

Manifesto of the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party (4 August 1945)


Caption: On 4 August 1945, with a view to the forthcoming general elections, the Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party announces its main plans for the future of the Grand Duchy.

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Do people believe that we Socialists are short of demands? That we have no complaints to make about the Government? Do they believe that, as a Party, we have nothing to gain from a worsening situation?

What is there to stop us flattering the agricultural population, playing a two-faced game, stirring up the working class and exploiting every grievance?

Two things stop us: political honesty and a sense of responsibility. In politics, loyalty means, above all, clarity. Clarity in the definition of problems and in the solutions proposed.

Our aim is to increase morality through clarity, and to achieve clarity through sincerity.

We appeal to reason, often to the heart, but we never go against the voice of conscience. We hate pretence and worthless promises, hypocrisy and lies, betrayal and sleight of hand.

But we too have faith. At the heart of our action, as an end and not a means, is man; not just man, but man who is truly free. That is why we hate obscurantism, why we seek to break the chains that bind him, and why we accept neither dictatorship nor inquisition.

We seek to end the exploitation of man by man, to destroy the tyranny of money, and to create a new man through a better world.

Socialist principles

The riches of the world, as we see it, are the heritage of all men — the dead, the living, and those yet unborn. The sole basis for the use of those riches is social utility, and their sole purpose is to ensure the freedom and welfare of every human being.

We do not think that this ideal can be realised within the capitalist system, which we believe is unendurable. It is not we who have killed it; it is dying in the process of turning men into machines. Men sell their souls for thirty pieces of silver and are left corrupted.

That is why we seek a radical transformation of present society.

In the economic sphere we seek to ensure that all workers, i.e. all those who work — industrial workers, office staff, engineers, managers, farm workers, civil servants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, as well as teachers, professional people, philosophers and scientists — have free and unimpeded access to the means of production.

In the moral sphere, we seek to promote active and conscious solidarity, and, in the political sphere, the transformation of the State into an instrument of material administration.

We consider ourselves to be the representatives not just of the working class but of every oppressed person regardless of race or sex.

We believe in the solidarity of mankind, because human emancipation is not just a national task but the work of the whole human race.

The means we employ to this end are political action, the development of free associations, and the ceaseless, enthusiastic dissemination of our ideals.

Socialist policy

We do not look to Rome or Moscow, we look straight ahead: we rely on no one but ourselves. We commit

ourselves honestly and wholeheartedly and we keep our promises, even sometimes those of others.

We are convinced that the answer to every dictatorship is not less democracy, but more. But we believe that political democracy is just a trap if it is not accompanied by economic democracy. For true democracy to exist, the State must be freed from the clutches of large financial and industrial interests. For men to be truly free, they must be liberated from the excessive power of the State and from the fear of an uncertain tomorrow. We do not seek to use the individual for the benefit of the State, but the State for the benefit of the individual. Our individualism is an individualism for the benefit of the weak.

So we do not seek to take farms away from the farmers and establish collective farms in the Soviet style. But in order to liberate the agricultural population along with all workers, we intend to nationalise all monopolies, all public services and key industries, sources of energy and credit institutions. Who dares say that before the war, Mr Barbanson was not more powerful than simple Mr Dupont? Well, this must stop, it has to stop, it is essential that it stop if we don't want our country to become a colony.

We do not seek a bureaucratic State that stifles and kills individuals; the basis of our economic system is the cooperative; we are aiming at a community of producers. This implies the co-management of large factories by the workers — shop-floor workers, office employees and engineers — and their involvement in the management of public affairs.

We do not seek to take from the rich to give to the poor — that would only create a new class of poor and a new class of rich. But we intend to extend economic security to everyone. We seek to free man from poverty and the fear of tomorrow. We know that work is a right, but also a duty. With us, he who does not work will not eat. But we want all Luxembourgers to work joyfully.

Social democracy is the pre-condition for political democracy. That is why we want social rights enshrined in the Constitution along with the rights of man and of the citizen.

And it is on these grounds that we will fight the forthcoming election.

Disappointment demoralises a country. We have been disappointed; it could not have been otherwise. We believe that the problems of our country are not soluble by orthodox liberal means. To guarantee the survival of our country and the happiness of our children, we propose new methods and a new, integral humanism.

The fate of men is in their own hands. We, as Socialists, share the passion and disgust of a man like Péguy and the enthusiasm of Jaurès. History confirms our doctrine; why should our victory be in doubt?