LABOUR PARTY

It is necessary to link the direct struggle against the social contract, against enormous inflation, against the wage freeze, with the discussion on the need for a comprehensive anti-capitalist programme and what are the perspectives to develop the struggle for socialism in Britain. The absence of a systematic theoretical tradition in Britain — which after all is one of the principle sources of empirical philosophy — and the absence of a tradition of genuine discussion in the Labour Party, as opposed to organisational electoral discussion, creates obstacles for the flow of ideas and means that the objective force of the process does not find rapidly an equivalent conscious capacity and programme.

We appeal to the Labour intellectuals, the shop stewards committees, the cadres of the Labour Party to develop meetings on the perspectives for Britain, to discuss the essential points of the anti-capitalist programme and the policy to go with it. It is essential that the Labour Party intervenes much more directly in the struggles of the masses and rejects in practice the policies of the Callaghan government; but at the same time the Labour cadres and intellectuals who have the possibility to study and develop ideas, must take initiatives to precipitate discussion openly and without respect for bourgeois inhibitions. If the discussion has already reached the stage of the abolition of the House of Lords, it cannot stay there, because history will not allow it, nor will it allow the continuation of anti-Soviet prejudice. The possibilities for progress are immense. It is necessary to take advantage of a rich and powerful process where humanity is putting order into history and the lords of capitalism sink into the mire of their own putrefaction from which nothing can rescue them.

The significance of the attacks on Trotskyism

At a time when the bourgeoisie is developing a consistent and sustained campaign against Trotskyism in the Labour Party, it is of fundamental importance to consider more deeply the significance of such a campaign. What, in fact, is the precise meaning of this? Why is it that Trotskyism is the force that has so concerned the bourgeoisie, rather than, say, the Communist Party or Maoists? And why does such a campaign arise at this particular moment?

Firstly, the development of a campaign against Trotskyism is not an experience unique to Britain alone. The campaign has arisen simultaneously in Portugal and Greece along with Britain, indicating that local factors in Britain are not sufficient to explain this. The advance of Trotskyism is therefore linked directly to the advance of the socialist movement and from here stems the fear of the bourgeoisie. In particular, Portugal and Greece have seen over the last period, profound developments in the socialist parties, with a tendency to make links with the workers states as part of this process. The bourgeoisie most fear Trotskyism as a force, because it expresses consciously the ideas of the revolution, which has inflicted so many defeats on imperialism and capitalism over the last period. The class struggle has reached very elevated levels and above all, the superiority of the workers states over capitalism becomes more and more apparent. Capitalism feels the strength of the workers states as body blows to their side, which hamper them intervening fully to provoke obstacles against the revolution. The direct support of the workers states to countries wanting to progress, such as Angola and Mozambique has given an immense confidence to the revolutionary movements. Imperialism has been forced to look on impotently and watch the formation of a marxist vanguard party in Mozambique.

It is this situation which provokes alarm in the bourgeoisie, who realise that no longer is the power of imperialism omnipotent; the weakness of imperialism on a world scale means that it no longer has the authority and prestige as before, and this reflects itself internally, within Britain. Sectors of the left sense this weakness and there is the development of a left which is a force outside the control of capitalism. Hence the bourgeoisie cry Trotskyism in the Labour Party as they feel the development of a left which is coming closer towards the workers states and the world

communist movement.

As a leader of the Russian Revolution along with Lenin, Trotsky defended all the Bolshevik principles, amongst them, the dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism. During the epoch of Stalinism which represented a world-wide reaction against the revolution, the Bolshevik principles in practice were lost from the world communist movement. One defeat followed another for the revolution and it was during this era that Trotskyism was literally deleted from the history books of the Soviet Union, Trotsky himself exiled. Compare, however the conditions of today to those of the era of Stalinism. Today, the revolution besieges capitalism, not the other way around! A fundamental factor is that the structure of nationalised property, the basis of the workers states, increasingly prevails over the bureaucracy. This means that the Soviet leadership is forced to return to defending Bolshevik principles, and in practice, proletarian internationalism is demonstrated by the support of the workers states for Angola.

The ideas of Trotsky could only be lost from the world communist movement at a time when the revolution was going backward. Now, the theory of permanent revolution — the conception that countries did not have to complete a phase of bourgeois democracy before advancing towards socialism but could leap stages — is shown by so many examples:— Angola, Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique. The idea of building socialism in one country was destroyed when the Chinese workers state was created, and later on, Cuba also. There was living proof that the workers states as a system had to expand. As the collapse of capitalism continues, it is logical that Trotskyism as a force will gain a greater and greater authority. It is Trotskyism which the bourgeoisie fears most, because Trotsky defended the Bolshevik principles and maintained their continuity through the Fourth International. As the revolution continues, the Bolshevik principles will be more and more retaken by the workers states, and so Trotskyism is identified with the workers states.

In Britain, there has been no marxist tradition and this lack of marxism has been one of the major obstacles slowing down the development of the revolution here. Therefore the bourgeoisie are very concerned at any development of marxism in Britain. They are not

scared of 'Militant', 'Militant' consistently intervene against the workers states and for this reason, the apparatus of the Labour Party has recently been using 'Militant' to confuse them with the real Trotskyism. Why otherwise would the Young Socialists have been given money by the Labour Party to write a pamphlet reviewing developments in Eastern Europe, or Andy Bevan (a member of the 'Militant') have been given the post of youth officer for the Labour Party? It is in the interests of the apparatus to make it appear as though Trotskyism is against the workers states. The British Communist Party is not seen as a danger to the bourgeoisie, because it was one of the first Communist parties to abandon all the principles of marxism. As it does not have a mass base, such as the Italian or French Communist parties, it is not under the same pressures to regenerate, hence the British Communist party is increasingly brushed aside as it is impotent to contribute to the development of marxism in the Labour Party or trade unions.

The real Trotskyism of today is most clearly represented by the ideas and functioning of the Bolshevik Party returning to the world communist movement. This is already in progress, as in Mozambique, where Trotskyism is shown by the way Frelimo has constructed a vanguard party which sets the next task as the construction of socialism. Such a principle embodies the theory of permanent revolution: the masses in Mozambique have not considered it necessary to fully exhaust the possibilities of a bourgeois regime before putting socialism on the order of the day. More precisely, the influence and authority of the Posadist Fourth International is shown at the Congress of Frelimo, where considerable parts of the Congress texts expressed the ideas developed by Posadas. The Posadist Fourth International represents a continuation of the development of marxism and Trotskyism. The role of the International is to develop discussion within the world communist movement to assist the return, consciously, to the ideas of the Bolshevik Party, for the taking of power and the construction of socialism. In this process of regeneration, Trotskyism will be retaken by the communist movement and will be recognised for the fundamental role it played in maintaining the continuity of marxism.

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THE FORMS OF OPPOSITION AND THE INTERVENTION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MASSES AGAINST YANKEE IMPERIALISM

J Posadas 27.6.76

It is clear and decisive for the whole of humanity that capitalism is a delay in history. It is necessary to intervene in this process of war which capitalism is preparing, as a vital centre of the counter revolution, It is necessary to consider that world capitalism is confronting the world opposed to it, that is, the workers states, the colonial revolutions, the revolutionary states.

Capitalism is preparing a global response. The partial responses over South Africa, Angola, Cuba are measures of contention which at the same time try to subject the process and maintain it in an equilibrium and to stimulate the capitalist resolution to intervene. Meanwhile a furious internal crisis and enormous brutal competition develops within capitalism. One example is the trips of Giscard d'Estaing: a president has never made as many trips as he has.

It is necessary to consider that capitalism cannot contain the process of the revolution, blocking one or another revolution. Now there are historic relations of disequilibrium. There

is no equilibrium now between the workers state and the capitalist countries! Any movement of independence immediately assumes the character of a revolutionary state, immediately. People who have nothing, immediately form organs and the economy of the workers state, which in this stage is a revolutionary state.

Capitalism cannot function with all this process and then prepares for a global response, while it prepares and makes partial responses as in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

In Palestine the war between Israel and the Arabs exists, because the capitalist system led by the Yanks needs to maintain the functional structure of the repressive apparatus, the warlike resolution, to contain the revolution, and intimidate the revolution. This has no effect, because all the war of Palestine has made the bourgeois leadership retreat. In its first stage, the movement in Palestine was small, it wanted "its land". Now it wants its land and socialist transformation. Now it has influenced Israel where

there is a movement in agreement with this. And there is an acceptance of a Federation. This means it is not a question of the ability of the Palestinians who do not have policy or programme, but it is an objective need of history that when one movement advances, it influences with the best ideas: this means the workers states. This is the dialectical process of history, the marxist method of interpretation of history.

This capitalism sees and hence it prepares the global response; independently of the moment, because they cannot decide how, where and when they are going to do it, constantly capitalism feels that it must give a global response. It has not done so yet because amongst other conditions, capitalism has an enormous insecurity in the people of United States. If they had the security that the people of the United States was going to respond well, they would have launched the war. On the other hand, they feel surrounded within the United States.

A proof which confirms this, is that they have had thousands

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J. Posadas**

of opportunities to make mobilisations of the "silent majority" and they have not found ten thousand who would say "viva Ford" and "against the soviet murderers". Not one demonstration! On the other hand, the workers are linked to the world by means of strikes, protests, maintaining democratic rights and in these elections, which are evidence of a rejection of capitalism, it is necessary to take into account the assessment of the American people. The primary elections are made with old people not the young. The youth are not attracted to the votes, the numbers are minute. They give the percentage of one or another candidate, but they do not give the number of people who voted. The voting is minute! People show in this way, their rejection of them and support for the Soviet Union, it is necessary to take into account that there is no other way to measure in the United States. We measure it through this.

The North American people is intervening and does it in an indirect form, it is not interested in these elections. That is to say capitalism cannot resolve when it wants, how it wants and where it wants. It is necessary to evaluate in a very elevated form the resolution of the Soviet Union to intervene in a much more precise, more resolved way against Yankee imperialism. And in that Lebanon and not only Lebanon but also Cuba. Before in Cuba the soviets disguised the intervention and now they do it directly.

Besides, the Palestinians in Lebanon have modern soviet arms. The forces of Assad do not advance, not because they respect the agreement but because they respect the arms which the others have, which is different. It is a lie that they respected the pact! The population stopped them, everybody came out and influenced the Syrian soldiers and the Syrian officers. There are also the arms of the Palestinians, because when the Syrians wanted to advance, some tanks stopped them and they said to them "yes, you killed a hundred people but we stopped you". One of the most beautiful, most expressive things which shows the unanimity of the progress of humanity is that in Lebanon, the population was massacred and this has not lessened in any way its combative resolution and neither has it expressed any contempt towards the others. It is not a ferocious,

ferocious confrontation but they try to win them. They say to them "Syrian brothers we are fighting for these objectives." They try to win them and they have already decomposed the Syrian army. Hence the Sadat, Assad agreement because they see that the population has decomposed the army and they try to contain this.

The population with lesser material conditions of history express the most advanced social, intellectual revolutionary and intelligent resolution. This course is reflected in the communist parties.

Ford tried to make agreements in the Middle East. Imperialism tries to take hold of all the threads which it has. It does not have a single defined policy. It is defined with the Israeli but it tries to get hold of everything because it has no confidence in the Israeli. There is a sector of the Israeli population which already reflects insecurity in the government.

It is necessary to consider consequently that the North American people does not have organs to show its combativity, its sentiments, its social dissatisfaction. But it shows it in this form. In Italy it is shown in another global form, of integration, in the whistling of Bologna, and silence in front of Lama, the vote for the Communist Party! This shows an immense quality of reflection by the masses. It was not the whistling of Bologna, the silence of Lama or the stones at Storti which determined the conduct of the masses. In all the same thing was sought; we want changes in history. These stones, yes, could come from leftists, reactionaries or provocaters but the sense of the masses was not this. The sense of the masses was "we want a revolutionary policy". The election is the synthesis of this; from the whistling to the silence to the marvellous noise of the urns. The urns do not speak, but they express intentions and are a song of history because they are the instruments which the masses now have. And through the urns the masses are saying, we want changes, we want changes". They are impelling their party to make changes. The whistling has the same sense, the silence, the same sense, the urn, the same sense. The masses want changes, changes.

The North American masses have these means, they have the means of abstention. They do not

intervene and do not vote. The masses have the same behaviour. More elevated politically, the Italian masses intervene with strikes, with very advanced gains, including the factory councils, the very elevated function of the factory councils which prepare organs of leadership of society. The North American masses do not have such a possibility but they live the process and express it in silence, in the lack of voting for Ford, and in the absence of Yankee imperialism using a condemnation of the Soviet Union, the intervention of Cuba in Angola.

These North American masses are living with joy. A sector of the North American people are living the unification of Vietnam and the proclamation of the socialist republic of Vietnam. The integration of Vietnam with the ex-enemies of Vietnam which even being-as we say in the texts - a little conciliatory is basically our position. The soviets would have done the same. This breaks and undermines the capitalist system. There may be 1000 people who seek a career but this process breaks the capitalist system. This is the superiority of the workers state which does not look for vengeance, but to win humanity and advance.

This is the superiority of the workers state not taking vengeance, not disputing, not continuing the class struggle, not producing a new class in power but eliminating every type of oppression, of violence and submission. This is seen by the North American masses and besides there are many North Americans who have remained in Vietnam.

In the establishment of socialist Vietnam, even with the difficulties in the South where the bourgeoisie still remains, the integration of everyone, the elimination of the political prisoners, giving them the category of citizens integrated in useful work is very important. Even with poverty, this is an indication of the superiority of the workers state which influences the North American masses. Mozambique, without economic means, without much power, gives food to whoever needs it, establishes conditions for the relations of socialist society, in which is included to each one according to his needs. This is to say the principles for which we have fought are developing without the need to reach economic

development. Consciousness superior to existence, yes or no? This is not a revision of Marx, it is an application of Marx to today. How do we apply Marx in "religion, opium of the people"? We say that "if religion is an opium of the people, the religious person is not the same now". It is the superiority of socialism which wins them.

These are the conditions which influence the North American masses and this is expressed also in North American periodicals, in the principal North American newspapers all this is registered. Now there is a polemic with a part of the North American press which is inclined to accommodate to the side where history is going. In the struggle for the presidential candidates all this is reflected. There is a sector of Yankee imperialism not interested in the war now, and that takes account that it is succumbing and thus underlines the progress of the workers states and that there can be trade, that one can survive, because they feel that the system is dying.

Imperialism is preparing the war, not unified in the security that it is the triumphant force but tremulous in fear, insecure, unstable, above all in that the population does not support them. The population lives Vietnam. The preoccupation of the North American people, the petit bourgeoisie and the proletariat, is more influenced by the world revolution than by the conditions of the United States. The workers states must count upon this and unfortunately there is not a single article on the workers states which speaks of the North American population. They follow it considering them as a type of idiot. It is sufficient to see that Nixon was elected by 46% of the votes. It is necessary to measure the course in the United States through the preoccupation of the masses through the means which we have; not through statistics of the economy but through the means which are the internal votes, the candidates, the strikes - which are enormous in the United States. They have conquests of job security, two years wages on a sliding scale, as in the car industry and steel. These are conquests which the masses have made.

All this shows that the North American people forms part of this world process of the revolution. It is not included in the revolutionary literature, in the

world relation of forces, because the communist parties still do not have the level of this precision. They do not succeed in understanding, otherwise they would give it the weight which it has.

It is necessary to make the weight of the workers states felt in the United States, so that the trade unions, the masses, the communist parties make appeals. For example, the development of soviet relations in the workers states is an enormous factor of education and the class organisation of the North American people.

If China now was united with the USSR, if instead of attacking the Soviet Union, uniting with the capitalists against the Soviet Union, they pushed forward a policy of agreement with the workers states it would be a means of accelerated development, of politicisation of the North American masses and it would be very, very, accelerated.

The unification of China and the USSR is a means of persuasion of the North American masses, because they do not have political life, they do not have a class and mass party. There is a class party but not of the masses. The trade unions are bureaucratic, they do not have a tradition of life of debate or of socialist literature. It is a very small tradition. This must and will be compensated by the relation with the workers states and the education and influence of the workers states on them. It is necessary to consider that the attitude of China of accusation against the Soviet Union, saying it is capitalist, is an enormous damage to the American masses. The yanks willingly negotiate with the Chinese because for them this means to win immense historic time.

We appeal to the workers states and to the communist parties, to elevate the internal soviet life, the soviet movement, the preparation and the development of the activities for the unification of all the workers states, appealing for the common planning of China, of Cuba. This fact alone will have an immense influence on the United States to prepare the development of class organs of the North American masses.

One cannot foresee, one cannot deduce the course of the preparation of the war without taking into account the North American masses. Yankee imperialism prepares as someone

already defeated, they have no sentiment of triumph, as though surpassed. For this anguish, Ford falls about. The falls of Ford are expressions of the insecurity of Yankee imperialism. The trip of Kissinger who proceeds from being the "messenger of death" to the "begging messenger", shows that the forces which decide are not Yankee power but the uprising of the masses of the world and their relation of more and more identification with the workers states.

There is not a complete identification but there is a considerable political identification: Angola, Mozambique, Polisario, Algeria, Mexico. When a capitalist country like Mexico makes public, through its president an appeal that China and the USSR unite, "that the resolution of our problems can be arrived at with the unification of China and the USSR" - it is because to resolve their problems, capitalism is no solution, only the socialist road is possible; this indicates that there is a base to do this. This is the world framework.

When Zamora Machel emerges from a country with not enough to eat and they live surrounded by Rhodesia and South Africa, by the constant threat of imperialism and bring out a programme of permanent revolution - and of the programme of the permanent revolution they bring out ours, not that of the soviets, this shows the elevated level of the revolution in Africa which does not come from Angola but from Mozambique. The latter is the essential aspect, the programmatic aspect. Angola shows it in the military aspect, socially in the unification with the Cubans and the Soviet Union. Portugal shows it also when every candidate for President who wants to win has to speak of the socialist programme. Hence Eanes has accentuated in the last stage the socialist features of the programme. I do not believe that it's all a lie; in part it is a lie, but essentially no.

In Portugal whatever the government, there are two ways to advance: either imperialism or socialist measures. There is no other road. They do not have another road. In the capitalist economy, they have no perspective. The soldiers pass "from the solitude of the uniform" to be uniform with the socialist resolution. They do not remain subject to the previous backwardness.

J. POSADAS. 27.6.76

The events in Poland and the policy of the workers states

(Title of the Editorial Board)

J. POSADAS

27-6-76

The problem of the war is latent. Imperialism has the constant tendency to develop towards the threat of war. Their interventions are not filters to maintain the capitalist system but ambushes, desperate, and without equilibrium occur because imperialism cannot dominate the process of history.

It is necessary to take into account that Lebanon which geographically is very small and whose social and economic importance is almost nil is the reason for the assembling of the soviet and American fleets in the Mediterranean. This is not because of the Lebanon but because from there can arise a world extension. In the relations of forces, the soviets have to unite themselves to the ascendant course of the world socialist revolution. The ascendant world course of the soviet union imposes itself and the events in Poland express this.

What has happened in Poland was written in Lebanon and also in the elections in Italy. When in Lebanon, the Palestinians - who have nothing and are heroes of history - are already posing to pass from making a Palestinian state to making a Federation, this is a dialectical, political, social progress. When a small country causes a confrontation, it is not because the soviets want to demonstrate that they are defending Lebanon but that there are relations of world forces of an acute nature which show that Lebanon - of geographical insignificance - can lead to a world war. This is not a superficial appraisal.

The soviet fleet do not mobilise and send two ships with troops to disembark unless Angola and Mozambique and South Africa had shown and more and more small events, circumstantial events, indicate permanently and in depth that the process can lead to world war. The communist parties are not prepared.

This takes place in the midst of the most bestial competition of the capitalist state in which one can see this: German capitalism has money to loan to the whole world, an enormous amount of cash. It would be to their convenience to distribute the cash so that the capitalist system could continue functioning and they do not give it. And when they do give it, they settle nothing, because it is cash which is not the result of production but of accumulation. They have to allow a cycle of accumulation and of consumption so that this cash does not produce inflation. This is to say does not produce disequilibrium again, a more acute disequilibrium of the capitalist system.

In capitalism there is a great disequilibrium that they cannot now control. All the time they say "the crisis is finished, the new cycle is beginning, now...now...a few more months". They give dates which are real for example, Renault increased production and sales and the Germans. There is an increase of car sales. They consider that the crisis is already overcome but the lowering of the standard of life continues.

Thus it is not the normal crisis of the capitalist system, it is the crisis of the agony of the capitalist system. Hence the elections in Italy we called "The agonised elections of the capitalist system (see the "Elections in Italy, the sustained and powerful advance of and the intensification of the class struggle, 22nd June 1976.") The agony can last. Franco for example lasted quite a long time. The agony does not mean, vitality, or strength or capacity to survive but maintaining itself by

artificial means.

It is necessary to see the competition in its totality, it is not only France, Britain, Italy but the totality: Mexico with capitalism, Peru with capitalism, Columbia with capitalism. There is a confrontation of countries which try to develop - like Venezuela, Columbia, Mexico who are on the road of a certain development - and find that they cannot do so by capitalist ways. They seek to stimulate capitalists to invest, develop the economy, and the structure of the capitalist economy is unified. It is divided, separated by social bases-economically opposed and antagonistic but they have a world relation.

Even with a bad policy of the soviets, this still depends on the world capitalist economy and even with a revolutionary policy, still it would depend on the capitalist relation but infinitely less, so because they would have sought to plan of the workers states. Without breaking with the need for exchange with the capitalist system, their dependence is infinitely less. On the other hand the bureaucratic policy of the separation of the workers states allows a dependence on the capitalist system superior to real possibility and need. This of Poland is a clear example.

And the basis of this is that in Poland, 80% of agrarian property continues to be in private hands which although it cannot reproduce for big business maintains the interest of private property and prevent the planning and reduction of the cost of production.

Small scale production in form and large in the effects on bread and houses in Poland, maintains the interest of private property. They have resolved that the bread and the houses make co-operative enterprises supported by the state. If certainly it is not a return to capitalism, it sustains the interest of private property and in trying to, shows the co-operative and the interest of the group it is an obstacle to planning. This is absurd! This is not a deficiency of the workers state but on the part of the political leadership as are the most pernicious effects in the lack of planning of the workers states. If Poland and the other workers states planned with China, the level of production of the workers state with the same fores which exist at the moment, they would increase production by 50% in five years, such as it is.

Without doubt it is not only a question of planning but of social resistance from the proprietors. But the social resistance is minimal. In Poland the resistance of the peasants is not determined because 80% is private property, but it is 80% without a family. Before the peasantry was a complete unity-father, mother, grandparents children. Now it is the father and the mother and the majority of the sons leave. This means it is not the previous peasant force. It is easier to win them!

This worker uprising which is of very great importance is going to find an echo among the peasants, the sons of the peasants, a very great echo and it is going to elevate the consciousness in the Polish masses, the peasant masses, to see that it is not true that Poland is backward and this forces an increase in prices. It is an insufficient planning of production which allows such an increase in prices and this with a dependency on external trade which forces them consequently to pay the consequences for the increase in oil prices, the war expenditure of imperialism expressed in commercial

relations. If the workers states were planned, this would be eliminated.

One of the most important conclusions is the planning of the workers states, one of the fundamental conditions which is going to appear shortly. This necessity will be more pronounced each time.

Another of the more important programmatic conclusions to develop, is that the backwardness of Poland should be resolved with the planning of all the workers states. It is not just a problem of the individual character of Poland; this is not the important feature. The fundamental factor is to plan the workers states. It is necessary to collectivise. All the difficulties, social confrontations are solved with much less risk for life, for the economy, for the progress of the revolution in Poland by confronting the proprietors than the peasants, infinitely less and infinitely less their social area. They do not have influence socially, the workers, yes.

If the workers had been a particular sector of corporate interests, the political leadership would have said to the people "look what they are doing". When the political leadership did not resort to the population against the workers who rebelled, it is because everybody feels that the workers did what everyone wants to do. The workers expressed the unanimous protest of the population and the will not to damage the workers state. The immediate resolution occurred because the workers movement made the population feel the protest which represented the will of the population to modify the cost of living, to lower it and not to represent the corporate interests of the trade unions. The trade unions represented the population. This is going to have an enormous influence in the workers camp and on the children of the peasants.

There is an enormous progress in the workers states; from 1956 until now much has happened. Soon there will be Hungary. The writer Harsaszy is not a particular expression; he went to work in a factory to see the level of life and to write to improve the workers state. This means there are enormous forces in Hungary interested in advancing to the workers state.

What has happened in Poland is in all the workers states. It does not mean a catastrophe. The standard of life in Poland has advanced ten times more than in the capitalist countries, than the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Making comparison with what the workers states were and what were the capitalist countries the difference is seen. It is necessary to consider that in the workers states there is an infinitely greater cost than in the capitalist system to sustain the world revolution. Capitalism does it to sustain the counter revolution. This is within its mechanism, its productive apparatus. The workers state is 56 years old but the others are thirty and have eliminated unemployment, hunger, misery, the backwardness of town and country. Even being in part disproportionate, the countryside and the city, there is a greater approximation of town and country.

In Czechoslovakia the level of infant mortality has been lowered by an immense proportion and it is second in world position. In the relation doctor-population for every 390 inhabitants there is a doctor; and capitalist Germany the proportion is 560 for every doctor. This shows the immense progress of the workers state. There exist limitations in the economy but they are not deficiencies, the product of backwardness, of incapacity or of an incorrect historic conception, they arise from the political leadership and from the backwardness in their origin. Besides half of production has to be geared to war, whatever might be the limit, the time, and the plan has to be dedicated to war. The capitalist system does not have this preoccupation - its based on two thousand years before and concretely from five hundred years of

production, stabilisation, world relation, something which the workers states do not have.

It is necessary to insist as an essential point on the slogan of unification of the workers states. It is necessary to unify the plan the workers states. One of the bases of the progress of all the countries to elevate production and the standard of life is the planning of all the workers states. COMECON and CAME are not sufficient to fulfill this objective. On the other hand, yes a public discussion is necessary on the planning of the workers states, uniting with the development of the political life in the workers states, and in the trade unions. These demands are not demands imposed to fight but support a process in advance in which we identify with the workers state and converge in criticism with the leadership and in many things we support the leadership.

It is necessary to take into account that this is a final step of a stage of history then the slogans, the judgements must be determined by this stage in which we live. This is not the stage of Lenin in which it was necessary to push forward a whole process of history to construct movements. There are stages in which in a few years the course of a stage of humanity is defined and these are the leaderships which exist, the workers states and the parties which exist. Within these movements we have to work, to influence, not subdue and not to treat them as if they were opposed or traitors or losers of equilibrium with necessity but to impel the tendencies which are already advancing within the workers states. Advancing and helping with ideas, with examples, with progress showing in their totality what has to be done, but accentuating the points in which they can then advance; without concealing our criticisms, as now with the critical support of the Italian communist party in the elections or the critical support of the French communist party and to the Popular Union. This is a process which already has a determined structure, and cannot change radically. It is not now the stage of the left opposition. It is our opposition which is identical with the leadership. Identified does not mean that we share their points of view, their programme and policy. The objective, yes. And the objective of this leadership is to overthrow the capitalist regime; whatever it might be, Poles or soviets. They all want to overthrow the capitalist system, there is no communist party which thinks of sustaining the capitalist system. In Italy itself, where the communists say that they are not going to take great measures, to Pajetta a few days ago, they asked him about NATO and he said: "we are against all blocks" this is against NATO.

The objective of the communist movement cannot be identified with the progress of reforms, and in the heart of this movement the left develops. It is not structured politically or programmatically but it is the place where the left can develop. The stage in which it was possible to expect a left opposition or movements in competition with the communist movement has already passed.

It is sufficient to see Lebanon which is smaller than a watch in geography and all the soviet and capitalist fleet mobilised. When this happens it is not through lack of confidence but because Lebanon attracts a process which is extending. And why do the soviets do this? because more and more in a precise and determined form the progress of the revolution, the progress of the workers states, the progress of the anti capitalist struggle is identified with the interest of the workers state. This is to say the objective conclusion of the workers state. Now the leadership of the workers state is obliged to answer this.

There is an increase in the identification of the workers state, of the workers states with the development of the progress of humanity; it is not a policy which the workers state pushes forward, it is an objective necessity.

For the Soviet Union to remain, to continue for China to remain and continue so that they can develop, they have to intervene.

The world class struggle is identified in a growing form with the workers state. The discussions in the workers state more and more also develop in this necessity. It is indubitable that various workers states, including Poland have very extensive commercial dealings with the capitalist system, and they have appealed to the Germans, the Yanks, the Japanese and the Italians. That is it is not a deficiency of Poland, it is a bureaucratic conception of the relations with the capitalist system.

This is an economic orientation of the leadership of the workers states to improve and develop the economy in the workers states, which is erroneous because it depends on the capitalist system, holds it and links them in everyway with the capitalist system and delays the consequences of the world revolution in the support of Lebanon, the support to the Middle East, to Angola, to Mozambique with this capitalist relation.

At the same time, there is an effort of the workers states, particularly of the USSR to utilise the forces of capitalism which in a certain sense is not incorrect. To utilise the technology is not incorrect either. Also Lenin did it. In this stage now, it is not the most fundamental. More fundamental than to utilise the technology and the capitalist investment is the planning of the workers states which has a result infinitely more development, economic development scientific and social revolutionary development than all the capitalist investments. In this way we discuss with the workers states, we do not make an accusation or a cry.

They say Lenin made the NEP. But in the epoch of Lenin the workers state was the only one, they were based on nothing. They now give support to Angola. This is to say that now it is not the same situation. It is not possible

to compare the epoch of Lenin with the epoch of Angola. This is absurd. It is necessary to make a discussion and a trace of this discussion is the one that HARRASZTY is making.

When an intellectual arises like this, who has a lot of clear ideas neither "leftist" or counter revolutionary - it is the case of a revolutionary who wants to intervene and still does not have the global concept of the programme but who wants to contribute. But the problem is not dissolved in the discussion on piecemeal. This is not the problem. This is a partial manifestation of protest against bad conditions of work. But at the same time that he does this, he does not say what it is necessary to say. With lack of leadership thousands and thousands arise like HARRASZTY. But when the judges let him go free - when before they would have condemned him - it is because now there are others who feel like him. Many, many others like him.

When in the Soviet Union the need for Cuba to intervene and support Angola and Mozambique is expressed, it is not the product of a bureaucratic wing. It is the objective need of the workers state. Between support to Angola, to Mozambique and Cuba and capitalist investment in Siberia what determines the course of the USSR? Siberia or Angola? Angola determines.

It is not possible to take a measure of the Soviet Union or an opinion based on one or other particular aspect but as a whole. This conjuncture indicates that one of the essential factors to advance the workers states in the economy, in policy, in society, in technology and in consequence in world authority, is the need to plan, and to make a discussion on planning of the workers states, and as part of that the unification of China and the USSR is fundamental.

J. POSADAS 27.6.76

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THE WAR IN LEBANON, THE LIMITS AND THE CRISIS OF ARAB NATIONALISM

J. Posadas

14-7-76

The intervention of the Syrians in Lebanon is a true and real alliance with the Israelis. It is not an intervention which has the reactionary objectives of the Israelis who are linked to imperialism, but the results weaken the Palestinian resistance and favour Israel and the Yanks.

Syria fears a victory of the Palestinians in so far as this will create revolutionary conditions throughout the Middle East and will influence Syria. The leadership of Assad is against this happening and now seeks to win a stage of mediation to yield a little (under his control), to the Palestinians and to impede, in this way, the penetration of their influence in Syria and throughout the Middle East.

Egypt has given a certain support to the Palestinians, because Lebanon is distant and is better in defending itself from revolutionary influence, having thus a more solid and controlled apparatus. At the same time, there exists competition between Syria and Egypt. Egypt wants to profit from the present situation, to inflict a blow against Syria and as a consequence against the Palestinians.

Now Egypt, while it has helped the Palestinian resistance, has repressed brutally internally. These are the contradictions of the Arab bourgeoisie which is no longer nationalist, which does not have popular support and which seeks with its policy of giving some aid to the Palestinian people, to maintain a popular support, to avoid by that, damaging its general objectives.

Besides, the Egyptians find it useful to carry out this policy to contain Israel, even if evidently for them, a Palestinian government and state is not convenient, because this inevitably, to develop itself, must be based on stratified property. A Palestinian state would not be able to invite capital to invest: to whom could it turn? Who could invest in a land which is almost a desert? Besides, the majority of the components of the Palestinian resistance are of the left and they are on the march learning and developing the conviction and conclusion that to develop the Lebanon means to unify, to unify with the Christians and the Jews, considering that among these, there are sectors who are in agreement with this.

The Syrian intervention is a blow to soviet diplomacy which this had not foreseen. It is a consequence of its "summit" policy, an erroneous policy which previously it had conducted also with Egypt. The bureaucratic policy

seeks alliances, agreements, believes in the apparatus, confides in the agreements of the apparatus and not in the population.

In Angola, the soviets have intervened directly together with the Cubans, because it was clearer and they ran a lesser risk. In Lebanon on the other hand, it must affront the bourgeoisie. In Angola there does not exist a large internal bourgeoisie and in Portugal there was a revolutionary situation which impeded their bourgeoisie from intervening as a colonial power, besides imperialism was not able to intervene directly.

Moreover in the Middle East, there is a more complicated situation, because there is bourgeoisie who have quite a lot of weight, as in Syria and Egypt, where certainly although a great part of the property is nationalised, there are very great sectors of the bourgeoisie and of the landowners. It is this bourgeoisie which is seeking to break the revolutionary process of the Palestinian resistance.

When the soviets are again mistaken, showing thus that the policy of the bureaucracy is not efficacious, inevitably they have to discuss, correct themselves and conquer new positions which cannot be won only through a direct policy towards Egypt and Syria, but through the whole of world policy. This must mean a policy which tends to feed, stimulate, and facilitate the formation of revolutionary tendencies in the army, in the economy and in the trade unions.

The present situation will have very favourable consequences in the USSR, it will bring the understanding of the need to develop immediately the revolutionary programme, revolutionary tendencies and that it is necessary to appeal for the defence of this programme.

One conclusion which shows this process is the exhaustion of bourgeois nationalism. Nationalism does not have perspectives, either it takes socialist measures, passing from the revolutionary state to the workers state or it remains in the hands of the capitalists who want to retreat. Bourgeois nationalism has no more perspective of developing and Assad is in the hands of the bourgeois tendency of Syrian nationalism.

Arab bourgeois nationalism demands that the state intervene to protect or develop it and that the masses submit to this. Instead the masses have advanced, elaborating a policy socially and politically superior to the bourgeoisie. The masses have understood that continuing in this way as

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- THE FUNCTION IN THE ECONOMY AND IN SOCIETY AND THE HISTORIC OBJECTIVITY OF THE PROLETARIAT. (In relation to the discussion in the world communist movement.)

now, the bourgeoisie develops, but not the country. In Egypt and Syria, in general, there is a retreat, because they have restored part of the property to private interests and private interests have not developed the economy of the country. The economy has not developed, not only because there is a war, but because there is private property. All this, with the present favourable consequences, will tend to stimulate the organisation of the revolutionary tendency to pass dynamically from nationalism to socialism. The divergences between Egypt and Syria express a competition between the national bourgeoisie, not between the revolutionary nationalists, competition to dominate the Middle East, the Arab countries and at the same time to make agreements with Israel and Imperialism. The relative failure of the soviets has an origin in the policy of agreements with the "summits", with sectors of the Arab governments, a policy which does not seek alliance with popular sectors, with the trade unions, with the peasant movements. If they can ally with the states, why can they not act in the same way with the nationalist movements and wings of the left?

This policy shows limitations and bureaucratic insufficiency on the part of the USSR. They have remained linked to the bourgeois sectors, waiting for them, while they have been very superficial in their efforts to ally with the trade unions, the peasant movements and the revolutionary movements. They do not have communist parties of importance in these countries nor links with the revolutionary movements. Now they have to discuss what to do in the next phase. It is a great deficiency on the part of the soviets which was previously seen in Egypt and now can be seen throughout the Middle East.

Also the Arab communist parties show all their limitations. They have made a policy of support, just following the Arab bourgeoisie and they have not understood nationalism; nor have they even understood the Palestinian movement, they have left it on one side. But now the situation will stimulate many communist parties to understand this process, to organise better. An example of this is the Israeli communist party which has corrected its policy and now openly supports the Palestinians. There is a crisis of all the movements, whether of the communists or the revolutionary movements like those of Habasch or Hawatmeh who have not understood the necessity for a programme for the Middle East, for the unification in a Socialist Soviet Federation of the Middle East, which includes Israel.

This means to create a Federation in which the economy is statified and which includes the Israelis, the Christians and the Arabs, with the right for self determination. It is necessary to develop a discussion in which conviction is expressed that a divided Federation is not convenient, but that it is necessary to unify the economy, that the religious differences are artificial while economic unity is a natural necessity. The lack of an adequate policy is the cause of the crisis, a policy of propaganda, agitation, literature, parties and also of the trade unions to push forward this policy. It is this lack which is the cause of the crisis. For a Socialist Soviet Federation of the Middle East is necessary which includes Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Israel, the Lebanon, Libya and the other countries of the Middle East, a Federation which is based on statification and planning of the economy of every country, with self determination and respect for national tongues and cultures, which then shows at the same time that the division, separation, differentiation on the basis of language and of culture is backward. With the unification of the economy, culture and language are unified. To maintain themselves limited only to traditional culture, to language of either the Israelis or the Arabs, what value does it have? It is of no help for humanity, for science, the economy or technology. It means remaining in backwardness. Unifying language, culture, favours mutual collaboration and the development of technology, of science, of human capacity and intelligence. Thus it will be seen that language like religion, are creations, beliefs of a stage of humanity. To the extent that

technology, science, intelligence overcomes all this, culture, art and science tends to unify humanity.

This is the problem which requires discussion in the Middle East. The Trotskyists of the Posadist IV International make an appeal to the comrades of the revolutionary currents of the Middle East, the Palestinians, of Israel to undertake the task of unifying the Middle East through a socialist programme and to expel imperialism. It's necessary to organise a discussion, making all the population intervene to resolve the linguistic and religious problems. It is necessary to go through a whole period in order that the population elevates. The masses have to intervene on all the problems of the economy, society, culture and of teaching. The population will tend in this way, to acquire the conviction that the diversity of languages and religions are backward and through their intervention will feel capable of doing everything. The Israelis and the Christians will feel this and unify.

These are the problems which Lebanon imposes. Moreover at the same time it is necessary to see that if this country, notwithstanding its smallness has so much importance, it is because there is such an acute process of crisis between the capitalist system and the workers states. Constantly the situation of the final settlement of accounts is posed.

When a small country provokes such a great intervention (of imperialism and of world capitalism on the one side and the Soviet Union and the workers states on the other) it is because a limit is being reached in the crisis of the world relations between the workers state and the capitalist system. Why now do they not make a new Yalta? At Yalta they divided the world, decided the fate of countries like Greece and Germany. Why do they not unite to make an agreement? The communist comrades must see the difference that there is now between now and Yalta.

At Yalta, Stalin handed over a series of countries to capitalism, among them Greece. He wanted also to hand over Yugoslavia and China but the masses and the leaderships of the communist parties of these countries would not permit it and did very well. But today they cannot repeat Yalta, the process of maturing of the revolution does not allow the workers states to make such a policy.

The communist parties must confront the present situation which is not the same as in the epoch of Stalin. The workers states must support a small country like Lebanon, even at the cost of the world war. That situation shows there is a very acute situation and one very favourable for the development of the revolution. The Yanks cannot intervene or make a new Yalta. This shows the world weakness of capitalism, which the workers states and the communist parties must understand in such a way as to intervene with an offensive policy and more audacious. They must propose a programme of unification of the Middle East, appealing for the creation of a Soviet Socialist Federation of the Middle East. It is not sufficient only to send arms and men, but it is necessary to propose an economic programme of social and political organisation.

Unification of all the Arab countries, elimination of imperialism and the feudal states! It should be done in such a way that languages are a means of scientific and economic development not of backwardness and separation. A clear example of progress is Algeria. This country, after a backwardness of 130 years of imperialist domination, after years and years of war, now has a socialist Constitution and its people, of whom a good part are illiterate, has voted in mass for socialism. This shows that the population has the consciousness, the capacity and resolution to resolve the problem of backwardness, religion, the questions of the economy, language problems, with economic measures which unify in the function of the progress of humanity, with socialist measures, with the organisation of the Soviet Socialist Federation of the Middle East.

14 July 1976. J. POSADAS.

CORRECTION

Red Flag supplement August 1976. Page 5, final sentence, third paragraph from the bottom, left side, should read. "This means there are enormous forces in Hungary interested in making the workers state advance."

THE PRESENT PHASE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA

J. Posadas

27-6-76

The development of the political revolution has different levels and stages. But the force that dominates the present course of the process of the revolution in the course of the progress of human struggles and the struggles of society, is the political revolution in all the workers states and the process of permanent revolution in all its forms.

It is developing in a process of relations of forces, of dual power which is more and more accentuated. But differently from the stage of Lenin and Trotsky, this duality of power is not based on the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie in each country but on a world scale, in which the workers states intervene and weigh in a very direct, very immediate way and allow the stimulation and development of forces. The intervention in Angola is decisive, very, very decisive.

All the small movements of the world look towards the Soviet Union. All of them, whatever they may be, look expecting the help and support of the Soviet Union. Capitalism, which previously would have launched twenty wars because of inter capitalist competition, and its internal contradictions, today has to prepare more and more for war, while the internal structure of the capitalist system continues to disintegrate. They have the arms and in the relation of forces, they have more than the workers states. But there is a very great internal disintegration expressed in problems of indiscipline, desertion, in elections, in having to admit the Portuguese into the Atlantic pact and having to put up with Italy. Now Italy is the same as before the elections. There is moreover a great number of soldiers who are ready to give to the Soviets military secrets and ready if there is war, not to conquer the Soviet Union, but to go over to the Soviet Union.

There is a process of disintegration of the capitalist system, including the military sectors. This is reflected in various ways. The soldiers pass over directly to our side, whether in elections, or as in Portugal or

Ethiopia. In North America they are not able to develop the historic military preparation against the workers states.

In this course of history, a stage of civilisation is developing, led by the workers states and this is a burden for imperialism. In the United States there are no campaigns in the schools or cinemas against the workers states. It is undoubted that what they call "detente" has importance. This is true. But detente is not the reason for this. It is because if they launched a campaign for war, there would be a very great resistance in the United States. Hence it has not achieved this, and does not make any preparation. It is undoubted that detente implies this. Detente means that they both reach agreements, the workers states and capitalism, so as not to enrage relations. But capitalism prepares constantly for the war.

There is no social tranquillity or social passivity. All this is reflected in all the liberation movements, all the social movements, which acquire a revolutionary character immediately. But the fundamental element which gives this stable character to these revolutionary movements of any country in the world, is the attitude of the workers states. This attitude of the workers states, of support and aid, is reflected in a phenomenon which is one of the most important in history; the united nations is paralysed. It is blocked, because there is a majority of third world countries and workers states. U.N.O, which is an organism created as a means of negotiation, lying, deceiving the masses of the world, to negotiate with the workers states is no longer of any use. Thus an instrument determined by them, has to be put on one side, over Lebanon or Israel for example.

All these examples, which appear as apparently partial aspects, are expressions of a process which as a whole shows the debacle of capitalism. Now capitalism does not dominate, cannot attract, organise or sustain confidence in the middle layers of the petit bourgeoisie. They are already won by the

revolution. Hence the developed countries, or semi developed or not developed at all, like Africa who hope to develop, like Asia, Latin America, the technicians who emerge are no longer the cadres of capitalism. They are sectors who are immediately won by the revolution.

It is necessary to give a very great and fundamental importance to countries like Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and soon Bolivia, because they are forces which together with Mexico influence as a whole. This forms part of the world process of dual power. Now it is not simply because it influences and is significant for one or other country. It leads the education, thought and intelligence of humanity. This is reflected in the socialist and communist parties. It is reflected in China also.

This process in China which is quite hidden, is like this because there is no party life, because they have not developed the life in the party. All the processes in China, are different from the Soviet Union, which are more public without being totally public, whereas in China it is all internal. The maximum level when it came to light were the hundred flowers, the great leap forward and the large wall posters. But they are minuscule expressions in which they do not discuss positions, or ideas. This indicates a very solid mass of bureaucrats linked to sectors of economic power and to eliminate this requires a very profound movement of the masses, which until now did not exist and which now begins to express itself.

With the cultural revolution the, first important step forward was made to try to advance in China, but it was not made with an organisation, with the discussion, with the programme made by the party, but by discussions at the top. Hence the large posters appeared and not the life of the party. The poster has nothing to do with the party, it is a backward antiquated measure, from the epoch of the mandarins. If there is something to discuss, let the party, the factory, and the trade union discuss it and let them decide.

The poster is discussed when there is no intervention of the masses, no capacity for education, for organisation. This is being overcome, not because Mao Tse Tung is dying - but because the economic development and fundamentally the social revolutionary development of China does not correspond to this leadership.

There have been expressions which show already that this situation exists. Chou en Lai was more than a year in hospital and did not count for anything, not because he was ill but because the sickness was useful to separate him. An internal struggle took place in which a series of people appeared who did not represent the progress of China.

The economic progress of China, leads it in certain very elevated levels to intervene politically. On the other hand the policy is of a backward level which does not correspond to the economic progress of China. There was the great leap forward from 1958-61 where they made millions of tons of wheat appear and there were "errors" in calculation. These were not errors of calculation, statistical information was not lacking. But it was a stage in the leadership who wanted to surprise, to impose on the population. Hence the mistakes. Reality determined the world exchange; the consumption of the population showed that the figures on paper did not correspond to reality. But on the other hand now they could not do the same. The struggle now is much more furious than that which appears externally.

It is a struggle for the leadership and over where is China going, in which old sectors linked to agrarian property, above all who have weight in the party and sectors who are old communists. These are not like old communists but old bureaucrats, as those who enrolled in the Soviet Union a year from the taking of power - it does not correspond exactly but it is a physiognomy with a certain identity, - bureaucrats who attach themselves to the chariot of the revolution when it is on the march and the poverty of China which was less than the poverty of the Soviet Union, allowed them to make a career.

In the Soviet Union, even with the poverty caused by the war which killed the principle cadres of the party, which exterminated the country economically, the Bolshevik party

showed the necessary fibre for the development of history. Without the Bolshevik party, we would not be here. It was the Bolshevik party which maintained the workers state and from there germinated all the other revolutions. This was the party of Lenin, Trotsky and the masses. In China there was no such party.

The Chinese party is very inferior from every point of view; reason, programme, objectives and capacity in comparison with the Bolshevik party. There is no real comparison. The Bolshevik party developed, above all as we do, with principles, with programme, with theoretical and political life, with analysis, verification, conclusions the generalisation of analysis. It was a party which prepared its cadres with theoretical and political security. Hence it resisted all the ambitions of the blows given by the bureaucracy and capitalism, because it had theoretical and political security. It prepared itself in knowledge previous to application. The application then affirmed the theoretical and political preparation. Hence it resisted the first seven years, Stalin, the Nazis and capitalism.

China did not have such a preparation. In China there was no political life, or only a very limited one. The theoreticians, almost all of Trotskyist origin or close to Trotskyism, which meant, in this case Leninism, they liquidated. Thus the process was empirical. The "Great March" is a historic achievement but there was no theoretical preparation. It served to conquer militarily but not to construct socially. It serves to overthrow and surpass capitalism but not for the theoretical and political phase, for the construction of socialism. All this comes to light now.

The "Great March" is a historic fact of a very great magnitude, but the Bolsheviks without the great march, took power in conditions infinitely worse than in China, because China - in the last instance - has its base of power in the Soviet Union. Hence in Canton the 36 could make this offensive because of the Soviet Union. They were able to conquer the Japanese because it was the Soviet Union and they ended by triumphing over Chiang Kai Shek and against the Japanese because the world socialist revolution existed. It is not possible to make a comparison between China and the USSR. In the USSR, even in the worst

moments of the revolution, this is in all the texts, they discussed, even when it was resolved by common consent to suppress factions, they discussed as factions and tendencies, and there was no great scandal. There was an agreement, they acted in common agreement to suspend factions because it was necessary to confront the economic situation. Afterwards Stalin used this to smash the left opposition. But in China there was no such thing.

China has not produced a single theoretician. Since 1960 there has not been a single position of China on the world, on what is the world, on what is the relation of world forces, on how to advance in the construction of socialism in the East. The influence which impels the revolution in the East is not essentially China, but essentially the Soviet Union. Afterwards it is China. It is the Soviet Union which determined all this, not the Chinese. In spite of the fact that the Chinese intervened, the soviets supported.

It is necessary to consider that this crisis of China is going to have immense reflections in the world communist movement, because a process is coming to light.

It depends on a series of circumstances, including the soviets i.e. that the soviets find in the course of their internal struggle, the development of tendencies to the left, in helping the left in China to discuss. There is a left in China. In spite of what they are saying, Lin Piao was a representative, not directly, but a representative of this tendency.

They are seeking to discuss. Lin Piao was the one who stimulated the workers to discuss in the factories, to draw up resolutions. He discussed with the students and appealed to the students and workers to bring out resolutions. On the same platform, Lin Piao spoke and then Chou en Lai. The former appealed to the workers to intervene, to draw up resolutions to demonstrate, to unite with the students, to condemn imperialism; Chou en Lai called on them to "go to work, to study, the revolution is over."

It is necessary to consider that the absence of China in the revolutionary movement is a very great deficiency for history, for the development of the revolution, for the relation of world forces for dual power. China does not influence in the revolution, it

influences as a country. It does not give ideas, nor examples nor experiences, it does not give support and when it intervenes in some aspects it supports the revolution, as a minimum and in general, it supports the counter revolution.

This means that the attitude of the Chinese is not an anti soviet attitude through the interests of one or other sector. It concerns the leading sectors of the Chinese bureaucracy which is a level inferior to Stalin. In the last instance, it is necessary to record that this is fundamental. Stalin, being Stalin had to support the taking of power and defend Poland and Finland because the workers state demanded it, the state imposed. The Chinese supported Chile, supported the counter revolutionaries in Angola, supported counter revolutionaries including in Cambodia and Laos. This means it is not a mistake, it is the leading layer which is exercising this counter revolutionary function.

Even so, the soviets have not made any important criticism or public criticism to draw advantage. It is not necessary to take it as a premeditated soviet attitude in order not to "intensify the contradictions" but because in the soviets, there is a more conscious leadership, which depends on the masses of the workers state and represents more genuinely the workers state. Without being a genuine representation of the workers states it is closer, infinitely closer than China. It is necessary to intervene in this crisis.

Already in this discussion, there is the question of flirtation with the Yanks, the support to Chile, the support to the counter revolutionaries in Angola indicating that there is a furious base for this, furiously anti soviet. It is not because of anti sovietism, for national competition but because it aspires to contain the revolution in the stage in which we are, to impede the process of advance of the revolution. This external policy is totally incongruous, in total contradiction with the minimal revolutionary interest of China. It is against the historic possibility of China.

China, without the Soviet Union and without Vietnam dies. Vietnam with the Soviet Union and without China does not die. China depends on these countries and imperialism is gaining a very big advantage from this reactionary policy and counter revolutionary policy of China

which corresponds to the policy of Stalin when he allowed the Nazis to advance.

The stupidity of Stalin was accompanied by the intelligence of a sector of the army which understood and sought to defend directly the workers state. In China the same exists; there are all these layers who have not been able to enter into a functioning. It is necessary to prepare to intervene in this discussion. In the article which we wrote in 1963 on the twenty five points of the Chinese, we said it indicated already the preparation of the Chinese for the cultural revolution, after "the hundred flowers shall bloom with the ten thousand million tons of wheat". The latter was a scandalous business. From there came an enormous retreat. The big letter posters did not compensate for this, there was nothing to see or reflect discussions or internal life.

It is necessary to be ready to intervene to be prepared to seek in the next stage the indispensable solution:- it is necessary to unite China and the USSR, it is necessary to unite the workers states, this is very urgent for humanity.

Apparently in the meeting which the communist parties held in Berlin, they went in order to discuss dissidences and disintegration. It is not like this; integration advances. Even with all the mistakes, they have to reunite, they have to draw conclusions in common and of the conclusions in common, the parallel centre in all the resolutions is that capitalism is the enemy.

They do not meet to conciliate with capitalism. They can conciliate in one country in power with the capitalists but not as a whole. All the conclusions are anti capitalist even with all the plurality which they speak about. Even with all the talk of independence, they have to draw anti capitalist conclusions.

The perspectives are more elevated than before, for the function of unifying the world communist movement. It is necessary to write a good deal on this. It is necessary to intervene in this process. A fundamental factor which is going to collaborate in this process are the socialists. It is no longer necessary to regard the socialist parties as a whole as a cart which goes backward. It is a cart which goes forward and in the back there are a whole lot of people

who want to remain, but it is cart which advances because history does not allow it to do anything else. There is no fundamental change in Olof Palme but there is in the socialists of Sweden.

The other aspect is that it is not a question of manoeuvres but they have to yield because history shows it is like this. On the other hand, in the epoch of the social democrats, capitalism was strong, powerful, invincible. But now the beggar of death goes to deliver blows at empty houses (Kissinger). Before they went to impose and obtain results.

We have to intervene in this process in China and in our literature we have to accentuate the concern for the unification of China, the Soviet Union and the workers states.

The International must intervene in the next stage with documents and interventions and accentuate this necessity which is going to have a great welcome because it is a logical necessity of history, for the progress of the revolutionary struggle. We are going to organise how to intervene. We are going to develop scientific understanding, conscious of this necessity.

In China and the USSR there is a great internal struggle. In the USSR there are sectors who do not want unity with China. Unity for them means the elimination of bureaucratic interest of the Chinese but also of them. Maintaining separation with bureaucratic interests means they have freedom to organise competition, rivalry, and dispute with the Chinese and to elude the revolutionary policy which eliminates bureaucratic interest. It is necessary to consider such facts in the Soviet Union. This necessity is developing in China in a very notable form. The changes which have been made, among them the elevation of the Prime Minister, Hua Kuo Feng and the rapid elimination of Teng Peng was done in less than a month. When there is such a revolution which weakens their relation with world imperialism, it is because the struggle is very furious. These changes do not express a struggle of fractions that is temporary but is a very profound struggle which has very elevated levels and objectives and which continues with the question, where is China going?

This is the process; where is China going? where does the policy of China lead? to manoeuvres? China does not have its

own objectives. It is inert. From the historical concrete point of view it is inert; they do not have policy and objectives. The Soviets have the objective of extending the revolution. The Chinese, what policy do they have? They have to support and sustain indirectly Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam, on the other hand they support sectors of the right like Sihanouk. They do not have their own objectives, as the workers state and in this they support NATO in Europe. They compete in the lowest denominator of the bureaucratic form, which links them directly to the capitalist system. This is not the Chinese revolution, it is the leadership, the policy of the Chinese leadership and Mao Tse Tung was one of the components of this. Mao Tse Tung is the weight which goes from one side to another.

Mao Tse Tung has not said a word, one does not know one thought, position, or opinion, either on China or on world problems. The Chinese do not act as a result of lack of military or economic measures, they do not have a policy. There is an internal mass of tendencies, in which the revolutionary tendency is the smallest but has a very profound root in the masses of Canton and Shanghai. Throughout China, this tendency exists, but not the life of the party which allows a unification.

This policy of China cannot last: it is against the objectives of the workers state. The economy, science and technology advance in the workers state and in consequence the security of the population and the conception of socialism advances. The policy of the Chinese does not correspond to this, particularly in the relation to the workers states, when China supports NATO.

Very important results can be expected from our intervention. Not by accusing the Chinese of being counter revolutionaries, although in aspects they are counter revolutionaries, but the objective of China cannot be counter revolutionary. This leadership has counter revolutionary aspects but not in everything. In Chile it is counter revolutionary, with the communist parties and in its support to NATO, it is counter revolutionary.

This is contradictory and antagonistic with the objective of the workers state. This contradiction is going to express itself. Hence there has been a fight until now in some army, some

division. There are points of military support. It is a situation which is very backward in relation to how the Soviet Union functioned in which the struggle did not centre in the army but in the party. On the other hand in China, the party does not exist. It is a totality of a movement with a leadership but the party does not exist. In the Soviet Union there was a party and the party decided. Even in the worst conditions, Stalin was not animated to suppress the party, nor the definition of the Soviets. He eliminated the Soviets but not the definition. He left the definition undoubtedly as a base for authority and he had to keep it. He could not replace it with any other form. He suppressed the Constitution, including the "class struggle" and the class struggle continued developing.

This struggle which exists in China in the first stage, relates to the issue of the masses intervening in the party, so that there may be the regular life of the party, discussions, analyses, comparisons with the workers states, which means including support for the world process of the revolution. We have to intervene, to stimulate this conclusion.

The Chinese masses cannot influence because there is no policy, nor has the Chinese Communist Party objectives in humanity. It cannot weigh. It is necessary to develop the activity to help the communist parties, the Soviet Union, so that it intervenes in China to impel the struggle and internal discussions.

The Yanks made many concessions to the Chinese, enormous concessions. They were ready even to sacrifice Formosa. It is a formal question because it has no value nor can it be a point of military support. Today a small bomb can liquidate Formosa, and it is a small disintegrated country ruled by a camarilla which lives linked to Yankee imperialism. It has no economic weight, no political importance and geographically has some military importance as a base. But today with the character of atomic weapons, the levels of atomic arms, all the strategic points change; the Yanks are revising their points of support because now it is not so important to be based on one point. The present atomic weapons have a range and power of expansion so that the Mediterranean is not necessary. Bombs can reach any part of the Mediterranean in a fraction

of seconds. The Soviets have developed submarines more, they have a superiority over the Yanks.

In China when the Yanks were ready to negotiate, including over Taiwan, it is necessary to observe very attentively, because this is very close to war; to utilise the Chinese to give a blow to the Soviets and afterwards to smash the Soviet Union as before when they used the Nazis and the Soviet Union. The result was that the Soviets smashed the Nazis and the Soviet Union triumphed. Now they want to do the same with Formosa, putting the Chinese against the workers states, maintaining friendly mandarin relations as with Ford and Nixon, to try to gain advantage and time. But at the same time, they do not show any capacity or military capacity to be able to utilise their forces.

The reaction in China is against the Yanks. The fiestas and receptions for Nixon, Ford, all these people, are arranged by a palace committee, and behind this there is nothing. They cannot say they were received by the Chinese people because the Chinese people is with the world revolution. The Chinese masses live the world revolution. There are very large bureaucratic layers who base themselves on the old mandarins, the old landed proprietors, in a past apparatus which lost confidence in the revolutionary method. Even if their origin was revolutionary, all the Stalinist sectors have lost confidence. This is the layer which dominates the party. Hence there is almost complete solitude in China, there is no discussion, no comparisons, no experiences, no publications. There are eulogies and praises, but no scientific application.

They do not intervene in the support of the revolution with the weight of China and the progress of the Chinese masses. It is necessary to expect that the next stages favour a tendency for a Sino Soviet meeting. At the same time, in the USSR, bureaucratic stages are going to have to be gone through, because the bureaucracy try to prevent the elevation of China as a competitor with the Soviet Union.

In the Soviet Union, although there is competition with the Chinese, their intervention in the world, the world development of the revolution, their support and link with the world revolution, allows the development of cadres, thought,

life, political development in the USSR of a political understanding for the needs of history, the

need for revolutionary policy.

This is one of the most important problems on which it is

necessary to intervene.

J. POSADAS. 27.6.76

**THE FUNCTION IN THE ECONOMY AND IN
SOCIETY AND THE HISTORIC OBJECTIVITY
OF THE PROLETARIAT (in relation to
the discussion in the world communist movement)**

J POSADAS

26-4-76

In the present discussion on the dictatorship of the proletariat, the fundamental points are not well formulated. Similarly with Althusser of the French communist party. What he says is not bad but it is only a part of the problem. And besides it is not a "philosophical" problem. Marx said "the philosophers have explained the world, the principle task is to change it". This is one of his greatest conclusions. Now it is no longer a question of discussing the conduct of man and society but of the classes.

Before, life was separated by an infinity of relations, and the economy, politics, the trade unions, ideas did not have the unity which they have today, because the social struggles have been advancing, the economy has been developed, with the concentration of production, and the concentration of science. It is concentrated and then the policy reflects all this. Hence politics is the concentration of the economy. Today it is the expression of the relation of life, but revolutionary policy, the rest is a mystification, a lie and evasion. Hence we say that what corresponded before to philosophy, in the time of Aristotle and the others, today is now done by marxism. Then they were explaining a diversified process, bifurcated from human relations but today relations are all identified and centralised in the necessity that the human being can resolve everything. Before they went explaining, today matters are resolved. Hence revolutionary policy responds to all this. Revolutionary policy is an essential activity of history, in this sense it can be a profession to lead history consciously, based on the economic, scientific, social process which exists.

In this discussion it is necessary to intervene with the historic objectivity which allows the utilisation of the marxist instrument, otherwise it is of no use; it is an instrument of interested appreciation which loses validity. The marxist instrument takes the past and investigates it, analyses the present and foresees the future, otherwise it sees only what the individual and subjective mentality sees. Marxism sees objectively as a necessity of the process of history. Marxism unifies all the factors, economic, social, political, military and determines that the course of history is determined by two reasons; the form in which the economy is organised, the form in which the economy is led, its effects on the human being and of the human being on the economy. Of the two which prevails? the human being otherwise the economy imposes.

For a whole period of history, it was the economy which organised the conduct, afterwards when the human being acquires a certain consciousness and security, it organises the economy. Those who speak of the "unalterable principles of Marx" are right but in the relation of forces these principles are not unalterable. The principle is "existence determines consciousness" but in Ethiopia, how is this principle applied? In the Sahara? The principle is valid but to the extent that the revolution advances, relations of forces are created which proceed to change the conditions which originated such a principle, and in a particular form such a principle no longer functions, without ceasing to have historic validity.

In this discussion it is the same; one must realise that when the French communist party annuls the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is because the internal life of the party has been superficial. If there was a life of theoretical and political preoccupation, it would not have been negated, it would have been discussed. They say "it is finished", an historical principle which is finished, but what historic reason is there to negate it as we said more than two months ago, what historic experience determines this? How is it possible to change a theoretical base proved by the 14 workers states and say, it is finished. One discusses. What does it mean to discuss? why is not the application useful in France? It is that the French bourgeoisie is a special stratum, or that France lives outside the world class struggle? They said: "the dictatorship of the proletariat is finished, we do not want this any more". It is finished. There was no plurality.

A principle which has been demonstrated in 14 countries - the most important in the world - and the leaders of the PCF say "it over". It was necessary to intervene as we have done.

In this discussion the interpretation of the function of the working class is fundamental. In this discussion they pose the situation of working class as if it was going to declare the course of history or as if it was "the interest" of the working class which pushes forward to socialism, but it is in this way because it is the class representative of the course of history. And the comrades who intervene in this discussion in the world communist movement deny this representation of the class. They pose it as

"workers who have such an understanding to do this". They do have this understanding, but because the working class represents a course of history as the bourgeoisie represented it with private property in capitalist production.

The working class has "to be revolutionary or it is nothing". This is the phrase of Karl Marx. But it is not posed in this way, the discussion is abstract and they make an idealisation of the proletariat to justify their "managing" the proletariat.

The historic function of the proletariat in the economy and in society is the situation which determines that it has to liberate itself and to do this it has to liberate society. As a class it unites in its development, all the attributes of all the sectors close to it, to eliminate every form of oppression in society. This is the historic function of the classes, otherwise an abstract discussion is posed. They show the proletariat rather like "a good person that thinks better than the others", not through its class function. To discuss like this is to distort marxism. This is not marxism, it is an idealisation which tomorrow changes the proletariat for the petit bourgeoisie or the manager. They can change one for the other.

The proletariat has an historic function which it must fulfill, hence Marx has phrases which are definitions of categories of history, "the proletariat will be revolutionary or it will be nothing". This shows that as a worker he is the same as in the epoch of the ancient Romans, as in slavery but the proletariat fulfills a function, distinct from the past because without the proletariat the economy cannot develop. It has the capacity to reorganise society!

We have repeatedly written texts on the function of the proletariat in the economy, and in society. The proletariat does not do this because it has the understanding that it must act in this way, it is not a problem of the university, of intelligence, or of political understanding but its situation in the economy and society means this understanding, otherwise it has nothing. It is necessary to put order in this discussion.

Now they continue explaining the world but they do not change it and now Marx gave the historic definition. In spite of the dodges they get up to in these discussions - they ignore the historic function of the proletariat - the intervention of the soviets and ourselves is giving a very elevated theoretical level to the discussion.

The historic function of the proletariat has to be posed again, its going to be discussed, the soviets are going to discuss it. And in China also all this is going to develop. The manoeuvre of the centrist sectors - of those who want to place themselves between the contending sectors - to prevent a further capitulation to private property in alliance with the Yanks but also against the soviets - has no place. There is no place for any tendency which wants to contain the course of history nor for those who want to place the proletariat in the function of "defending the right to food".

It is necessary to say clearly and precisely: capitalist society is overthrown, destroyed by a logical necessity of history. The instrument to overthrow it is the proletariat. It is the proletariat through its function in the economy and society. As it is not the only force oppressed in society, in the struggle to disintegrate, break up overthrow the capitalist system, the proletariat represents all the oppressed sectors of society. It has no identical social and economic interest but yes it is identical with the place of the exploited in history. They differentiate themselves in levels, degrees and also in the relation and quality of exploitation but all are in the margin of exploitation. At the level of the capitalist crisis who represents all these layers of the exploited? the bourgeoisie cannot represent them, nor the capitalist crisis. It is the proletariat which represents and wins them.

The proletariat does not win these sectors because it makes concessions, it wins them, because it represents the need for the liberation of all these sectors and as the proletariat through its function in the economy has no other remedy, no other solution than to destroy this relation of production to free itself, it liberates all the others at the same time. This is the historic function in the economy.

The historic function of the proletariat in society is when it succeeds in acquiring and complete notion of liberty, because it has no intentions for the future of new forms of property, it eliminates them. In its head new forms of oppression do not germinate, but forms of liberation. Hence, through its function and in society, it is the class which can carry out this function, not because it occurs to it, but because this is its function in the economy and in society and it wins other sectors among them, the intellectuals. And the intellectuals base themselves on the proletariat, to determine their texts, their analysis their revolutionary writings.

This has been ignored, hidden and disregarded by the workers leaders. Yet this is the essential progress of history. The soviets are rapidly running to this conclusion but they resort to it in an unequal, intermittent, non continuous, interrupted form, not in a profound way, but superficially and with a lack of continuity. Continuity allows harmony of understanding, and continuity means to see and to define that in this stage of history, it is clearly and decisively a question of resolving the historic destiny of humanity. And the historic destiny of humanity what is it? to eat, to live? this is absurd! The historic destiny of humanity is its relation of dignity with itself, "humanity seeks to understand itself" as we said years ago.

Who does this? none of the other sections can do it. It is the proletariat which can do this through its function in the economy and in society because it does not have egoistic, sectarian interests but through its function it is impelled to generalise every concept of morality, dignity, liberty not enclosed in the family but generalising it. These are essential bases, this was Marx integral with "Capital". The proletariat was not discussed as if it was "one type better than another". This is absurd. This is to take marxism which is the most complete capacity of history to interpret-tomorrow it will be suppressed, but now it is the most complete - as a dictionary to see what must be done for now and for tomorrow. Marxism is not a dictionary: it is a method of interpretation which understands classes in their historic function and in their movement, their development and function. This is marxism.

To apply marxism today in this process is to draw the conclusion that what they are discussing is not the dictatorship of the proletariat but that in depth, what they are discussing is a new form of revolutionary reformism. This definition is going to emerge in other aspects. The attitude of the communists is reformist but not to defend the capitalist relation but the reformism to disintegrate, disorganise and conquer capitalism. Hence it is revolutionary reformism. The "technicians of definitions" are against this; either it is reformism or it is not". In the dialectical process there is both a retreat and an advance. It is necessary to understand how the process develops to take account of its advancing and retreating features. It is not an uninterrupted process of progress in the form of advance but of a progress in the form of delays and retreats also. It is a form of progress because it accumulates forces as for example in Ethiopia. All this has to be discussed, it is a very rich process in history.

Hence the joy which feeds humanity. It is not food-this fulfills its function because the cells need it - but the joy of feeling that there are no mysteries. Humanity is developing with the joy of seeing that it can resolve everything. Children of six resolve everything; their parents die, their family and the child continues fighting and does not feel smashed, because his family has disappeared, but he feels the joy of being human, not the egoistic joy that he lives and the others died but the joy on those that live and can live. This is the joy of the human being who feels that he conquers. It is absurd today to make some analysis of the world without these concepts. This is Marx. Marx could not say it in his epoch, because these conditions did not exist and he had to resolve other problems which allowed us to place ourselves in these questions but his is the method of interpretation. It is not possible to interpret without the joy of seeing where we are going. It is not the heroism of the old nihilist who threw the bomb and died with it satisfied to kill "the assassin Czar". Now this is no longer necessary.

It is the joy of humanity which resolves all the problems, because the conditions already exist on the basis of the 14 workers states, the proletariat and the understanding and the intelligence of humanity in that the child of six has the rifle for the progress of humanity not to kill. In the present discussion which exists on the dictatorship of the proletariat - of Althusser himself - this analysis is absent. In the discussion the homogeneous simplicity of communism is missing.

J. POSADAS. 26.4.76

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LETTER ON THE MORALITY OF THE BOURGEOISIE AND THE MORALITY OF THE PROLETARIAT

J. POSADAS 7.3.76

The essential point to discuss is the crisis of the communist movement of the communist parties, including that of Italy and the crisis of the Italian bourgeoisie, of the workers parties and the class solution. The only possible solution for Italy is the class solution, particularly the analysis of the principles of communism, of marxism and experiences which show the affirmation of these principles. Part of that is the principle "Their morality and ours".

It is necessary to develop the idea that the morality of the communist parties does not correspond to the morality of communism but to the morality of the "other side". It is not a morality which organises and develops the security in the principle of the ideas, in the application of the ideas and that in consequence determines a moral behaviour, that is to say the daily, permanent attitude before problems. Morality is a principle, the application is made at each moment in various ways.

All the abandonment of communist morality is not an abandonment of the communist objective, but yes an abandonment of the communist morality which has its political consequences. It is necessary to develop the ideas on the behaviour of the communist party, which without abandoning the objective of making a programme of nationalisations, of overcoming capitalism, does not lead to this conclusion in its daily conduct, for example now in front of the banditry of the bourgeoisie, in which the principle leaders linked with financial circles, with industries are looting the state. In front of this the communists are not developing a campaign against the capitalist system which leads to these consequences, but simply argue that all this is the result of bad people. But to change them for others, maintaining the regime, is impossible, it does not lead to improvement, it does not annual new deals. What it is necessary to negate is the base which produces these deals, which is the capitalist system. Although it many not be possible immediately now, to annul the capitalist system, the explanation educates people. It sees that capitalism is responsible for such evils. Thus all these events stem from these consequences. This is morality. This is our morality.

The other aspect is to develop around the themes of class policy, to help the understanding of historic patience, to affirm the understanding of the principles, of the examples of the objective development showing the following in general lines and the determining ones. Meantime the communist parties of France and Italy retreat in front of the need to advance, retreat instead of advancing. The single fact of not advancing is to retreat. They do not advance, but Africa advances, Angola, Mozambique, Mexico and Venezuela. The single fact of staying where they are is a retreat. A retreat is now not measured by the material retreat of going backwards; the lack of advance and of progress is a retreat. The single fact of staying still means the influence of ideas, sentiments, positions, examples which develop doubt, and insecurity, thus it is a retreat. Not attracting and remaining still, are factors in containing the process. The practical and determining example of these ideas is Italy.

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**INSIDE:— THE PRESENT EVENTS IN CHINA ARE REFLECTIONS OF
THE MOST PROFOUND REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS** J. Posadas. 11.4.76

The crisis of Italy is not determined because there were three or four brigands or fourteen brigands in the ministries or that they are all brigands, because there is "bad" government, but because the capitalist system produces these governments. It is necessary to discuss that the changes cannot come with the inclusion of the communists in the government but take place with a programme, otherwise there is an adaptation of capitalism. The communist party seeks with its line to weaken the Christian democracy, to make it retreat, to impel the left, which is their objective. But the Christian democratic party in the last instance determines the course, and the majority is led by the right, this is not the majority in an assembly or in the Congress, but what programme, what objectives has the Christian democracy? A capitalist programme of reiterating, reproducing, diffusing, and affirming the capitalist system. Well, this creates the cadres and the leaders, and it is not possible to believe in a party which has as a proposal to defend and develop the capitalist system. There are one, two, ten deputies also open to other influences but not the Christian Democratic party. It is necessary to express these ideas, to know how to intervene in the moment when it is possible to intervene, to exert a pressure and to see that the Christian Democratic left makes a leap, which is not Donat Cattin, who is the right, but the left which is in the worker, peasant base and which still has no leadership. A proof of this is that between the election of the 15 June and the later behaviour of the Christian Democracy, there is no similarity. A very great base of the Christian democracy voted for the communists, not only the young but the Christian democratic base.

We are living the most beautiful stage of history. But without the theoretical preparation there is no practical preparation. We have the theoretical preparation and the masses of the world are acquiring and they are going to acquire our level. The defeat of imperialism in Angola is the defeat already making a rhythm and a level in history. In the relation of world forces, imperialism has made a retreat, because the revolution advanced and the distance has extended enormously in favour of the revolution.

Neither the communists or socialists generalise the political activity of any part of Italy. They localise it to prevent it helping the maturation in the party so that it sees the limitation of the leadership. This was the opposite of what the Bolsheviks were doing. Any member of the Bolshevik party anywhere in Russia gave a report immediately of what was happening in the world and they orientated themselves understanding the world. On the other hand the communists and socialists are isolated.

Italy has entered upon and is developing in a stage where it cannot go back. If the bourgeoisie wants to retreat it has to make fascism, or a government of the right which prepares fascism. The conditions do not exist for fascism or the right. Capitalism has no solution. It is not a local but a world wide one. There is already the internationalisation of Italy. The North American government intervenes in Italy as though it were its own house. This is going to impel the Italian masses to seek also the participation of others, which is not North America but the Soviet Union. It is the Yanks who are posing the question, and it is not the problem of Italy but of the world. It is not a problem which can be resolved in Italy but beyond Italy. Internationalisation, internationalism comes to weigh on the communist party, because internationalism is not a principle of morality or honesty but an objective necessity of the process of history. As communism also is the objective necessity of the process of history.

The class represents the security of the historic conclusion. The leaders are insecure in this objective and the means to achieve it. The class has no doubt. It is a controversy, a dispute, a struggle of the class for its function in the economy and in society; it has to take the road of constant, permanent confrontation irreconcilable with capitalism, but the leadership adapts to it. It has not security in the ideas which the class possesses through its position in history. The ideas, the experiences of the class must be felt by the leaders, the strength of the class through its function in history. The ideas and the class have always triumphed through an objective necessity. The leaders put on one side principles and on the contrary take hold of the principles of the bourgeoisie, principles of democracy, of liberty, which are bourgeois principles, principles of democracy, and liberty limited to the interest of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand they have stopped recognising the principles of Marx which show why the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary. This conclusion of Marx was arrived at, not as a resolution and definition, but from an analysis which shows that to change the economy cannot be done by permission and the consent of a structure which is already consolidated and dominates everything. Then it is necessary to impose by force to be able to achieve change. Hence the dictatorship of the proletariat will proceed to weaken, disappearing to the extent society progresses. That is, it is not a measure of vengeance or of ill feeling, of bad features but of a measure to overpower resistance to progress, by the bourgeoisie. And Marx is clear, he wrote it in 1860 and it is valid for today, it puts very clearly why the dictatorship of the proletariat is necessary. They take the principle of Marx "to increase the democratic forces in society to the maximum", to gather together, centralise the greatest number of people, but this does not negate the fact that it necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. It is not a question of proceeding step by step and thus to win over the capitalist system. This is an infantile conception but as they are not infants, it is a conception of fear of the role of the proletariat in history. We have said many times before, that if the communists go to power, they are going to feel that the fear which they have of going to power was not justified. They are going to go abandoning the fear which they have. As for example the workers states of Hungary and Poland.

The discussion of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not finished, it is a lie to say it is. It has just begun. And the class is realising what is happening. If the class abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat, it would mean that socialism is not constructed in accordance with a programme, with a leadership and with a resolution but socialism arrives if others allow it. But it is not like this. It is a question of programme, policy and resolution. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

THE PRESENT EVENTS IN CHINA ARE REFLECTIONS OF THE MOST PROFOUND REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS

J. Posadas

11. 4. 76

A very important problem to discuss is the world process of the crisis of some communist parties and the continuity of the Soviet Union, through Pravda and Izvestia,¹ of writing articles in which they reaffirm and extend the explanation on the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat, on how to go to the government and on the confrontation with Yankee imperialism. They have already confronted Yankee imperialism on various occasions. The world progress of the struggle of the masses is expressed in a very decisive way in the programme of the armed forces of Portugal, not only, but it is expressed particularly in the programme of the armed forces of Portugal. There is also the United Front just made by Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia for the expulsion of what remains of Imperialism. This means that there are relations of forces which the comrades of the communist parties, of the socialist parties, of the trade unions must consider. It is a basis of strength for us.

These are not problems which happen in the rest of the world and do not have consequences and effects. They have an enormous effect which paralyses Yankee imperialism. The process does not allow it to have the initiative to send troops here or there. Now they send bribes and business men and what do they do with this? It corrupted the bourgeoisie but not the population which has not modified in any way the level, the will and the uninterrupted consequence of the will to struggle, for example in Italy. It is necessary to see this situation in the world.

It is necessary to see also in the world communist movement, in the communist parties, the effect which all this has. The Italian communist party gives much listening time to the Czechoslovakian right but this has no effect. It is not correct the analysis which the Italian communist party makes over Czechoslovakia. It is necessary to see what Czechoslovakia was before the soviet intervention and what it is now. It is necessary to see the immense progress which exists in Czechoslovakia, economically, socially and politically. It is a lie when they say the trade unions intervened before. Where did they intervene? The trade unions did not do anything, neither before the soviet intervention nor after. Before the intervention of the soviets, they did not intervene because the bureaucratic leadership prevented them, there was no independence, no right of democratic freedom of the Czechoslovakian trade unions. When in 1968 the soviets intervened-they should have inter-

vened with appeals-the workers went to discuss with the soviets in the streets and in the tanks. They went to discuss and afterwards they accepted taking coffee. And the example which we posed then "the soviets paid for the coffee" - is not a simple demonstration but indicated the level of relations which the soviets wanted to establish. They were not going to invade to make Czechoslovakia retreat economically, socially and politically and Czechoslovakia has progressed.

We will return to write and discuss on Czechoslovakia because it is a point on which the right and the centre have united to defend themselves from the Soviet Union, not from the bureaucracy, but the Soviet Union, that is to say of the workers state which with its structures succeeded in imposing itself and overcoming and conquering Stalin and the bureaucracy also. They defend themselves from this and on this we are going to write.

Also it is necessary to consider the events of China which are still not decisive and such as they are, show a struggle of centrist tendencies which defend themselves from the right allied to the Yanks and capitalism and from the left which wants to go towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. They say "dictatorship of the proletariat" but what is this? where is the dictatorship of the proletariat? How is one going to make the dictatorship of the proletariat in a country which publically, including Mao Tse Tung, accuses the Soviet Union of "social imperialism"? What dictatorship of the proletariat is this? Dictatorship of the proletariat means the capacity to reason, to analyse, and to decide dialectically. That is to say it is still a struggle of camarillas which has not gone to the base. Hence factories do not appear, or trade unions, cells, regionals speaking as a party. Multitudes appear but not the party, not the trade unions, not the factories.

If this was a process of an organic going to the left, the organs would appear. When the body determines, see the speed of the legs! This means that still there is a struggle among apparatuses who try to defend themselves from the right and the left. They have mobilised-according to them-a million people, but who organised this number; what organ, what trade union and what regional of the party did they represent? If it was a struggle of the party for programme, policy and objectives, the organs would appear, there is nothing of this.

It is necessary to take this as a bureaucratic struggle which in any case is a blow at the right but it is not a benefit for the left. That is to say, there are stages of transition, from which it is necessary to expect new events. There is one unquestionable fact; the external policy of China is a chauvinist policy, allied to imperialism, allied. It is not a mistaken policy but allied to Yankee imperialism! The recognition and the support which they have given to Chile is not a mistake, it is a policy made to confirm and guarantee the relation with imperialism. Possibly now they break but it is necessary to see the evolution. Even in the worst stages, other governments have not done this. Stalin did this when he allied with imperialism against the masses.

Kissinger through Sonnenfeldt made the discussion around the "division of the world" with the soviets and the Soviet Union resolved that it would not accept, the Yanks invited the Soviet Union to divide the world again, the Yanks promised the soviets "we won't get involved against the 14 workers states but you must not get involved with the rest of capitalism" And the soviets say no, and within a little time, the soviets are going to say to them "it is not that we are putting ourselves there, the masses are intervening and we do not want to impede the liberation of the masses. As for you who speak of plurality, a form of plurality is to let the masses intervene".

When the soviets reject the division of the world and show that "the class struggle continues" it is not a political resolution but it is the stating of a relation of world forces made in the form of the resolution of the soviets. All this weighs and must be considered by the leadership of any communist party, any communist party has to take into account such conclusions.

The Yanks come out frightened and fearful for the progress of the revolution in that the soviets support this process. The Chinese do not say a word. Hence it is absurd in China that there is a mobilisation which they say is of the left which is not concerned with these problems. It is absurd.

It is necessary to follow this process with much attention. They are not partial facts, distant, apart or which do not influence the rest of the world activity. It influences the whole of the world as much in relation to what happens in the Soviet Union as is the alliance of Mozambique, Zambia and Tanzania or the attitude of the Cubans who do not deny that in four parts of the world there are

thousands of Cubans! The Yanks come out to stop this. Before the Yankees said nothing; they sent bombs, troops and finished with the problem.

In the United States the opposite effect is produced; in the elections in the United States, there are candidates possibly winners like Carter who say, good, the Cubans are intervening. Before they sent troops. Before they did not say come to an agreement with the Soviet Union. Now they make such declarations because their public supports this conclusion. The Cubans are intervening? Let them intervene. They are in Angola, let them intervene! This means that the electoral public is in agreement with this. Some candidates reflect this in a very, very distant way. That is, there are very favourable conditions so that in France, Italy, in all parts of the world, the workers parties can base themselves on this world relation of forces! Not remaining intimidated because the Yanks say "we will not allow the communist parties to come to power, we will not support them"! What shit importance has this to us! Let them not support! On the other hand the North American working class yes, the North American people yes. The proof is the delegates as possible candidates for the presidency accept that this is this situation. Before they sent the troops.

It is necessary to consider also the front which has been made between Algeria, Libya and Niger which is anti imperialist. This means that there is a whole process of elevation of anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggles which must serve for the comrades of the communist parties as a point of orientation and support. What are the Yanks going to do? Let them not support, let them withdraw their troops from Europe, let them go. Less expense for the countries of Europe! The soviets are not going to invade Europe. It is not the strategy of the soviet workers state to invade by force. All that is absurd! It is not within the strategy of the soviets, it is not the epoch of Stalin.

It is necessary to consider in discussions, in the proposals, in the texts, such a world situation which advances, progresses and extends the points of the world relation of forces favourable to the revolution.

We appeal to the comrades of the communist parties of France, of Italy, of all the countries, to the leaders of the trade union centres, of the workers centres to support on the basis of this conclusion. The solution of all the local problems, with local initiatives have points of world support. Capitalism does not have it, the working class, yes.

In Italy the Christian democratic masses of the left also see, feel, listen, read and see this process and its advance to the left and if it does not go much further it is because it does not find the programme and policy for an anti capitalist action on the part of the workers parties and the workers centres. It is necessary to do it: programme of the left, anti

capitalist programme which wins the base of the Christian democracy.

The relation of world forces constantly develops in favour of the necessity of social transformations, and not in the hope that parliaments consent, but imposing by force-even if with parliamentary collaboration in the promulgation of social changes and transformations. History has never allowed social changes to come about through parliamentary decree. The capitalists will prepare the war and arm in spite of the fact that it has no more right to exist.

It is necessary to consider that the masses see, feel, understand and judge all this, and the masses of the communist, socialist and Christian democratic parties also. There are all the conditions, in Italy to impel the catholic masses to form a left Christian democratic party.

With respect to China, it is necessary to see where this struggle of the centrists terminates. I return to reiterate; it is necessary to be orientated to see the struggles which are going to continue in China. That is the organs which intervene. Until now no organs have appeared. There are mobilisations of people without mass organs, without precise objectives of external or internal policy, without economic measures, of the world anti capitalist and anti imperialist policy. In these mobilisations they have condemned various "Top party persons, agents of the return to capitalism" but there is no attack on Yankee imperialism, not one attack on Yankee imperialism, when the minimum for a mass movement, an anti capitalist movement is to proclaim "Death to Yankee imperialism, long live the liberation of the masses of the world"! as a minimum. There is no attack on Yankee imperialism but internally "against those who want to return to capitalism". This is a game manipulated and led by centrist sectors to impede the right allied to Yankee imperialism, but also to impede the advance of the left. It is still not a conscious political fight by means of organs. Soon it will be, because the world process leads to this; it cannot permit the affirmation of the policy of supporting the Chileans, as the Chinese have done. On the contrary all this goes against it.

We appeal to the comrades of the communist parties, to the workers centres, to the comrades of the socialist parties to consider that the world process is stimulating the forces of the progress of the revolution, not the forces of Pinochet and of the coup in Argentina to the right, but it is affirming the progress of the revolution in the decisive parts of the world. The dual united front which they have just made in Africa, Algeria, Libya, Niger like Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia shows two fronts which are a barrier to imperialism. They are cleansing Africa of imperialism! What joy that such a relation of forces unfavourable to imperialism is being brought into all the capitalist countries. Every

leader must count upon this process which stimulates and elevates the consciousness, the capacity, the reasoning and the will of the masses. It elevates them and wins sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, of the technicians, of the catholics. It wins them to the camp of the revolution! All this must be counted upon.

The masses are making an experience and apprenticeship and decision superior to all their leaderships. It is the leaderships which contain and make slower the progress of the masses, the organisational progress of the organs of the masses. The masses are ready for the essential changes of history as expressed in the two fronts formed in Africa and in part in the mobilisations in China and in the mobilisations which they have made in the electoral campaign of the United States. This is a conclusion for those who are seeking Czechoslovakia to oppose the progress of the Soviet Union, not the criticism of the bureaucracy.

We criticise the bureaucracy but also we see the indispensable factor for which there can be no substitute of progress in history, which is the Soviet Union. And the conclusion is the discussion which is being made in the Soviet Union against the capitalist system. In *Unita*, the daily newspaper of the Italian communist party dedicates space to Czechoslovakia, affirming the centrists allied to the right. Why don't they say that in the daily newspapers of the Soviet Union, they are publishing articles against the capitalist system, appealing for the formation of new socialist countries, appealing for the overthrow of the capitalist system and that there cannot be changes without the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Why not publish this? It has to be published.

The masses of the world are reading all this and making an experience and gaining a political capacity which the leadership prevent them expressing in organs, conquests, in programmes of nationalisation, planning and workers control. All this must be discussed and be the basis of discussion in the workers movement.

Now imperialism is vomiting a mountain of promises. Imperialism takes hold of bombs and shoots. Then it promises: "I will behave well, I am a good person". This shows that the body of Yankee imperialism which appears very powerful is a deception, it supports itself on very fragile bases. Thus Reagan makes a campaign and has to conceal that he wants to eat the Soviet Union.

It is very important to consider that this world process, particularly that of China is a reflection, not a direct expression, a reflection, that in its turn is based on forces which are going to end in expression of the necessity of a political coherence. China is not now in the epoch of the cultural revolution, there is greater progress. China in the period of the cultural revolution was on the line

more or less in general of the preparation of the French May.

This French May of now is world wide - it is necessary to record that we said that the French May ran round the world and returns to France but the world returns also - with the intervention of the Soviet Union which at that time was not the case, and with a very very great crisis between the Chinese and the Albanians which is not a division but a crisis of programme, of policy and objectives, and a crisis of the communist parties in which the right, the ones who predominate in the leadership of these parties, has no basis of support, of sustaining, of nutrition and of progress.

They do not have anything, they drown. They clash and confront a progress which daily requires intelligence, and the right is not intelligent, because it reflects interests accommodating with the past. This is not to be intelligent, this is to submit to the prostration of the intelligence. On the other hand the masses are showing that they reflect the intelligence of this stage of history, of this process of history because they are not smashed down by their leadership.

The process in China is the beginning of a new stage which is linked with the French May which is going to be universal but also with the Algerian May in which they have defeated the bourgeois leadership. The right rose up to smash the progress of Algeria and to see that the Algerian leadership should finish with expropriations, impelling the revolution and making the front with Libya and Niger. It is necessary to be based on the fact that there are conditions which do not favour the right of the communist parties, they do not have points of support, they have no sustaining point. The communist masses seek to impel their party. It is necessary to see the conduct of the masses in the next stages and there is going to be a perseverance in this new conduct: not to support, or participate in giving any authority to any act of the right and on the other hand turning all their forces into initiatives as in the workers areas. One example are the appeals around the "red markets"² in Italy which are the creations of people, the left groups. What the communists and socialists, the trade unions and the parties must do is to take these initiatives and impel them.

It is necessary to make a public discussion of the world process of the revolution as a means of support for the understanding of what can be achieved in each country. Capitalism in every country supports itself on the rest of world capitalism and the basis and the owner of them all is the United States. And the United States has to go on shouting "if the communists come to power we won't support them". They are conscious that the leadership of the communist parties promises.... but the base, no. It is not only this; it means that the socialist base and the Christian democratic base in Italy is also going to support an anti capitalist programme. This is the fear of Yankee capitalism that the entry of the communist party into the government develops a chain of advancing to the left which they are not going to be able to contain and this is not going to be for the situation in Italy. In France without yet being in the government, the socialists, communist left front and the radicals of the left showed already that it had 56% of the votes. Even electorally it is the majority. Socially it's seventy percent. This is the basis on which the programme for the trade union movement must be discussed, the demands sustained that have to be with the general struggle for the progress of the countries of Europe which is progress, united against the capitalist system.

There are leaders who do not understand socialism as meaning nationalisation, planning and workers control. They understand socialism "as a better administration". They do not pose at any moment that it is necessary to nationalise, that it is necessary to expropriate. They speak of socialism "as a better administration". Socialism, how does it express itself? It is necessary to expropriate and nationalise, but what is socialism? to administer better or to "provide capitalism with a market" as they say. That is not socialism.

It is necessary to appeal to the Soviet Union, to the trade unions, to the workers centres to make appeals to the North American masses, directly to the masses of the world to transform society. It is the crisis of the capitalist system, and it is necessary to change the capitalist system by force, capitalism won't change by itself.

Imperialism is preparing the war. Then it is necessary to appeal to the masses to advance towards the

nationalisation of the principle centres of production and on the other hand to the development of soviet democracy, the right of the masses to decide, to speak, to comment. There is a series of strikes in the United States which the journalists of the capitalist world conceal.

The soviet trade unions must aim directly at the masses, making this appeal so that they demonstrate in the Soviet Union with public assemblies after or during hours of work-

-making conferences, discussing the world situation and showing that the soviet people, all the soviet masses must give a days wage per month, to help the world revolution. Besides the support given by the Soviet Union-as a country and as government which is the communist party through the soviet government-the trade unions, the communist party must appeal for a days wage of all the soviet people aimed as a source of support and aid for the development of the anti imperialist, anti capitalist world struggle, and of support to the countries which free themselves from the capitalist yoke, to the Polisario front, to the masses of Timor, to Angola to Algeria, to Mozambique, to all the countries of the world. This will be an immense communication with the masses of the world with the North American masses in particular, who are going to see the public debate in the workers state and the direct public support for the world progress of history which is the most elevated form, most complete form of democracy and pluralism.

Plurality means diverse means to impel the progress of history, not diverse means so that all the capitalist twits can intervene.

J. POSADAS. 11 April, 1976.

¹ This refers to texts in the Soviet Press reaffirming the example of 1917 as a permanent historic experience, the role of the Soviet Union as the basis of the advance of the world revolution etc.

² This refers to the initiative of the Italian masses in establishing markets, rather like fairs to sell products (meat and bread) at a low price, with the intervention of housewives, students, and some trade unions; the initiative began in Milan and was extended throughout Italy.

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