

# J. Posadas

## ON NICARAGUA

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## **Introduction**

10.07.1987

We publish these three texts of Comrade Posadas as a salute to the VIII Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution on 19<sup>th</sup> July 1987. In his analysis of the Nicaraguan revolution, the author J Posadas shows how much of it is part of the process of revolutionary advance in the world. He predicts correctly that Nicaragua will become a centre of attraction and support for the progressive forces of humanity. Looking back, we see the author's forecasts confirmed in the fact that Yankee imperialism was prevented from invading Nicaragua; and continued to be so prevented in spite of the terrorism of the Yankee-supported "Contras".

All the confidence that the author expressed in the advance of the Nicaraguan revolution has been justified. The last eight years of Nicaragua's history have been a story of progress. The conditions have been created to allow a general election and the confirmation of the Sandinista leadership. The new Constitution affirms the economic and social relations created by the present level of the revolution. Many measures have been taken as part of the political, economic and social progress of Nicaragua. Through the "Cara al pueblo" both President and government members discuss directly with trade unions, peasants and popular organisations in the living areas and work places. The intervention of the masses is stimulated as the revolution advances.

An important aspect of the Nicaraguan population and its Sandinista (FLSN) leadership, lies in the way it recognises the religious feelings in the country and its ability to work with these. The FLSN has avoided dogmatic atheism. It has built on the humanist and brotherly feelings of those with a Christian background. J Posadas' analyses regarding the role of religion and the state of the Catholic Church is particularly applicable to the advance of the Nicaraguan revolution.

As predicted by the author, imperialism has failed to crush Nicaragua, and will continue to fail in trying to do so. Whatever murders and terrorism are perpetrated against the people by the "contra" bandits, the revolution continues to influence the people of the world. It wins the masses of North America in a way not seen since the triumph of the Vietnamese revolution.

Nicaragua continues to build a Workers State (a Socialist country) despite the immense problems at every step of the way.

This publication means to salute the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinista leadership on the VIII Anniversary of the Revolution. It aims at contributing to the process through which Nicaragua advances towards Socialism.

The balance of forces in the world is determined by the existence and the progress of the Workers States, with the Soviet Union at their centre. The audacity and determination of the Nicaraguan people is encouraged by this favourable world balance of forces. This attracts the whole of humanity.

What is even more attractive, is the social and political experience of Nicaragua as it struggles towards the Workers State.

The aim of publishing some of the texts of J Posadas on this subject, is to contribute to this process of the construction of the Workers State in the world.

*Editorial Board*  
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*10<sup>th</sup> July 1987*

# THE INFLUENCE OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM ON THE CHURCH

**J. POSADAS**

9 November 1980

There are theologians today who seek progress, like Hans Küng (see note at the end of the text). They seek progress to the point of questioning the necessity of the Church. They doubt the precepts of Pope and Church. They are drawn to dialectical materialism. They do not say this, but this is what is happening to them.

As an objective necessity, historic progress is the staunchest and most enduring aspect of life. Progress is not a single force that advances everywhere and all at the same pace. Progress advances variously, although from a single spring. The most fundamental ground for progress in the history of thought, in the history of life and of society, is Marxism.

As Marxism concentrates thought and generates further thought, it works on the basis of the most advanced and developed means of investigation, analysis, conclusion and concrete application. But when private property uses science, it does it in a way that reduces the application of science. It keeps every element of knowledge separate from the other, except when it suits its interests to do otherwise. Marxism is the only means to overcome this.

The way of thinking in private property warps the mind of the scientists, even the best ones. They are infused with the notion that "I get something, and I pay for it"; I pay the least possible for it, and I want the most possible out of it. This conception is all around, even in the best.

If in the beginning of human existence, and in the face of necessity, people sought to get the most out of the least effort, it was not the same thing. Today, buying and selling is used in the human relations to a point of great corruption. This affects everyone in society, the scientists and everyone. In not being Marxist, the scientist does not see outside buying and selling. This applies to the Catholic Church, even those at the top.

The sheer experience of life forces the theologians to keep in touch with reality. Küng does not say that he was manipulated by the Church apparatus in the past, but he admits to be speaking now to the contrary of what he used to say ten years ago. In so doing, he shows himself willing

to receive the influence of the simplicity of the progress of the world, the simple progress of Ethiopia, of Vietnam. Küng himself says that he feels educated and enlightened by these countries. When the revolution has such an effect on religious leaders, it is because the years have accumulated strata of doubt in their minds. Without always knowing it, they resisted the ecclesiastical demand "to think as God bids", meaning 'to think as those in command', the Pope in particular. People who had adapted pragmatically to religious idealism suddenly discover that the progress of the revolution, the progress of people, and their courage, are what makes the world a better place. This can dissipate all their remaining doubts.

Theologians like Küng note that countries where there had been nothing in the past, become capable of everything. Küng feels as stimulated by Nicaragua as if he had lived there all his life. The priests of Nicaragua, like Ernesto Cardenal, have had a great influence on him. When Cardenal recently went to Germany, he explained how the revolution was made by the use of arms. He did not say that the revolution had been made by appealing to God. This is a conclusion with the power to convince because it accounts for the dialectical and materialist reality of the world.

There are many like Küng in the Church who question the Pope. They are the result of the world development of the class struggle. They see that Nicaragua, regardless of being a small country, has more influence in the world than the Pope. When people like Küng are won by the revolution, it means that a great many others are too, because Nicaragua is a country that spreads culture in the world, whilst the Pope spreads nothing at all. Nicaragua, where the people have scarcely enough to eat, is full of ideas. And ideas which, in one way or another, hark back to the Soviet Union.

What is happening with Küng shows that there is great turmoil in the Church. What he says challenges the entire authority of the Church and the Pope, and this is not new. It started as long ago as 1,400 AD in Holland, followed by a long process of very deep unease, even in the most rigid Church organisations as in Germany and France.

The main force of the revolution resides neither in bullets nor in weapons or material power. It resides in its ability to effect intellectual persuasion. All such theologians are eventually intellectually convinced that the revolution is just. This fact is all the more important when you consider that the inner structure of the Church hierarchy is extremely removed from the mass movements. And yet, even there, the sheer force of intellectual conviction and reasoning operates. The mind of remote

Church people can be swayed by dialectical materialism. They do not speak of dialectical materialism, but they start thinking according to it.

The development of the intellectual influence of the Revolution has already greatly undermined the authority of the “Trinity” – God, Pope and Church. Indeed, Pope and Church are greatly questioned. God is not quite so controversial just now, not yet; but having lost the other two, you might have heard God cry: “And where do I fit in now?” This comes from the advance of the progress of history. This is the effect of it. And by ‘the progress of history’, read the Workers States (Socialist countries). The latter stimulate each individual to reason as a result of feeling oneself a person, a person rather than a power, a nation or a class. This invites dialectical reasoning.

Anyone reasoning dialectically comes up against the contradiction and the antagonism between the perceptions in actual life, and the religious precepts previously learnt. As reasoning starts, it leads to doubts regarding the precepts. Then, one wonders about the use of the precepts and religious practices. And when Church and Pope start appearing unnecessary, what then is the use of God?

The rise of such thoughts within the Church is a tremendous event. What is even more tremendous is the church itself having become one more place where the need for social transformation makes itself felt. When this influence reaches those inside its protected fortresses, it is a sure sign of collapse in the Church. The collapse of the Church does not necessarily mean that it all falls down. It is more like a cave-in from within, whilst firm props keep up a stubborn roof of lies to hide the disarray. This is another aspect of the disintegration of all the apparatuses of the capitalist system.

In spite of limitations, Kūng has an infinitely broader, more profound and greater significance than the actual number of those who support him. He represents entire Church currents receptive to the Revolution. The existence of Ernesto Cardenal is one of the most elevated expressions of this. The most elevated are the priests of the Soviet Union. The latter put Lenin and the Icon side by side, and they see no problem in saluting both, as they tell the brethren: “Go and follow the example of Lenin”. The various Church leaders of the world keep this - about the Soviet priests - concealed. They hide the fact that not a single Soviet priest ever spoke against Marx and Lenin. The simple reason being that they see no conflict between Marx or Lenin and their religious feelings.

The influence of the revolution reaches countries, like capitalist Germany, which are not in revolution at the moment. This shows the state of feeling among the people who capitalism had especially prepared theoretically to serve its interests. Küng in Germany and Lefèvre in France are the two sides of Church disintegration. Lefèvre proposes to cling to what is left of beliefs in Jesus, Mary and the Saints, but the left wing in the Church questions all the remaining dogmas. These are not simple Parish priests but leading Church theoreticians.

Doubt is so widespread in the Church that the Pope had to pardon and reinstate Galileo (31 Oct 1992). Doing this was an admission to basic tenets of human intelligence the Church had denied for 350 years - like the Earth moves around the Sun and not the other way round. And the Church had threatened to burn Galileo at the stake for defending this.

The Pope did not pardon Galileo to make amends or improve the Church. People like Küng feel this. They feel that the Pope should have condemned the false precepts that the Church had imposed all that time, and should have denounced the interests that had hidden behind the cover ups. The Pope's pardon is not seen as good enough, and Church people become alive to mysticism as a way to hide material interests.

Mysticism used to be able to hide under the mantle of the not-knowing, the lack of means to express the spiritual dimension of life, the fear, the lack of comprehension of life and its complexities. But today, the process of the advance of the Revolution and of the world masses is an eye-opener to the role of mysticism, and everyone can see it.

It is remarkable that the countries where people draw the most advanced conclusions are those where people live in the most backward conditions. From that very backwardness, people launch themselves directly to advance history and life. Many theologians who see this happening are forced to admit that religious thinking had been used to block the influence of Marxism, of the Workers States, of the Soviet Union. This is largely what dictates the conduct of these theologians.

**J. POSADAS** - 9<sup>th</sup> November 1980

*(\*) Hans Küng: Was a Swiss Catholic priest, theologian and author. He worked as a professor at the Faculty of Catholic Theology at the University of Tubinga in West Germany. Although he was cast aside by the Vatican, he represents a dissident current which questions the infallibility of the Pope. Similar Church currents propose changes in liturgy. They want the Church to take an interest in the social problems and their changes. Hans died in 2021.*



# THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRIUMPH OF THE GUERRILLA IN NICARAGUA

**J POSADAS**

18<sup>th</sup> July 1979

We salute the Nicaraguan Sandinista masses and leadership, and the revolutionary struggle which has achieved the liquidation of Somoza. Now, another struggle is beginning in relation to the character of the government, and what economic and political measures to take. This new struggle will be simpler in some ways, and more complicated in another, because it concerns new forms and programme of the government, property relations, the control of the land and of the mines. This is a new phase in the process of the revolution which is going to intensify.

The clear and decisive fact is that the triumph of the Sandinista movement expresses the relation of world power which is favourable to the triumph of such a small movement. It is akin to the events in Iran, but Nicaragua has more importance than Iran on the political plane. Concretely and organisationally, it is more important because Nicaragua is a small country. It has less than three million inhabitants and it is one of the poorest countries in Latin America. Sixty five percent of the economy was in the hands of the Somoza group. There are hardly any schools or hospitals; there are no telephones, only a few streets and little transport. Anything of importance was in the hands of Somoza and the bourgeois circles around him.

The struggle is going to develop now between the remaining bourgeois sectors - allied in every way to capitalism and imperialism - and the Sandinistas, over the character and place of the economy. This is the second outstanding world defeat that Yankee imperialism has had to suffer in less than a year.

To a certain extent, Nicaragua's triumph is more significant than Iran's because Nicaragua had forty years of dictatorship without party, without trade unions, and without food: countless people died of starvation. In

Nicaragua, eighty five percent of the people are illiterate, but it is they who rose to throw Yankee imperialism out, breaking and destroying an important link in the imperialist chain in Central America. With little political organisation and few military means, the Sandinistas felt equal to the task by counting on the favourable world balance of forces. Indeed, imperialism could not intervene openly. It could not go and bomb, or act directly, because of the presence of the Soviet Union, Cuba and the other Workers States.

Although the Sandinista movement is comparatively limited in number and arms, it is rich in ideas. One tendency more to the left within the movement has proposed state ownership, and supports itself in this on Cuba, Vietnam, Ethiopia and the Workers States (Socialist countries) in general. The latter constitute the world balance of power today. Had the Workers States not existed, imperialism would have intervened. It was ready to do so, but it realised that this would mean new levels in its confrontation with Cuba and the Soviet Union. This is why it chose not to intervene.

Apart from the Workers States and their existence, there was little to stop imperialism intervening to smash Nicaragua. It is true that pressure against imperialist intervention came from various Latin American governments and some Andean Pact countries; but these did not have the necessary economic or military strength to face up - assuming that they had wanted to. Before the Sandinistas' victory, these countries said nothing. They only welcomed the Sandinistas when these proved they could win. Here again you measure the world balance of forces: the above countries did not support the Sandinistas until these had won, and they only supported because they could not do anything else. They had feared a Sandinista victory because it was going to stimulate new demands for social transformations in their own countries.

The Sandinista movement has published a great deal and has discussed a lot. There is polemic within it, but the most resolute sector is the one that seeks social transformations. The resolute ones are those who led the guerrilla struggle. Whatever happens now, one thing is certain: A Sandinista government that does not make social transformations will perpetuate the past. Nicaragua cannot progress through economic or administrative reforms. The most important bases of the economy were in the hands of Somoza – as in Iran they were in those of the Shah. The nationalisation and planning of at least that sector is unavoidable. A political and social struggle is coming, but the current world balance of power should help to secure a favourable outcome in this matter also.

Yankee imperialism did not intervene openly because this would have meant clashing with the USSR with Cuba and with a great part of the North American population.

## IMPERIALISM IS SOCIALLY WEAK

There was a speech of Carter, a desolate cry, where he started by saying that North Americans were born free and loved to further the ends of liberty, to develop the economy and culture. Of course, this is false because they have contributed very little on the cultural plane. He ended the speech by saying that in the USA, individual interest is so great that it prevails over other notions, such as public wellbeing and relations. The tone was like a wail, a criticism, a veiled warning. Carter does not think there is a better road, or any Workers State remedy for the USA. But his speech indicated deep crisis. It let out admissions that so much individual freedom stands rather in the way of organising the petit bourgeoisie and even sectors of medium and big capital. His warning was as follows: "It is necessary to regulate capitalism or we shall be regulated". Look at what the rep of the most powerful imperialist country has to say! He did not fail to mention that "We are the most powerful government in the world, economically and militarily". But if this were true, the US would have attacked Nicaragua, and the USSR that defends it. But the US did not do any of this - the same as when it could not smash Cuba, where 9 million inhabitants triumphed over the USA which its 230 million.

It is not yet clear whether Somoza has fled, has stepped down or is negotiating with the Sandinistas. But Somoza's power is finished. The Sandinistas are going to be confronted with tasks and measures for which they have insufficient economic, organisational, military or political means. Even then, the fall of Somoza is a triumph. It is going to shake up the whole of Latin America. This victory comes just after the reforms in Brazil which favour the development of some democratic and trade union rights and make certain concession of political rights, to the Communist Party included. It is still not established, but Prestes (General Secretary of the Communist Party) can, in theory, return to Brazil freely and not be charged for being a Communist.

During all the Somoza years, when no parties or trade unions were allowed in Nicaragua, other forces became organised in Greece, Cuba and Italy, to help manacle imperialism. There were no trade unions or political parties in Nicaragua, but there were guerrillas there, who based themselves on the examples of Cuba and elsewhere. This is what we

mean by the world balance of forces! It compensates transitorily for the lack of concrete forces. It allows existing forces to progress anyway. The world balance of forces accounts also for the internal contradictions in the imperialist camp, along with its fear of the Soviet Union. This too prevents imperialism from feeling free to go and intervene against Nicaragua. For France, Italy, Germany and Britain, Nicaragua is not very important. These European countries want to stop the revolutionary influences of Nicaragua, but they have enough to do with their own contradictions with the US. The result is that they all leave Nicaragua alone. Not because they approve of it, but because the world balance of forces stops them from doing more about it.

### THE DIVISIONS WITHIN IMPERIALISM

Germany has had a recent crisis. The head of the German army proposed to put the German naval forces at the disposal of NATO, to intervene, if necessary, in places like Iran. The German Minister of Foreign Affairs said that such matters were his own concern, not that of the army chief. The head of the army was replaced by another who was made to swear allegiance to the government. It is not that Schmidt or the German capitalists have become neutralist. It is their internal capitalist contradictions. The contradictions inside the capitalist system are impossible for them to eliminate or discount. A major contributory factor to these contradictions is that they feel that a war against Nicaragua will not turn out in their favour. This holds back capitalist countries like Germany, Britain or France; their policy is one of indecision, without programme and without perspective.

The European capitalists are hampered by indecision because they don't have the strength to decide in the world *and* cope with their own internal contradictions as well. If they confront the Soviets, they waste all their social forces. Any mass rising in Western Europe would weaken European capitalism in its competition with US imperialism. As far as European capitalism is concerned, any weakening of itself means a strengthening of Yankee competition. Should European capitalism join up with the Yanks against the Soviet Union, support for the Soviet Union will take less than 3 weeks to permeate Europe with no need for the Soviets to invade. Such are the contradictions of the capitalist system! To all the capitalists are opposed to economic and social progress, but their policies cannot bring this about. All they can do is defend the capitalist system in the whirlwind of their ever-greater internal contradictions, combined with their competition with other imperialisms like the Yankee and the Japanese.

Hence the capitalists in Europe say little about Nicaragua. Of course, they oppose Nicaragua. When their papers refer to the revolution there, they talk of ‘massacres’. They are against the revolution, like they have been against the Russian and the Chinese revolutions, but all they can manage to do is complain about what is happening.

It is the world balance of power – and not just world solidarity – that allowed the overthrow of Somoza. The world balance of forces stopped the intervention of the Yanks. For the reasons that we mentioned, the capitalist countries did not intervene against Nicaragua, while the latter was helped by the Socialist countries. Cuba was ready to send soldiers in support of the revolution. On hearing of this, the Yanks threatened all out invasion, but the Soviets made it known that they were not going to keep out. Even if the Soviets had not been able to intervene directly, they would have sought more positions in Africa and Asia. Yankee imperialism stopped through fear of consequences. It is worth noticing that the capitalist countries of Europe showed no concern or interest because they feared the reaction of the European masses - that of the Communists above all. The Socialists said little in support of Nicaragua, but capitalism feared the Communists.

And let us not forget in all this the effect of the opinion of the North American population which receives the influences of the masses of the world. The masses of North America see the struggle of the peoples in the world, of the Communists, of Vietnam. The opinion of the North American masses is a great force to make US imperialism think twice.

All this forms part of what we call the world balance of forces. If the Yanks were not faced by the Soviet Union, they would have intervened. This is the basic reason. The other reasons have their weight too, but less. The deciding factor is the world balance of power favourable to the anti-capitalist struggle. Favourable, means that there are centres of political, social and military power, which contain imperialism. They will not be able to prevent the atomic war, but they contain imperialism.

The Workers States, Algeria, Mozambique, Cuba, Vietnam, represent a major obstacle against imperialism doing what it wants without risk of war. War at the present moment does not suit the Yanks. They do not have the preparation or the unity to launch it, and they are engaged in a great competition with European capitalism. The Germans support Brezhnev against Carter, and Giscard d’Estaing (then President of France – Edit.) went to place flowers on the tomb of Lenin. It does not mean that

the European capitalists are going to support the Communists, but that they utilise the Soviets against the Yanks.

This forms part of the historic impossibility for capitalism to carry on. The capitalist system is in an antagonistic competition with the Workers States, but inter-capitalist competition is such that it excludes any possibility of the capitalist system ever unifying against the Workers States.

#### NICARAGUA FORMS PART OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW POLITICAL LEADERSHIP FOR THIS STAGE OF HISTORY

Not all the countries of Latin America are the same. Nicaragua is very different from Argentina, Brazil or Mexico. Nicaragua has no industries, no proletariat, no trade unions. In Argentina, there is a very combative proletariat, like the European one. It is a most combative proletariat that struggled for every single democratic right that remained since the fall of Peron. There are few democratic rights, but there are some mostly in the trade union field. At the time of Peron, the trade unions developed very much indeed, and Peron approved of it. Peron granted substantial concessions as he sought an alliance with the working class to develop the economy. Under Peron, the trade unions obtained fundamental rights which did not even exist in Europe at the time - among them the Factory Council, and the right to exercise control over the enterprises by opening the books. Peron was ready to concede this to obtain mass support.

Take Uruguay. Considering that it is a very small country, it has a very developed trade union movement and Communist Party. In Brazil, at the moment, there is a great and combative trade union movement. This is not the case in the whole of Latin America, but in Ecuador, which is a small country with few industries, there are also great trade unions, and Socialist, Communist and even Posadist movements. Bolivia has a large proletarian concentration around the mines and some industries. In Peru, there is also such a concentration around the mines. There are also important peasant movements in Peru, Bolivia and Ecuador.

Central America has a different history. There has been no trade union activity since the banana workers strike in 1930 in El Salvador, where up to 30,000 workers were slaughtered. Since then, little has been happening. The Communist Parties took very bad positions when faced with the nationalist bourgeois movements. They took erroneous positions towards the Left-Wing Military movements. The Communists opposed

these everywhere, Guatemala, Venezuela, Colombia and many other countries.

Latin America is not all the same. What is identical is the lack of political leadership. There is no political leadership which organises the workers' movement. The social weight and combativeness of the petty bourgeoisie are strong, but with no party or leadership. This gives the impression that Latin America is a continent with little political and social force - but this is not true. There is great political and social force there, and it is increasing, particularly in the main countries. The missing factor is political leadership. Europe has had its influence in the past in Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil, where the basic formation of the workers' movement was of Italian origin. But much of that has been lost today.

There is no leadership. The Communists have never understood Latin America. Under Peron, they made a world campaign denouncing Peron as a fascist. They openly supported Yankee imperialism in Argentina. In their electoral meetings they campaigned for Santa Marina, one of the biggest cattle-rancher then, and one of the main chiefs of the oligarchy. In a meeting, they spoke against Peron on the same platform as Braden, the Yankee Ambassador. The Communists are responsible for quite a lot of the backwardness of Latin America. Today, they do not talk about this; but Victorio Codovilla, the founder and leader of the Argentinean Communist Party, said that "Peron is fascism". He associated with the Yankees publicly to say this against Peron.

Peron was a representative of the national bourgeoisie which, being a rather small and weak bourgeoisie, sought an alliance with the proletariat to which it made great concessions. Argentina is the first country in contemporary history – even before Europe – to have had workers' factory councils of workshop delegates, and the workers' right to open the factory books. Part of the reason for the weakening of Peron in the last period of his life, is that the bourgeoisie saw the danger, and started a campaign to oust him, supporting itself on the upper layers of the bourgeoisie linked to imperialism and the cattle bosses.

In Nicaragua, after the assassination of Sandino in 1934, there were no great movements. But today this is compensated for, by the world balance of forces which impedes the Yankees and the bourgeoisie of Latin America from intervening. For Yankee imperialism to intervene and sustain the consequences today, it would need the support of Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Chile. But even Chile has not been keen to intervene. This is another aspect of the world balance of power.

The Workers States and even the Communist and Socialist parties in the world exert a pressure against imperialism. All these forces contribute to imperialism not feeling free to go and intervene against Nicaragua.

Some sectors of the bourgeoisie were glad of the fall of Somoza because they hoped to develop a market there. But on the whole, the bourgeoisies in Latin America were keen to stop the revolutionary influence of Nicaragua entering their countries. They were unable to stop Nicaragua however, because the world balance of power did not allow them.

Before the fall of Somoza, the bourgeoisie of the Andean Pact, together with Mexico and Panama, made declarations against Somoza. They even broke economic relations with him because these relations jeopardized their position politically. But even prior to that, they all had supported Somoza. It is a measure of their weakness that they had to break with him. Then, the early stance of Mexico against him was very important for Nicaragua, because Mexico has a great influence in Central America.

The bourgeoisie of the Andean Pact broke relations with Somoza - when he had all but lost, that is - to shield their respective countries from revolutionary and guerrilla influence. In all the countries of the Andean Pact, and in many Latin American countries, there have been revolutionary movements, and important guerrilla movements in Colombia, Venezuela and Peru.

In Latin America, there is no instance of any progress having been made without the mobilisation of the masses. Movements have frequently arisen, which, even though bourgeois in their origins, have carried out nationalisations and some economic planning - always with the support of the masses. This happened in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina and Uruguay. But the lack of a Party and of a stable perspective, together with the vacillating policies of the Socialists and Communists, usually resulted in adaptation to capitalism, and this always impeded further progress.

Yankee imperialism is now going to look for allies in bourgeois sectors in Nicaragua. Some of these sectors opposed Somoza in hope of developing a market economy. Imperialism had previously fought them, to keep them subjected, but now it will want their support. It has to act in this way because it cannot send the bombers and the marines. It has been reduced to having to negotiate the fall of Somoza and produce speeches like Carter's. This illustrates the state that imperialism is in.



The centre which determines and decides the course of this process is the Workers States. The triumph of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua proves this conclusively. There will be delays, and the Yankees or other imperialists may still intervene; but Nicaragua will end up being a Workers State.

The basic reason why Nicaragua will be a Workers State is that, in private property, it will never escape backwardness. And history shows that the most backward countries end up using the most advanced experiences of the world to get ahead. There is no imperialist military force that can change this fact. Imperialism has no recourse against a process that does not depend on military might since it depends on the social and political relations of the world. It is with economic and social measures that one develops the economy, allowing the population to intervene. It is not even a question of developing the economy, but a question of who develops the economy, and in whose benefit. When the answer to this question is found in a country, the necessary intelligence and capacity can be found to carry it out. This is what Nicaragua has achieved.

From the capitalist point of view, there will never be development in Nicaragua - not even at economic level. The development of Nicaragua requires the planning of the economy and the development of the capacity of the population to intervene in the leadership of the country. Up to now, only a very small group has been involved in the theoretical, political, scientific and organisational capacity to run the country. Trade union and political party life have been unknown over the last 42 years of atrocious dictatorship. An essential and immediate measure to take therefore, is to develop the cultural capacity of the population. Simple and general knowledge, and concrete practice in the leadership of the country will do for a start. It is not necessary to hold elections right away, because the country does not have the social and political preparation for elections. An election now would give advantage to the bourgeois sectors whose immediate solutions can be nothing but pain-killers.

Nicaragua brings great possibilities to Latin America. It is a small country emerging from 42 years without trade unions, parties, or political or cultural life. See how in spite of this, it managed to triumph thanks to the Sandinistas. The population rose and supported the Sandinistas and not Somoza. Had the population not supported the guerrillas, this could not have been done, and Somoza would have stayed. The population united, became part of the guerrillas, and that is how they won. The population did not let itself be intimidated by the repeated deaths and the assassinations. In acting in this way, it proved that it was already living the reality of the world process, a world with Cuba near the core. There

was the Sandinista propaganda, but however effective it was, it could not have reached everyone. It is in a thousand ways that the masses realised that they could win: Through the radio, conversations, newspapers... and this led them to trust in the Sandinistas. When they saw that the Sandinistas had the courage to take on Somoza, they understood that this was not just a movement of armed men, but an armed political movement ready for social transformation.

A process opens up in Latin America which is going to influence Bolivia, Peru, Brazil, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico and also Venezuela and Colombia. It is going to have a very deep social influence, and give guidance on how to resolve the problems of Latin America. The discussion now is social, political and economic: what programme, policy, organisation to develop Nicaragua. This is the next stage.

Now Yankee imperialism is going to support the capitalists in the Sandinistas – people whom it opposed before – to try and use them against further progress, to try and stop progress.

This is the state imperialism is in. It used to send troops in the past, and bombers, to kill the revolutions. Now it must negotiate, because it has failed.

Nicaragua is a tragedy for imperialism and hence the speech of Carter, which he keened on a tune of grief.

**J. POSADAS**

18<sup>th</sup> July 1979

# THE PROGRAMME FOR NICARAGUA AND EL SALVADOR

J. POSADAS

28<sup>th</sup> March 1980

The agreement the Sandinista movement has made with the Soviets indicates that it is communist leaning. A communist programme, and a real Communist Party are bound to emerge from it all. The same goes for El Salvador.

The difficulties of the Communist parties – including the Cuban – come from the fact that they did not foresee this process in Nicaragua. If the Communist parties have all been taken by surprise, it is through not having foreseen the character of the new movements like the Sandinistas.

What the Communist parties had anticipated instead, was a process where the first phase was going to be bourgeois democratic. This view determined the line that was adopted by all the Communist parties.

The process in Nicaragua moved directly from the fall of Somoza to a stage of revolutionary transformation. Not only did the victory of the Sandinistas take all the Communist parties by surprise; it by-passed the leaderships of most of the world's revolutionary movements.

As Nicaragua had been a very backward country – and so enormously so – it had been very difficult to build a Communist party there. The absence of a Communist Party did not just come from the errors the Communists might have made. It is very difficult to create Communist parties in places where there are not the objective conditions to do so.

In such conditions therefore, it was necessary to understand - and it is still necessary to understand - that national liberation movements cannot conduct the struggle for national liberation without combining it with the struggle for social transformation.

This is just what happened in Nicaragua. It took all the Communist parties by surprise. They did not understand this. The task was not easy in Nicaragua because, in order to triumph, it was necessary to make a United Front with a bourgeois sector. It was indispensable to ally with bourgeois sectors like that of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro Cardenal (married

Violeta) who, although he was bourgeois, saw that Nicaragua could not develop under Somoza.

In these circumstances, bourgeois sectors have to look for alliances with workers and revolutionary movements. No Communist Party understood this any more than they had understood Sandino. Sandino (1895-1934) did not have the programme that the Sandinistas have today, but the movement of Sandino prepared the ground for this programme today. Sandino came from the bourgeoisie, much on the left. The anti-imperialist struggle forced him to take revolutionary positions.

In 1927, the first and only Latin American meeting of the Communist International was held. All the Communist parties took part and they called this “*The meeting of the Latin American Communist International*”. The Sandinista movement was represented. If it was not treated with contempt, it was certainly neglected. The Communists did not give the Sandinistas much importance. Yet, Sandino was not just a brave man, he was also a forward-thinking leader. He proposed a series of anti-imperialist measures combined with measures of land re-distribution. His movement was not something entirely new either. There had been great experiences made before Sandino in Latin America. The Russian Revolution of 1917 was the first big revolution to erupt, but there had been the 24 revolutions of Pancho Villa and Zapata in Mexico in 1911. In the Mexican revolution of 1911, agrarian reform and land distribution had been instituted. This was an excellent inspiration for the movement of Sandino. Lenin himself had saluted it, and Zapata was in the habit of sending delegates to Russia at the time of the 1917 revolution.

The root of the problem in Latin America lies in the lack of a (conscious) leadership. In spite of this however, the world influence and the world balance of forces stimulate revolutions. The progress of Latin America cannot be expected to come from capitalist investments. In the first place, not much capital gets invested in Latin America. And then, capital investment is not what is going to develop the economy in Latin America. A much larger market than Latin America would have to be established in order to develop the economy there. World capitalism is not interested. Its investments there are small scale. In short, the development of Latin America is impossible from the bourgeois point of view. But there is an objective necessity for the unification of Latin America. An objective necessity!

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