

2ND. MANIFESTO OF COMBATE (DRAFT)

I.

- a) Under capitalism it is the working class which constructs the future. But these egalitarian and communistic social relations, without oppression and without exploitation, do not only exist in a more or less distant future, as those parties which claim to be workers' parties would have us believe. The germs of these relations already exist, at present, in the relations which the workers establish, among themselves in struggle. By its very existence as a mode of exploitation, capitalism is constantly generating struggle and multiple forms of revolt; but also capitalism cannot advance without a large part of these struggles.

As elements integrated in the work-process in capitalist factories the workers are subjected to capitalist technology and the relations among the workers are totally determined by this technological system. This is the hierarchy and discipline of the capitalist factory. But when they begin to struggle directly against capital, these relations determined by capitalist technology are substituted -more or less- by the new forms of egalitarian and communist relations created in the struggle. All the Portuguese workers know them, especially in the period from April 25th, 1974, until today. Communism only arises in the development of these struggles, i.e. from the practise of the direct struggle against capitalism.

The union and party apparatuses attempt to substitute the direct struggle of the workers by the meetings between their elites (cúpulas) within the union bureaucracy and the capitalists. To do this they have to try to put a stop to all direct communist or egalitarian relations between the workers. In this way they stifle right at the base the one factor which could develop towards communism.

Likewise the forms of organisation directly established by the proletariat within the struggle clearly distinguish themselves from conflicts within classes, or factions of classes, which in one way or another is a feature of the dominant spheres of capitalism (e.g. low management against high management and the private sector bourgeois small owners etc, insofar as they still exist.)



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..(b)... It is this direct struggle of the workers against capitalism which establishes all other forms of struggle existant within society and without which capitalism cannot be overthrown nor communism developed. The production and reproduction of the material conditions of existence of society constitutes the central point of relations between individuals not because ^{other} these relations are unimportant but because the practical positions related to production, and the struggles within them generated are those which give the remaining struggles the special characteristic in which they appear to us, the tone in which they appear. Only if the workers' struggle in production is the dominant one can all other struggles be faced in a revolutionary way; as a condition for the overthrow of capitalism and not as an ^{reformist} attempt to transform capitalism. It is only thus that the egalitarian and communist relations which come from the direct practise of the struggle can be reproduced in all forms of struggle.

In all these struggles (the womens' situation, rascism, gypsies, youth struggles, the various cultural and artistic forms of struggle, the struggle for housing -although the latter is more related to the productive process-) the motive-agents of the movement are those which in each field of struggle are more oppressed and feel the necessity for transformation.

I..(c).. It is the combats of all forms which attempt to oppose the proletarian relations formed in the development of struggle that forms the basis of our platform. In the present Portuguese situation, more important than the direct intervention of the parties are the other forms by which these same parties, ^{while} ~~although~~ trying to appear non-party, attempt to substitute their action for the direct struggle of the working class.

(i). At the present moment and in general since Nov 25th, 1975, the clear aspects of this double aim have been persued by the extreme-left (to be defined socially) and is at this particular moment expressed in the GDUPs (Dynamization Groups for Popular Unity). These organizations are totally dominated by the parties because(a) Their field of action

is the same as the parties;—the State and the struggles between political groups and not in the institutions for proletarian struggle: they attempt to unify these institutions outside the terrain of their struggle and in function of aims inserted within the State apparatus of the bourgeoisie in general. b) At the base of these organisations are the agreements, implicit or explicit, between the parties.

In the same way as the parties control the Workers and Neighbourhood Committees insofar as the latter are bureaucratised and they move out of the direct struggle and lose their direct participation of all the workers in a factory or in a housing area.

(ii).. The myth of a Popular State, directly related to ^{the} people, apparently negating the parties but only in the sense of the State taking on the functions of the only party, lost its great force after Nov 25th, 75 for the majority of the working class, although it still exists in certain sectors of the extreme left, allying itself at times with I,(c) (i). Instead of a State Capitalism avowedly authoritarian and bureaucratic we have here the attempt at a State Capitalism which ^{is} paternalistic and with benevolent pretensions.

(iii).. Another attempt to halt the direct struggle of the working class against capitalism and the germs of communism which are developing within it consists in substituting it by actions which are merely individualistic. This trend, which has begun to appear recently among ~~xxx~~ so-called anarchist and libertarian sectors and which ^{could} become more important if the reflux of workers' ^{struggles} becomes more acute or prolonged, claims that individual actions, without the people being inter-related, are sufficient to transform present society. Clearly it is only in new forms of inter-relations, established directly in the workers' struggle against capitalism that society can be transformed.

When the workers' struggle is active and generalised throughout the whole country ~~it~~ it shows, without any doubt, the way to be followed. The ~~marking~~ putting into practice of all the great and generalised ideas of communism is demonstrated, without any possibility of confusion, by

the ~~more~~ concrete practice of the proletariat. At the same time the proletariat sees clearly the force of of its class.

The situation now is different. The struggles, while very active, are localised. Consequences of this: (i) For the majority of the class which at any one moment are not participating in the struggles they occupy a space somewhere between the general aspirations of communism and egalitarianism and its practical realisation. ii) They lose the memory of the class. This requires that the more active revolutionaries engage more in ideological polemics, which could fill, whenever possible, the gap between these general aspirations for communism and their concrete practical realisation. Its a necessity which is today felt by all revolutionary workers, in all the committees which are not bureaucratised, etc. This need is reflected in the work of this newspaper and obliges us:

a) That the interviews and analyses take into account the fact that even if the working class create the germs of communist relations in their struggles, in the present conditions these experiences remain localised. Therefore the interviews and the analyses must be more lucid and not assuming that the majority of the class, at the moment of publication, are experiencing concretely the practical relations of struggle. For this:

(i) The interviews can't be restricted to ~~the~~ one moment of the struggle but must take into account the development of the struggle.

ii) Each edition of the newspaper should try to inter-relate the interviews (by theme, by the type of struggle, by the type of production in which the struggle develops etc).

iii) Our analyses shouldn't be concentrated or be restricted to the editorial comment but should be multiple and directly related to the struggles covered in each number.

iv) There must be a more direct unity between the analyses and the interviews; the discussion of the problems raised should be through the use of the interviews.

v) This involves ^{greater} an ideological discussion on the part of those collaborating with the newspaper.

- b) The gap, which for the majority of the class under the present circumstances, between the general aspirations of communism and the realisation of its first steps within the organisations of struggle, obliges us to carry out an ideological work over and above the newspaper. (i) meetings in zones or factories with the elements of these etc (ii) pamphlets -applications of a more global analysis.
3. In their ideological work the parties substitute themselves for the class in presenting a programme which has the function of making people forget the reality of the transformation of relations of struggle. Our ideological action is entirely opposed to this, is problematical and not dogmatic. We want to spread problems, we are trying to contribute towards a more clear formulation of the problems and to transform the solutions into problems. ~~It~~ Our analyses are orientated to this and our interventions should be likewise.
4. The Portuguese experience shows that in a large number of struggles the workers felt the need for internationalism. (of historical preamb) Our experience in this newspaper, as well as numerous historical experiences, show the impossibility of carrying out any international work related to workers struggles by the international contact between parties/ elitist organisations (cúpulas), substitutionism, ideological sectarianism/. On the other hand the level of the workers' struggles in the various countries hasn't yet reached the point where there exists large contacts, directly, between groups of workers in struggle. Thus, and within our own possibilities, we should contact:
- a) Autonomous groups of workers in struggle where they are more organised.
 - b) Individuals, whether integrated in organisations or not, who are in agreement with this platform.

This is not meant just to make contacts which are more or less sporadic and with limited aims, as we've done up to now. Its meant to open up the newspaper to these individuals or groups, thus creating collectives of collaborators who would participate openly and fully

in the life of the newspaper and in all intermentions. The objectives of this form of integration are:

- a) To constitute the basis for a relation, in the future, between large groups of workers in Portugal and other countries.
- b) A greater generalisation of analyses by the introduction of other experiences.
- c) To contribute to the fusion of tendencies at present struggling against State capitalism and against all forms of substitutionism, notwithstanding the barriers raised by ideological traditions or organisational traditions which are different, or by different practical present day experiences.

The final aim of all international struggle is the supression of nations and of power blocs. The State Capitalist ideologies see internationalism as a utopian friendship between nations, never for a minute conceding the disappearance of nations. What is fundamental in these ideologies is the social and economic ^{power} of the state and this forms the basis for the existance of nations. Thus, an the aim of international struggles is transnationalism, anti-nationalism, the coming together of all peoples in a one producing people.

The autonomous relations of the proletariat are the model of organisations; ie. non centralised unification.

We don't pretend to grow by the association of people in one central decision making body but by ^{the} stimulating and the appearance of other groups. Not by getting bigger do we grow but by reproducing.

When the workers shandon active intervention and the decision making process to elected elements the committees always and inescapably become bureaucratised. This serves the parties for their repressive discipline which is nothing more than the reproduction in new moulds of passivity and inertia.

We must defend and apply self-responsibility for the work which we have promised to carry o-t. This is not a blind and passive discipline of party militants who promise obedience to decisions in which they had no part in elaborating and which even at times are unaware of. This is the

It is the self-responsibility of revolutionary activists.

The constant critical spirit which this self-responsibility presupposes is ^a consequence of the problematical and non-dogmatic way which revolutionaries face up to ideology in their relations between individuals.

The Combate Collective.

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