



Nahuel Moreno

Program of the PSA (later PST)

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1972

Approved by the National Committee of the Argentine Socialist Party (Coral Secretariat)

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www.nahuelmoreno.org

www.uit-ci.org

www.izquierdasocialista.org.ar

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Buenos Aires, 2022

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Foreword

At the beginning of 1972, a political-organisational agreement was established between the leadership of the PRT-LV (Revolutionary Workers Party – *La Verdad*) and the PSA-Coral Secretariat (Argentine Socialist Party, the sector headed by former national deputy Juan Carlos Coral). A membership campaign was launched in most of the country and, by the middle of the year, the 50,000 membership cards needed for the electoral legalisation of the party had been widely exceeded. On 1 March, the weekly *Avanzada Socialista* began publication and existed until March 1976, when the PST was banned by decree of the military dictatorship that was imposed at the time. From its first issue, it was the voice for the call to promote the struggles against the bosses and the military government, to reject the agreement between Peronism and the Radicals with the dictatorship, and for democratic freedoms.

In June 1972, the unification congress of both parties was held and the name Argentine Socialist Party (PSA), which already had political status, was provisionally adopted. Shortly after, the National Committee approved this programmatic text. In the extraordinary congress of November 1972, the name Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST, Socialist Workers Party) was adopted, with which legality was achieved. This program, which was printed as a brochure and widely distributed, is reproduced on nahuelmoreno.org for the first time since then.

Other works that deal with the years in which this program was discussed and approved and available at nahuelmoreno.org are:

1969-1975. *After the Cordobazo*;

1972. *Interview in The Militant*;

1972. *Speech Closing the 1972 PST Congress*;

1972. *A socialist and revolutionary electoral campaign*.

The Editors

February 2022

Introduction

A program for the liberation of our country from imperialism and the construction of a socialist Argentina

We believe a few previous words are needed to specify the importance of the program, not only for our party but for the entire worker and student vanguard protagonist of this colossal rise in the class struggle that Argentina has been experiencing since the Cordobazo,¹ which opened the prerevolutionary stage in which we live.

If we wanted to summarize in a few sentences what is the essential characteristic of this program, we would say this: we wanted to draw a bridge between all the minimal and immediate problems the masses feel (and for which they mobilise) and the only fundamental solution for the crisis of the country: a Workers' and Popular Government, which begin the construction of a Socialist Argentina.

From the demands for wages, cost of living, unemployment, the lack of democratic rights and union democracy, the bankruptcy of the educational system, and so on — all of them a product of our situation as a semi-colony of imperialism in crisis — the great task of the party is to make these struggles *converge* in a single revolutionary torrent that will sweep away this regime of exploitation of the workers and submission of Argentina to imperialism. Therefore, we are not a group of debaters, nor is this program a catalogue of the benefits of socialism. Ours is a party of revolutionary militants; that is, it tries to promote and place itself at the head of every worker, student and popular conflict and, from there, starting from the actual level of consciousness and organisation of the masses, to raise the transitional slogans that elevate the mobilisations up to the questioning of the semi-colonial regime and the power of imperialism and the complicit bourgeoisie. The program the party raises is the revolutionary program that marks the transitional tasks from capitalism to socialism.

We defend the conception of the revolutionary party and the method of the transitional slogans, inspired by the teachings of Marxism and of this whole century of revolutionary struggles. And we defend it, inspired also by the teachings of the current rise of workers' and popular mobilisations, which began in our country since the Cordobazo. We have seen how minimal problems — the increase in the university canteen prices in Corrientes, the zonal cuts in Cordoba, the electricity rates in Mendoza, the transfer of a court in General Roca, etc. — were the starting points of formidable outbursts that came to question the regime as a whole. The fact is that the capitalist regime, both in our country and in the entire world, at this stage of its agony, is *incapable* of satisfying the minimum needs of the broad masses. Hence, every worker's and popular mobilisation, even if it starts from

1 **Cordobazo:** it refers to a worker and student semi-insurrection that took place in Argentina on 29 and 30 May 1969 in the city of Cordoba, one of the most important industrial cities in the country, and that began a revolutionary situation. Its most immediate consequence was the fall of the military dictatorship of Juan Carlos Onganía in 1970, and then the opening of democratic freedoms and the calling of national elections in 1971–72. See *After the Cordobazo* at nahuelmoreno.org.

elementary problems, objectively begins a path that leads it to collide, sooner or later, with the framework of the regime. The party's mission is to promote, organise, unify and give conscious leadership to these processes. The function of this transitional program is to draw the plans and put the milestones on the paths of the struggles and mobilisations. And do it in such a way that all paths finally lead to the same point: that, from a factory strike to a student protest, that, from the indignation of an activist in front of the corrupt bureaucrat, to the desire for the liberation of young people and women, everything, we repeat, is on track to a goal— a workers' and popular government that builds a socialist Argentina.

Against reformism and ultra-leftism

Our transitional program radically differs, then, both from the reformist conceptions and from their symmetrical reverses: the ultra-left and guerrilla variants. Faced with reformism of all ilks, our program emphasises that in this historical stage the mass mobilisations do not stop, nor can they stop, in the minimal or reformist slogans that generally originate them since it is ultimately impossible for the regime to fully satisfy the basic needs for bread and work demanded by the exploited. We hold, in the face of reformism, that no bourgeois sector, no matter how "progressive", "democratic" or "national" it may call itself, will end the regime of exploitation of the workers and the dependence of the country on imperialism, and that only a workers' and people's government will be able to fulfil these historical tasks.

From the shore opposed to reformism, the ultra-leftists make the same mistake: they refuse to build the bridge of transitional demands between the needs of the masses and the objectives of the revolution. They do not want to start from the actual conditions of the class struggle and they intend to replace this reality with the more or less feverish products of their imagination and their petty-bourgeois impatience.

In their guerrilla variants, the ultra-leftists resurrect the errors of the old anarchism of "direct action", wanting to replace the mobilisation of the masses — and the experience they gather in their struggles — with the "examples" of armed actions carried out by small groups of revolutionaries, as heroic as they are disconnected from the workers' movement. The masses "learn" nothing from such examples; on the contrary, they may draw the ominous conclusion that their independent mobilisation is not necessary since the armed groups "replace" them! The masses only learn from the experiences they make firsthand through their struggles and mobilisations! This is why we need the party closely bound up with them and the transitional program that helps to travel the hard road to the revolution, bringing together in the party the best worker and student activists.

The axes of the program

The program points out precisely the axes of slogans and tasks around which activists and the working and popular masses have been mobilising since the historic days of Cordoba. In the first place, it raises the slogans of the struggle for the defence of the workers' standard of living. It calls to fight for the full validity of democratic rights and an end to repression, assassinations, and torture. It points out that under the tutelage of the Armed Forces, free elections will not be guaranteed, nor an outcome that benefits the exploited masses. For this reason, it interprets the unanimous sentiment of the workers, saying: Out with the military from power! And, together with this slogan, our program raises the need to impose a Constituent Assembly, convened under the control of the CGT and the workers' and popular parties, elected in absolutely free elections and without proscriptions. Our program also determines the measures to impose workers' democracy in the unions, sweep away the corrupt union bureaucracy and turn the mass organisations of the workers into true instruments at the service of the class struggle and not of surrender to the bosses, or conciliation with the bourgeois government. To this end, it points out the need to impose the election of workers' leaders through grassroots congresses. To accomplish these tasks, the program calls on all anti-bosses and anti-bureaucratic labour activists to unify in a Class-struggle Trade Union Movement. The program also

points out the set of slogans to put education at the service of the working class and the people. It raises the banners of women's liberation and the rights of women workers. It raises the fight for the socialisation of medicine, the only way to solve the popular health problem. Finally, it determines the transitional slogans for the Armed Forces, upholding the right of soldiers and non-commissioned officers to organise freely and participate in politics.

From the point of view of anti-bosses, anti-bureaucratic, anti-imperialist and democratic rights mobilisations, the Party's program raises the need to make them converge in the struggle for the *political independence of the workers* so the working class can lead the middle class and other oppressed sectors in the task of establishing a workers' and popular government that applies the maximum slogans of our program, thus initiating the building of a socialist Argentina. At this time, after all the mobilisations and workers' conflicts since the Cordobazo have shown the growing tendency to achieve class independence, to break with the brake of Peron and the Peronist union bureaucracy, the Party points out that the best tool to advance along this path would be the construction of a Workers' and Socialist Pole. In short, of a united front of all the parties that claim to be socialist, of all the class-struggle union tendencies, of all the worker, student and popular activists who agree to fight against all the bourgeois parties, for a workers' and popular government, and a socialist Argentina. Faced with the electoral situation, the program calls to use the bourgeois elections in this sense, uniting ourselves to raise slates of workers' candidates against the bosses' parties. Thus, we propose to activism and to the entire left the need to take advantage of the legal and electoral margins. These are not a gracious concession from the military government but, on the contrary, they are the expression of the retreat the dictatorship has had to carry out faced with the rise of the workers and popular struggles. Despite their curtailed and unstable character, despite all their fraudulent manoeuvres, they are the legitimate achievement of the Cordobazos and Tucumanazos. Developing the political independence of the workers according to these conditions is, then, a number one task.

The program, unity of action and united front tactics

Finally, we also believe it is essential to make clear these two important problems. As the program points out, the Party tirelessly fights to impose a Workers' and Popular Government through the *front of the workers and all the exploited people*. The Party relentlessly denounces all the variants of fronts with bourgeois parties to seize power. It equally repudiates the GAN,² the Civic Front,³ the Hour of the People,⁴ and the ENA,⁵ since any of these variants, whether from the right or the "left", have as a common trait — they place the working class as a caboose of some sector of the bourgeoisie, thus closing the only real possibility of liberating the country from imperialist colonisation and the workers from capitalist exploitation.

At the same time, we are the most determined promoters of the broadest unity of action around strictly delimited points of a democratic or anti-imperialist character. We call, for example, for the broadest unity of action with every party, organism or personality, bourgeois or worker, in defence of democratic rights and the release of political prisoners. Likewise, for any anti-imperialist or progressive measure or slogan.

2 **Great National Accord (GAN)**: this was the name given to the political proposal made public in July 1971 by General Alejandro Agustín Lanusse. The regime of the military dictatorship had been mortally wounded since the Cordobazo. The GAN proposed to seek an agreement between the main bourgeois political forces, first of all, Peronism (still banned) and Radicalism, to divert the rise of the workers and popular struggles through the calling of elections.

3 When Lanusse proposed the Great National Accord, Peronism began negotiations and promoted an alliance, the so-called **Civic Front of National Liberation (Frecilina)**, made up of the Justicialist Party — it was the first time that the former Peronist Party presented itself under that name — with the Popular Conservative Party (PCP), Frondizi's Integration and Development Movement (MID) and the Popular Christian Party (PPC).

4 **The Hour of the People** was the title of a multi-party document signed on November 11, 1970, which suggested that the military dictatorship open an electoral solution. The signatories were the Radical Civic Union of the People (UCRP), and the Peronist, Socialist, and Popular Conservative parties, among others.

5 **National Encounter of Argentines (ENA)**, promoted by the Communist Party. It brought together centre-left political forces, including the Intransigent Party (PI), the Christian Revolutionary Party (PRC), and the Union of the Argentine People (UDELPA). It had similar goals and proposals as The Hour of the People.

But, we insist, activists and workers should not confuse, under any circumstances, these common, momentary and strictly delimited actions with the only form of unity that can truly lead them to power: the front of the workers and other exploited sectors. In summary, our program proposes:

- Broad common actions for democratic or anti-imperialist slogans.
- Unity in a Class-struggle Union Movement of all trade union activists willing to fight against the bosses and to expel the bureaucracy from the workers' movement, imposing a new class-struggle leadership on the CGT and the unions.
- A front of all the workers and exploited to establish a Workers' and Popular Government and build a socialist Argentina. It is on the path to this front of the workers that our program raises, at this time, the slogan of the Workers' and Socialist Pole.

Strengthening the Party and implementing its program

We cannot finish this introduction without making the most fervent appeal to all the workers and student activists, who have emerged by the thousands in the mobilisations of the last years. We call on you to discuss our program and join our ranks, the ranks of the revolutionary socialists. We believe that the words of a great fighter for socialism have never before been as valid as at this time: *"The historical crisis of mankind is reduced to the crisis of the revolutionary leadership."* Everything that has happened in Argentina in this stage of struggles cries out for a strong workers' and socialist party; in other words, for a revolutionary leadership that can weave a network that unifies the infinity of isolated conflicts, of battles at all levels, of discontent and the desire for a rebellion that grow as this regime of exploitation and colonialism becomes more insufferable. Without a revolutionary party, there will be no revolution. Therefore, we insist before the young worker or student activist: the best way for your efforts not to be dispersed, the most effective way to contribute to the collapse of the regime, is to join the task of building, from our ranks, a great workers', socialist and revolutionary party, capable of carrying out this program.

Program of the Argentine Socialist Party

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY STATES:

The Argentine Republic is a country of compound capitalism, that is, of uneven and combined development and increasingly dependent on the exploitation and leadership of international imperialist capital, deeply associated with the great national bourgeoisie, highly concentrated and centralised.

The national bourgeoisie

The exploitation of the country by imperialist capital does not take place against the will and despite the national bourgeoisie but through its most highly concentrated sectors, with its support and complicity.

The medium and petty bourgeoisie

The high degree of concentration and centralisation of capital in Argentina reduces economic and political weight to the sectors of the medium and small bourgeoisie. Thus, these sectors of the medium and petty bourgeoisie are semi-exploited by big national and international capital, lacking any possibility of independent development, and, in turn, are exploiters of the working class in their companies.

Consequently, this medium or petty bourgeoisie cannot play any decisive leading role in the struggles that the Argentine people must face on the path to its liberation since historically it always ends up acting as an instrument of the great imperialist monopolies.

National liberation, the anti-capitalist struggle, and the workers

The socio-economic structure of the country requires that the struggle for national liberation from the imperialist yoke be deeply linked to the struggle of the workers against the capitalist regime and the great national bourgeoisie.

The Party

On the basis set forth here, we commit our will to the construction of a great socialist, workers' and revolutionary party, deeply rooted in the national reality, in solidarity with all the socialist movements of Latin America and the world and in which, we hope, the now scattered Argentine revolutionary left will be grouped into a solid vanguard,

Party relations with other groups

The Party will establish the most fraternal relations with all the groups – legal or illegal – that fight for national liberation and socialism, to jointly elaborate the programmatic, strategic and tactical bases to be developed.

In the course of party organisation, it is necessary to deepen the theoretical critique of the opportunist, reformist, and populist deviations that distance the Argentine proletariat from its historical objectives. This criticism should not be an obstacle to the alliances of the Party with all the workers' sectors that fight for national liberation and socialism, around concrete and clear objectives.

The Party and the working masses

The Party must establish fraternal links with the working masses, today alienated in Peronist populism and its reformist bourgeois ideology, encouraging these masses and accompanying them in all their concrete struggles against exploitation and oppression, helping them to understand how the political structures and the union bureaucracy that frame them, restrain their will to fight and limit their historical objectives, which can only be those that lead to the destruction of the capitalist regime and the construction of socialism.

The Party and its means of struggle

The Party must use all the means of struggle that the changing political reality imposes.

Convinced that the State, even the one that conceals itself under bourgeois-democratic forms, is always an expression of the dictatorship of the ruling classes, it must, however, use all the resources offered by the curtailed bourgeois legality to promote the union and political organisation of the workers and prepare the force capable of carrying out the revolution that the objective conditions of Argentina and the world are demanding as the urgent task to be fulfilled today and here.

The use of the legal means of struggle at its disposal must not distract the Party's attention from the tasks of also adapting its organisation to accept and develop the struggle for political power in all fields and by all means that circumstances advise or impose.

Front of the workers and exploited. Workers' and Popular Government

Through the front of the workers and all the exploited people, the Party must fight tirelessly to impose a Workers' and Popular Government, which will ensure national liberation and the revolutionary construction of socialism. We emphasise that, even if it proclaims itself socialist, no State is truly one if it has not achieved direct control for the working class at all levels of the state apparatus: the armed forces, the executive branch, the justice system, and the legislative branch.

The Party and the agreements

The only agreement in which the proletariat and its Party may participate is the one that ensures the path towards the conquest of power for the working class; that is, workers' and socialist unity agreements, repudiating the mentioned combinations with any sector of the bourgeoisie for the seizure of power.

The Party recognises the existence of sectors of small peasants (fruit growers, tobacco growers, winemakers, cotton and sugar cane producers, etc.) who are exploited by the large industrial and pro-imperialist bourgeoisie and who carry out agitations and struggles against their exploiters. Despite their fighting, these sectors, ultimately, will try to preserve their position as small producers (like tomorrow they will fight against any attempt to socialise agrarian production); the Party will support their struggles as a social and non-political movement, in order to isolate the main enemy, the great national bourgeoisie and its senior partner, imperialism. But, through this support, the Party will try to make its occasional allies understand that their human problems will not have a solution except in socialism, trying to win their best men for the cause and the party of the proletariat. We will adopt

the same position before the movements that small merchants, small industrialists and artisans of the cities may lead against the monopolies, imperialist or not.

Against the GAN, The Hour of the People, the ENA and the Civic Front

Thus, the Party's repudiation of the so-called *Great National Accord (GAN)*, by which the national bourgeoisie and imperialism try to mask their ruthless dictatorship in what constitutes *The Hour of the People*, as a response to the profound revolutionary mobilisations of the class that deepen since the Cordobazo.

This masking can be carried out because of the complicity of the Peronist leadership, which intends to divert the workers from their great historical tasks and engage them in lukewarm reformist, conformist tasks and ultimately aimed at the preservation of the capitalist regime and imperialist domination.

Our rejection extends to the *ENA (National Encounter of Argentines)*, a new opportunist attempt to raise the slogan of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and to the new *Civic Front*, proposed by Peron to agree with the Frondizi-Frigerism on a new variant to safeguard the capitalist regime.

Against the union bureaucracy

The tragedy of the Argentine workers' movement organised in unions is the sinister union bureaucracy that leads it, a prostituted agent of imperialism and the national bourgeoisie. The Party promotes and supports all workers' struggles aimed at wiping out this scourge from the leadership of the mass workers' organisations.

For proletarian internationalism

Loyal to the principle of proletarian internationalism, the Party points out that the main enemy of the workers of the world is Yankee imperialism, the cop of the world counterrevolution and the maximum exploiter of the Latin American masses and nations. The Party holds that ties must be deepened and full support must be given to all the peoples that are fighting for their liberation, to all the forces and to all the regimes that are fighting for the construction of socialism and, especially, to the revolutionary movements of Latin America, to Socialist Cuba and the current vanguard of the world revolution, the heroic Vietnamese guerrillas and support for the sectors that in Chile are struggling to develop the revolution.

Against the bureaucracy of the Workers' States

While defending the so-called socialist states from any attack by imperialism, the Party will support any struggle of the working class in those countries to impose socialist democracy, since socialism is the highest form of workers' and working people's democracy, which means total freedom of expression and criticism for the workers and their organisations, political parties and unions.

The International

Recognising the need for an International, the Party does not abdicate its inalienable right to determine its strategies and tactics to any direction that does not emanate from the bowels of the Argentine proletariat and people.⁶

BASED ON THE ABOVE, THE PARTY CALLS TO FIGHT IMMEDIATELY FOR:

⁶ At the time, there was proscriptive legislation that condemned as a crime for an Argentine political party to have organic links with any type of international organisation.

I – The defence of the standard of living of the working class

- Immediate increase of 40% and a minimum wage of Ar\$ 100,000.
- For the sliding scale of wages, readjusted every 60 days.
- Against unemployment. Unemployment insurance that guarantees any worker his wage while he is unemployed.
- For the prohibition of the remittance of profits of the foreign monopolies and their reinvestment in new sources of work according to a plan of the working class.
- Elimination of all taxes levied on popular consumption and work.
- For the nationalisation without payment of any company that closes or stops its production, so it can continue working for the State under workers' control.
- For the validity of law 14250 of collective bargaining agreements and negotiating commissions.
- For a single collective bargaining agreement to prevent weak unions from bargaining in inferior conditions.

II - For the full validity of democratic rights

Out the military from power

Constituent Assembly, convened under the control of the workers, to designate a Provisional Workers' and People's Government

- For the release of all political and social prisoners, especially guerrillas and union activists.
- For a national campaign with all organisations and personalities that want to fight for the release of Tosco, Antonio Fernandez and other prisoners.
- Immediate lifting of the state of siege.
- For the repeal of all repressive legislation, especially the anti-communist act and the one that creates the Federal Chamber and establishes the death penalty. Down with the Chamber of Terror!
- For the immediate dissolution of all repressive agencies (SIDE, Security Superintendency — formerly Federal Coordination —, DIPA, etc.) Enough of murders and torture!
- For a working-class and popular Investigative Commission, with a working-class majority and with full powers, to clarify the cases of torture and murder of popular activists and punish those responsible.
- For the legality of the Communist Party and any left-wing organisation.
- For the right of every citizen to reside in the country, participate in political life and create his party. For Peron's right to return to the country whenever he wants, and to be a candidate if he so wishes.
- For real freedom of the press, radio and television, guaranteed by the following measures: free granting, at the best times, of radio and television spaces to all parties, recognised or not. A law will oblige the printers to accept the publication of the organs of the parties, recognised or not, and of any political newspaper.
- The Armed Forces cannot guarantee free elections. Out the Armed Forces from power! General Constituent Assembly convened under the control of the CGT and the workers' and popular parties, elected by proportional representation in absolutely free elections and without proscriptions! That the General Constituent Assembly designate a Provisional Workers' and People's Government to reorganise the country, initiating the transition to socialism.

III- For union democracy. Out with the union bureaucracy!

- For the unconditional defence of the CGT and the unions.
- Against the bureaucracy in the union movement.
- Union leaders must earn the same wages they had when they worked.
- Every two years, total renewal of management cadres, so that leaders return to the factory or their jobs.
- For no worker to be expelled from his union if his expulsion is not approved by his sectional or departmental co-workers. Let those who know him judge his working-class morals and not the bureaucrats.
- Every worker or activist fired by the bosses will remain a full member of the union for at least two years, to avoid the bosses-bureaucratic manoeuvre of leaving not only the best activists out of the factory but also out of the union.
- Annual grassroots congress of all trade union organisations, from the CGT to the smallest regional organisation. Delegates must be democratically elected from among fellow workmates and will represent as many votes as they have received in the election. All sectors of the workers' movement will be represented.
- For the formation of a Class-struggle Union Movement, which brings together all trade union activists willing to fight against the bosses, for union democracy, the expulsion of the bureaucracy from the workers' movement and for imposing a new class-struggle leadership.

IV- For the liberation of women. For the rights of women workers

- Elimination of all discriminatory laws or regulations between men and women.
- Against any discriminatory practice that deprives women of equal opportunities in the performance of their activities. Mandatory participation of women in all union bodies in proportion to female participation in the corresponding branches of production, in all government bodies and popular representation.
- For effective compliance with the law that establishes equal work, equal salary.
- For absolutely free child care operating 24 hours a day.
- 40% of the minimum wage for working-class and employee mothers for each child under 18.
- Elimination of all regulations or practices that interfere with the free sexual relationship between men and women.
- For absolute binding divorce, at the will of either spouse, with a fast and completely free procedure.
- For a legal and free abortion, practised in State establishments, with prior authorisation from official medical organisations, and with all the necessary guarantees to ensure health.
- For the free sale of contraceptives previously approved by the State medical schools.
- Full protection for the single mother and suppression of all legal differences between legitimate and natural children. Equal rights of the legitimate family and the naturally constituted one.

V- For education at the service of the working class and the people

- For student control of exams.
- For new curricula that serve students and are also at the service of the working class and the people.
- Scholarships that allow students without resources to study without having to work.
- For the suppression of the State's financial aid to private schools and universities.

- Free admission to the University.
- For a University government led by the students, teaching and non-teaching workers, freely chosen by each of the sectors and with a student majority.
- For a University at the service of the struggle for socialism.
- Compulsory primary and secondary education for all, secular and truly free. Free supply of books, supplies, and uniforms to all students by the State.
- Mixed school and extensive sexual education.
- Integration of productive work at all levels of education. Intense literacy campaign.
- Suppression of all repressive regulations and broad union rights for secondary and university students. Repeal of the Jorge de la Torre decree, which prohibits them in secondary schools.
- Increase in the educational budget at the expense of the military and repressive apparatus budgets.

VI- For the democratisation of the Armed Forces

- For the suppression of the repressive role of the Armed Forces and its use in the service of the interests of capital.
- For the reduction of military service to three months. For the right of students and workers to make their conscription at a time that allows them to attend studies and occupations. For military training to be organised in universities and unions.
- For the constitutional right of soldiers and non-commissioned officers to participate in politics and organise themselves democratically.
- For the opening of the cadres of officers and chiefs to the NCOs.
- Prohibition of doing housework and any personal service by soldiers.

VII- For the socialisation of medicine

- For free medical care and medicines for all the inhabitants of the country.
- For the nationalisation of all clinics, hospitals, and drug factories. For workers' control of all healthcare establishments. For a National Health Plan prepared by the workers' movement with the help of doctors and all health workers.

AND THE PARTY CALLS TO PERMANENTLY STRUGGLE FOR:

I- For a socialist Argentina

- For the immediate expropriation without payment of all large national and foreign companies and monopolies.
- For the immediate expropriation without payment of all banks, insurance companies and national or foreign financial entities.
- For the immediate nationalisation without payment of foreign trade and the large wholesale and supply trade.
- For the operation under workers' control of all expropriated, nationalised or private companies, banks, foreign trade, etc.
- For an agrarian reform based on the expropriation without payment of large estates and their delivery to wage earners and small rural producers for the development of collective forms of production. For the return of occupied lands to the indigenous communities.

- For new agrarian colonisation, on socialist economic bases, in which priority will be given to rural workers settled in other people's lands, those who have been forced to emigrate to the cities by the current large-state structure, and migrant workers from sister countries of Latin America.

- Respect for the property of small farmers and their cooperative organisation with cheap loans and state technical assistance.

- For the rejection of the foreign debt and the economic concessions contracted with imperialism by the reactionary and dictatorial governments.

- For the immediate expropriation and urbanization of the properties on which the working-class neighbourhoods and slums are settled. For an urban reform that allows each working family to have access to a comfortable home, paid for with a minimum percentage of salary. Expropriation of all luxury homes not permanently occupied in Mar del Plata and other summer vacation areas, to be handed over to those who lack a roof, especially to the inhabitants of slums, with the creation of jobs for all who move.

- For the elaboration of an economic plan, by the Grassroots Congress of the CGT, that rule the whole of production and the whole of the country. The objectives of this Plan will be to launch the national economy, rescue it from the crisis in which imperialist capitalism has sunk it, and raise the standard of living of the workers.

- For this Economic Plan to take into account the need to agree with the Latin American labour unions, especially the Chilean, Bolivian and Uruguayan centrals, a joint plan that will start to unify the economy of our countries.

II- For an international policy that aims at the unification of Latin America in a Federation of Socialist Republics

- For the breaking of the pacts that bind us to imperialism: Rio de Janeiro, bilateral, OAS, IMF, etc.

- For the immediate recognition of Socialist Cuba.

- For economic and diplomatic support to the measures of nationalisation of the imperialist companies by the governments of Chile and Peru, as well as any other anti-imperialist measure adopted by any Latin American nation.

- For the unconditional defence of any Latin American country that is economically blocked or attacked by imperialism, especially the Yankee.

- For the unconditional defence of socialist Cuba from any foreign attack that seeks to interfere with the construction of socialism, especially Yankee imperialism.

- For proletarian internationalism.

- For the unconditional defence of any workers' state that is attacked by the US or any other imperialist power.

- For solidarity with the people of Vietnam and any people who fight for their national liberation and socialism.

LET US BUILD A WORKERS' AND SOCIALIST FRONT TO:

- Fight in all terrains The People's Hour, ENA, the Civic Front and any similar coalition that the bourgeoisie and imperialism assemble to divert our heroic working class from the revolutionary mobilisation open since the Cordobazo.

- Raise class and socialist banners in the next elections.

- Denounce these elections as a mere diversionary manoeuvre by the exploiters.

- To propose to the workers that they mobilise to impose the immediate withdrawal of the Armed Forces from power and the call, under the control of the CGT and the workers' and popular

parties, of a free and sovereign Constituent Assembly, elected in absolutely democratic elections. That this Constituent Assembly designate a Provisional Workers' and Popular Government that will lay the foundations for the construction of a Socialist Argentina.

LONG LIVE THE FUTURE SOCIALIST ARGENTINA!

ADDENDUM

Memorandum presented at the Ministry of the Interior

In August 1972, the military government, through the Political Plan Coordinating Commission, summoned the Parties to Government House to answer two questions: what measures did they propose for the institutionalization process and how to ensure the stability of the next government. Our party took the opportunity to publicly raise the slogan of the immediate withdrawal of the Armed Forces from power and the convocation, under workers' and popular control, of a General Constituent Assembly.

The other invited parties, from those who attended to Casa Rosada [Government House] to those who did not, agreed on one point: in pleading with the Armed Forces to guarantee free elections. Our party was the only one that raised the unanimous political opinion of the working people: That the military government leave. The Armed Forces cannot guarantee free elections.

This is the text of the Memorandum presented to the Ministry of the Interior.

Gentlemen, Members of the Political Plan Coordinating Commission

BY HAND

Faced with the convening of this Commission to provide suggestions and contributions to consolidating the institutionalization process that ensures the stability of the next constitutional government, the Socialist Party (Coral Secretariat) declares:

Reasons for our attendance

That our party does not hold expectations or make any political or electoral calculations about dialogue, both with the current government and with the bourgeois parties. Our Declaration of Principles of 1896 holds that "The Socialist Party calls on the working people to enlist in the ranks of its class party." This means that we base our actions on the organisation, free initiative and development of the forces of the working class, the only national sector that cannot be blamed for the current crisis in the country. Our entire trajectory has been to maintain the independence of our political action. We can, therefore, hardly subordinate our presence dependent on the attitude about attending or not adopted by any bourgeois sector, however majority it may be. None reflects the true interests of the working class. This class will only overcome its current misadventures when it directly exercises power in a Socialist Argentina, which is part of a Free and Socialist America, completing its national independence. From the beginning of this feat, the working people of the colony were the driving force. For its culmination, it will be the driving force and leadership.

Our attendance at this meeting is part of the decision to participate in the electoral political process. That is why we complied with the limiting, discriminatory and unconstitutional requirements of the Statute of Political Parties. Our purpose is to provide the working class — which with its mobilisations forced to open this process — with a tool to achieve its political independence.

Although we are convinced that this dialogue, in terms set by the government, will not facilitate institutionalization, we are assisting to express the class position of the workers.

Faced with their historic failure, the Armed Forces must now leave the government

That the current institutional crisis is not episodic. It has developed without interruption since 1930. This is a fact publicly recognised by the President of the Nation, from which he has not drawn the true conclusion. The crisis does not admit a new false outcome, with the same protagonists as always, but requires a profound solution, based on the working class and the people.

The Armed Forces, defending the traditional order, attempted various institutionalization processes since 1930, which led to new military governments. This is what happened with Peron, Frondizi⁷ and Illia,⁸ in the last 40 years. Their political failures were accompanied by different economic orientations that expressed the various nuances of bourgeois economic-social thought, but which always brought about the same result: growing stagnation and economic-political subordination to monopolistic and imperialist interests.

Within that period, the 25 years of direct exercise of military power deepened the semi-colonial dependence and the deterioration of the popular standard of living. In reality, the only thing that the Armed Forces managed to institutionalize is the coup d'état, the transfer of income to imperialism and the bosses, and the escalation of repression.

The failure of the “Argentine Revolution” is a new example of that historical impotence to make the country and the people progress, both under democratic-parliamentary and dictatorial forms. But their current paralysis is because of the popular rebellion manifested in the cities of the interior, from Cordoba to General Roca, and to the strike and protest movements that gave rise to them, accompanied them and continue throughout the country.

This is the cause that forces us to specify our answer to the questions of that commission, in the following terms: after 40 years of political and economic failures, the Armed Forces are invalidated to preside over the normalisation of the country, which can only be addressed and resolved by the workers' movement leading the working people. The offer of the Armed Forces to carry out fair play and hand over power on 25 May 1973, must be carried out immediately, making it to the people gathered in a Constituent Assembly. Then the military will express their political opinion in the same way as the rest of the country's sectors, that is, through the political parties of the different classes, whose existence — now not assured — will be a fundamental pledge to achieve socialist democracy.

Return constituent power to the people

That the immediate withdrawal of the Armed Forces from the exercise of power will allow facing the solution of the crisis in the country. This is not only political, economic, social or institutional but encompasses all these aspects globally. To solve it, a joint correction is necessary, through a prior deliberation of all sectors of national life, in which the working people, always postponed, can express their positions and impose their majority.

This is the opposite of the “great national accord” proposed by the government and which constitutes a partial dialogue, between a group of leaders, and in which one of the interlocutors wields the force of arms.

7 **Arturo Frondizi** (1908–1995) was an Argentinian lawyer and politician elected President of Argentina between May 1958 and March 1962. He was elected on the ticket for the Intransigent Radical Civic Union (a splinter group from the Radical Civic Union). He won with the support of Peron who gave the order and was massively taken up by the workers, to vote for him. Under his program of “Developmentalism”, he encouraged increased foreign investment. He was overthrown by a military coup d'état in 1962.

8 **Arturo Umberto Illia** (1900–1983) was an Argentine physician and politician, who was President of Argentina for the Radical Civic Union (UCR) from October 1963 to June 1966. He was deposed by a coup d'état of the self-named Argentine Revolution and replaced by General Juan Carlos Onganía.

The great public, democratic, egalitarian national deliberation is the Constituent Assembly that will give power to the people and will decide the institutional regime that the country will adopt — elections, the form of government, administration of justice, security — and the national economic organisation. In other words, it will vote on a new National Constitution to enable the majority to fully exercise their political and economic rights.

Consequently, to achieve institutional normalisation, the Armed Forces must withdraw from power and call for conventional constituent elections.

A pact of national, worker and popular guarantees

To take these two institutionalizing steps, a political-economic transition is necessary that the Armed Forces do not guarantee. We will call this transition the PACT OF NATIONAL, WORKER AND POPULAR GUARANTEES, to oppose it to the guarantee pact that La Hora del Pueblo signed for the Armed Forces.

We propose that all the parties that claim to be of the working class and the people and uphold national liberation, endorse the following points:

1– Elections of conventional constituents will be convened under the control of the CGT and these parties, with the system of proportional representation, and no proscriptions. The Constituent Assembly will designate the Provisional Government of the working class and the people, dictate the new national constitution, and place the administration of Justice under popular control, through juries with a working-class majority.

2– A package of political and economic measures will be adopted immediately, which are indispensable conditions to begin the real institutionalization of the country.

a) August 25 will be set as the deadline for the release of all citizens imprisoned for their political-social activities (ideological, armed, union, student); for the repeal of repressive laws and apparatuses (anti-communist, state of siege, death penalty, Federal Criminal Chamber, Superintendency of Security, SIDE,⁹ etc. and vigilante organisations).

In the same period, the Statute of Political Parties and the restrictions on the right of association and political action that condition or impede the activity of Peron, the Communist Party, other political groups, and the CGT will be repealed. A working-class and popular investigative commission will be formed to investigate all cases of torture, political kidnapping, and assassinations, which have not yet been clarified.

As of the 20th of the current month, the political parties will have free spaces on national networks and at privileged times and places, on radio, TV, and newspapers.

b) On 25 August there will be an increase in salaries, retirements, and pensions, which will be adjusted monthly to the level of prices; the unemployment insurance and the system of immediate nationalisation of any factory that closes will be set up; rents will be frozen; a moratorium on the foreign debt and its interests will be decreed; foreign exchange control will be established, the flight of national capital will be prevented and the repatriation of the profits of monopolies will be prohibited; The shady deals, asset stripping, fraudulent bankruptcies and the identification of the Argentine holders of bank accounts abroad will be exhaustively investigated, in order to achieve the repatriation of these capitals.

3– At the same time that these indispensable peremptory measures are put into effect, the CGT and the parties that endorse the pact will carry out overall planning of the economy, which must complete the following priorities:

- a) Expropriation of large estates and agricultural recolonisation.
- b) Expropriation of domestic and foreign monopolies.
- c) Nationalisation of banking and foreign trade.

⁹ The **State Intelligence Secretariat (SIDE)** was the largest intelligence service in the Argentine Republic between 1946 and 2015.

d) Rupture of the country with international financial organisations.

e) Expropriation of all living quarters that the owner does not need to live in and allocation of the rents for the acquisition of workers' housing, to begin to solve the housing crisis.

f) Nationalisation of medicine and laboratories to care for and cure the sick free of charge.

4– Accompanying the previous measures, the colonising pacts that tie us to the politics of imperialism (OAS, Rio de Janeiro) will be denounced; diplomatic relations with Cuba will be established; support will be given to all the peoples of the world, especially Latin Americans, who are fighting for their liberation; all imperialist aggression will be condemned.

Without the validity of this PACT, whether we want to or not, there will be no authentic institutionalization possible.

Legality is a conquest of the masses

That this proposal for institutionalization is directed at the government and the political parties. Judging the trajectory of the Armed Forces, Radicalism and Peronism — the first actors in the current process — we are convinced that, over and above their differences, they agree once again, in excluding the participation of the working class in the political solution. Hence, they critically accept the conditioned and curtailed nature of the process but want to be its beneficiaries.

Our party, on the other hand, participates for very different reasons. We do it in homage to political realism and as the best way to carry out the PACT OF NATIONAL, WORKER, AND POPULAR GUARANTEES. It is evident that, since the rise of General Lanusse to power, there has been a change in the national situation, opening a curtailed and imperfect process towards political legality. Unlike public opinion, we believe this process is not a graceful concession but the costly victory of the working class and the people, achieved through painful social struggles. If the Socialist Party, which has raised its class banners since the end of the last century, which is made up of militants persecuted and punished by all governments, including the current one, is now called to dialogue, it is because of an obligatory recognition of the Armed Forces to the struggles of the working people.

Conversely, our assistance to present the class program is our obligation to the extent that we pretend to be a voice for the working class and the Argentine people. Our participation in the process, which began with the task of affiliation, continues with this interview and will take place with our full electoral intervention, has the purpose of deepening and guaranteeing, for all sectors of the country, the insufficient and distorted civil rights to help the development of the organisations of the working class and the people.

That these rights are not more perfected, is first because of the character of the current government and the historical incapacity of the regime, and then for the weakness of the workers and popular organisations, and of their vanguard, in which we include ourselves.

For this reason, we participate, both demanding the expansion of the curtailed rights, such as defending ourselves against any coup attempt seeking to liquidate them, to the extent that they are a conquest of the masses. None of this means placing trust, much less support, in the current government, which allows the imprisonment, torture and economic drowning of workers and the people.

The government and the bourgeois parties can deny our denunciation with a categorical response: the acceptance and full compliance with the PACT OF NATIONAL, WORKER AND POPULAR GUARANTEES.

Either way, our party will strive for the working class to achieve its political independence, achieve the objectives of said PACT, and achieve power for itself.