

EDITORIAL

THE LABOUR PARTY AND THE TRADE UNIONS MUST EXTEND THE MOBILISATIONS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The initiatives taken by the Soviet Union to discuss the reduction in nuclear arms have provoked increasing disorder within the camps of imperialism, simply because it is clear that the sources of the unwillingness to negotiate over arms reductions does not come from the Soviet Union but from the aggressive military plans of Yankee imperialism. The latter accepts the conception of the first strike, and it is also clear and has been denounced as such by Generals formerly of the NATO High Command that the so-called massive build up by the Soviet Union is a complete fabrication. Thatcher's reply to Andropov's proposals was to say that the only thing imperialism would accept was the zero option - the nuclear disarming of the Soviet Union. Imperialism shows itself to be totally inept even on the diplomatic plane. But this is inevitable, because its intentions are dishonest and predatory, and the top layers of imperialism are geared to war and the attempted destruction of the Soviet Union.

But the persistency of the Soviet initiatives is part of the historic domination of the Workers States in this stage of history. Historically, despite its massive spending on arms and chronic aggression, as seen in the Malvinas episode and the massacres in Guatemala, capitalism is now socially and politically on the defensive, and what is particularly striking is that its own class forces begin to disintegrate. In the United States, the Catholic hierarchy is coming out against the nuclear politics of Yankee imperialism and within Britain, whose government leans for support on American imperialism, sectors such as Healey, the Liberals, and Jenkins do not accept the Thatcher-Reagan positions on the talks, and take the position that the Soviet proposals have to be discussed. Sectors of capitalism, represented by Powell, show no confidence in the British 'deterrant' and Pym - in the heart of the Thatcher government - is not of her opinion and favours discussion. In a previous epoch, when capitalism as a world system was stronger, Hitler, for example, was able to make all sectors of capitalism submit to centralisation because, at that time the Soviet Workers State was very isolated, and there was apparently a reasonable perspective for German capitalism to make a path for itself. That failed, and now large sectors of capitalism within all the capitalist states feel overcome with paralysis and want to continue to prolong what life they have, rather than follow the central sectors into atomic disaster. Large sectors in American capitalism are obviously scared of the missile plans of Reagan and European capitalism feels that American



Part of the massive demonstration of women at Greenham Common against Cruise missiles.

capitalism is not only concerned to bomb the Soviets, but liquidate Euro-capitalism as well. Imperialism cannot convince large sectors within itself that anti-Sovietism is a perspective. German capitalism, for example, looks to the Soviet Union for extensive trade given immense impulse by the economic crisis of the whole system.

It is necessary to expect more audacious intervention from the Soviet leadership and we salute, in this respect, the most important recent appeal of Cde Andropov directly to the masses of the United States encouraging their resistance to the plans of their demented government like the idiot Weinberger who hopes to obtain nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, - a counter-revolutionary dream world with no perspective of success.

Capitalism even now - such is the paucity of its ideas - is trying to justify its anti-Polish Workers State policy by emphasising the difficulties

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RESOLUTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.

One of the most profound expressions of the world crisis of the capitalist system is the situation in capitalist Germany. The fall of Schmidt represents no change basically in the policy of German capitalism. It is not a defeat of the workers' movement and it is not a turn towards the Right. Schmidt represented another tendency of capitalism, not the necessary programme for the progress of Germany.

Germany is a country fundamental for the capitalist system, because of its economic capacity, but it cannot determine the world process. German capitalism, in order to survive, has to continue the policy of Schmidt; that is to say, one of agreement with the Workers States and resistance to Yankee imperialism. Germany cannot free itself from its economic relation with the Workers states in order to survive. At the same time, being a country that is occupied militarily by the Yanks, it depends on this relation as a capitalism regime, but it has to confront the contradiction that it is the Yanks themselves who are their principle competitors. As a consequence the policy of Kohl cannot change in an important form. All his declarations and first actions confirm this and show the weakness of the capitalist system in the world.

Kohl travelled to Paris to reaffirm the agreement with France with Mitterand, which is totally against the Yanks. Also he reaffirmed that he was going to fulfil the agreement with the Soviets for the gas pipeline. He made declarations of friendship towards the German Workers State, which more than hypocrisy shows that the new government cannot change the world. That is to say that the relation of world forces does not depend on the capitalist countries but it is the Workers States which determine a situation to which capitalism has to

adapt itself. This is the experience already made by Britain with Thatcher - as Cde Posadas analysed - who, on entering government, threatened fire and destruction against the Workers States and ended by having to join the opposition to the plans of Reagan who wanted to limit the economic relations of capitalist Europe with the Workers States.

In an article written in August 1979 Cde Posadas showed the nature of the crisis of German capitalism, foreseeing that even with a Strauss government this could not make a policy opposed to that of Schmidt: 'Both Schmidt and Christian Democracy are in agreement in not accepting from the Yanks more military expenditures. They feel that if they spend on arms they have to increase prices without lowering wages; in increasing prices the level of competition is worsened for them, competition becomes more difficult, and the reaction of the masses more pronounced. Both Schmidt and Strauss see that the situation is like this. They have an interest, as much as a bourgeois class within Germany as in the field of world competition' (Strauss and the nature of the crisis of capitalism in Germany, 19.8.79, J. Posadas).

But when the process goes as far as the present change of government and in the form in which it has done, it shows the intensification to the crisis which is expressed in this way. The split by Genscher indicates the disintegration of the internal relations in German capitalism, the product of its general crisis. Hence the instruments with which capitalism relied previously to impose the policy which was most convenient to it, like the Social Democracy, cannot now fulfil this function in the same form. Schmidt fell because he could not impose on the Social Democracy the programme which capitalism needed:

that is to say, to retreat on the conquests of the masses, to reduce wages to the unemployed, medical services etc. This is the programme of Lambdorf and the Social Democracy would not accept this. It was not Schmidt who rejected it, but he could not impose it on his party. Hence it was Brandt who made the most categorical declarations against the programme of the Liberal Minister, and did it as the representative of the base of his party and also representing the will of the workers' movement.

The workers' vanguard does not have the instruments to intervene in Germany because there is an apparatus which dominates the trade union and political movement, but in the present conditions this structure has to advance, giving way to the will of the workers. Brandt in part takes this process and tries to put it forward.

In Germany a process to the Left is developing which is expressed in the ecologists in the peace movement, and it has also reached the trade unions. These have to increase their opposition to capitalist policy. This process makes a pressure on the Social Democracy and was the force which prevented Schmidt going further. The interest of the German bourgeoisie was that the function of administering the crisis of German capitalism would be fulfilled by the Social Democracy. Hence it is a defeat for capitalism in not having attained its objective that Schmidt would put into practice the programme proposed by the Liberal Minister.

There is no progress within the capitalist system within Germany. The rapidity with which the conditions of life deteriorate within the country are a confirmation of this. At the same time, the German masses mature with the world process and elevate their social and

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RESOLUTION ON THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

political understanding. The resistance already recognised by the German press itself to the Yankee presence in Germany forms part of this. The population sees that it is a Yankee imperialism which imposes on Germany the costs, the conditions of preparation of wars against the Workers States which the masses are against. The masses are influenced by the social, political, cultural and scientific progress of the Workers States, of the USSR, and this gives them security to oppose German capitalism and its own leaderships. The peace demonstrations in Germany were against NATO, not against the USSR; and extensive sectors of the population (including part of the base of the CDU) participated in them. On the other hand, the constant progress of the ecologist votes expresses the will to intervene of a sector of the youth which before would have sought to intervene through the Socialist Youth (JUSOS) and was always repressed by the apparatus. But the force which won was not the apparatus, and it is through it that Brandt makes declarations of an opening to a quite extensive Left.

The declarations of Brandt which go in the direction of an agreement with the ecologists and with the peace movement (against the installation of Yankee missiles) were one of the signals for the manoeuvre of Genscher, who came out to stop this process. But the crisis of capitalism means that they had to do it in the worst political form for them. The fall of Schmidt in the form that it occurred corresponds to a coup d'etat. The party of Genscher was itself opposed to the change and he was against the party but this party anyway does not represent more than 3% of the votes yet determines a change of government without elections.

This is a coup d'etat independently of whether it may be legal and in front of the population was a source of a very great loss of authority including in front of the prosperous middle class base of the CDU. All saw that the party of Genscher would possibly not have representatives in Parliament in the next elections, or if they made elections now. For this reason they were hasty in the manoeuvre. This is going to have much influence in the base of the CDU because it is going to see that they are not going to government to resolve any problem because the crisis is one of the capitalist system and it is not a question of the government.

It is for this reason that there is no possibility of making any turn to the Right in the country, or that the Kohl government can impose important measures of retreat on democratic rights. Kohl, Strauss and the big German bourgeoisie dream of a new Hitler, with a fascist regime. This is true, and they have sinister intentions, but what they can do is another matter. Not only do the conditions of Germany not allow this but, above all, what is happening in the world. All the

world process clashes with any fascist plan; it is enough to see Spain and the repeated failures at a coup or the end to which the dictatorships in Latin America have come. Hence an important sector of the big German bourgeoisie is opposed to such plans and feels more secure with a Social Democrat policy, including one more to the Left because it sees no other perspective, not that it may be the lesser evil. It is the only form of surviving in this stage of the crisis of capitalism. This is the experience of Britain where Thatcher has resolved nothing, increased the problems, and now in the Labour Party there is a Left leadership: of the English type but of the Left.

This does not mean that the programme of Kohl is not going to go against the masses. The objective of German capitalism is to pass measures of restriction of democratic rights and on the economic terrain to reduce the standard of living of the population to maintain profits and the ability to compete as it had begun to do with Schmidt but could not continue. The Kohl government is going to take measures against the foreign workers, is going to seek to unload on these the most important consequences of the crisis. That is to say, they are measures that any government which maintains itself within the capitalist system has to take, because they answer to the need of the capitalist system as a system. For this reason there is such a crisis in the Social Democracy throughout Europe because this programme clashes with the petit bourgeois base and with the workers' aristocracy itself.

The loss of votes of the Social Democracy in the previous elections was the result of this process. It was the demonstration of the rejection of the capitalist policy of the Schmidt government and of his submission to imperialism. Hence in all the regional elections previous to that of Hessen, the SDP lost votes and the ecologists increased, and there were also abstentions. The maturity of the population was shown in the fact that when the regional election acquired a superior political character because now the political manoeuvre of Genscher was in motion, votes were concentrated in the SDP but accompanied also by the increase in the Greens who tripled their votes, whilst the CDU lost votes and the Liberals practically disappeared. That is to say, this was a clear declaration against the Right and for the Left by the masses.

In Bavaria this conduct was repeated, which was not as the lying bourgeois press says a triumph of Strauss. On the contrary, Strauss lost one per cent, which in the present conditions was a political defeat, the SDP increased and the Greens doubled their votes, and the Liberals again practically disappeared. It was not a regional election, but clear declarations against the coup d'etat of the CDU and of Genscher.

The attitude of German capitalism in throwing out Schmidt without calling elections and having the demonstration that the population

even being critical of the government, were against the change of the CDU, shows the dictatorial form with which they have to decide and work in this stage. Capitalism is proceeding in a process in the world which it does not control nor understand, and sees its end. It has to prepare the war against the Workers States, but they have to compete among themselves to survive while the opposition against its plans advances within their own ranks. They see that the Workers States are elevating their relations and their authority in the world. The process in Poland, even with the difficulties of the lack of a Party, go towards forms superior as a Workers State and hence the Church does not seek to question the system of the Workers State. The lying hysteria of the capitalist press is precisely to hide this process, which is a crisis but one of the superseding of previous errors and of progress which is elevating the functioning of the Workers State.

But, in the capitalist countries, the crises develop through the disintegration of the capitalist apparatuses and against the principles of power and of the capitalist regime against private property. In the Workers States the crises are going to develop and impose Socialist principles, or towards Socialism, which in not being applied in the Stalinist stage created deformations which today are being overcome.

In capitalist Europe new conditions exist for which capitalism has no policy. Hence such abrupt actions as in Germany. In France there is a government with a foot outside capitalism, although it does not use it much. There is Greece and a Socialist government which has a programme which goes towards a Revolutionary State; in Sweden Social Democracy is going to government with a much more Left programme. In Spain, whatever may be the result of the elections, the dominion of the bourgeoisie is breaking and, however limited the programme of the Spanish Socialist Party, it is going to have to take a measure of a certain progress, and hence it has to confront the capitalist system. The single fact that this is against NATO, although it may not be animated to come out immediately once they go to government, limits the capacity of the manoeuvres of imperialism. To the situation in Europe it is necessary to add the catastrophic political and social consequences for imperialism of the events of the Middle East. In Latin America the nationalist revolutionary process is elevating, in the measures of the Mexican government as in the process opened in Bolivia and the continuity of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador. All this expresses in a profound form the world process of the Permanent Revolution.

The world is seeking an order to progress through the anti-capitalist struggle but, above all, through the events in development in the Workers States. Hence the coming together of the Soviet Union and China is the principle factor for the impulse in the development of social

and political progress - because it shows that for the Workers States co-ordination is a necessity which arises from the regime itself, while in the capitalist system all sorts of contradictions develop. At the same time the world sees that it was the Chinese who have had to change, not the Soviets: that is to say that the leadership of a Workers State like China cannot maintain a policy of alliance with the capitalist system indefinitely. Either the leadership changes or the Workers State retreats, but the conditions of this stage of history in not allowing retreat in structure already attained like China, lead to the leaderships adapting to the structure. This is the reason for the change of the Chinese.

It is this relation of forces which exist in the world which means that the killings and massacres which the capitalist system makes in Lebanon via Israel, in Angola, Mozambique and Namibia via South Africa, Guatemala or El Salvador via the Yanks directly or indirectly, do not provoke desperation in humanity but a reaction of combat, of people who have the certainty that the assassin has only numbered days. That is to say, now humanity works with the understanding of the transitoriness of the capitalist system, sees that its killings are part of its final agony. Hence the military triumph of Israel in Lebanon was transformed into a profound social and political defeat, but not of Israel as a country but as a base of imperialism and the capitalist system.

This world process is present in Germany, in the maturing of the masses. Hence it is not the lack of the workers' party or the trade union apparatus which determines the behaviour of the population and of the working class, but the world process which makes it advance. The German population is conscious that the true face of Germany is that of the elections in Hesse and Bavaria and it cannot be expressed more clearly because anyway the elections are not an index of the will of the country. That is seen in the many demonstrations against the installation of the Yankee missiles in Germany, like that of the half a million in Bonn. It is for this reason that the coup d'etat given by Genscher and the CDU is not going to give more stability to the power of capitalism in Germany but is going to intensify its contradictions.

The behaviour of Genscher shows at once how the representatives of capitalism work. They put their class interests above any other consideration in a moment of crisis, including the party which governs. Genscher had no hesitation in maintaining the decision to break the alliance with the Social Democracy even at the cost of breaking his own party and reducing it to nothing. That is now the politicians of the bourgeoisie and their representatives work. They use the rules of the 'democratic game' while these do not harm their own interest. It is an important discussion for the Communist movement in Europe, and also for the Socialists, to see that democracy in capitalism is organised in a form which does not allow changes opposed to private property but, at the same time, allows the

dominion of the state apparatus which represents capitalism and which has powers above the bourgeois Parliament itself. It is enough to see, for example, in Italy a great majority of the Parliamentary representatives declared for the establishment of normal relations with the PLO and the government until now ignored it, declaring that it is still not time for this. That is, in the capitalist system the government and the state apparatus are those which represent capitalism more directly, and for this they have a power above the others. It is necessary to discuss this in the Communist and Socialist parties.

GERMAN CAPITALISM HAS TO RESIST AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

This change of government in Germany forms part of the preparations of war by the capitalist system. That is not to say that Kohl is going to make the policy of imperialism of preparation of the war but he represents the wing of capitalism which wants to have the power to choose the moment of centralisation with the Yanks against the Workers States. It is the sector which has no confidence in Schmidt, which fears a retreat from the historic interest of German capitalism, which in order to live depends on the Yanks and accentuates the competition on the economic plane. Thus they want to lead the competition with the Yanks so as not to go too far. This is the representation of Kohl and Strauss.

Even so, Kohl has no other alternative than to resist the Yanks who want to impose economic restrictions on the Workers States but to limit the capacity of competition of capitalist Europe. As Cde Posadas analyses, the objective of the Yanks in their campaign against the European-Soviet gas pipe-line is because they see that these are measures which increase the capacity of competition by Europe, because the relations of capitalist Europe with the Workers States give a certain stimulus to the economy of Italy, Germany, France and Britain, and even so they have millions of unemployed. But the greater effect is social, because geographically it is logical that the economy of Europe should establish certain principles of co-ordination with the Workers States which allow a base of rational functioning, clashing with capitalist empiricism. This influences the cadres of capitalism and sectors of the bourgeoisie who seek to win time making the policy of agreements with the Workers States. This is the thought determined by the condition of the present stage of history in which the European bourgeoisie sees that the war is being prepared, but it is a war against the Workers States, and it sees that in any case it loses whether the Soviets of the Yanks win, although this latter hypothesis is not possible. It is this condition which develops in European capitalism every type of tendency which doubts, which is insecure and which yields, but because they have no other solution. This process was analysed by Cde Posadas in writings from 1977 onwards, and since then it has developed in a much clearer form. In Germany Brandt represents

partly this sector of the German bourgeoisie.

The Yanks seek to stop this process whether by economic competition or maintaining a climate of war as a means of containing the social, political and scientific influence of the Workers States. But when France goes so far as to make a space trip together with the Soviets, this indicates that the Yanks cannot now stop this process. In order to understand that it is capitalism itself which does this, it is necessary to see that it was not an initiative of Mitterand but that the co-operation with the Soviets was already begun in the period of Giscard.

The situation in Germany is not going to remain like this. The government of Kohl has no perspective of imposing a retreat in the political conditions of the country; there are no conditions for any reactionary turn. They are going to seek as capitalism has to do throughout the world measures which strike at the standard of living of the population, as Thatcher has done in Britain. But the intervention of the working class and the movement for peace are going to elevate. In the SDP it is not Schmidt who is going to lead but Brandt, and from him to the Left. Hence the bourgeois press already

sees the fantasm of the British Labour Party, seeing Brandt in the clothes of Foot. In a different form the process which is developing in the SDP has the same depth as the process in the Labour Party.

Throughout Europe the Social Democracy is in crisis, but not as the result of its maturing but of the crisis of the capitalist system which prevents this, continuing its previous policy. The discussion in the French government on the programme of the government is part of this process, which shows the limits of a policy which does not develop anti-capitalist measures. At the same time, it is necessary to intervene in the crisis of the Socialists and Social Democrats in Germany on the basis of the conduct of the masses and of the working class who maintain their support in these parties because, for historic reasons, they have not been able to develop better instruments. Among these reasons is the bad policy of the Communist parties in the Stalinist epoch which formed closed apparatuses incapable of interpreting the masses and the world revolutionary process. Hence the Communist parties of Britain and Germany retreat and lose votes at every election. It is not, for example, in Germany that there are no conditions for a Left of the SDP. It is true that the Greens increase

votes constantly. But even they do not have another perspective than to support the development of a Left within the SFP with an anti-capitalist programme. The Greens have no possibility as a movement alternative to the SDP. The working class does not go to the Greens, maintaining its class centralisation in the Social Democracy, but not passively.

The conclusions from the change of government in Germany show the necessity of an elevation of the intervention of the Communist and Socialist parties, which anyway are obliged to answer although they may not have the preparation to do it. But the development of this process is not determined by the lack of leadership in each country, but in the stage of the final crisis of the capitalist system, the maturing of the masses is attained through the world process where those who lead are the Workers States and the Soviet Union.

19 October 1982.

THE ADVANCE OF THE LEFT IN PORTUGAL

The process in Portugal is going to have a favourable outcome for the Left parties. Capitalism has tried to represent Portugal as a country where the initiatives of the masses have been successfully contained, but all these arguments are coming apart.

It was inevitable after the inability of the Left army leaders and the Communist Party to complete the course of the Portuguese revolution that opportunities should present themselves to the forces of reaction to re-gather electoral strength and attempt to throw back the gains of the revolution. Superficially they have won some formal victories, but the foundations of the Portuguese Revolutionary State - 60% nationalisation - remain fundamentally untouched. As elsewhere it is the existence of the Workers States that has allowed this to continue.

The reaction has been pre-occupied particularly to liquidate above all the most outstanding political continuities of the revolution, that is, the army council and the constitution which poses that the objective of Portugal is to be Socialist. The former was abolished but the latter has proved to be most intractable. However, the forces of reaction are not the forces which decide the fate of Portugal. All the structure of the world process reinforces the Left parties and tends to create doubt and lack of cohesion in the forces of the Right. Moreover in Europe the success of the Socialist Party in Spain, the existence of the Mitterand government in France, the success of the Socialist and Communist parties in Greece, the advance of the Left in the German Socialist Party and that of the Labour Party Left in Britain, with the perspective of major struggles to come against the missiles

The most recent crisis, with the resignation of Balsemao of the Social Democratic Party as Prime Minister has been brought about by the unfavourable electoral results - a loss of 4% in the local elections - that indicate an advance for the Left forces. At the same time the great experience of the 1974 revolution, that is, the development of a Socialist revolutionary current in the army based on popular military councils is not an experience which can be lost in this period. The experience of the Portuguese revolution has an importance for the whole of Europe. Portugal, the first Revolutionary State in Europe, anticipates a further extension of this phenomenon throughout Europe and in Greece, etc. It will affect Spain despite the reluctance of Gonzales to interfere with the social structure of Spain.

Soares, whose wing of the Socialist Party has played a prime role in delaying advances in Portugal, will not be able to play the same role in the next stage of the process. All the Socialist parties are driven to the Left in order to survive the pressure from the Communists. Moreover, the presidency has remained in the hands of a representative of the progressive military, that is Eanes. The inter-influence of the struggle against nuclear missiles and the need for progress in the economy of Portugal, to advance from a Revolutionary to a Workers State, will gather momentum in the next stage in Portugal and the inter-influence with the rest of Europe will similarly develop profoundly

THE PROBLEMS OF WOMEN, CHILDREN AND OLD PEOPLE.

J. POSADAS

(as regards the conception of the Title: Editorial Board. Communists and the feminists on the problem of women).

The Communists enclose the problems of women within terms of developing a sentiment of prejudice and of hostility of women as regards society. They pose that women demand of society a better, more elevated attitude, but they do not propose in the name of what, at the cost of what. They should pose that what has to be done is to transform society and that men are the result of this society. Men are not bad, but the whole development of history has made them as they are. But the Communists, on the problem of women, develop an argument against men and not against capitalist society. They do not say explicitly that they are against men, but they make a competition with men. The force that that creates the problems of women are not men but capitalist society.

Women cannot free themselves as women because the problem is not the 'liberation of women' but the elimination of the capitalist system. The Communists propose 'the liberation of women', but they do not say liberated from whom and against whom this liberation goes. The reason for the slavery of women is not men, but capitalist society which has created vices in men but which - from the origin until now - they have been resolving. It is not that they have been resolving problems with respect to women in particular, but in relation to society because the most important problems are being eliminated, like the existence of capitalism, and on the other hand the Workers States are being constructed.

The Communists explain the function of women and in general life in a particular private form, but

not as an aspect of how society develops - because, at the same time as the development of women is at an inferior level as regards men, intelligence, culture, science and the class struggle developed and the world developed enormously. This is through the unequal and combined process of history which only Communism can unify.

Part of this position of the Communists is the product of the fact of what they see in the Workers States, where the problem of women is still not resolved. But this is a problem of the Communists, not of the Workers State, because they should know how to differentiate between the Workers State and Socialism. They do not see that in the Workers State, even if there are forms of relations of capitalist property, they are not capitalist social and economic relations but the human relations which come from capitalism, and part of this is that in the Workers States there still exists a distribution of wages in accordance with 'each one according to his capacity'.

The Communists separate the problem of women from the whole structure of the process of history and pose it as a separate problem. They pose that in the Socialist countries the problem of women goes on existing, and they do not see that those they call Socialist countries in reality are the Workers States, which is different from Socialism. Hence they speak of 'real Socialism', 'less real Socialism'. They have no notion of what the Workers State is and its difference from Socialism.

In the same way there is no

liberation of women, in particular, but of the human being: men are slaves, with the children and old people. It is not only a question of the problem of women but of children and old people, who pose problems that are more or less the same as women. The feminists, for example, who speak of the 'right of women', do not speak of the children of Nicaragua. They must speak of the children of Nicaragua and see that the problem is not that of women and men but of society and human beings where the woman fulfils a lower function, and thus also of the child. I have written a great deal on this, showing that the child is inferior to the woman because he or she is treated as an object not only by the parents or the brother but by society. The mother, the woman even wanting to and loving the child - otherwise there would not be human civilisation - does not have the capacity, the understanding and the organisation to provide a better treatment, because this is the treatment which capitalism has taught and structured. She sees that education is a necessity to feed human sentiment, but also she has to work all day, deal with the home, the family, and does not have the time to do everything. Thus the child pays the price, and not because the mother does not know how to give such an education, but because she has no time. She may have five or six sons and cannot do anything else.

It is necessary to consider that the problem of women, which exists and on which it is necessary to intervene, has to be united with

that of the children and the old people. I am going to develop much on this theme, showing that women are right in what they pose but that the problem is not resolved in this way but, has to be considered united to the child and to the old person. The child says to the mother, 'You treat me as if I were an animal', and the mother replies, 'But I love you'. To which the child in effect responds, 'No, that is not the problem, but you always put me last; you buy me everything but I am always in the last place of your concerns'. And this is true, and the child feels this. The more society progresses, the children and the old people see this more and more.

Woman, like children and old people, are relegated by capitalist society. But, at the same time, it is necessary to analyse that revolutions represent the fundamental part of the progress of history because these create organs and

instruments to impel it socially: not only economically, but socially. Socially means culturally, intelligently and flexibly. All the problems which capitalism creates - of struggles in the family, between relatives - are eliminated by the revolution. All the social tensions which develop in the capitalist system find the path of their resolution in the process of revolution. In this process the parents, the old people, all find a centre of common concentration of sentiment, of the will in a same objective. Each finds that he is part of this process and all the things which for years they were not animated to speak about comes forth like a stream. As Martin Fierro said, 'The words gushed forth like spring rain'. It is the process of the revolution which is resolving these problems.

8.3.81

J. POSADAS

For the unification of the anti capitalist struggle in Britain and Ireland

The yelps of British imperialism over the proposed visit to London of the elected representatives of Sinn Féin was shortly afterwards accompanied by the careful orchestration of tears and 'outrage' after the Ballykerry explosion, in which both British soldiers and Irish people were killed. Having provoked a murderous situation, British imperialism — with its centuries of accumulated experience in the ability to lie and place its own vile crimes at the door of everyone else — pretends that 'terrorism' is at fault and thus counter-terror is justified. In the last few weeks six people have been assassinated outright by the agents of imperialism and the deputy Leader of the SDLP is right to assume that the professional killers of British imperialism have been liquidating their unarmed enemies. British imperialism has no intention of 'solving' the Irish question. If they had wanted — as Cde Posadas said — they could have found some solution to mitigate the situation, but they have gone out of their way, under a variety of pretexts, to provoke a situation where they try to justify the presence of troops.

This makes the point, and it is very important for the new layers developing in both North and South Ireland and in the British Labour Party, to see that the 'Irish' issue is now inextricably linked to the world struggle between the damp of imperialism and that of the Workers States. For example, it is not possible to separate the massive development of the anti-nuclear movement in Britain as something which has no relation to the crisis of Ireland, North and South. The anti-nuclear movement is fundamentally anti-NATO, and the war in Northern Ireland is one useful to NATO as a training ground to jump on the British masses because NATO represents not only external aggression against the Workers States but internal repression of all sorts. The war in Northern Ireland is a justification for everything, including repressive laws if necessary in Britain.

But British imperialism, despite its murderous repressive behaviour and its killers, is crumbling. They are terrified of ideas and they are particularly afraid of evolution to the Left in both the Labour Party and the Sinn Féin, and even more

terrified when ideas might be discussed to co-ordinate a programme and tactic between the British and Irish masses. Very good at killing people and telling lies about people British imperialism is not very good on ideas. With all their nuclear missiles, they feel intimidated. An evolution to the Left in both the Labour Party and Sinn Féin is quite inevitable, because there is no other way to go. Imperialism has no solution and no social democratic or centre solutions are possible.

The most important aspect in any future discussions between Sinn Féin and the Labour Party is to see that British imperialism will make all its efforts to stay in Northern Ireland, not just because of Ireland but because of Britain, NATO and the coming encounter with the Soviet Union. As Southern Ireland is now becoming more and more unstable, imperialism wants to co-ordinate operations with the feeble Irish bourgeoisie against their masses as well. The logic of this is again that there is no separate 'Irish' solution. To get British imperialism out of the North requires a joint programme of social transformations and mass mobilisations. A purely military campaign will not succeed. Now, in particular, the most important 'military' contribution is political programme and co-ordination. This has never been tried before, and that is why British imperialism in its growing social and political weakness reacts hysterically.

It is happy with a war of bombings and shootings. It will endeavour to use that, and there is no doubt that it has stimulated incidents themselves. It is not excluded that the recent Ballykelly explosion was intended to prevent discussions with the IRA and the Labour Left. Certainly those who isolate the military struggle from the programme of Socialist transformations in both countries, render a service to imperialism.

The results of the elections in the South only further demonstrate the ever-growing crisis of Southern capitalism. The fact that Fine Gael has to depend on a party — the Labour Party — with a programme of statification shows in

the most dramatic manner the weakness of capitalism. The problems of the economy, which are insoluble in the terms of capitalism, allow no basis for a stabilisation of the country favourable to imperialism. But a united front of all the forces of the Left based on the workers' party, the trade unions and the Left of Fianna Fail and the Labour Party in the perspective of a unification of all the forces of the British Isles, gives a real perspective for Ireland. Southern capitalism has always been a feeble force in comparison with other capitalist powers and now, with the total crisis of the whole world capitalist system, its own internal crisis is magnified to an intolerable extent. Imperialism North and South can only offer the bullet and generalised repression as its solution, but even here they are not in a social and political position to have any effect.

For Northern Ireland the struggle of the Left in the unions in the rest of Britain is going to have an effect. The Protestant masses are being oppressed just as the Catholic masses, and the basis for the aristocracy of labour which gave a basis for the Protestant ascendancy is undermined by the crisis of the whole system. Foot has placed an emphasis on the unions, but that requires an organised Left that does not conciliate with imperialism on the issue of violence in Northern Ireland. The responsibility for that is British imperialism. The people who support the British war in Northern Ireland are the same who support capitalism having nuclear weapons and preparing to attack the Soviet Union. The Left in Britain can contribute by the elevation of the trade unions in the North, and this is the way to integrate the Protestant masses into the anti-capitalist fight.

There is no struggle of the Catholic versus the Protestant masses — it is only the hired murder gangs of British imperialism that are responsible for the 'sectarian' murders.

Unionism has been in process of disintegration for some time. It is necessary to give it the coup de grace with a more audacious policy of social transformations

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of the situation there. On the contrary, Poland is a major disaster for capitalism for there we are seeing even in the absence of fully functioning and prepared Party, that the working class is exerting its pressures and criticisms so as to effect its full participation in the running of society and not just the economy. It is a protracted process, because of the lack of continuity from the epoch of Bolshevism, but the process of continuous adjustment and criticism is profoundly favourable to Socialism and the attacks of capitalism, like those of Reagan, read like gibberish. Thus, they drone on about deficiencies in the Polish state, while hundreds are massacred in Lesotho and capitalism pretends not to see.

MASS CAMPAIGNS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

In Britain all the plans of imperialism are going awry. The massive demonstration of the women at Greenham Common is a formidable blow at the policies of capitalism and tends to stimulate further interventions of the population. The movement against the nuclear policies of the Thatcher clique is now committed against NATO and in favour of civil disobedience to the establishment of the Cruise missiles. The support given directly by Foot is also fundamental. The campaign against nuclear weapons has profound importance because it is a movement against the fundamental aggressive and predatory nature of capitalism itself. Capitalism is mortally afraid of this movement, because it is the objective alliance between the forces of progress of the Workers States and the masses of the capitalist countries which reject the lunatic policies of the ruling cliques. Thatcher has organised a form of internal 'coup' in the Conservative Party to immobilise her opponents and prevent discussion, but all this has failed. She is not the 'fuhrer' she would like to be, rather her policies lead to demoralise many sectors of capitalism. These layers do not adopt Socialism, but they are a dead weight against the schemes of the top cliques. When the Church of England, which is after all a part of the state apparatus of capitalism, takes an unfavourable view of the policies of the nuclear arms race precipitated by imperialism, this is an indication of a profound historic defeatism in the heart of the capitalist system.

THE THATCHER REGIME HAS NO IDEAS AND NO SOLUTIONS.

The Thatcher government has nothing to suggest to find a solution for the problems of capitalism except more of the same. More missiles and less employment. It has not presented one convincing argument on anything. It is a harpy government which only destroys. Its policies are thus steadily undermining the monarchy, whose association with the Malvinas episode discredits its normal pretensions to be 'above politics'. Its role is being dragged under by incapacity of capitalism to find a solution to its crisis. Thus it is possible for the Left in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions to be far more audacious in their opposition to the capitalist system. The TUC has been obliged to support another mass demonstration against unemployment, but it is necessary to mobilise the mass of the population on active policies combining rejection of nuclear weapons with a campaign for social transformations. The women at Greenham Common have shown what can be done. The Left has to discuss much more, to homogenise itself, so as to develop a common policy that unifies all the sectors against capitalism. It is necessary to bring the process in Ireland into the heart of the political discussion in Britain. It is necessary for the Labour Left to discuss with Sinn Féin and with sectors of the Left in the Republic, to develop a common platform and perspective. Above all, there has to be a principled and unrelenting repudiation of the policy of British imperialism in Northern Ireland, which has reached even more brutal levels with shoot to kill as the sole programme and policy. This is the level of those who preach 'the joys of our democracy'. That really means democracy for capitalists — and not for all of them — and death to those who believe democracy should be applied to Ireland and that therefore British troops have no right to suppress and destroy the Irish people.

It is necessary for the Left in the Labour Party and the unions to prepare to intervene in the elections with all the arguments to repudiate the lies of capitalism against the Workers States, to explain the process in Poland, to show how the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan means the progress of that country in social and political reform, and that the 'guerillas' are simply trained bands of assassins with no social support, that the Workers States are everywhere in the forefront of social progress, that there is no need for an arms race, and that capitalism breeds war as a necessity of its structure. The electoral campaign can be a means not just of protesting against the evils of capitalism but showing that the only solution for Britain, the only way it can advance, is by placing the economy at the service of social needs and that democracy means not just electing a few Members of Parliament, although this may be very useful, but the full participation of the population to decide the functioning of society. In this way, it is possible to prepare the road for the combined fall of capitalism and the monarchy — twin pillars of everything that is anti-democratic and reactionary. 1.1.83.

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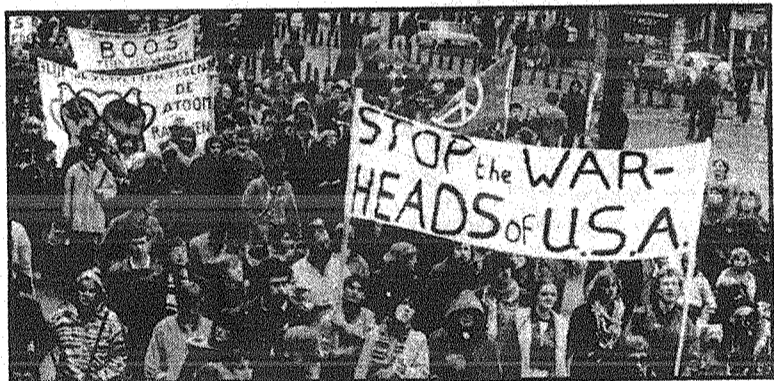
J. POSADAS

THE ORGANISATION OF A CONSISTENT LABOUR LEFT AND THE BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES

All the events of the last days show conclusively that the Soviet Union is the decisive world centre. On the fundamental world question of war and peace, the Soviet Union has the initiative. Every new Soviet disarmament proposal — and there have been many in the last period — reveals all the defeatism, uncertainty and disintegration of world capitalism. Gromyko's visit to capitalist Germany (FDR) highlighted the reality of the world balance of forces. Gromyko went with the connivance of the German bourgeoisie, clearly, and spoke, like an honoured guest, to the German Parliament. There was no protest from the bourgeoisie and none of the demonstrations of opposition that greeted Reagan. The German bourgeoisie could have organised demonstrations if they had wanted to, even if they had to pay people to demonstrate. Gromyko was not treated as the representative of the historic and class enemy of capitalism, but as a determining factor in the character of the next government of the FDR. The German bourgeoisie extends its relations with the Soviet Union and the other Workers States in order to assist its economic competition with Yankee imperialism, and, above all, because it wants to survive at any cost. A large proportion of them is not certain that the war which Yankee imperialism prepares will destroy the Soviet Union, but it is absolutely certain that it will be destroyed itself in the process. Gromyko's visit focuses attention on Germany which is anyway an important factor in the world capitalist system, but it is symptomatic of the world process.

THE GROWING UNITY OF THE WORKERS STATES.

We are in a stage of history when the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States become increasingly unified. The growing rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the Chinese Workers State is a central aspect of this. In fact, the recent intervention by the leadership of the Chinese Workers State in Africa, supporting the progressive and revolutionary movement with material aid, is roughly the same policy as that followed by the Soviet Union. There may not yet be a unity between the Soviet and Chinese leaderships but there is an advance in this direction. Imperialism and world capitalism are going in exactly the opposite direction. They agree on nothing! Important sectors of capitalism, even within the United States itself, are directly opposed to the war preparations of Yankee imperialism. The American Catholic Church, which is very rich and well connected with high stratas of the bourgeoisie, is now opposing the war policy of the Yanks. Reagan is forced to remove one of his negotiators in the middle of talks with the Soviet Union in Geneva, over a disagreement on what Yankee policy actually is. Indeed, Reagan himself has retreated from former positions and his 'State of the Union' speech sounded very much like Carter.



European anti-missile demonstration

This is why the Soviet intervention has such a profound effect in accelerating the disintegration of the capitalist system. At the same time, the Soviet Union is giving confidence and leadership to the powerful and growing movement against the war preparations of imperialism.

Another, and important, facet of the total crisis of capitalism is in the financial field. Apart from war preparations capitalism has very little left but financial juggling. The leading teams have very little interest in the development of the economy. This means that the present financial crisis is particularly crucial. When Thatcher agrees to contribute to an IMF loan to Argentina, it isn't to repair the damage done to capitalist interests in Latin America by the Malvinas invasion. The prime reason for this loan is that world capitalism feels that if one country defaults on its debts, the whole structure of world capitalist finance will collapse. If Argentina defaults, Brazil — even more in debt — might very well refuse to repay the external debt also; and there is a very strong current of bourgeois public opinion in Brazil that wants to do just that. World capitalism and Thatcher feels that it is on the edge of an abyss.

The 'Franks Report' and the Thatcher visit to the Malvinas are both acts of real desperation. In the former, the Thatcher clique tried to hide the aggressive, imperialist nature of the Malvinas invasion; and in the latter, it tried to stimulate its own people. It failed on both counts! The 'Falkland factor' is a myth and nobody believes the 'Franks Report'. Thatcher has failed completely to stifle either the criticism and opposition of the masses, or the fear and uncertainty of the bourgeoisie.

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THE INDISPENSABLE FUNCTION OF THE PARTY IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CUBA.

J. POSADAS

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It is necessary to write an article on Cuba referring to all those who pose that in Cuba 'they are taking the measures which go back to private property' (refers to an article which appeared in the newspaper 'Unita' dealing with the steps to private incentive and material stimulus). This statement is not true. They have taken certain measures of concessions to the small producer, but this is not a return to private property. Even so, it is an error. The Italian Communists say that these measures show the 'failure of moral stimulus' when the reverse is the case. In Ethiopia, which is more backward than Cuba and has nothing, material stimulus does not exist. The problem in Cuba, the real problem, is that there is no Party; the problem is and will be the Party. The USSR, because it had the Bolshevik Party, was able to put up with Stalin, the nazis and the siege of world capitalism, and defeated them.

There is a process of disintegration of certain Communist parties and, in Cuba, there is no Party, no prepared leadership. There is no functioning of the Party. Thus the cadres, the Marxist consciousness, the development of the Marxist capacity, are not created. One or other can have the capacity, but it is a question of the whole Party having it. Hence you see my concern to elevate all the comrades of the International to the highest level, with the objective capacity and the most elevated purity, because these are the necessary qualities to be able to understand and grasp the world.

In Cuba there is no education for this, and after so many years of triumph the revolution still has to arrest people and throw out others for corruption. These problems occur not because of conditions, but because there is no Party. For distribution to be in accordance with 'to each one according to his necessity' does not depend on the development of the economy but on

the level of consciousness and capacity of the Party. When this consciousness exists people see, for example, that it is not necessary that everyone must have a telephone, but that one for ten is sufficient. The leaderships of Cuba proceed on the conclusion that if it is possible for telephones to be available, everyone is going to ask for one. But, with an elevation of consciousness, people will say 'not all can have a telephone, we share'. This is how the workers of Poland have acted. People understand that if there is not a house for every family then they share it between two families. That people understand this is a problem of the life of the Party.

In the IV International it is the same. Hence my concern in developing, creating and purifying militant cadres as far as we can, and creating new cadres. This is a problem of the Party, of the leadership.

THE PARTY AS EDUCATOR

History is also a problem of the leadership. The history of humanity is a history of leadership; even in the most elevated problems of culture and science it is a problem of leadership and intelligence. In Cuba they have sought to resolve problems with appeals and agitations, but without the life of the Party or trade union there is no theoretical or political life. In Cuba they made very elevated experiences, but they had to leave them aside because the leadership believes that they were going to make the distribution and each was going to ask to have what was necessary.

If now they have had to throw out 10,000 or 15,000 thieves, the people who adapted and would have been gained would triple in number with a functioning Party. If there had existed a prepared Party they would have seen this from the beginning, for this is a problem of leadership and of func-

tioning of the Party. On the part of the Cuban leadership there are no ideas, there are agitational speeches — not necessary because there is no need to agitate — but without ideas. Among the things from which I have learnt a great deal and have helped me to structure my sentiments and capacity are the speeches which Lenin made before, during and after the taking of power. In the reports there are no changes made, but all have the same route and same objective, although with different velocities: to take power he speaks of preparing the Party so that it understands; it is the Party which prepares itself, it is not a problem of convincing but of preparing.

The Bolshevik Party did this and it was one of the greatest achievements in all history when it carried out the function of 'fireman' (referring to the 'July Days' of 1917 when the Bolshevik Party posed to the masses in the street to postpone the taking of power in order to get the majority in the Soviets). The mass movement was going to take power, and the Party explained to the working class and thus to the country, that it was still not the moment to take power and that it was necessary to wait two months more. It postponed the taking of power by two months without this meaning the disarming of the masses. The Bolshevik Party did this.

This is what we are doing: we are constructing a Party in the middle of the greatest difficulties, are we doing it. I also, constructed myself but at another level — this is the function of the Party, of the ideas and of intelligence. It is in the Party where the greatest level of intelligence is expressed. All the scientists joined together are inferior to the function of the Party. This is the element which

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THE RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN MEETING OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE ELECTIONS IN GREECE.

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The municipal elections in Greece have a very important political significance for the world process. They form part of the revolutionary world ascent which is developing in the world and which has continued with the triumph of the Left in Spain. It is, in turn, the result of the world process. The Socialists and Communists gained more than 60% of the votes, which politically and socially represent a much greater force. The bourgeoisie and imperialism cannot now go back to make of Greece a centre for the capitalist system. Greece is entering into a superior stage of its development towards a Revolutionary State, as a stage to a Workers State. The electoral results express this process, but not in all its profundity.

Practically 90% of the communes of the country are in the hands of the Socialists and Communists: the Communists alone have more than the party of the bourgeoisie. This electoral re-affirmation after the triumph of Papandreu indicates the will of the Greek masses to impel the process of social transformations in the country. Hence the Greek Communist Party has advanced from 10 to 20% of the votes: it is the maturation of the Greek masses who feel secure to go much further than the Socialist government has done till now. This is the result of the influence of the revolutionary world process in Greece. Greece borders Yugoslavia, Albania, Bulgaria — Workers States — which were more backward than Greece and which have resolved the problems of work, of health, of transport and education. The triumph of Papandreu was for the Greek population an impulse to intervene, and a demonstration that they are unified in the will for change.

Greece does not have a developed proletariat with social weight; it is small numerically, but has a very mature vanguard, politically very mature and resolved, with a revolutionary tradition which is expressed essentially in the Greek Communist Party. The country still has an economy in large part agricultural and artisan; with a great and very concentrated industrial complex, but there is no important industrial development for the internal market. The political maturation of the Greek masses was not determined by the numerical weight of the working class but was achieved through the influence of the world. The world experience is that nowhere is there a progress through the capitalist system of private property. The countries who want to progress have to act as the Workers States or as Mexico did recently, statifying the private bank. Nicaragua, one of the poorest states and which was almost destroyed by Somoza before the revolution, has through anti-capitalist measures, succeeded in making the population literate, lessened considerably infantile mortality and, for the first time, participates in

world process as a country. This is the transcendent force in the world. The example for progress does not come from the United States or capitalist Europe but from the countries which expropriate big property, which plan production in accordance with the needs of the population, and which allow the social and cultural development of the masses. Hence the small peasants, small proprietors, small traders, do not seek progress by means of the increase of individual property, but are won to see progress through social development and to see that the progress of the economy has to serve the population.

The elections in Greece are a confirmation of this process. Capitalism was hoping for a loss of PASOK and of the Communists in order to make a campaign seeking to re-take the initiative and to weigh on the Right Socialists to contain the government, but also to justify the preparation of a coup. They are going to seek to do this anyway, because the top sectors of the bourgeoisie and imperialism have no other way of intervening. The electoral result is an elevation of the decision of the population against the capitalist system, against NATO and the Yankee bases in Greece. The efforts at a coup which imperialism is going to organise through NATO in Greece are going to clash with this structure already reached through the process of the class struggle in Greece.

The triumph of the Left means a support to the progressive measures taken by the Socialist government. The laws of the trade unions, the right to strike, the wage increase given by Papandreu at the initiative of the government, the institution of the sliding scale of wages, the reduction of the civil powers of the Church, are very important conquests for the population. The vote was a political vote, one of impulse to the deepening of these measures, because in themselves they are insufficient to bring Greece out of backwardness, from capitalist neglect. Hence the increase in the votes of the Communist Party have a very important significance, and it is an experience for all the Communist movements.

The Greek Communist Party has a fundamental function in the process of the transformation of the country. The capitalist press and part of the Communist press of Europe like that of Italy, seek to diminish the importance and weight of the Greek Communist Party, defining it contemptuously as 'pro-Soviet'. The Italian Communists have reached the point of giving more importance to the so-called Communist Party of the 'Interior' or being 'eurocommunist', a party which has one per cent of the votes and no Parliamentary

Deputy. This party entered the election in the lists of PASOK to conceal its failure. It is a group sustained by a small circle of intellectuals and petit bourgeois, but has no perspective as a Communist Party, above all through its policy of opposition to the Workers States. The Communist Party did not have a correct tactic in front of the process before the Papandreu government. It maintained a position of dispute before PASOK which is anyway obliged to advance. Hence, once in the government it has taken measures which favour the anti-capitalist struggle in Greece. In this sense, the most necessary tactic was critical support to the Socialist government, which does not mean adaptation to the limited programme of Papandreu. It is necessary to make, as in part the Communist Party has, a campaign and a discussion to show that the programme of PASOK is just a stage of a struggle which has to advance towards a Workers State.

But even not having this tactical attitude, the fact of having proposed an anti-capitalist programme, of having maintained the defence of the Workers States — gave security to the workers' vanguard of Greece to intervene. Thus the Communist Party could represent the maturing of the masses in their anti-capitalist will. Hence, when there was the triumph of PASOK in 1981, this was not done at the expense of the Communist Party but the latter increased its votes, and now has doubled them. This shows that the base which understands the need for a more profoundly anti-capitalist programme is extending in the country and sees in the Communist Party the instrument to achieve this objective. But the most important thing is to see that the worker and Communist vanguard of Greece can intervene with such resolution because the Communist Party did not abandon its characteristics before the population, and presents itself as part of the world Communist movement and as representative of the anti-capitalist struggle.

This is a very important experience for the Communist movement. The Greek Communist Party passed in a short time to having a fundamental political and social weight in the country which has allowed it to weigh in decisions in a very superior form. It has maintained in its programme the anti-capitalist measures of statification, the defence of the Workers States, and rejection of 'eurocommunism'; it is precisely for this reason that it reached such a development. Even with the Party committing tactical errors, at the same time, who intervene the masses see the Party firm in the programme, and see that this is the programme which develops in the world; and, as a consequence, they feel the Party as

an instrument to apply such a programme. This is the security which the Communist militant acquires when the Party maintains its programmatic characteristics. But 'eurocommunism' — as it cannot be expressed in the form of programme, policy and experience, because it is an invention without perspective — disarms the Party and brings doubt and insecurity. The loss by the Spanish Communist Party of 60% of the votes is a proof of the consequences of 'eurocommunism'.

In this stage of history the Communist parties have to draw closer to the Workers States and in particular to the Soviet Union. Those who break or distance themselves lose strength and capacity to intervene, because the experience of the masses unites them to the Workers States. World events, from the massacre of Israel in the Lebanon up to El Salvador, show that imperialism is preparing war, and that if it were not for the existence of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States it would already have launched it. The masses of the world feel that the very existence of the Soviet Union is its major point of support in the struggle against capitalism. They cannot formulate it thus theoretically, but they work and show such understanding. For this, they cannot have confidence in the Communist parties who place doubts on the experience of the Workers States and who seek to show the problems of the Workers States, like those of Poland for example, as the same as those of capitalism. The maturity of the masses impels them to intervene in the Party, as in the case of the Italian, to change it; but this policy anyway deprives them of the capacity to bring along other sectors, and does not develop the cadres in the clarity of the anti-capitalist programme.

It is the backwardness of the Communist leaders and their lack of theoretical and political understanding which makes them doubt the experiences of the Workers State. The masses are much more advanced than these leaderships and express this when they mobilise against NATO and the Yankee missiles, and when they desert the mobilisations which their leaders organise over Poland and Afghanistan.

The Workers States are the instruments constructed by history as a transitory state toward Socialism; that is to say, to develop measures which elevate the social and economic conditions to construct Socialism and, at the same time, who intervene to liquidate what remains of the capitalist system. They are the instruments of humanity, not of the working class of their countries. As Cde Posadas taught,

re-taking the analysis of Lenin and Trotsky, the USSR is an instrument of the world working class, it is the 'lighthouse which illuminates the world'. Anywhere in the world the masses consider it as such. Not only the working class — the influence and authority of the USSR transcends the proletariat; it is the centre for the intellectual vanguard of humanity.

This is the process which is expressed in Greece but which the whole world is living, and that the Communist movement must discuss. In Portugal and in France also, the two Communist parties elevate their participation in the process of the class struggle. If the Portuguese Communist Party committed important tactical errors previously it increases its strength in the working class and has practically doubled its votes, like the Greek Communist Party. The French Communist Party, after having been the champion of eurocommunism, changed — even making an internal cleansing, throwing out a whole group of those who have nothing to do with Communism, maintained their strength in the working class, and increased their political weight in participating in the government of the Left in France. It is not correct to believe that this has been a present of Mitterand to the Communists, but the consciousness that these are the determining force in the proletariat.

In the stage in which capitalism is exhausted and is preparing war, the Party which represents the programme of the Workers States has an indispensable function, although not in all the countries is this process expressed through the local Communist Party. But, in these countries of Europe — particularly Britain and Germany — where the proletariat is concentrated in Social democratic parties, a Left has developed which is close to the Workers States and to the USSR. It is enough to see that the Labour Party has positions which are, in important aspects like those of nuclear arms, to the Left of the Communist parties like the Italian, for example. It is necessary to discuss these conclusions in the Socialist and Communist movement. At the same time, it is necessary to expect the influence of this process within the interior of all the Communist parties, especially of the Italian and the Spanish. The triumph of the Greek Communists increases their force to intervene in the process of Greece and of the world. But it does not mean that all the problems are resolved, and that it is necessary to expect a continuous growth of the CP for the anti-capitalist transformation of Greece. A united front of the Communists and Socialists, of the Posadists and of all the Left movements, to impel and develop the participation of the masses in the leadership of the country is necessary. It is necessary that the Communist Party intervene through the critical support to the government of Papandreu

because this is the form of power aimed at the sectors who support PASOK as a centre to make the country progress. There is no perspective of development for Greece without anti-capitalist measures, without expropriating big business, without the planning of production to be able to develop transport, make roads, houses, hospitals, schools, to organise agricultural provisioning and production for the population. If they do not take anti-capitalist measures it is possible to advance a little, as the government has already done, but the advance cannot be stable because capitalism has the means to elude them. Hence it is necessary to discuss the experience of the increase of wages given at the beginning by the government, and which is already overtaken by inflation. That is to say, more profound measures are necessary against capitalism which cannot organise a better, more honest, administration. This helps but does not resolve the problems basically.

It is necessary that the Greek Communist Party supports the government, but at the same time that it discusses the experiences which show the insufficiencies of the programme of Papandreou. It is necessary to discuss the experience of the government of the Left in France, which limited to the Socialist programme has not been capable of resolving the problems of unemployment and of the closing of the factories. Without confronting the capitalist structures, it is not possible to solve any problems, either national nor regional. This has to be discussed, and to support every measure of progress — even partial and limited. It is necessary to consider that the base of PASOK wants to transform the country, and also part of its leadership. It lacks the experience and the understanding to do it. For this, it is necessary to open a public discussion in the country to impel programmatically the anti-capitalist process. Let there be a discussion of the world experience, of Nicaragua, of Cuba, of Angola and of all the Workers States. Let there be a discussion also of Poland and the progress of Poland and the internal cleansing. Still the insufficiencies are the product of the lack of experience and of the formation of the Party; there is no attitude on the part of the Polish population, opposed to the Workers State, but criticisms of the leadership, and this has to change. While in Poland they throw out and condemn the robbers and corrupt people, in the capitalist countries — in Italy, in France, in Britain, in capitalist Germany — it's the robbers who govern the country and, although denounced a thousand times, they continue governing. The masses see this and hence they understand that the campaign of capitalism against Poland is to hide its crimes. It is necessary to discuss this.

At the same time, it is not a question of being ultimist as regards the Socialist government

over NATO and the Yankee bases, but it is necessary to discuss that the centre of organisation of the resistance to the progress of Greece towards Socialism is NATO, and for this it is necessary to throw them out. NATO is the centre of the organisation of terrorist attacks like the recent incendiary incidents in Greece, which are its means to impede or contain the participation of the Communists in the government or governments of the Left; or the tendencies of the bourgeoisie itself which want more independence from the Yanks, which Moro represented in Italy and which led to his assassination. It is necessary to discuss this, showing that all these plans of imperialism failed like the plans for a coup in Spain, but it does not mean that they abandon them. Capitalism has to prepare and make coups when it can, because it has no other solution, and this is part of its nature as a system.

The Socialist-Communist electoral majority which exists in Greece shows that socially the Left is a dominating majority in the country. It is in this sense that it is necessary to analyse the fact that a part of those who voted in the candidates of the parties of the bourgeoisie in the first round, voted for the Communist list in the second round where the two lists of the Left conflicted. It is not a question of a tactic of the bourgeoisie to weaken the government of Papandreou: the bourgeoisie does not vote for its class enemy. But the bourgeoisie is very weak in Greece: it is not a question of a developed country from the capitalist point view. On the contrary, it comes close to the structure of the countries of Latin America, as Cde Posadas analysed. As a consequence, the bourgeoisie maintains an electorate based on clientelism in the bought vote and not through its social and political authority as, in part, exists in developed capitalist countries. Hence, in the second round, when two lists of the Left were presented, the population did not have a problem in voting for one or the other, including voting for the Communists, because there it could vote freely. In the first round it voted for the parties of the bourgeoisie for reasons of clientele favours and/or all the other reasons which weigh in the vote in the municipal elections. The bourgeoisie abstained in the second round when its party did not present itself. This is the method to analyse and draw conclusions from this fact, which confirms the maturity of the population to intervene in the Socialist transformation of Greece.

We appeal for a discussion in the Communist movement on this experience of Greece. The Posadist IV International participated in this experience in a united front with the Greek Communist Party, including Posadist candidates in two places on the outskirts of Athens in the lists of the KKE. This experience,

begun in 1978, occurred when our comrade was elected as a Councillor in a Communist list who this year, returned to be elected as the one with the highest vote in the Communist list. We put here this consideration because this united front with the Posadists forms part of the quality of the Greek Communist Party, because the world authority of

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resolves problems, which after allows the creation of millions of scientists. It not only creates intelligence but also capacity, security and the objective love for humanity, creates bases which the scientist does not have; the scientist acquires them, but the Party is the condition for this because it develops all on the plane of honesty and truth, of justice and of struggling for what is necessary. It is like the actions of the Bolsheviks and like the sergeant who fought alone against the Czaristas, Chapaev. He had the education of the Party, did not know how to read or write — he learnt afterwards — but he had military ideas, acquired a knowledge of military techniques because these were necessary for the Party. His action was one of the most glorious in all the history of the war. Napoleon was an apprentice by the side of Chapaev because the latter, without arms, created the capacity and the will to struggle. He had a strategy which allowed him to use the diversion of a river or a mountain to win time and allow the comrades to escape and not be killed. Napoleon, on the other hand, was accustomed to great things and to have all the country at his disposal.

In Cuba the Party is necessary as it is the educator of society. But in Cuba it appears as only the leader of society, and it is true that the Party leads society but also educates it. Thus, between the Party which educates and society there is a conscious penetration and relation. If the Party does not fulfil the function of educating, it has to convince people and impose as in Cuba now. It would be an immense impulse if it distributed to 'each one according to its necessity'; it would be an immense impulse to all Latin America, moreover it is the Soviets who pay out not the Cubans. The Soviets give from three to five thousand million dollars a year in payment for the sugar. If the Cuban sugar were sold on the world market they would bring in a third of what they get by selling it to the Soviets. These miserable 'dissidents' do not say a word about this. They are rotten elements, not just mistaken.

They speak of the 'Russians exploiting them', and yet the USSR has given in these twenty years around a hundred thousand million dollars of help to the Cubans and the latter have advanced very little in relation to this help, and still depend on sugar. The strength of Fidel Castro is the strength of the Soviet Union, but the USSR in its turn sustains Cuba not only for the rest of Latin America but for the influence in Ethiopia and Angola.

It is necessary that ideas go from Cuba, above all, on the process in Nicaragua, a fact which measures

Posadism — constructed by its theoretical leader and organiser, Cde Posadas — comes from the clarity of its positions before the Workers States, its unconditional support to these, its anti-capitalist programme, and precision in front of the problem of war which the capitalist system is preparing, and not from its number. We salute the

the strength of the intelligence, is that our movement, being a small group, has made theoretical characterisations of the greatest importance — like the definition of the revolutionary state which is an intermediate stage between the capitalist state and the Workers State, that before did not exist and now does. It is a stage which can occur through the weakness of capitalism through the very great development of the Workers States and through the lack of a centralised leadership which allows going directly from capitalism to the Workers State; thus this intermediate stage occurs. This definition is of the highest theoretical consideration. In the universities it appears as an immense theoretical quality, the scholar defines a state and defining the type of social state is more important than the state of matter. We have also contributed with definitions such as 'political revolution sui generis', which the old International did not understand, which were new forms of the political revolution that Trotsky had not posed.

THE PARTY IN VIETNAM.

We have to intervene in Cuba, supporting them in spite of the tremendous apparatus which exists. An example for Cuba is Vietnam which has nothing, which is very poor, but united all the population and said to them, 'Of what we have, it is necessary to develop a Party for Cambodia', and every one gave. Vietnam has the Party and this has known how to educate the population. Vietnam is educating the youth, re-educating the prostitutes who were so through necessity, since they needed to find the means to live so as not to die, and now they have married, had children and live a normal life. Also they have won a great number of people of the old regime: to re-educate them was very difficult, because there was an immense bureaucratic apparatus and the strength of the programme and the revolutionary leadership can be seen in the fact that Vietnam, with all the difficulties, unified the country which was very complicated because Vietnam was another country and had in common with the

North only the language and customs, and these were relatively small. The conduct of the population is very beautiful, showing the greatest abnegation and the youth have no difficulty with people. There are conflicts, but they are minimal. Vietnam is animated to reconstruct Laos and Cambodia, and has won a great number of refugees who remain, or if they go their children remain. In Cuba also the same has happened, the parents go and the sons and daughters remain.

triumph of the Greek Communist Party, the triumph of the Greek masses who have shown their will to impel the progress toward Socialism in Greece. It is a triumph which strengthens the anti-capitalist struggle throughout the world and develops the authority of the Workers States through the affirmation of the Greek Communist Party.

The newspapers speak of the 15,000 Vietnamese who went to North America, but it does not appear that all leave Vietnam with resentment since the opinion of many of these refugees is that in Vietnam there is an immense progress, above all in the cultural aspect. It is the same concern that they have in Vietnam and Cambodia when they construct schools and hospitals, and where doctors are being educated in plenty. Also, my concern is to construct leading cadres: ten cadres dedicated integrally to this activity are worth thousands. People have the same qualities as we have, but do not have them organised, nor have the capacity, and have not been able to make the experience — and thus we do it. What we are going for everybody, although they may not have been able to make the experience. Therefore the Socialist revolution advances, the more people advance, and give order to thought. Hence the Party is the basis of everything and my struggle has always been to construct it.

The Party is the element which constructs society, but the Party has various stages: one thing is the Party before the taking of power and the other after the taking of power, and another in this stage of history. In this stage of history, the Party is more extended, thus the more capable cadres of the Party have facilitated action and developed millions, which is what I am doing. I seek to procure the construction of a team of comrades who have their minds placed in this activity.

These are problems of life. The best way to resolve the problems of life is the life of the Party. In the Party all the sensations of life live, and the greatest most complete organising sensation of life is that which puts human beings in contact not as men and women, but as human beings. This is the most complete value, because it opens all the gates to all the leaderships and all the steps to go to whatever height. It is the most complete experience there is, including that of having a child. The Party is the instrument of history, and the Communist Party is the instrument of history. It does not have all the right 'notes' but it is the instrument of history and hence our concern is to make our sections and leaderships influence the Communist parties who are going to have to progress.

This has to be discussed in Cuba and to see that the measures which they have taken of material stimulus the Soviets already did in their epoch, but the conditions were different — but now the article has appeared they pose it as a retreat. The Cubans have no other example and thus they must be under the pressure of the Soviets, because

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Serpell the crisis of capitalism and workers and popular control

What details of Serpell Report on British Rail that have so far surfaced are symptomatic of the total and final crisis of the capitalist system. 'The Serpell Inquiry' was not any sort of 'inquiry' but a planning committee for the Thatcher clique. Its proposals, if implemented, would be tantamount to the destruction of the railway network in Britain and prove that capitalism has absolutely no interest in the development of the economy. One of the 'Serpell' proposals - to cut the rail network from 10,800 miles to 1,600 miles - would mean a virtual destruction of the rail network. The Thatcher team prepares for war. As the leading team of British capitalism, it really has no other perspective, and these proposals are an expression of this fact.

As always with capitalism, these proposals are directed against the population in general and the workers in the industry, but they also damage the interests of capitalist industry. The industrialists, for their own profit, need the rail network for the movement of goods and, insofar as the major industrial concentrations and big cities are concerned, for the movement of labour. The team that Thatcher has drawn around herself becomes more and more abstracted from traditional bourgeois democracy and parliamentary government. These 'Serpell' proposals show that the leading team of capitalism is not interested either in the development of the economy or in electoral process. The proposals to end season ticket concessions and to raise by 40% in real terms (on commuter services) affects a whole strata of the population which is the electoral base of the Tory party. This being said, it does not exclude the possibility that the government may keep quiet about 'Serpell' until after the next general election, but this new piece of evidence of the bankruptcy of the capitalist system and its inability to develop the economy is now public.

This report blatantly shows the capitalists disregard for the interests and the very lives of the people. According to 'Serpell', not only is British Rail too big, it is also too safe. If these proposals were carried out and safety on the railways was reduced to the level of that on the roads, it is estimated that 350 more people a year would be killed. Superficially, it might seem that the intention of proposing to cut the rail network is to favour the motor vehicle manufacturers, but these manufacturers use the

railways extensively, and cheaply, to move their production - particularly vehicles for export. In reality, 'Serpell' is part of the picture of British capitalism concentrating its diminishing forces in preparation for war.

In marked contrast, the Workers States are expanding their rail networks in response to the needs of the people and to their growing economies. The Soviet Union, for example, is planning a massive expansion programme in which there will be a 3,000 mile extension, westward, of the Baikal-Amur railway (now already 1,700 miles long). Clearly, rail transport will, in the future, be superseded, but at the moment, it is a necessary and collective form of transport - as opposed to the individual chaos of motor vehicles under capitalism - and an expression of the state of the economy.

One of the most crazy of the 'Serpell' proposals is to close the British Rail Engineering workshops, when there is an expansion of the railways not only in the Workers States but in France, for example. Zimbabwe, with a railway network dependent on South Africa (a legacy of colonialism) has a great need of locomotives and rolling-stock. There is a world market for the production of the British Rail engineering works, and Thatcher's henchmen are proposing to close it down! Even from a capitalist point of view these proposals make no sort of economic sense.

The railway is not only the source of employment for a quarter of a million or so workers but an essential service for a sizeable proportion of the population. There has to be mobilisation of the rail workers to confront the government; the 'triple alliance' of steel workers and miners and rail workers has to be given an organic form with joint committees organised locally. At the same time, the rail workers have to turn to their natural allies: the people who use the rail service.

These proposals would mean a savage blow at the rail workers, creating massive sackings. If Weighe! had not already been thrown out of the NUR he would have been at this point. There is no way for the rail trade union leadership to conciliate with

'Serpell'. The rail workers have already proved to themselves, with the actions to prevent the closure of the Shildon and Norwich workshops, that the only way of defending their jobs is by mobilisations. At the same time, to resist 'Serpell' means to confront the government - and it is not a struggle that can be confined to the industry.

The policy of the NUR (National Union of Railway workers) and other rail unions for a national integrated transport system has to be given a real programmatic form which includes proposals for the control of railways by the workers and the people who use the service. The example of the miners' strikes of the '70's with the use of 'flying pickets' - which successfully mobilised sectors of the population - has to be taken. Committees of the three rail unions and the population need to be organised and, in a campaign to defend the railways, they can form the basis of committees that would run the railways under workers' and popular control.

In all this the Labour Left has a key role. Any campaign against the government, any workers mobilisation, has to form part of the overall struggle against capitalism. The Labour Party has to fulfil two functions. One is to act as a bridge between the workers and the population in general, and the other is that of a political leadership. This means that the Labour Left should play a leading role in the formation of local committees on the basis of a clearly defined programme which includes the extension of nationalisation and workers' and popular control. It has to set this programme in the context of an overall Socialist programme and perspective. This policy of support for, and leadership to, mobilisation of the workers and population has an electoral usefulness also. Many people, commuters into London, for example, who voted for the Conservatives at the last general election, could be won to Labour if they saw a Labour Party prepared to lead mobilisations and to impose a Socialist policy. If the railway workers are to be mobilised against 'Serpell', and it is going to be difficult for the trade union leadership to avoid it, then the Labour Left has to take the initiative. Initially, this has to take the form of the widest possible discussion in the workplaces and amongst the population generally on the basis that there should be an extension of the railways, more public expenditure, and that the railways should be run under workers' and popular control.

GREENHAM COMMON AND THE MOVEMENT FOR UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT.

It is important to see the profound significance of the Greenham Common movement, the massive intervention of women, a movement of life against the system of death, the accumulation of nuclear weapons by the capitalist system. All this has followed from the function of the Workers States which gives a perspective to the population against capitalism.

The women who intervened at Greenham Common received their confidence from both a world and national ambience. The masses see clearly that it is imperialism which murders people in Lebanon, El Salvador, Northern Ireland, and which creates war in the South Atlantic; while the Soviet Union and the Workers States defend the forces of progress. At the same

time, it would not be possible for them to intervene with the decision that they have without an ambience of support in the population as a whole - one which the trade union leadership has done its best to contain and fragment and which the Labour Party as an organisation is unprepared to lead.

Imperialism has been shaken by the power and extent of the anti-

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These fears and uncertainties are further deepened by the terrorist character of the Thatcher clique. The open terrorism of police squads in Northern Ireland, who kill people on any, or no, excuse, has now extended itself to the streets of London. The effect of this is to further weaken the little social support that remains to the capitalist system.

THE FAVOURABLE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES.

The masses are not terrorised. The water workers' strike shows this. As does the actions of the women at Greenham Common. The confidence displayed by the water workers, in front of a situation in which they receive little support of leadership either from the trade unions centrally or from the Labour Party, is a product of the favourable world balance of forces. The same is true of the Greenham Common women. There is no other way to explain this. The water workers follow the ASLEF strike and the Health workers and civil service strike, all of which got little support and no leadership. If they launch themselves in this confident manner it is only because they feel this favourable balance of forces.

It is important, that Foot publicly supported the Greenham Common women. This shows that he is open to pressure for advance. The change of position in relation to the candidature of Peter Tatchell is a proof that he is capable of change and advance. He reflects, in a not very consistent way, the actual balance of forces in the Labour Party. There is a powerful and growing Left in both the Labour Party and trade unions, but it is unco-ordinated. Its advance is limited by the fact that it has no political life, no life of discussion. This means that the world process does not weigh fully. The Left has made certain advances within the structure of the Labour Party and, to a lesser extent, in the trade union. However, that structure tends to keep the Left separated rather than to unify it.

It is now both possible and necessary for the Left to organise itself as a consistent anti-capitalist tendency, and this has to be done on the basis of raising the level of discussion and co-ordinating it on a national scale. An electoral campaign will be under way very shortly and the Left has to use this as a means of discussion, both amongst itself and with the population generally. It certainly has to fight for the programme already attained - particularly nuclear disarmament - but in the context of a discussion on all the experiences which make up the present world balance of forces which is favourable to the advance to Socialism.

19.1.83

nuclear movement and, as in Britain, the women, children and workers on its response is confused.

To contain the movement issues would influence enormously Pym has said the Soviet proposals have to be discussed. party the quality of decision, of Thatcher, to maintain her position force and association with the and affirm the policy of imperialist population. The intervention of the aggression, goes to the Malvinas. women is a profound indication of This is to re-assert the imperialist the elevation of social relations in strategy of confrontation and re- the population going completely pression of the anti-imperialist against all the social relations movements. But imperialism has no generated by capitalism, and anti-arguments. They dare not discuss cipates, as did the rebellion of the and, at the same time, they do not youth in Toxteth, profound revo- have the means of the fascists just lutionary processes.

The fact that Foot, the leader of the Labour Party, supported the demonstration is of the greatest importance and shows how the Labour Party no longer sustains the capitalist system and is obliged to respond to the most progressive advance in the population. Even though Foot is formally agreed with staying in NATO, he aligns himself with the movement against nuclear weapons and against the NATO alliance. In this respect, the anti-nuclear programme of the Labour Party is to the Left of the Communist parties.

The demonstration of the Greenham Common women is an example of democracy in action: not a passive waiting upon the ballot box and its restricted purpose, but a popular intervention combining ideas and action. It is such forces which can be used much more, even in the restricted field of an electoral fight. The Right is always terrified of popular interventions in election time on the pretext that it will lose votes. On the contrary, it only loses the votes of the most timid and conservative. A mobilisation of

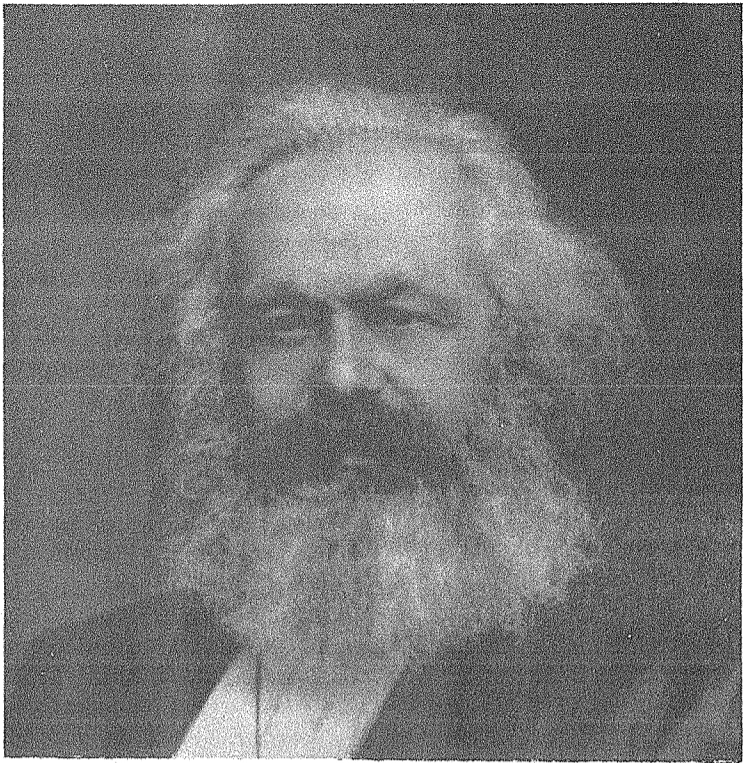
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they depend on them. If the Cuban's sugar sold on the world market they would get a third less than they do at the present moment. The Soviets do this as a form of aid. The Italian Communists should explain the sense of such economic measures which the Cubans are taking. They reduce their importance, and thus they do not explain. The Communists should explain, because otherwise it gives the impression of failure, and so they educate the Communist militant to see that private initiative is good in Socialism. Their objective is to show this for Italy.

J. POSADAS



KARL MARX 1818-1883.

The Centenary of the death of Marx sees the triumph of his ideas in the progress of the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and the remorseless disintegration of what remains of capitalism. Marx developed the most profound achievement in human thought since the Greeks and embodied in his life and dedication, a new stage in human history. October 1917 was the concrete result of his ideas which gave the vanguard of humanity the confidence that Communism was inevitable, and that humanity could dominate its own future. Today, with all the greatest and noblest in human history, from the earliest Civilisations to now and with the creative contributions of Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Posadas, Marx is entirely present, anticipating -as Trotsky said- the "New peaks" of capacity that will arise in the inexhaustible progress of Communism in unity with the Cosmos.

EDITORIAL

THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE FORCES OF CAPITALISM, AND THE NEED FOR AN ORGANISED LABOUR LEFT

The recent interventions of comrade Andropov announcing a new anti-bureaucratic offensive in the Soviet Union, to eliminate the elements of corruption and release the forces of creation of the Soviet population, plus the declaration that the advance towards socialism has to be seen within a world framework (thus in effect burying notions of socialism in one country) have a profound importance. They show the determination of the Soviet leadership to pursue the struggle for socialism unceasingly. Although at this moment a mass Communist International does not exist, as it once did in the days of the Comintern of Lenin and Trotsky, the leadership of the Soviet Union is more conscious of the necessity to operate at the most elevated level and to intervene internally and externally to impel the struggles against the forces of imperialism and internal conservatism.

Yankee imperialism which requires to centralise the forces of world capitalism is more and more in a deepening process of confrontation with its European "allies" over everything from negotiating with the Soviet Union to agricultural competition. Economic war intensifies between the various states and weakens the centralised character of the capitalist system. The visit of Cheysson to Moscow, of Vogel of the German SDP, are all signs of the growing weight of the Soviet Union in capitalist Europe. European capitalism tends to balance away from the Yanks towards the Soviet Union. It is an unprecedented situation and accelerates the decomposition of capitalism as a system.

THE SOVIET UNION DECIDES

In all this process the Labour Party is linked to the Workers States, to the Soviet Union, primarily through the policy of rejecting missile bases in Britain. Hence, the attacks of the most vicious sectors of capitalism against Foot. A whole campaign has been developed against the Labour Party with all manner of mythical garbage about the Labour Party falling to pieces and "Foot has to go". This goes with all the nazi type agitation about the Soviet economy being about to collapse. This shows the character of capitalism at this stage-its only weapons are distortion and lies and fundamentally they have no effect. They may fill the columns of the capitalist press but the capacity of capitalism to stay the course of history is nil. The central issue is not the capacity of capitalism but the need of humanity to organise itself for the stage of socialism. When Pym as part of the stupid campaign against turn to page 4

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RESOLUTION ON LATIN AMERICA

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The Parliamentary elections in Brazil, the general strike of the 6 December, and the mobilisations in Argentina are an expression of the depth of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist process in Latin America which have taken more pronounced forms since the conflict of the Malvinas Islands. The trip of Reagan through Brazil, Colombia and Central America was to contain this process, particularly to contain the national bourgeois currents which, in front of the economic and social crisis, have no other solution than to oppose imperialism. At the same time, it seeks to give security to high finance and the oligarchies linked to imperialism in Yankee support, in front of the revolutionary development in the world and in Latin America. Sectors of oligarchic origin seek a policy of greater independence from imperialism, as expressed in Betancourt in Colombia, imperialism sees the development of the intervention of the masses of Latin America and that sectors before submitted to imperialism now seek to support themselves in the masses to confront it. These objectives of the trip of Reagan have failed completely. He has not won any important economic agreements and, politically, he has had to listen to declarations of independence, in the case of Brasil, and to hostility in the case of Colombia which defended Cuba and condemned Yankee policy in Central America.

Nicaragua, in order to progress, has to do it in this way - otherwise the Yanks would liquidate them. Bourgeois sectors of Latin America with a certain weight see that there is no other solution; above all they see that to continue submitted to the Yanks is death. But neither do they have in capitalist Europe an ally capable of giving a solution, even transitorily, and, as a consequence, they try to gain time, making agreements with the Workers States which offer them opportunities of trade and of investments. It is sufficient to consider the commercial agreements of the Soviets with Argentina, of the purchase of meat and of wheat; and the investments in the construction of hydro-electrical centres or of steel furnaces in Bolivia and Peru by the Soviets; or the proposal made by the Soviets to Brasil to establish mixed enterprises (Soviet-Brasilian) to make great projects of infrastructure in Africa.

which did not pay the debt had its government immediately overthrown by a coup or directly invaded. Today they have to put up with measures like those of their neighbour Mexico, which nationalises the bank and they cannot intervene; with out speaking of Nicaragua which went much further. Hence the measure of Brasil has importance, although it does not mean a change of military government which was the element which pushed the country to this situation, but indicates the profound struggle in the bourgeoisie itself and in sectors of the army for a confrontation with imperialism.

There is a sector of the national bourgeoisie in Brasil, with weight and a certain importance, represented by the ex-Minister of the military government, Severo Gomez, who proposed a national mobilisation not to pay the external debt. General Andrade Seros, ex-head of the General Staff of the armed forces, goes travelling all over the country giving conferences on the same theme. A Senator who was of the party of the government, Teotonio Vilela, today of the opposition and a member of the sugar oligarchy, appealed for a reception for Reagan arms in hand and not paying the external debt. That is to say, the contradictions between the Latin American bourgeoisie and imperialism increase, and this exerts a pressure on these sectors for more profound initiatives.

Reagan went to Latin America without having anything to offer apart from arms to the dictatorships of Central America. Brasil itself did not accept reactivating military treaties broken by the initiative of Brasil three years ago. The bourgeoisie sees that the loan which the bourgeoisie is giving is not to develop the economy or society, but serves to pay the debt with the Yanks themselves and to maintain dependency. Hence the Brasilian press laughed at the loan of a million dollars of Reagan as the external debt of Brasil is ninety thousand million dollars.

At the same time, there is very great maturing of the masses of Latin America, influenced by the world. Without parties, without trade unions, and without democratic rights, the masses have lived politically and have elevated their experience and understanding.

The experience of Nicaragua and of El Salvador shows that the Yanks cannot now intervene and impose as before, because they fear the reaction of all Latin America but also the reaction within the USA itself. But, at the same time, it shows that imperialism seeks forms of intervening secretly, clandestinely, because now it cannot live with the processes of national and social liberation. It cannot do it because, in the present stage of the world crisis of capitalism and of the capitalist system, any process leads to the expropriation of imperialism and the development of a system of agreements with the Workers States, with Cuba and with the Soviet Union.

The failure of the trip can be measured also in the fact that Brasil has resolved to stop paying the external debt, although it may be for some months and although an agreement may be signed with the IMF in which they foresee that the economy of the country will be mobilised to pay this debt. But what counts and is transcendent is that this attitude to exert a pressure on imperialism shows that imperia-

When they can express themselves, they do it at a level which does not correspond with their local experience but to that which comes from the world. Hence, in Argentina, after living for a period of years of dictatorship, the proletariat takes turn to page 3

Mediaeval Festivals, capitalist culture and private property

J POSADAS

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This article by Cde Posadas

is making the point that capitalism, in terms of general culture, is still linked to all manner of detritus from feudalism, outmoded customs that are treated with antiquarian reverence because the present social order wishes to maintain a link with the backward past, because it is itself backward — hence the uncritical attitudes to various past artistic systems (mediaeval, Hindu etc). This continues in many forms, and most of the film and television is still linked to all manner of degrading conceptions, including misrepresentations of history. The advance of culture depends on the elimination of capitalism, the elevation of human relations, throughout the planet and integration with the cosmos.

The cultural and social development of capitalism could not create something superior to feudalism. It had to continue submitting itself to all these motifs like the carnival which is united, anyway, to private property. Fear, timidity, the superstition of the epoch of feudalism which the carnival represented, unites it to private property. They are all superstitions and rites of feudal property and, afterwards, were continued for the use of capitalism, because they coincided with private property. This is what the carnival shows.

It is interesting, although not very important to see the effort of the Poles or of the Hungarian to make a new cinema. It is not new, but it is their attempt to make a cinema which comes out of all this crap.

The Spaniards, during the conquest developed little culture and little technology in production. The superiority of the French and the British over the Spaniards was due to their superiority of technology in production. On the base of the technology and production which they elevated, they needed a better culture. The economy forced them to develop culture. Although there were some people, like Cooke, who was very cultured, or Nelson, they operated as a function of conquest. Thus, in that period, conquest was one of the greatest qualities of the human being. For the Dutch, accumulating money was the outstanding concern as in that painting of the Dutch merchant who is with a young woman and has one hand on her breast and the other on the gold — and he is looking at the gold and so does the woman. Then there is a Dutch painting of 1600, of some children playing with the money of their parents, with the same atmosphere.

The objective of this exhibition(1) of bits and pieces is

to develop and transform illusion to live a fantasy. That is what this amounts to. It has no reason for culture or society, or fraternity or human relations, Basically, to do this is a distraction, to forget the present, to live it but to forget it. This is one of the crudest, oneiric forms that exists for the human being, because it is unreal and totally remote, at the very moment in which a child is being born under water, and the capacity is developing to unite the human being with the cosmos. This exhibition, on the other hand, is an evaporation of the intelligence. This exhibition is organised not only for commerce but for the top layers of capitalism; not the government or the Party, but bourgeois layers with the initiative for this. They make bacchanalias when they do this, and the Carnival of Rio de Janeiro has the same sense. That has the African tradition, it's true, but there was also the Venetian tradition which, in its epoch, was a progress. The Venetian Carnival of 1500-1600 was not like this. It was an exhibition of power, of force against the rest, and Venice dominated a number of countries; but it stimulated culture. Wherever there was a Venetian, they made windows, and people said 'how beautiful'. Someone else came and gave you a window, and that was a shambles. They made some beautiful, harmonious constructions. In Holland, Amsterdam itself, there is a popular area with Venetian windows and with a fine vista. Together with the canals it is a small Venice.

The Vikings have a great place in history because they represented courage, audacity, decision, and the sentiment of investigation in travel. But they are often regarded as barbarians. What they did is the dream of the capitalist traders.

This exhibition records the Middle Ages, the epoch from

1100-1200 and of the Inquisition in Spain. The function of the Inquisition was to stop every form of anti-religious thought. Every thought that would not speak and would not submit to the Church was anti-religious. All this was the epoch of the Inquisition, and they want to record the Venice of 1600, but it is not in this way that it is represented. The Venetians, like the Florentines, were an agile people. They are represented as lithe. In the Carnival of today the Venetian Carnival is not represented. Then, there was a reason for its existence. Venetian society felt itself to be superior to all the rest of Italy, militarily included. It conquered cities, but at the same time as it conquered, it developed a great deal. Now, in this exhibition, only the most retrograde elements are represented.

The reasons for the 'race' in Siena was the simulation of the different communes in confrontation. This is the origin of this game (2). Instead of real fights they made a game, which for that time was a progress. It is not by chance that this was done in Florence.

In Turin they made aggressive competitions. The Carnival of Rio is another type.

These fiestas were not to entertain people, but to maintain the principle of the ruling class that they were the most powerful — the ones who gave orders. They kept people entertained like the Roman Circus. It was a continuation of the Roman Circus, without killing people, but it had the same sense.

(1) Refers to an exhibition of Mediaeval antiquities.

(2) Refers to the 'Palio' (a horse race around the central square in Siena. It originated in the middle ages, where the riders represented the different communes of the region).

THE NUR ELECTIONS, TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY AND THE ADVANCE OF THE ANTI CAPITALIST STRUGGLE.

The National Union of Railwaymen is not amongst the most important Unions in Britain. It does not compare in size with the TGWU or the AUEW, or NUPE or the NUM, but the removal of the General Secretary, Sydney Weighell, was an important event for the whole Trade Union movement. It was part of the break-up of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Trade Unions in the sense that Weighell was a pillar of the most reactionary elements of the Trade Union apparatus.

On the other hand, the election for General Secretary of the NUR shows the crying need for genuine democracy in the Trade Unions. The rules of the NUR forbid candidates campaigning for the election. This effectively ties the hands of the mass of workers in the Union — and the candidate, or candidates, closest to their interests — whilst leaving the apparatus free to manoeuvre. Weighell was not just an individual but a representative of a whole strata of the apparatus which, in the NUR, remains intact.

The electoral rules which leave the elections within the structure of the apparatus necessarily favour this apparatus. At the same time the bourgeois press can — and does carry out its own campaign in support of the candidate, or candidates, most favourable to maintaining capitalism. Thus, the electoral campaign for a new General Secretary of the NUR is carried out through the medium of the bourgeois press, and 'unofficial' circulars are suppressed. This is a bureaucracy which rests on an apparatus, and the most passive elements of the Union membership; as opposed to democracy which allows the full intervention of the mass of the workers.

The Trade Union leaderships, having been largely passive in front of the attacks launched by the Thatcher government on the working class, have mobilised no sector; nor have they co-ordinated the struggles that have actually appeared. The Water Workers follow in a long line of working class sectors who have launched struggles and have been left to fight the government on their own. However, the confidence of the Water Workers in launching and maintaining such a struggle is a measure of the spirit and confidence of the working class. This is determined by the favourable world balance of forces.

If it were not for this favourable world balance of forces the working class in Britain would have been deterred from any real action by the very fact of four million — and more — unemployed; by the fact that 52 per cent of youth leaving school is out of a job. If the working class had a means of expression — an effective leading centre — this Thatcher government would have been brought down long ago. There is a crying need for an advance in Trade Union democracy, for precisely this reason. The existence of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States (Socialist countries) determine that the world balance of

forces is favourable to the advance to Socialism. Part of this advance is shown — in the Soviet Union, for example — in the fact that Andropov holds meetings with workers in the factories: and this is more than can be said of Thatcher or even of the Trade Union leadership in this country. At the same time, Trade Union leaders — and factory or state administrators — who do not represent the interests of the workers are removed. The Socialist countries face a barrage of criticism but they have a great deal to teach to the Labour Movement in this country about democracy.

There has been an important advance, on the organisational and programmatic levels, by the Labour Left; but the Trade Unions remain the most immediate form of organisation and expression of the working class. In the past few years, a great deal has been said about democracy in the Labour Party and who should elect the Party Leader, but very little has been said about the Trade Unions.

There is no democracy in abstract. There needs to be a concrete programme for democracy. At the centre of any programme for democratic advance in the Trade Union is the demand for instant recall for all workers' representatives. At the same time, there should be no financial advantage for representatives, who should be paid the average wage of the workers they represent. Above all, there has to be the means which allow the mass of the workers to intervene, discuss, exchange ideas, and make decisions. Mass meetings and rallies have their uses, but smaller committees in the workplace have to be organised as a medium of interchange of ideas, discussion, decision taking, and implementation of decision. It is easy to see why the Thatcher clique and the leading layers of capitalism favour postal ballots in the Trade Unions: any sort of ballot! They would do anything to prevent the intelligence, in the true sense of the word, of the working class finding a means of expression.

There is little doubt that a General Secretary who is outside of the old and discredited apparatus represented by Weighell will be elected by the NUR. Despite the essentially undemocratic nature of the elections, it is unlikely that Weighell will be replaced by someone of the same 'stable'. Moreover, the situation is constantly changing and demands better leadership. Therefore the election will be an advance, but a very small one compared with what is necessary. What is necessary is an advance of genuine trade union democracy, and this, in a country like Britain, has particularly important implications for the advance of the anti-capitalist struggle.

Scientific, Cultural and Political Editions

War, Peace and the function of the Socialist Countries

A Selection of Articles 1978-81

J. POSADAS

the country along to a general strike which paralyses everything, including the flies. A few days after, more than 150,000 people mobilised in the Plaza de Mayo; that is to say, the population decided to intervene very profoundly and is learning to do it. They are learning from the world process. The movement of the mothers in the Plaza de Mayo before these mobilisations represented this social resolution which was preparing in Argentina. The mothers were not intimidated even when they were the only ones who mobilised, and they assembled to confront the dictatorship. They did not feel themselves alone, they felt and feel supported by the masses of Europe through the social struggles throughout the world and by the Workers States. They form part of the level of social decision which is now a conquest of humanity but which Argentina expressed in the first place in this way.

The struggle of the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo has the same objective of the mothers (mothers and children) in Britain who blockaded with their bodies the entrance to the Yankee military base or of the Iranian women who, with their children in their arms, confronted the armies of the Shah. Hence the dictatorship in Argentina cannot break the decision and the will of the mothers and grandmothers, and it is they who have triumphed. When they pose that they want their children alive - even knowing that the majority are assassinated - they are showing the depth of their decision to go to the end, but not for their sons only but to change the situation which provoked the death of their children. They do not fight for the son or the relative: they want real change: and as there is no political leadership, this movement is expressed in this way because, in the demonstrations and in the general strike, a programme with the depth of the changes which the masses and the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo want is not present. It is true that it is not a political movement, in the form, because the depth of the human sentiment of the mothers of the Plaza de Mayo can only find a response in the struggle for the transformation of society. They are part of the maturity which exists in humanity to change human relations, which is constructing sentiments and conduct which now do not correspond to capitalist society.

This shows the influence of the world in the concrete process of Argentina. When the Soviets receive such demonstrations of affection in Argentina, it is an expression of the understanding which exists in the masses of the world process. The population feels supported in the struggle against the dictatorship and imperialism, for the Workers States and the revolutionary world movement.

Thus it means that these movements of Argentina are much more profound than the simple struggle against the dictatorship. The same is expressed in the movement which is developing in the popular press, which shows the decision to intervene by the population even when they still cannot do it through trade

unions and parties. The movement which extends from the children to the grandparents expresses a level of social understanding and security which is going to determine the content of the process in the next stage.

There is no leadership which represents this process: those who intervene are by-passed, whether it is the unions or the so-called multi-party group led by the bourgeoisie. But these are the leaderships who have the means to make a transitory leap in front of the dynamism of the crisis of the dictatorship and are obliged to do it. Hence a sector of the bourgeoisie comes out, like Alfonsis of the Radical Party who goes quite far in his anti-imperialist proposals. At the same time, in Peronism more profound currents are developing, which partly the newspaper 'La Voz' expresses, whose programme and orientation is 'from Campora to the Left'. They are currents who see in the Workers States an example in order to resolve the problems of the economy and of society, which does not mean that they are Communists. This is a new quality of nationalism which is developing throughout Latin America as a result of the influence of the world process and of the complete crisis of the capitalist system.

The elections in Brasil form part of the elevation of the process in Latin America. The defeat of the military government was much more extensive than appeared in the press. The opposition gained more than seventy per cent of the votes and won the government of the most important provinces, and it is necessary to consider that the opposition was divided into four parties. Another important aspect was the result obtained by the workers' party, led by Lula, which got almost two million votes alone in the province of Sao Paulo, which shows the decision of an important sector of the working class to intervene politically. At the same time, there was the triumph of Brizzola in Rio de Janeiro, who went to the elections with a programme of demands for sectors of the poorest and most in need of the population. Hence, in a short time, his candidature mobilised and attracted the majority of the working class and of the poor petit bourgeoisie which saw in him a more decided centre, one with more possibilities of triumphing than the candidature of the opposition led by the bourgeoisie (PMDBI). The masses have shown a very great maturity in the vote even without leadership and with divided forces they have known how to concentrate the vote to defeat the government. At the same time, in the vote to Lula is expressed a sector of the workers' vanguard and of the petit bourgeoisie which wants to go much further, continuing the experience of an independent party of the working class.

The experience of Brasil is important in order to consider the forms which the process is acquiring. The movement of Lula is still in process of being structured. It is a leadership which is learning on the march, that has no necessary previous preparation. They have not obtained a greater vote because it is still a movement which does

not appear before the population as a political and programmatic centre to resolve the problems of the country, but which presents itself as a workers' leadership which defends the working class but still without representing the whole of the country. That is to say, it is supported and sustained on the social and trade union struggles, but politically it has still not gained the confidence of the population - and in a country without experience of party life, of trade union and centralised life, the leaderships win authority in processes of confrontations and definitions which require a longer stage than Lula and his comrades have lived.

Although the crisis of capitalism is very profound, the rhythm of the process does not wait on the maturing of the movement of Lula, just as it does not wait on the Communists who continue behind the bourgeois opposition of the PMDB. The triumph of Brizola, the declarations of Severo Gomez, of Taotnio Vilela, of General Serpa, show sectors of the bourgeoisie that they have to go further in the confrontation with imperialism, and this requires more profound democratic rights. Hence, this has gone as far as appealing for the creation of a popular movement against the payment of the external debt which is not a simple manoeuvre. As a consequence conditions develop for an alliance with these sectors to impel the anti-imperialist struggle based on the intervention of the masses. Brizola and Severo Gomez want to lead the movement, but realise that to have a public they have to go to the Left. The alliance with this sector does not mean to abandon the experience of Lula but, on the contrary, to participate, maintaining the demands of the workers' movement and advancing in the anti-capitalist programmatic discussion. For this activity the movement of Lula can be an instrument which fulfils this function.

In this stage of history the movement of the bourgeoisie against imperialism has to take on a much greater profundity than in the past. In the world new conditions have developed in which the decisive fact is the intervention of the Workers States which support and help the anti-imperialist processes. As a consequence they give rise to a programmatic profundity in the nationalist processes which capitalism cannot contain. Cde Posadas, who foresaw and analysed this development, called it 'Communist nationalism', that is to say that even on the basis of bourgeois or petit bourgeois leadership the struggle against imperialism in this stage means economic measures and social measures which are much more profound, which escape capitalism. Imperialism cannot offer anything more than arms or investments of the type made in the last period with the dictatorships of Chile, Brasil, Argentina, Uruguay; that is to say, investments for a financial accumulation in a short stage, which represents no progress for the country but, on the contrary, are investments at the cost of the other capitalists, nationalist or not. Hence the dictatorships are in complete crisis, even if the expressions of this are still not open as regards the opposition, as in Chile.

In front of the experiences of

Brasil and Argentina - and Mexico - with their astronomic debts and their lack of development there are the experiences of Cuba and Nicaragua. This has a very profound effect on the intellectuals, technicians, the artists, and in the sectors of the bourgeoisie itself who want to survive. Also, in the armies this process develops in a form of breaking of the rigid homogeneity submitted to the capitalist Command. There are Socialist sectors in the Latin American armies which are still not expressed through lack of leadership. But it is necessary to consider that the process of Torres in Bolivia and of Alvarado in Peru have not retreated the forms change but the process is developing.

The experience of Bolivia shows the maturity of the conditions and the weakness of imperialism to contain this process. The leadership itself of Siles Suazo, who with his policy allowed the previous coup - because he preferred the coup to organising the masses and confronting the reactionary sector of the army - today returns to the government, but now having to take much more profound measures, including encouraging changes in the army which before they had not wished to take, having now to base themselves much more on the trade unions and on the population. It is necessary to impel this process in Bolivia by supporting critically this government and proposing programmatic measures of the development of the economy, of agriculture, the restructuring of the army and breaking its centralised structure in capitalist discipline.

It is necessary to propose that the trade unions intervene in the control of production, of the planning of the economy, but as organs: it is not a question of the trade union leaders occupying positions, but that as organs the trade unions participate in the leadership of the country to maintain the mobilisation of the masses to impede every attempt at a coup, and opening a political discussion in the army. It is necessary to construct a revolutionary leadership in Bolivia which unifies the peasant masses, miners and petit bourgeoisie, with a programme of social and anti-capitalist transformation. But while doing this it is necessary to impel and develop the alliance with this sector of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie which wants a certain development for them, for which they need also the support of the masses; otherwise the layers of the country most linked to imperialism will dominate, bringing along all the rest.

There is no possibility of any solution for the problems of Latin America through the capitalist system. The world market confines and increases in a limited form the competition, particularly within the capitalist system. Latin America cannot aspire to sell its products in the markets of the United States and capitalist Europe. It has no other solution than to develop its own markets and, at the same time, to develop relations with the Workers States. But to develop the internal market they require transformations which allow the planning of the economy, which cannot be done under the actual structure dominated by capitalism. It has to statify and

organise the forms of control of the population.

A federation is necessary in Latin America which allows a co-ordination of the Latin American economies so that these develop. It is necessary to impel the fronts which, from the beginning, are already discussing forms which allow a lesser dependency on imperialism. An expression of this was the proposal for an Organisation of American States without the Yanks, which arose during the conflict of the Malvinas. It is necessary to propose and discuss that Latin America does not pay its external debt, which is the result of imperialist robbery; that the discussion on the constitution of a Federation should be accompanied by a discussion on what programme to put forward, whose objective must be the development of the economy, developing at the same time social relations, incorporating the masses of the poor peasants in production, and providing the mechanical and technical means; that Cuba and Nicaragua participate in the discussions and the establishment of this Federation.

Cde Posadas proposed that, while there were not the conditions for a Federation of the whole continent, to support the establishment of regional federations - partly the failed attempt of the Andean Pact.

This discussion is necessary for the leaderships which are forming. The crisis of capitalism is so profound that it is necessary to know how to intervene in the most

audacious form to use the possibilities created by this situation, not to fear the alliance with bourgeois sectors for these objectives of economic development and of anti-imperialist struggle. At the same time it is necessary to count on the intervention of the Workers States. These are going to intervene in a much more profound way, supporting the anti-imperialist movements in a form that they did not do before, as they are doing now in Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador. This is going to develop the changes in the Communist parties which still follow the policy of submitting to alliances with the bourgeoisie and, as a consequence, do not educate the movements, against capitalism. While the Workers States are disposed to support and accompany all the anti-imperialist movements which develop weight and importance. Hence, while the Brazilian Communists attack Lula and Brizola - to justify their adaptation to the bourgeois leadership of the PMDB - Cuba invites Lula. This attitude of the Workers States, which is world-wide, has an organising effect in Latin America which is enormous, which is going to express itself much more in the next stage.

THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.

12.1.83

THE NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT MOVEMENT AND THE LABOUR LEFT

The discussion in the Synod of the Church of England has some importance in measuring the decomposition within the structures of capitalism. A third of this body voted for nuclear disarmament, and the Synod as a whole voted a resolution opposing the first use of nuclear weapons. This vote, and the third who voted for nuclear disarmament, are blows at the capitalist system. At the very moment when imperialism as a world system is engaged in massive preparations for the final encounter with the Soviet Union and all the forces of progress in the world, a Central Church body linked with the structure of capitalist functioning discusses and decentralises the system. The Conservative Defence Minister is obliged to reject the final decision of the Synod, showing that capitalism is wedded to the first nuclear attack, in other words, initiating war. The Church of England has, in fact, taken the Soviet proposal of rejecting the first strike.

The fact that such a discussion has developed brings out all the weakness and incapacity of imperialism in its last stages. The women of Greenham Common have acted as a vanguard of the population and, although without arms, act in a combative way showing the orientation of the world and the population in Britain - as in the guerrilla attack against Heseltine himself. Without a leadership in Britain, the initiative of the population responding to the advance of the Workers States has brought the discussion of nuclear weapons directly into the centre of political discussion. It is necessary that the Left of the Labour Party enters this discussion profoundly with the necessary arguments against the cynical assertions of capitalism designed to cover their intention of attacking the Soviet Union.

The visit of Bush to Britain and Europe has been a total failure. It was an attempt to combat the influence of the Soviets and weigh on the forces of European capitalism, but it has only demonstrated the social and political weakness of imperialism in the same way that Reagan's visit to Latin America was a fiasco. It is important to see that one of the Bishops arguing for nuclear disarmament said that the Soviet Union has no interest in a

world war - echoed also by the leader of CND, Jean Ruddock. All the mythology about 'deterrence' is falling apart and no longer has the desired effect among large sectors of capitalism itself. All this is a new situation in history in which sectors of capitalism, and linked to capitalism, move in the direction of the other side. It is as though a sector of the cadets in 1917 said: 'These Bolsheviks are not too bad'. Or as if big sectors of German capitalism said to Hitler: 'Do not launch an attack on the Soviet Union'. Such things were impossible then, but now such is the power of the world balance of forces that sectors of world capitalism asiliate in the direction of the Soviet Union. Now, for example, the Spanish Foreign Minister speaks of taking a distance from association with the United States.

The Labour Left has to intervene in the coming election with maximum use of arguments, realising that the fact that the issue of nuclear disarmament has become central in the election is fundamentally due to the weight of the Workers States in the world. Imperialism and capitalism do not want this discussion. It weakens their preparations for nuclear war, it demoralises their war apparatus, and it opens up all the most fundamental issues such as the superiority of the collectivised economy over the system of private ownership.

There is even disorder now within the sectors of the Thatcher Right. Thus sectors begin to quibble over the control over the Cruise missiles. This points again to the degree of importance and disorganisation within the camp of capitalism. Thatcher has no arguments, and the more the discussion proceeds the more her war government is seen to be on the defensive. Vilification of the Soviets no longer serves. All over the world the friends of imperialism are being ejected or exposed. The ruling cliques of the United States have to become more and more clandestine on their real intentions. Reagan started out with threats and fury against the Soviets.

Now he has had to retreat even on the gas pipeline issue. Friends of imperialism, like the Sadat family, are now sequestered in Egypt and the Barbie trial in Lyons - a veritable united

anti-imperialist front of Bolivia and France - shows the truth about the Yanks and their nazi friends - protected and helped until the next attack on the Soviet Union and the advance of progress.

All these events are not small, they are major blows at the capitalist system as an historic system, and they come from sectors also within that structure. The anti-nuclear movement in Britain, with its demand for leaving NATO, is an indication of the very elevated conceptions from the population itself, and the Labour Left can push this forward with all possible dynamism. It is possible to go much further in discussion with the population, and to join the campaign for the prevention of Yankee Cruise missiles in Europe, with elevated demands for trade union democracy, workers control in the factories, the linking of the struggle against nuclear weapons with demands for social transformations, which are forms not only of resisting the reduction of the standard of living but actions against imperialist war policy and the stimulus to impel the struggle against the government totally. It is only the lack of preparation in the Labour Party and the Unions that impedes the connection of all these struggles in a gigantic offensive against the system of death, which is capitalism. The more elevated the struggles, whether Trade Union or those of CND, the greater the capacity to advance towards a Labour victory in spite of the electoral fraud, and a situation where the timidity of the Trade Union leadership and the fact that elections under capitalism give weight to the enemies of progress and elements of no value to human progress, limit the outcome. Capitalism is rightly fearful of the coming elections. The force of the CND movement is, in many respects, a substitute for the lack of an organised party responding to the masses, and shows the immense force which exists to disorganise and liquidate capitalism.

J. POSADAS

society, and also and at the same time, so that in the universities the problems of the Workers States should be discussed.

It is necessary to discuss in the Universities the social problems of the world and the fact that the Socialist countries who were nothing before have succeeded within sixty years since the Revolution of 1917 in constructing the Soviet Union of today. During this period, what have Greece and Italy done? It is necessary to show scientifically that the Workers State is infinitely

superior to the richest capitalist country socially, economically and scientifically, because it develops the objective sentiment and prepares the social condition and human relations under a superior form. It does not develop individual interest, individual egoism, individual orientation and conclusion. It develops individually the social objective of the progress of society. Scientific knowledge must serve that-

J. POSADAS. 12.12.1978.

EDITORIAL from page 1

the Soviet Union makes great noises over the poor "dissidents" E. Powell intervenes to say that if the Soviets started to go on about people in Her Majesty's prisons, this would not be considered proper at all. This attitude on the part of sectors normally considered of the right, demonstrates the fragmentation of the forces of capitalism as does the dispute over the cruise missiles where sectors of capitalism linked to the right reject sole Yankee control of the missiles.

There is a constant progress of the forces of the population against the Thatcherite regime and its miserable actions of unemployment, privatisation and reduction of social services. When harpie Thatcher speaks of the virtues of the Victorian era this only confirms the onset of complete derangement. The small clique of predators that she represents live in a private dream world where they think they can do as they will. But this private world has no relation to reality as the strike of the Water workers showed. These workers shattered completely the Thatcher government and showed that in spite of the passivity of the trade union leadership, the government is so weak that a determined group of workers based on the support of the population can win. The wage improvement isn't the most important gain, much more important is that it is a political and social defeat of capitalism. It was a means not only defending the wages of this sector of workers but accelerating the Labour Party at the same time and outflanking the trade union leaders. The crises developing in the coal industry show the potential for resolute actions against capitalism. The fact that Thatcher's plans to try to impose Macgregor, the liquidator of the Steel industry, on the Coal industry meet with resistance within the Conservative Party is another example of the profound dimensions of capitalist disintegration and lack of solution.

THE BURBLINGS OF CAPITALISM HAVE NO EFFECT

Having suffered a disastrous rout at the hands of the Water workers, capitalism made a great effort to turn the defeat of the Labour candidate at Bermondsey into a historic event. This only exhibits the very limited resources of capitalism. It is clear that a sector of the left abstained, and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie used the opportunity to register a protest vote by voting for the SDP-Liberal sector, but what happened to the Thatcher candidate? Loss of deposit. This is the reality. Moreover the sectors who abstained were delivering a kick at the Labour apparatus that complicates the life of the Labour Party and does not respond to the needs of the population. If an organised consistent left had developed roots in the Labour masses, this conduct by the Labour vanguard would not have occurred, but because these see the incapacity and also the rotten elements that still survive in the apparatus, they kick that apparatus hard. When capitalism tried to claim this election as a victory, it is part of a campaign to animate the right in the Labour Party to greater action. That is the significance of the 'Militant' expulsions, to create complications; but it has no prospect of success and shows only decrepitude and debility. Capitalism makes a great noise but history pays no attention.

The advance of the left currents in the Labour Party can be seen in the visit of Livingstone to Northern Ireland where he emphasised the poverty of the Catholic masses as among the worst in Europe (particularly galling for Thatcherism when the European bourgeoisie - as part of its war with Thatcher and the Yanks - intends to investigate Northern Ireland). At the same time the Labour left is celebrating the Centenary of Karl Marx and is showing in this way that the objectives of the left that is developing, are the objectives of Karl Marx, which is Communism. The Labour left has not learnt the method of Marx but when Marx is celebrated with exhibitions of Soviet books, it is because the course of the Labour left is towards marxism and the Workers States.

The nationalisation of the Rumasa concern in Spain, is important to understand because it has arisen from the crisis of world capitalism in which a leadership like Gonzales - who had no intention of such nationalisation - is obliged from necessity to impose it. Neither imperialism nor its friends in the army could do anything. This is the stage in which we are. All this comes from the balance of world forces and the role of the Workers States. These must be bases for the further organised and theoretical elevation of the Labour left.

The Soviet leadership is undoubtedly going to improve its intervention. It intervened before with Shelepin and Ponomarev. It will tend to go further as it has to go further in the stage of the final encounter with world imperialism. All the problems of imperialism are going to multiply in the next period. The Labour left can develop much more, but only on the basis of a better understanding of marxist method and a deeper relationship with the masses; and not being submitted to the inertia of the apparatuses whether in the Trade Unions or the Labour Party. 5.3.1983.

SCIENTIFIC CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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ON THE FUNCTION OF THE UNIVERSITIES

The University must develop its concern with the University and the success of its studies, with the object of fighting for the progress of society. As opposed to other stages of previous history, today the immense majority of students seek to intervene in the social struggle to change capitalist society like the soldiers and the priests.

Every student and college movement is oriented and developed in the social concern. It is necessary that they elevate the concern for this social conclusion to develop

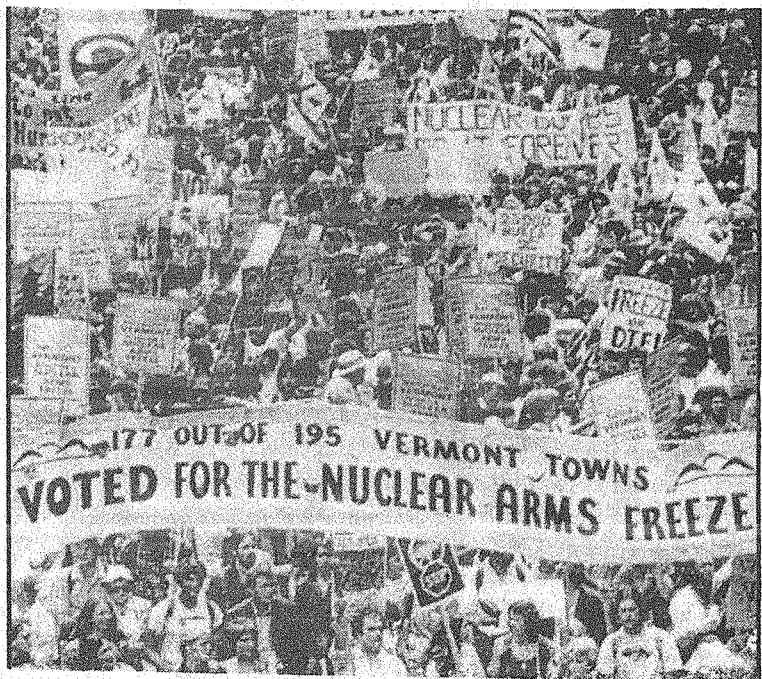
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Editorial

USE LABOUR'S PROGRAMME TO UNITE THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT WITH MOBILISATIONS FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The demonstrations in Britain, capitalist Germany (FDR) and the United States against the war preparations of Yankee imperialism are powerful expressions of what is a world movement against the capitalist system. What characterises these movements and demonstrations is not fear and pessimism but joy and optimism in the progress and future of humanity. This optimism is firmly based, in a general sense, on the existence and progress of the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States. In a specific sense, it is based on the intervention of the present leadership of the Soviet Union. The reaction of Andrei Gromyko, the USSR Foreign Minister, to the various proposals of Reagan for agreements on nuclear missiles - in reality proposals for the disarmament of the Soviet Union - have been clear, confident and concise. Gromyko said that these proposals are a 'smokescreen' behind which Yankee imperialism prepares to launch nuclear war. However, although he said that this war would cost an enormous number of lives, he did not say that it would be the end of humanity. He expresses the confidence of the present Soviet leadership that the Soviet Union is prepared to confront the war which imperialism makes ready for, to defeat imperialism, and then to proceed to construct Socialism. The world balance of forces is not determined by who has the most powerful weapons or the greatest number of them, but by the fact



ANTI-NUCLEAR DEMONSTRATORS IN NEW YORK (JUNE 1982)

that the Workers States are the basis for the future progress of humanity, and the capitalist system has no perspective beyond the war. It is in this ambience that all the movements for the progress of humanity, in their many and various forms, develop.

The tendency in Yankee imperialism most determined on the war wants a 'smokescreen' of proposals for agreements with the Soviet Union, in the vain hope of lulling the Soviets into a false sense of security. There is another, and very powerful, tendency which lies behind the Kennedy-Hatfield resolution for a 'nuclear freeze', which knows that the war will be the end of the capitalist system and wants to survive at any cost. This sector of the North American bourgeoisie is not small; the resolution would have been close to a majority in Congress had it been voted on. Above all, there is the anti-war movement of the North American masses. There are over 3,000 anti-war organisations in the United States.

THE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES.

The reality of the world balance of forces is nowhere more obvious than in the 'backyard' of Yankee imperialism. In a previous period of history Yankee imperialism would have invaded Cuba,

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THE POLICY OF REAGAN AND THE CONCILIATORY TENDENCIES OF THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY. J. POSADAS

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In this article Cde Posadas analysed the principle aspects of the crisis enveloping world imperialism. The leading Yankee team which is poised to launch the war at any moment now works in the most unfavourable circumstances. Large sectors of capitalism within the United States and Europe see themselves being dragged into war by a clique of criminal lunatics and see no perspective! This demoralises large sectors in all the operations of capitalism, military and administrative. As Cde Posadas explains, imperialism requires an enormous purge to organise its forces, but there is no time for this and they prepare for war, crazed and defeatist.

In this stage of the end of the capitalist system capitalism seeks the means by which to concentrate and homogenise itself. The capitalists are conscious that they have to unite but they are not able to do it. The contradictions between Yankee imperialism and European capitalism are not normal economic contradictions over commerce or investments, but are very profound contradictions, because they all see the scaffold in front of them. This is the depth of the question. The Workers States intensify the contradictions between the capitalist countries to make them antagonistic and anti-thetic at certain moments. The visit of the Socialist International to Nicaragua is a blow at imperialism. The Social Democracy, in order to gain authority before the masses, has to go to support Nicaragua. Although afterwards it may do nothing, the simple fact that it supported Nicaragua now is a form of behaviour opposed to their normal role, because Nicaragua is a revolution.

Imperialism more and more works with the arrogance of command and less and less accepts the activities of the 'European' friends. More and more it assumes the position of command which has to proceed concealing its arms. The declaration of the Yanks that the Soviets have an anti-missile-missile, that they are testing it and it works, can be true. But the Yanks say it, above all, to terrorise the European bourgeoisie so that these will accept the plan of the Yanks. It is the plan of the cowboy who believes in firing all the time and every body runs. This is the policy of Reagan, but in a short time they

will liquidate Reagan, and there are symptoms of great discontent on the part of the North American bourgeoisie with the policy of Reagan. (1)

At the same moment that the Americans say that they have the means to impede any Soviet advance, Brezhnev in a diplomatic meeting where the North American ambassador was present said, 'Within half a minute that we are informed that the Yankee rockets have been launched, then New York will disappear', and the Yankee did not say a word.

Reagan is a twit and they made him President so that they could throw him out at any time. When the sector which sustains him and which carries out this policy sees that it cannot go any further or runs the risk of being eliminated, they will throw him out: for example, accusing him of congenital stupidity!

Reagan is not articulate when he thinks. When the journalists are interviewing his face reddens and he looks nervous because he has no ideas and is not capable. Carter, at least, was a person with some capacity who had experience in the activity as President. Reagan went to sit in the presidential seat but still believing that he was on his horse.

The small sector of American big business has already decided on war but cannot attract the rest of the country nor the greater part of the army; thus it needs a President who makes a policy to try to contain the progress of the revolution and to try to win over

by fear the rest of world capitalism.

The rest of capitalism, the European countries, do not follow this policy and, on the contrary, say the policy of Reagan is madness. "We will die more quickly this way than any other." This shows that they hope to

continue living Reagan has conflicts not only with the Soviet Union, which is the historic antagonist, but with the rest of the capitalist countries. Reagan now seeks to contain the democratic social progress whatever the country, and clashes with the processes in Germany and France: processes which mean that the German and French bourgeoisie cannot support what Reagan asks.

IMPERIALISM HAS ONLY A PERSPECTIVE OF WAR.

The USSR opened the window and to the four winds and in a very flexible way said, 'We will buy wheat, meat, butter and cheese'. Thus the world bourgeoisie began to say, 'After all... it is not necessary to mix politics with business'. Similarly, at the meeting of the Socialist parties of Europe, Brandt and Kreisky declared that 'every country has a right to take the road of progress which it believes right'. Kreisky proposed besides 'that each country has its own customs and although we may not be in agreement, every country is free to choose its own path'. Before, it was quite a different matter, and Kreisky is a leading bureaucrat, but of the Left. Now, in the Congress of the International, he appears to the Left of the Socialists.

If the capitalist system Turn to page 2

THE POLICY OF REAGAN

succeeded in surviving a hundred years more, as natural conclusion it would have to kill a third of the present population; and, besides killing, have to subdue as colonies Africa, Asia and Latin America, so as to be able to develop the North American economy. That is to say, in this stage capitalism clashes with the very existence of people, not only does it confront increasing economic competition but it clashes with existence itself, because it has no form of regulating this competition.

The multi-national has to be capable of national and international competition. It has to increase its profits all the time and, at the same time, taxes are increased to pay the state for increase in war expenditures. The costs of war expenditure consume 25-30% of production without any real gain because, four years after, all these armaments have to be thrown out because there are more modern weapons. All the atomic arms made four years ago more or less have no value now because one weapon is invented which is more use than all the others put together. Tactics and strategy have changed also which, without being fundamental, have importance in the use of atomic weapons, because these no longer depend on location, movement or collaboration with the population in the place where they are. The Yanks cannot now expect collaboration of the population, but the Soviets, yes.

Atomic arms are for capitalism a means of threatening and of destruction, but for the Soviets are a means of destruction of capitalism. Thus, it will be the populations of the capitalist countries who will do the rest once capitalism is destroyed.

Capitalism requires the creation of a new political apparatus and it does not have either the social conditions nor the time to do it. The social conditions and the relation of forces are more and more unfavourable. Within European capitalism there are tendencies which want to conciliate with the Soviets. The Soviets, with their policy, aim at these sectors and at the internal opposition within North American imperialism. The policy of Reagan is 'arms, arms, and more arms', and he makes a Budget which is going to reduce by at least twenty per cent the standard of living of the North American masses; not food only but culture. The amount they are spending on armaments is enormous.

In Africa the aim of imperialism is to defend South Africa which is the Israel of Africa. But, at the same time, it is interesting to see the internal crisis of Israel which does not want to be alone as the representative of the Yanks and aims to make of Israel something better, because Israel at the present is

an arms factory, nothing more, and has an army which is part of the Yanks.

This is what the Yanks want to do in Latin America with Chile, but it is going to encounter very great resistance in Peru, Brasil, Argentina and Mexico. The Yanks seek to make an Israel in Latin America. This is still not expressed, but the logic of the objective of the Americans is to make an Israel in Latin America, the same as in Africa and in the Middle East, but this is going to find very great resistances in the Latin American bourgeoisie, where there are very great disputes.

Imperialism will need to make Pinochets everywhere but, in turn, Pinochet shows insecurity because he had to invent a constitutional form to justify his control, which is against the other sectors of the bourgeoisie. His 'appearances' are not of an omnipotent dictator, but of constitutional order. (2)

IMPERIALISM CANNOT CENTRALISE ITS FORCES.

Reagan, like Tejero in Spain, expresses part of the madness of capitalism; madness not because he kills but because he cannot succeed in anything because he does not have the means to succeed. His position does not correspond with any type of necessity. What Reagan does with the USSR, with the Workers States, with the movements of national independence, is the same as he does with his own country. In the United States Reagan has eliminated a quantity of social benefits: free milk for the children in schools, free transport for students etc.: but now there is a reaction against him everywhere. He is a dummy, a President does not act like this. When he cuts the links with the population, this is to say that he is making a policy aimed at small circles and expecting concrete results, such as war.

The inter-capitalist crisis is very profound. In the meeting which the Socialist parties made in Europe they made declarations against the murders in El Salvador where they proposed that the Yanks should not intervene, but should withdraw, and that it is necessary to reach a political solution; which means to take into account the uprising of the masses. All signed in agreement, including Longo, the idiot of the Italian Social Democracy.

The German Social Democracy and Brandt, above all, are opposed to the plans of the Yanks and Brandt poses that it is necessary to discuss peace and to work well with the Soviets - this is the depth of his policy. Schmidt accompanied him but with the hypocritical character of the function which he is fulfilling. But now Brandt does not have to be hypocritical before the others, before his Party.

The Germans and the Austrians are the ones who imposed the orientation in this meeting of the Socialist parties of Europe, and Soares who is a direct ally of capitalism opposed the breaking of relations with the USSR. An aspect which shows the decomposition of these people is that they have taken every position from Soares in his Party and Government, he is no longer secretary, but nevertheless he goes to this meeting representing Portugal.

The German government has more importance, weighs more than the French or the British, and the German is opposed to rupture with the Soviets and just following the Yanks. They are bound to the Yanks, but not united. They have very deep differences. German capitalism sees the scaffold on both sides, and it certainly it is going to choose the scaffold of capitalism in its agony, in the anguish of its agony, it will try to gain the maximum possible. Hence the desperation of Reagan and of Haig, who appears as a madman or an idiot. Haig is an irrational man because he believes that with shouting he is going to frighten the Soviets. The Soviets within a short time are going to say to him, as they said to others, that in seconds they can make New York disappear plus the most important cities.

The crisis of German capitalism provokes this reaction of Brandt and of the Left Social Democracy. But the Left which exists is not motivated only by this situation. This situation of crisis gives them the opportunity to be able to clear off and animates it to intervene. The same occurs in Britain, where the Labour Party divides and afterwards a whole campaign is developed by capitalism, by the Press, but only a few of the Labour Party people went and a sector of the Right decided to stay, because at least the Labour Party can give them positions. The Parliamentarians who broke away formed the Social Democratic Party which is going to take votes not from the Labour Party but from the Conservatives.

This is a stage of history where the social relation determined by the existence of private property is ending. The fall of this social relation has not been done in an earthquake but by the class struggle, and all the deficiencies which exist in this activity are consequences of the fact that the instrument created by them was not formed in time and not extended in time. But the centre is not to mark or ascribe responsibility for this, but to seek to resolve the problem now, and the workers, the masses of the world, are contributing to give to this incomplete instrument the notion of its historic function. In this the USSR is intervening, the masses of El Salvador, and also China in spite of all its retreats.

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Nicaragua or Grenada. Today, it can only intervene in a clandestine manner. It is now attempting another 'Bay of Pigs' in Nicaragua which will have the same result as the original action against Cuba: the masses of Nicaragua will be strengthened in their determination to construct a Workers State and to draw closer to the Soviet Union. Yankee imperialism threatens Grenada, a tiny island. It fears Grenada, and for good reason! It is not that Grenada is a military base for the Soviet Union - it is not! - but it is an example of progress which will weigh on the masses of the United States. The intervention of the whole population in the formulation of the 'budget' in Grenada is an example of genuine democracy which will not go unnoticed in the United States. In this sense, Grenada is a base, an extension of the Soviet Union. It is now more and more of a necessity for the Soviet Union to intervene directly towards what is, in reality, the anti-capitalist movement in the United States.

LABOUR'S PROGRAMME.

It is in this world context that Labour's new programme has to be considered. The foreword, by Foot, sets the tone of this programme of proposals which, on both the economic and social level, cannot be realised within the capitalist system. Above all, this programme is anti-capitalist in the sense that it opposes the war preparations of imperialism. It is unequivocally proposing to remove the missile bases. It is the first time that the Labour Party has publicly pledged itself in this way, and it is a fundamental blow against the capitalist system. All the other proposals in this programme are basically anti-capitalist, in the sense that it will require social transformation in order to implement them. The foreword to this programme, in its denunciation of the values of capitalism and its proposal for a society based on human values and not the drive for profits, is a call for social transformation. The weakest aspect of the programme is the 'National Economic Assessment' which uses the language of a previous period and looks for a 'partnership' with capitalism. Conclusions have to be drawn from the experience of the Socialist/Communist government of Mitterand in France. The Mitterand government is facing all kinds of problems because it failed to take measures of nationalisation, and workers control, and did not allow a full participation of the masses. It could have been much more audacious. On the other hand, as the recent Municipal Elections show, the French bourgeoisie, and world capitalism, have been unable to take any advantage of the weaknesses of Mitterand.

This Labour programme also shows the way in which the anti-war movement, CND, influences the Labour Party. The anti-war movement allows the participation of the masses and the participation of the masses is for a new society. The women who lead this movement intervened militantly but on a level of human relations that is superior to capitalism. In their dancing and singing they express a desire for harmonious human relations. The 'peace movement' in this country is not an absolute parallel to the 'Greens' in Germany but it plays a similar role. Already the 'Greens' have stimulated the Left in the SPD. The Easter anti-missile demonstrations in Germany had, for the first time, the official participation of the Social Democrats and the Trade Unions. In the same way, the 'peace women' of Greenham Common have been an important factor in determining Labour's anti-war programme.

This is why Thatcher is so vehement in her denunciations of the 'peace women'. She also denounces the workers on strike at the Cowley car factory. Her denunciation of a handful of car workers is logical because their action is, like that of the Water workers, anti-capitalist. The Cowley workers are not simply trying to defend their working conditions but trying to stimulate a movement to confront the Thatcher government. The Thatcher team has a rigidity born of impotence and fear. It not only faces the opposition of the masses but of large stratas of its own class. The new powers proposed for the police, which are 'semi-fascist' - have met with a chorus of opposition from sectors of the bourgeoisie itself, including the Bishops of the Church of England.

The actions of the working class and the anti-war movement are two sides of the same coin. They are two aspects of the struggle for social transformations. There is a necessity to link the two. Labour's programme provides the basis for this in as much as it links proposals for transformations in society with elimination of imperialism's nuclear bases. What has to be avoided is that this programme is simply confined to an electoral plane, with the masses treated as 'voting fodder'. This programme has to form the basis of the widest possible discussion in which all the masses participate. The Labour Party, and the Labour Left in particular, have to take this programme, as a basis of discussion, to the factories, workers' districts, and universities. The world process creates the conditions in which the various movements for social transformation can be fused together in a campaign to remove the Thatcher government and to advance, through the election of a Labour government, towards the transformation of society.

2.4.83

(1) This foresight of Cde Posadas was confirmed in the attempted assassination of Reagan.
(2) Refers to the referendum of Pinochet where he proclaimed himself as President.

Beethoven, without being a political leader or philosopher worked with the consciousness of the philosopher and the political leader. He expressed in his music human reactions which were going to develop; he did not know consciously that this was the process, but he felt it and was the interpreter, as an artist, of a course of human relations whose expression requires Socialism. This shows that, without being philosopher, politician or historian, Beethoven worked with the sentiments of the historian if not with the consciousness and capacity.

The music of Beethoven was not made for the court but was music for humanity, and expresses the development of human relations. There are moments in the concertos, as in the symphonies, which appear as developments, movements of human sentiments seeking to organise themselves; they are sentiments that are still not mature because sentiments grow with social relations. The ideas were absent so that human sentiments could find their centre: which is Marxism. Hence between Beethoven, Marx, Marxism and Lenin there is an identity, even without this being fully understood.

The music of Beethoven expresses movements of the sentiments; it is not possible to create this music with war, conquest, imposition. But the struggle for Socialism has this sentiment because the objective is human progress, human relations. It fights because there is no other way, but it does not do so with the end of smashing, conquering or making others submit, but as one breaks a rock to get through and advance.

There are parts in the music that show that it is the development of human sentiment which Beethoven is expressing. This was not created by the epoch, but intelligence felt it; in the epoch of Beethoven the relations to allow this process did not exist. There were antecedents, like the peasant revolutions and also, in part, the French revolution; but they were processes denied by the military colonial conquests of Britain, France, North America, and Beethoven came from that ambience.

Musical instruments, music, form part of the basis which give rise and development to ideas; they are not the basis, but form part of the ideas. What we are analysing of music is the creative capacity of music, of the composer, and of music. Music creates, and the harmony of music is a source of inspiration for ideas, sentiments for human relations. The music of Beethoven is a source of creation and is a creation. In turn it develops and provides the bases to think, to develop ideas, thoughts, analyses and to adopt resolutions. Music — particularly and essentially that of Beethoven — is an

inspirational source of inexhaustible creation because he expresses the harmony in music which tomorrow will exist between human beings. It was not just a foretaste of what is going to be, but was the creative capacity in his stage of this phase of human relations. Afterwards Marx developed the analysis of the history of capitalism. The greatness of Marx is that he developed the ideas for a better society, not to smash down one regime and replace it with another, but a better society and the basis of the superiority was neither the economy, production nor technology but human relations. The historic depth is the same as Beethoven, but not in historic necessity. The historic depth was the same; both sought human relations. Marxism is the construction of the consciousness, the inspiring capacity of ideas in society to construct Communist society, which eliminates every form of dependency, any type of dependency. Thus the most complete form of freedom is given because there is no submission to anything, no necessity to ask freedom; freedom for what? if nobody is oppressed

When we analyse Beethoven it is because we include him among the great creators of history in the development of human relations, aimed to create the ability, the inspiration of human relations which eliminates every form of brutality. In music the elimination of brutality, of imposition, of egoism, is expressed and the harmony of human relations appears. Harmony with what? Harmony with human beings and nature and the cosmos. It is a harmony, not surrounding other relations, but harmony, the natural form of relations of human beings with nature and with the cosmos.

From this sentiment the music of Beethoven emerges. His source of inspiration is human relations. Hence his music required a social relation which did not then exist; he made it. His music was not the creative capacity in itself, as the critics say, because what was the source of the inspiration? The source of inspiration, of human sentiments, of elevated human relations, did not exist. It was an epoch of war, of invasions of Africa and Asia, an epoch determined by military power through military capacity: music creates relations through music. The greatest musicians of all time are a human history are those who create music which has nothing to do with, and is against, a military sentiment. That creation of the human being is determined by sentiments which human life created, and also the cosmos. It is not possible to take human sentiment simply on the earth, as a consequence of living on the earth, but the inspiration

which nature and the cosmos produces.

The fifth symphony of Beethoven is presented on the record cover with the depth of the remote moon: the reflection of the moon, the face of Beethoven, and then we have the fifth symphony. They show Beethoven united to the moon, not as a source of inspiration but as a relation with the moon and, through the moon, a relation with the cosmos.

Music was determined by the unequal and combined development of human sentiment. It is not identical with the economy, with social development, but it is also an unequal and combined process determined by another factor — which is intelligence. In the economy, in society, intelligence did not determine but power did. Intelligence had no means to create superior human relations until the material conditions for the development of society were created. But the ideas came long before Marx. He came to be the concentrator of all the previous thinkers who created, in a limited way, from the eleventh century onwards; from then there were demonstrations of protest, of social struggles which after developed in so far as the development of the economy and society were extended.

Music is a necessary expression of the creative capacity which shows the harmony which exists in the cosmos, in nature, and much less in society — not for comparison but because to be able to develop existence so as to be able to lead it has to be harmonious. The economy was not like this, but music was. It is uneven and combined development; the conditions did not exist for the economy to permit the development of Communism, but human relations existed in a limited sphere which determined such creation. Music is not simply a creation of an isolated person who comes from nothing, or various people. Beethoven is one, the best of all the great creators of music, and before Beethoven there were Bach, Vivaldi, Scarlatti, who were the ones who made harmonious creations which served afterwards to inspire other compositions with themes. When we listen to the music of Beethoven it is to appreciate the historic function of music which helps to create intelligence and ideas. In the ideas of Marx, in the creative capacity of Marx by means of ideas, the creative music of Beethoven is also a part; not in the form of a musical but a social scale. It is not the moment to study all this, but it is now clear that music was a creation which requires a social form, a creative capacity which went in advance of the stage of history. It is not because some one was ahead of his time, but that intelligence and the creative

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The miners and the need for a Plan of production

Many will have been disappointed by the failure of the Miner's strike ballot to gain a majority despite the initial surge of support for the miners of the Lewis-Merthyr pit. Clearly there was some expectation that the miners would play the same role as they played in the 1974 overthrow of the Heath government. However, we are not in 1974 and history cannot be re-run like an old film. Since the overthrow of Heath the total and final nature of the crisis of capitalism has become absolutely obvious. What has also become apparent is that there are no longer any 'trade union' solutions to the problems posed for the mass of the population by this final crisis of capitalism. It might appear, on the surface, that there are some contradictions between the failure of the majority of miners to support a strike advocated by the NUM President, Arthur Scargill, and the fact that he was elected by a majority of 70%. In fact there is no contradiction. Scargill is, overtly, a 'political' leader, a Socialist. The majority of miners voted for Scargill as a way of pushing for a Socialist policy and programme in the NUM. It was a way of demanding that the trade union play a political role.

Arthur Scargill and the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) leadership do not lack militancy and they are not to be criticised for calling a strike against pit closures and unemployment in the first place. The miners did not themselves lack militancy and, as the initial upsurge of support for strike action showed, they were prepared to mobilise against the government. The failure of the strike ballot is, in no way, a defeat but simply the expression of the intelligence of a sector of the working class which was not prepared to confront the government on a narrow 'trade union' basis.

THE TRADE UNIONS HAVE TO PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE.

The last year has seen a series of mobilisations by different sectors of the working class. They have all the confidence of a favourable world balance of forces — favourable for the advance to Socialism. However, the working class has a consciousness, an ability to think, and to think politically. It also knows how to use tactics very well.

There can be no doubt that the failure of the trade union leadership, of the TUC to support the ASLEF strike, the Civil Servants, the Health workers and the Water workers affected the decision of the miners not to vote for a strike. It is true that the Water workers gained something of a victory, but the struggle was over a wage claim. The miners were being asked to confront the government on virtually the future of the coal mining industry. Clearly miners were reluctant to confront the present government by themselves and quite reasonably so.

What they did not see from the NUM

leadership was the Socialist programme and policy that they were looking for in electing Scargill as Union President. Neither did they see any Socialist solution being posed by either the TUC or the Labour Party.

The struggle to develop a new trade union leadership involves discussions over trade union democracy, the need to replace those who conciliate with capitalism, with those who do not and believe in a policy of social transformations. This process will be accelerated with the development of a consistent Left in the Labour Party and the Unions.

The miners did not see a trade union leadership decided on action to oust Thatcher. The expulsion of Weighell shows the course of a new process, but the elimination of the old layers of trade union leadership integrated with capitalism requires an appropriate programme and policy and the miners felt no security in the existing leadership.

The trade unions should formulate an independent workers' plan of production based on the extension of nationalisations under workers' control and planning. The discussion has not to be on the basis of 'productivity' or 'selective import controls', but on the basis of production to fulfil the needs of the population. This discussion has to proceed from the simple conclusion that it is private property which produces a situation of over four million unemployed, on the one hand, and a shortage of practically every necessity, on the other. It is a discussion that has to be taken to the factories and work places, to the workers' areas, and to the population generally. The emerging Labour Left should participate in the development of such a discussion.

It is true, of course, that the next Labour government will be of a different character, and in different circumstances, from that of the Callaghan government. However, even in these circumstances, it is essential — as the working class is well aware — that the trade unions must retain their absolute independence. It is perfectly possible, as the major trade union centres in France have shown, to support a Labour or Socialist government and to retain an independent role as the prime organisation of the working class at the same time. There have been important changes and advances to the Left in the Labour Party, but there is a necessity for the trade unions to play a political role, in alliance with, but independently from, the Labour Party.

WORKERS CONTROL.

An important factor, in both the water workers' strike and the initial

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For a public discussion in the world Communist movement on the way forward

The recent meeting of the Communist parties of the USSR, France and China to discuss problems facing the international Communist movement was important because it had the character of a meeting seeking theoretical bases by which to orientate the world process. The time is particularly propitious for such meetings now, in view of the very firmly structured character of the world process and the discussions with the Chinese; and the recent debacle of eurocommunism which, in effect, also means the elevation of the Socialist parties.

What is required now is a much more public discussion in the Soviet Union, the mass Communist parties of the world, with the objective of resolving both theoretical and practical issues on how to intervene in the stage in which we are living. The situation requires greater and greater audacity. Yankee imperialism is in open preparation for a war not only against the Soviet Union and other Workers States, but all the forces of progress wherever they be, whatever the continent. They are seeking to accomplish the task that Hitler failed to do: to wipe out world Communism. But, in this objective, it has shown itself to be immensely weak. Time and time again it suffers reverses. Vietnam was the first major disaster in the recent period which showed their historic incapacity to resolve anything. Since then the revolution in Nicaragua and the disaster caused by the Malvinas fiasco, and the need for the Chinese Workers State to make a rapprochement with the Soviet Union, show clearly the historic impotence of Yankee imperialism in its efforts to contain its inevitable demise. The failure over the gas pipeline and the reception for Gromyko in Germany,

are historic defeats for imperialism, and it is necessary to generalise the conclusions. Not only is there a mass movement in Western Europe which undermines capitalism, but now the rifts in world capitalism show that whole sectors of the capitalist class seek just to survive; yes, to try to live for a little longer and not to rush into the war which imperialism sees as its only solution to the constant erosion of its power and influence.

It is clear that in the Soviet Union, many changes are developing (analysed by Cde Posadas as a process of regeneration). The need to dispose of parasitic elements in the economy so as to satisfy the needs of the population, the need for superior quality of production, and the scientific use of resources instead of arbitrary fiat, and the need for better preparation of the Soviet Union for war, accelerates the pressure for better policies and better relations with the masses. In 1982, according to Shalayeve, the head of the Soviet trade unions, nine thousand eight hundred and forty administrative chiefs were thrown out of positions in the Soviet Union because of corruption.

When Andropov speaks of the need to improve factory discipline, beginning with the Ministers, this is all part of a searching for better construction of Socialism. The Workers State cannot stay rooted in one spot; the logic of the Workers State is to expand towards Socialism — and that means a unified world. Similarly when the weekly communique on the subjects under discussion in the Political Bureau are published

this is a preparation for a more open political life.

All the particular problems of progress in the Soviet Union etc.

cannot stay at the removal of a few abuses, but raise the whole issue of where the Soviet Union is and where it has to go. Although the experience of Poland resulted from the particular perniciousness of its bureaucratic structure, its historic validity lies in expressing the need to harmonise the process of the construction of Socialism. The Polish government, in recognising the need for independent Trade Unions, in effect shows an understanding that Socialism has to be constructed and that to call Poland a Socialist State already is not correct (even though not all may say so). One Polish spokesman said recently: '... I am a representative of a different system, a Workers State in which the opinion of the working class is the supreme issue'; and therefore as part of the construction of the society, the trade Unions have to represent both the immediate needs of the masses and also the historic interest of constructing Socialist society. The release of Walewsa is an example of the flexibility of the Workers States.

The Soviet Union has supported all the gains of the Polish process, and what is necessary, is to build on all this, particularly in the Soviet Union, to combine the discussion of the Polish experience with the need to stimulate the elimination of what remains of capitalism.

A meeting of Communist parties to discuss the historic experience of the workers' movement, the theoretical lessons to be drawn — whatever the public disagreements — would be of an immense value to humanity, and the Posadist IV International would intervene to help this discussion. The conditions for such a discussion are immensely favourable. The sus-

tainers of the most aggressive sectors of capitalism are more and more confined and have to resort to the Mafia to help sustain their system; and in every continent, the system is failing — even the Yankee base of Israel is in full decomposition. There is no reason for timidity in this situation, the liberation of forces in the Workers State for the construction of Socialism is a fundamental part of the liquidation of capitalism and backwardness in the rest of the world.

What is at stake is the construction of a new leadership of humanity rooted in the construction of Socialism. The CPSU has an especial responsibility in this. A fundamental aspect in the construction of Socialism is the development of the Party which refracts all the experience of the masses for discussion and elaboration, and then acts on this basis. This was the tradition of Bolshevism. An objective discussion of all this, the explanation for the past deformation of the Soviet Union, and the development of much more public discussion in the Soviet Union, would have an immense effect on the masses of the world. In the worst moments over Brest Litovsk the Bolsheviks had no fear of discussion, and it was public. Now the world is immensely superior to Brest Litovsk and a few initiatives of the Soviet leadership could have immense consequences.

The appeals of the Soviet Union for peace are important, as at the Prague meeting, but an immense effect could be made by the activity of the CPSU and associated Communist parties to initiate the need for programmes of social transformations, and the need for much better functioning Communist and Socialist parties.

The appeal of Cde Andropov to the American people against the organisers of war was very good, but a more audacious explanation of what is happening in the world —

with much more class analysis, much more propaganda on where humanity is going — aimed at the American masses could have tumultuous results. It is true that outside the CPSU and sectors of the main Communist parties of the world, neither workers parties nor Unions are prepared for this stage, which makes the attitude of the Soviet Union so much the more decisive.

The statement of the Soviet Ambassador to Lebanon, Alexander Soldatov, that 'the Soviet Union is going to intervene militarily and directly in a new outbreak of war between Israel and Syria' shows the present level of confrontation between the two systems. What is necessary now is an elevation in the parties. For example, it is necessary for appeals for the workers to be mobilised directly against nuclear weapons, both in Europe and in the United States.

Much more open public life and discussion in the Soviet Union, and more dynamic appeals and explanations aimed at the whole world, would have enormous effects, stimulate the masses, and shatter what little confidence remains to imperialism. The world is ready for Communism, as Cde Posadas analysed; what is necessary is far greater audacity in the application of the conclusions of Marxism — that world imperialism is disintegrating and every advantage has to be taken of this. The masses and parties are prepared for clarity of explanation and audacity in action. It is necessary to impel the life of the Soviets Councils in the Soviet Union as constructors of Socialism and sources of ideas.

BEETHOVEN From page 3

capacity arose which society did not allow to develop, and Socialism is going to represent this. That is to say, prior to Socialism music already expressed harmonious relations which only Socialism hears. Socialism is not a necessity which comes from economic scarcity, through lack of freedom and through exploitation. The form of social organisation arises to overcome this, but the creative sentiments of Socialism existed much before Karl Marx constituted them. He gave them the necessary social form to be able to reach and achieve Socialism. In all the great creators this sentiment existed, which could not reach the structure of Socialism. Hence Utopian Socialism was Socialism. Hence rich people, like Owen, wanted to make Socialism.

This shows that it was not true that capitalism believed completely the principle that capitalism is egoism and killing. In general it is so but, at the same time, it developed qualities of sentiment, of intelligence, of

culture, and people saw that the form of capitalism was a brutality. Music expresses this with more freedom than the economy, because it is not subject to the plans of competition, of the plan of production. Music is free of all the impositions of the economy, and hence it can create. It meant that the human being is not a mere result of the economy but of culture, of science, which gives form to the empirical experiences which humanity makes from human life and living together.

Music allows the creation of, and giving harmonious order to, thought. It allows the orientation in the organisation of the harmony of ideas and allows the creation of ideas. Music is a source of inspiration for ideas. Parnassus (mountain of Greece consecrated to Apollo and the muses, symbol of poetic inspiration) — whether it existed or not, and I believe that it existed — is a symbol of how inspiration required solitude. But inspiration, after the great struggles of

the masses, does not require solitude but multitude to enter the fire without being burnt. The source of inspiration has changed in history. Parnassus existed because society was still in development; in the epoch of Beethoven, society was already concentrated in states and relations between countries.

We salute 'grandfather Beethoven' through his contribution to history. It is a contribution to human history which Socialism is going to integrate in itself, and Beethoven will be among the great constructors of the bases of human civilisation, of Socialism. He will be one of the principal creators.

J. POSADAS 31 May 1980.

Viva the success of the general strike in Argentina.

From page 3 THE MINERS

actions of the miners, in the early part of the month, was the occupations. These occupations were not simply another form of 'industrial action', or a means of protest, but a demand for workers' control. In general the working class has no means of expression. The trade union and Labour Party are, to say the least, an extremely poor means of expression for the working class. Therefore, the working class has to express itself in action. When the workers occupy, as this is now normal in workers' struggles, they are posing an important point of programme. They are demanding workers control and, in these particular instances, workers control over nationalised industries or services.

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EDITORIAL

For a Labour Government on the programme of

- closing the missile bases
- social transformations

The last few days in particular have demonstrated the immense confusion and disorder of the Reagan administration, its inability to contain the opposition within capitalism itself to the imperialist war teams who plan to attack the Soviet Union in a desperate effort to stem the advance towards world Communism. The passing of the proposal for a nuclear freeze in the House of Representatives - whatever the qualifications attached to it - the conflict over funds to stimulate the counter-revolution against Nicaragua and, finally, the condemnation by the Catholic Bishops in the USA of any justification for atomic war; all these are blows at the intentions of imperialism. The criminals have to stay clandestine and have no means of gathering support and approbation for their despairing enterprise. At the same time, the rifts with the European bourgeoisie continue and, in Germany, a warm process awaits the centre government of Kohl - the Greens have denounced all reactionary measures of the government, Kohl is split with Strauss, and the issue of the Cruise missiles will result in even more powerful interventions of the masses. All this renders the centralisation of imperialism impossible - German capitalism, as is analysed elsewhere in the paper, cannot afford to go against the Soviet Union as Yankee imperialism would like.

The uproar against the sinister intentions of imperialism can be seen on every hand. Thus, leading sectors of the Central and Latin American bourgeoisie - in this case Figueredo of Brasil - come out against the Yankee intervention in Nicaragua, and Central America as a whole. This was the same position as the Mexican President, and shows that sectors of the bourgeoisie have no other option but to accept the need for social progress even if it goes against the sacred principles of private property. They have no other choice but to oppose Yankee imperialism and the balance of world forces against imperialism stimulates them inexorably in this direction.

In Britain everything is determined and overshadowed by the discussion over the need to prevent the establishment of the Cruise missiles here and the necessity for unilateral nuclear disarmament. Implicit in this process is the understanding of the whole world process - the fact that imperialism breeds war and the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union, have no interest in war but seek only to

unify the world on the basis of a superior social system and superior social relations. Essentially the anti-nuclear movement has grasped this. The fact that Foot, in the middle of all the electoral preparations, writes to Andropov to discuss with the Soviet leader the whole issue of nuclear disarmament responds to a profound process in Britain. Such discussions on the abandonment of atomic arms by Britain is, in fact, tantamount to the liquidation of the capitalist system - without missiles how can capitalism maintain itself politically, socially and economically? This shows the elevation of pre-occupation in Britain, the sentiment that there is no need for these stupid missiles to maintain the rights of a few property owners. Even without a Party that is prepared politically or theoretically, and with a Trade Union leadership at the best timid and at the worst conciliatory with capitalism, Foot has responded in part to the needs of the situation and shows how the role of the Workers States and the balance of forces which favours the forces of progress and Socialism is constantly augmenting. The forces that Thatcher represents have been completely unable to determine as they would like the electoral process - the issues of war and peace, in fact the nature of the capitalist system in one form or another, are entering public discussion. The Thatcher group has been unable to cope with any of the discussions, and its weakness is shown in the vacillation over the calling of the election. The local elections gave no comfort to her regime - although in themselves they have no great importance and the majority of the electorate abstain - but they were treated as though they would provide a solution.

In Poland the government receives the support of millions of the population and there is a constant process of rectification. In Britain, Thatcher could not even organise a demonstration in support of the Malvinas war, and capitalism in Cowley attempts to reduce the workers to serfs. All the facades of British imperialism are slipping away, the reality is the Police Bill which is a measure of a police state and, at the same time, is opposed by many sectors of capitalism itself.

The greatest weakness of the Labour Party lies in the limitations and the lack of consistent support

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THE FAILURE OF THE INVASION OF NICARAGUA ORGANISED BY YANKEE IMPERIALISM

6 3 83 RESOLUTION OF THE IS

The failure of the counter-revolutionary invasion of Nicaragua is a very great defeat of Yankee imperialism. Imperialism threatened - trying to exert economic pressure, sabotage etc. - and when it took the initiative everything ended in a decisive defeat. It sought through this action to send counter-revolutionary groups into Nicaragua to oblige the bourgeoisie of Central America, particularly of Honduras, to intervene in a more direct form and, at the same time, to force other sectors in the United States to support a greater intervention. Hence the great clown Reagan, with the photographs of the Soviet airports everywhere that became ridiculous; firstly, because they were not secret, and secondly, because they had other objectives.

This defeat is going to have very profound effects in the anti-imperialist process in Latin America and in the world. It is necessary to salute the decision of the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua which showed that it was firm and resolved to intervene with all its political and military resources against the assassins and mercenaries which imperialism sent into their territory. The most important and determining expression of this decision was the visit of Ortega to Moscow and his interview with Andropov right in the middle of the conflict. This stopped the very sinister intentions of imperialism which included utilisation of greater measures against Nicaragua, because the photographs of Ortega with Andropov showed the decision of the USSR and of the unified Sardinists' leadership to defend the Nicaragua revolution; but it is necessary that the local leadership is decided; and with this imperialism is paralysed. The world sees this and it is an experience which affirms the unity of the revolutionary world process with the Soviet Union.

Imperialism found a much deeper resistance than it bargained for, and that now the structure of the world relation of forces prevents its initiatives from triumphant outcome. For the Nicaragua revolution by itself alone does not have the economic or military strength to confront Yankee imperialism and the counter-revolution which imperialism organises. In this structure of

the world, whose centre is the USSR, it is the USSR which makes small Nicaragua and El Salvador appear strong and gigantic in front of the United States. Cuba also has shown no doubts in supporting and sustaining Nicaragua and forms part of this world relation of forces. The authority of Cuba and of the USSR has elevated enormously in Latin America. Hence this defeat of imperialism continues the process of anti-imperialist development which the conflict of the Malvinas developed in an open form.

Yankee imperialism sought to inflict much greater damage in Nicaragua. They hoped to conquer part of the territory. They believed that the revolution was weakened through the crisis of the alliances made by the Sandinistas; they

the invasion and its going any further as a great part of the North American population support the process in Nicaragua and El Salvador, but within imperialism itself there are sectors who are against such action because they see that a revolutionary process is unleashed in which the Workers States are intervening: the USSR, Cuba, together with the masses. These are sectors of the big North American bourgeoisie who do not want a direct confrontation now with the Workers States, who are afraid, do not feel secure, and see that they are divided as a capitalist system and that every initiative ends in defeat, as in the case of Nicaragua, the Middle East or Iran. This internal opposition in imperialism itself has been an important factor in the



Popular militia guard the revolution in Nicaragua.

believed that the opposition of Robelo of Eden Pastora and the others who, in the first stage were joined to the Sandinistas, was determinant in the solidity and structure of the revolution, and of the Sandinista movement. Based on these calculations they organised this invasion and saw that the Nicaraguan masses totally centralised themselves around their leadership, that the counter-revolutionary assassins remained completely isolated, and that other sectors who could have been involved retreated immediately and Honduras did not follow the plan.

Within the United States there is a great reaction against this, not only from the people who are against

failure of the action in Nicaragua. Hence 'Time' came out to denounce that the CIA had been the organiser of the invasion and accusing Reagan - and this shows the internal fights of different tendencies of Yankee imperialism.

On the other hand, the Latin American bourgeoisie are afraid of the process in Nicaragua and see that a new Workers State is arising, like Cuba, but at the same time they immediately fear more an intervention of imperialism which will unleash an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist revolutionary process. They see that an intervention of imperialism increases its dominion over Latin America and

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THE ELECTIONS IN GERMANY AND THE CRISIS IN THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

13 March 1983

The electoral result in Germany does not mean a reinforcement of the Right in the country, as some Socialist and Communist parties have thought. Firstly, a Left government was not in power previously; that is, with the Social Democratic government in power; because the SDP could not be considered as a workers' party and of the Left. On the other hand, the Right is not going to be able to push back in a decisive way the policy of Germany in front of imperialism and the preparation for war which this is making; neither is it going to contain the internal social progress represented by the advance to the Left in the Social Democracy and the ascent of the 'greens'. Thus, how has the Right - through the CDU and the Social Christians - increased in economic, political and social authority? In no way! There is no possibility of resolving the problems of Germany in the strictly capitalist sense; in the same way this new government is not going to be able to break links with the Workers States nor submit itself more directly to the war plans of imperialism. To do this would lead to the death of an important sector of the German economy.

The most important elements to emphasise in these elections is the programmatic and electoral progress of the ecological groups, the greens and also that the vote to the SDP (which has been important) has a much more marked character to the Left than before. The bourgeois sectors of the SDP are those who have stopped voting for it now, and voted for the CDU, and an important sector for the Liberals also, while the working class and the Left petit bourgeoisie voted in the majority for the SDP. The vote for the CDU includes all the ulcerous, parasitic layers of the bourgeoisie and the top petit bourgeoisie, the top agrarian bourgeoisie and regional bourgeoisie; all those who have contributed nothing to the economic, social and cultural development and the life of the country. An important sector of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie who voted for the CDU did so also because the CDU, anyway, have not made a campaign of submission to the plans of imperialism. If certainly Kohl speaks of installing the North American missiles, he puts the emphasis on the necessity to arrive at an USSR-USA agreement and that, for this, it is necessary to study the proposal of Andropov and the Warsaw Pact. In this way they give security to a layer of the bourgeoisie that they will resist the Yanks to some extent, at the same time as safeguarding the interests of German capitalism.

The recent electoral result does not change the material bases analysed by Cde Posadas, which determine the conduct of the German bourgeoisie as a consequence of the world confrontation between systems (capitalism and the Workers States). As German capitalism is the most powerful, after the North American imperialism it feels that in the next war, whatever the outcome, it is going to disappear. Within capitalism economic contradictions a thousand times worse than those that caused the launching of previous wars have already accumulated - within Europe, and the USA and

Japan, between Japan and the USA. If the USSR and the Workers States did not exist, or supposing that they were eliminated, imperialism would launch war against its competitors, and would dictate to Germany and Japan who would be disarmed. Imperialism does not launch war between the capitalist countries because it knows that the Workers States would intervene and would be the victors, and in the case of the victory of the Workers States in the next war as will be the case neither can German capitalism survive. Thus the German bourgeoisie even identified in the interest of the capitalist class to eliminate the Socialist camp have developed a behaviour of resistance to the war and of relations with the Workers States with whom it sees that it can have good relations and a way of development. Hence the declaration of the Soviets is going to have an effect: 'If the Germans instal the missiles this is going to put a question over the whole of our relations', that is to say, commercial relations.

The Soviets have intervened actively in this present process of Germany and the result is not going to paralyse them. They showed their sympathy for the SDP during the campaign, and Vogel has been a publicist for the Andropov proposals. Vogel represents an important sector of the European bourgeoisie, which sees that such a proposal is a solution for them, that it is probable and that as a whole they will oppose the installation of the missiles. They see in these missiles something which negates their capacity for competition. Another sector of the German bourgeoisie, which before voted for the SDP, was shaken by the process therein and ran to vote for the CDU. It is necessary to take into account that the Andropov proposal leads to the disorganisation of the world structure of the defence of the capitalist system, leaves all the question of the war against the socialist countries in the hands of imperialism. Another part of those who have stopped voting for the SDP voted for the Liberals, so as not to leave the hands of the Right completely free.

The consequences of these elections in Germany are not going to be precisely a turn to the Right. The confirmation of Vogel as president of the Social Democratic Parliamentary group confirms that the programmatic progress against the war is firm in a layer of the bourgeoisie, and in the Left of the SDP. World imperialism and world capitalism has registered this. The German Social Democracy has passed from a general policy of resistance to the complete centralisation with imperialism which it had before, to promote a very profound internal process such that now capitalism cannot rely on it. Thus, on the world plane, it has developed a policy which creates difficulties in the process of preparation for the launching of the war on the part of imperialism; internally it gives access to sectors of the anti-imperialist petit bourgeoisie,

influenced by the Workers States and by the German Workers State, a petit bourgeoisie which feels invaded by imperialism and which, in front of the Workers States, feels and sees an immense possibility of development and progress.

The Communist movement, including the PCI which saw the SDP as part of the European Left and an example for the 'third road', must understand that this internal process in the SDP is new. The SDP has been led all this time, and still continues, through the German bourgeoisie. As such it does not mean that it has committed errors which led it to electoral defeat, but it was the policy of the defence of the German capitalist system, which led to the behaviour which the SDP maintained in its governments. Under its governments important restrictions were imposed on the democratic rights of the masses, such as the restriction on parties of the Left gaining access to positions in the public services - under its governments the powerful trade union bureaucracy was imposed and sustained, and this impeded the free expression of the workers' movement and has been an instrument to confront movements such as the campaign made four years ago for the reduction of the working day to 35 hours each week.

It is thus that the SDP, which finds its base in an important sector of the intellectual sector, does not have sufficient authority over the population in a form to win its support unconditionally, and thus also a small sector of the workers' movement denied them electoral support as a means of protest against all this social structure of the SDP. The Communist movement must understand the nature of the crisis in the German Social Democracy and the selection which is going to occur in its leaderships: similar to the process of the Labour Party in Britain, but different from the process in the Communist parties in the Social Democracy the development of all this crisis of progress is slower because it is a question of a process in opposition: to the historic objective with which the Social Democratic parties were created. But in the Communist parties the original historic objective was maintained: which is the construction of Communism - and this is so even with the oscillations of its leaderships.

The internal process in the Social Democratic parties is dependent on the world process which influences and educates extensive layers of the intellectuals and of the petit bourgeoisie, including layers which have imposed the entry into Parliament of the 'greens'. They represent and collect support and votes from sectors coming from the bourgeoisie and the petit bourgeoisie. They have come bringing concerns and promoting fights against the pollution of the air, of water, of food; against the installation of nuclear plants; in general, against the consequences of the existence of the capitalist system in this stage, and which can only be

resolved with the liquidation of the capitalist system. Now they have progressed programmatically a great deal; as the centre, they have the struggle against the installation of the euro-missiles, the proposal for the social development of Germany with the funds which at present are spent in arms for the construction of popular housing, and the reduction of the working day to thirtyfive hours a week. They can be a promoting centre of necessary initiatives which are going to dynamise the internal process in Germany, and they are going to find allies in the trade union movement and in the Social Democratic Left. In the Social Democracy also a very rich process is coming; the trade union demonstration developed before the elections if certainly they were made with the objectives

in the electoral process, show that a sector is going to seek to support itself more on the trade unions, on the workers' movement, to resist any retreat which the present government wants to impose.

If the Kohl government and the Social Christian Strauss represent sectors which will aim at a policy more submitted to the Yanks, it does

not mean that they can do it. The confirmation of the Liberal Genscher as Minister of Foreign Relations is a demonstration that they are not going to be able to retreat very much, whether in relation to the Soviets or internally. There is one aspect to take into account, as Cde Posadas has analysed, which is that the Social Democracy in the German government served capitalism to contain the pressure of the working class. For this fundamentally the 'washing up' was done by the Social Democratic trade union bureaucracy. With what is Kohl now going to contain the workers' reaction to the intensification of the crisis of German capitalism? - a reaction which is going to come and to which the trade union leadership has to give a certain margin, a reaction to the increase of unemployment and factory closures, the whole of the worsening of the standard of living on which the cost of the new missiles is going to have further repercussions.

These elections in Germany must not be assessed only by the ascent of Kohl to the government, but through the conditions of global confrontation between systems which determine the behaviour of the German bourgeoisie and also the progress of a Left which is developing in the SDP and the 'greens'.

(WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL).

OUT OF GIBRALTAR, OUT OF NATO!

The large-scale visitation of the British fleet to Gibraltar and the fact that the Spanish fleet was observing it, exemplifies the profound disorder in the functioning of the world capitalist system.

The Thatcher government acts, or tries to act, as the sidekick of Yankee imperialism to intimidate opposition, as happened over the Malvinas war. Now the return of the Socialist government in Spain has intensified the sentiments of the Spanish masses for the return of Gibraltar. This is associated with the anti-NATO sentiment and the strength of the British naval force sent to Gibraltar expresses the desire to intimidate a government in Spain which does not correspond to the necessities of the war preparations against the Soviet Union and the Workers States. The refusal of the Spanish dockers to re-fit the fleet is in line, in a different context, with the British seamen who organised an international strike when the navy arbitrarily expropriated a vessel of the merchant navy. The reaction of Spain to the British fleet is part of the rejection of all the policies of imperialism.

The Labour Party should take a principled attitude on all this - just as, without equivocation, it should have accepted the return of the Malvinas to Argentine. The fact that a referendum in 1967 in Gibraltar voted for British control has no

relevance since all the economic dependence on Britain rendered such a vote meaningless. Moreover, such a matter cannot be decided by a small geographical annexe, when it's a question of a decision for a whole people. Gibraltar does not exist just for Gibraltar, and its existence 'in itself' is wholly artificial.

The fact that the old links with the metropolis no longer guarantee a good life for Gibraltar weakens the support for imperialism in the colony itself. Imperialism has no secure means of sustaining this economy whose only future lies in integration with the Spanish economy and with social transformation in Spain.

The whole incident over Gibraltar shows the extreme exacerbation of relations between imperialism and Spain, a country which no longer responds to the needs of world imperialism but, in however protracted a way, to the needs of the Spanish people for social change.

RESOLUTION OVER THE FAILED INVASION OF NICARAGUA

the local bourgeoisie feels crushed. In this sense the process of the Malvinas continues, because the Latin American countries were in general unanimous in their attitude of not supporting any external intervention against Nicaragua. It is necessary to consider that, until a short time ago, they intervened - including with soldiers - at the side of imperialism to smash the revolutionary movements like Argentina which supported militarily the reactionary government of El Salvador until the Malvinas struggle. They say that now there are Argentinians joined to the counter-revolutionaries who invaded Nicaragua, but they are mercenaries who invaded Nicaragua and not representatives of the Argentinian government.

There is a revolutionary process in ascent in Latin America which imperialism is incapable of containing. El Salvador, which continues and develops - whatever they organise - is not alone. Thus they murdered this comrade, Marinella Garcia, who was not a revolutionary leader but part of the sectors of the Latin American bourgeoisie won by the revolution. She was of bourgeois origin, had been a parliamentary representative of the Christian Democracy, and was won by feeling and understanding, to support the revolution and the class struggle. They assassinated her precisely because these have such an effect on the layers of the bourgeoisie. But it is an expression of a very profound process which is developing in Latin America. It is expressed in another form in the Church, and it is for this reason that the visit of the Pope has also been a failure in its objective of containing the influence of the revolution over the Church.

The Pope went to small countries which in earlier times counted for nothing, masses considered most backward who lived under colonial regimes and which now intervene in history through the revolution. That the Pope has had to go there to beg for the 'unity' of the Church shows the weakness of the capitalist system expressed in the crisis of the Church. Now there is a sector of the Church won to the process of social transformations, such as the priests of Nicaragua, and this process is still more profound in the masses. Hence the Pope went to conciliate and not to impose, to make agreements, to gain time in the name of the Church as an institution which has its own interests and they are not always the same as imperialism. Hence the hypocrisy of the Pope which is the same as ever, but comes to light openly; that is to say he had to go to Nicaragua to salute the Sandinistas and, at the same time, to fraternise with the assassin dictators of Guatemala and El Salvador. But what has changed is that he went

alone to salute the dictatorships and the assassins; once they visited the Vatican, now he has to do the visiting.

The failure of the dictatorships of Latin America, the economic collapse expressed in the external debt, obliges the local bourgeoisie to seek support in the masses to survive in front of imperialism, not on the basis of it being the least evil for them, but because they have no other solution. In this process they are trying to impede the independent organisation of the masses. They make a thousand manoeuvres, but not because they have strength or capacity but because there is no leadership, no workers' parties of weight. Nevertheless the events of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Bolivia, the mobilisations in Argentina, the triumph of the elections of last November in Brasil of the opposition to the military government, show that the process does not wait on the development of the parties and leaderships. The masses intervene in the same way and determine levels of profundity which surpass the national process; that is to say, they receive the influence of the world. The masses expressed this in the visit of the Pope, showing that they do not submit to religion but are orientated by the revolution.

In part the invasion of Nicaragua was made after the visit of the Pope, because they believed that the authority of the Sandinista government in front of the other countries was weakening, but the opposite was the case. It was the authority of the Pope which was enormously shaken after this trip. The masses are with the revolution and only afterwards with God, and the Pope has no influence unless he relates to what people want. If it were otherwise there would have been great mobilisations in defence of the Pope against those who are in conflict with him in Nicaragua but there is nothing of this. When for people it is normal to hiss and condemn the Pope, it is because they are mature in the understanding, and because they are guided by social concrete experience.

It is necessary to discuss the impotence of imperialism which, in the past, intervened directly with troops and organised coups, changed presidents from one day to the next, made massacres with impunity, and today they cannot do it. They continue massacring, organising crimes, and massacres, but cannot determine events. As they cannot go further they try to maintain a group of paid assassins, people linked to the old landowners so that once a week they fire a shot, commit a crime, kill a teacher, a doctor, even a peasant, and with this imperialism makes its campaign through the press that it controls; saying, 'See, there is a strong guerrilla opposition'. It is the same in Afghanistan; the so-called guerrillas are the landowners expelled by the agrarian reform, but they have no weight in the population. They show someone with a

rifle shooting from somewhere to justify the lie that 'there is a guerrilla movement against the Soviets', and there is nothing. They are bands of assassins, and it is necessary to show this. The Communist and Socialist parties must discuss and denounce those who resist the advance of the revolutionary process in Afghanistan, as in Nicaragua.

The plan of imperialism with Nicaragua is to liquidate the Sandinist leadership, to liquidate the revolution. It cannot do this, but it will not abandon this objective; thus it seeks, through the group which invaded, to maintain a situation of instability which justifies its presence, which intimidates the rest of the bourgeoisie, and to threaten Cuba. It has not succeeded in this because the bourgeoisie have no other solution than to seek a certain independence from the Yanks and Cuba continues intervening and elevates its relation with the anti-imperialist process of Latin America. At the same time, imperialism utilises this situation to maintain the pressure on the world and European bourgeoisie to prevent it intervening there.

The European bourgeoisie competes with imperialism in Latin America and after the Malvinas accentuated this situation. Germany and France and Italy seek to substitute for Yankee imperialism, and also to compete with the Workers States. The policy of the Socialist International, its support to Nicaragua, partly reflect this intention of European capitalism. The Yanks try to contain this process because it affects them directly. For example, any anti-imperialist process in Latin America passes through the expulsion of the Yanks, above all, and, at a lesser level the countries of capitalist Europe, thus, the latter in the drive for competition seek to establish themselves because politically they do not appear so compromised with the past. With Nicaragua, the policy of the European social democracy has this sense. It does not mean that they are going to help Nicaragua, but that they seek markets to invest in a short stage, and for this they can go as far as to give a minimum of aid, but also to contain the process within the margins of capitalism, and this being so it is no progress for Nicaragua or for Latin America.

The experience of Nicaragua shows that imperialism has not changed its objectives. It is going to continue pursuing the objective of smashing the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist revolutions. Politically and socially it does not have the strength but develops the military capacity to make it prepared for the war against the Workers States. They see that the USSR does not allow retreats in the revolutions, and hence Ortega is in Moscow. Thus imperialism sees that it is not Nicaragua but the USSR which determines, and then it feels impotent; but this does not mean that it is abandoning its objectives. This has to be discussed in the world Communist movement. Yankee imperialism wants to impede the

development of the new Workers States in Latin America, and it is going to seek all the means to do it because any social and economic progress goes against them, goes against private property. It is necessary to discuss that there is no tactic which can impede the intervention of imperialism; there are tactics which can reduce the damage of the counter-revolutionary initiatives but not to impede them.

Thus it is necessary to help to develop an anti-imperialist movement in Central America, to appeal for the unification and common planning to develop the economy. Cuba can intervene much more in this discussion, making public appeals aimed at the governments, to the armies, but also to the populations; if the government does not make it, then the trade unions can, or the Party directly - to appeal that the Latin American countries do not pay the external debt to imperialism, that they expel imperialism and develop a common programming of the economy with the Workers States.

Immediately, it is necessary to defend and secure a campaign of solidarity and give help to the Nicaragua revolution. The Workers States can intervene much more with their help; they do it decisively as the Soviets are now doing but it is necessary to give better political forms, uniting help with public discussion on how to resolve the problems of the economy, of society, of health, of education etc. This is going to have an enormous effect in Latin America and on the masses of the United States. In August 1979 Cde J. Posadas wrote on Nicaragua and made an appeal to the Workers States, 'so that the Soviet people China, the population of all the Workers States, in the factories, the schools, discuss the economic help to send to Nicaragua and send immediately millions of dollars: the wage of one day's work of every worker of the Workers States.

Undoubtedly, since then the help of the Workers States has elevated,

but the objective and the method with which the proposal was made continues entirely valid, and hence we return to pose it. When, throughout the world, imperialism desperately launches the most lying campaigns against the Workers States, inventing spies or - as in the Bulgarian case - making it appear that all the terrorism comes from the Workers States, it is because it has no perspective. They are efforts to contain the influence of the Workers States over the petit bourgeoisie of the big capitalist countries and to exert pressure on the Right of the Communist and Socialist parties. The bourgeoisie itself knows that the USSR has no interest in terrorism nor espionage, because its development does not depend on this. The Soviets are developing the most important projects of this stage of history, they are constructing another country in Siberia and, in harmony with nature, they are resolving the regional disequilibrium: taking water to arid regions and fertilising uncultivable regions. Hence the USSR finds harmony with any country which wants to progress like Nicaragua. Thus, it is necessary to weigh publicly with this relation in the world discussion, showing that it is imperialism which is organising terrorism, as they are doing in Nicaragua. We appeal to all the Communist parties and revolutionary movements to defend and support the Sandinista revolution and the expulsion of Yankee imperialism from Latin America, to unite the support to the revolutionary movement of El Salvador. We appeal to the movement which in Europe is mobilising for peace against the establishment of Yankee missiles to discuss the experience of Nicaragua and support the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle in the world. In any case, imperialism is preparing war - but every defeat which it suffers reduces its historic and concrete capacity, and, as a result, the damage which it is going to provoke for humanity.

IS. 6 March 1983.

OUT WITH ZIONIST AND IMPERIALIST TROOPS FROM THE LEBANON!

corrections 333 Red Flag

Last paragraph, article on Reagan 'the instrument' refers to the lack of an adequate organisation in the world Communist movement. Last paragraph, article on world Communist movement, should read, 'the masses are prepared for ...' The demonstration referred to in the photograph took place in Washington not New York.

Zimbabwe and the advance to Socialism

The vociferous campaign of attacks by British imperialism against Zimbabwe and its leadership has met with little success. British imperialism, with its usual hypocrisy, tries to take advantage of the undoubted tribal and other difficulties in Zimbabwe. It is sheer hypocrisy because the problem of tribalism, in particular, was maintained and nurtured by British imperialism when Zimbabwe was still a British colony. Imperialism has failed because Zimbabwe forms part of a world process in which any 'new' country seeking to advance has to take the path of Socialism. In its anxiety to use the problems that do exist in Zimbabwe, British imperialism conveniently forgets that Zimbabwe had thrown imperialism out in order to advance, and that considerable advances have been made under the leadership of Mugabe. As well as the recent extension of nationalisations there are the previous measures to develop education and the health services for the benefit of the mass of the population, and the institution of a minimum wage for workers.

The forces of reaction, both inside and outside the country, are willing to clutch at any straw in order to disrupt the advance of Zimbabwe. There has been a similar process in Mozambique and, in a more direct form, in Nicaragua. A great deal of play has been made of 'repression' in Zimbabwe by the bourgeois press. However, even the wife of Joshua Nkomo has urged him to return to Zimbabwe on the grounds that he is in no danger. Certainly his stay in London does not seem to be very fruitful on any level. Also, Nkomo's party, ZAPU, is still in Parliament and in government. So, where is the repression? Certainly the activities of Smith have been curtailed, but the very fact that he is at liberty, or even alive, simply shows that the masses of Zimbabwe are somewhat more humane than Smith and his gang —

and British imperialism directly before that were Those in Zimbabwe, like the Catholic Archbishop of Harare, who are complaining of 'repression' were, as Mugabe has said, much less vocal in their condemnations of the previous reactionary Smith regime.

Zimbabwe is advancing towards Socialism because there is no other path for progress, and there are always 'dissidents' against Socialism in these circumstances. Even if these 'dissidents' do not support world reaction, or are not direct agents of imperialism, they are open to be used by imperialism. There are, of course, the remnants of the White settler element which is not gone to South Africa, but they are of little importance and no strength. However, the structure left behind by imperialism in Zimbabwe has not yet been completely eliminated and there are elements within that which hope to maintain elements of private property and individual interest.

To understand Zimbabwe necessitates seeing it as part of a world process. The problems that Zimbabwe faces are not the problems of constructing a national bourgeois state, but the problems of the construction of Socialism. This is the level of the world today. In this, the example of the Soviet Union and the Workers States is the determining influence, even though the direct political intervention of the Workers States may not yet be at the necessary level. However, the 'independence' of Zimbabwe would have been very short-lived, given that it borders South Africa, if it were not for the existence of the Soviet Union and her present policy of support for 'all struggles of national and social liberation', and the presence of Cuban troops in Southern Africa.

The existence of 'dissidents' in Zimbabwe, remnants of the old regime, or elements that are reluctant to go too far down the road

towards Socialism, or tribal problems and the constant interference of imperialism, are only part of the story. Undoubtedly, some of the terrorism in Matabeleland has been carried out by elements who fought in the armed struggle against reaction and who are now impatient for progress. Their impatience with a certain slowness in the progress of Zimbabwe is the result of a favourable world balance of forces, combined with a lack of prepared political leadership. Mugabe has already attacked government ministers and other leaders who 'acquire wealth whilst posing as Socialists'. The impatience of some of the fighters who carried arms against the reaction is an inevitable result of having no Party previously prepared for the advance to Socialism. Zimbabwe, in general, has overcome this problem very well but it still faces problems, and they are world — rather than local — problems.

It is not a question of taking sides between Mugabe and Nkomo or whoever. The problem is not posed in that form. There is the problem of the construction of Socialism and the leadership for this stage of history, whatever phase of the process any particular country has reached. Zimbabwe can, like the rest of the world, rely on the Workers States for the example of the path to Socialism, for economic and military aid. However, the most important aid, at this stage, is on the political plane. The greatest and most necessary support for Zimbabwe is political. It is not a question of taking sides, but of understanding Zimbabwe in the world context of the advance to Socialism and of participating in the discussion for the construction of the necessary conscious political leadership and Party.

THE MALVINAS WAR AND THE DECAY OF IMPERIALISM

The bloody and barbarous war waged by British imperialism over the Malvinas has not been analysed in depth, apart from the Posadist IV International. In general terms, the Labour leadership was against the character of the war and the Benn tendency very much against, but the lack of much analysis over the origins of this war has led to the absence of any conclusions. All the publicity of imperialism is designed to conceal the real process under a cloud of militarist mysticism and lying. However, reality will not depart and the persistent attacks by the Labour MP Dayell is very interesting in this respect. The Franks Commission was an attempt to exonerate British imperialism under the flagrant rubbish about the government having done all in its power to avert the conflict. But Dayell puts the correct point of view and argues that imperialism planned the attack on Argentina as part of a wider strategy.

Imperialism is now trying to develop the Malvinas as an atomic base for use against the continent of Latin America, as part of the war strategy of world imperialism in conflict with the Workers States. But when MPs like Dayell persist in their attacks and a Parliamentary Commission, including Conservative MPs on the Malvinas, say the 'fortress' policy of Thatcher is untenable, this shows that in spite of the limitations the Labour leadership over the Malvinas issue — forces including sectors of capitalism expose the Thatcher line and reject her policies.

Editorial From page 1

for mobilisation of the masses. The proletariat has intervened on many occasions to push forward the class struggle — the ASLEF strike, the Water Workers intervention, the struggle of the Hospital Workers, the recent struggles at Cowley, and the projected occupation of the shipyards. Certainly the trade union leadership as a whole refuse to mobilise against the system, and time and again dissipate the energies of the class and fail to co-ordinate the various struggles. This is an historic problem, Britain being the home of the reformist collaborationist trade union leadership. But the forces of the Labour Left must intervene much more in these issues, developing a consistent discussion in bulletins and journals and, above all, giving a transcendent character to these struggles by placing them in a world context. The factor which allows audacity and the development of a superior conception in the Party and Unions is the understanding of the role of the Workers States. Who sustains all the progressive forces in the world, Nicaragua, Mozambique and the PLO, and sustains Libya? It is the Soviet Union. Why is it that, even with all the pressure of unemployment, the fascists cannot develop anything? Because the masses see another perspective: the possibility of social transformations

Imperialism has tried to bring out the 'patriotic spirit' in this episode but in fact the use of Gurkha troops showed a lack of confidence in the British forces. Nor was there one single demonstration in Britain in support of Thatcher. Letters recently published show that the troops had no enthusiasm for this war and, on the military plane, neither was it the success British imperialism tries to portray it as it was not prepared for the exocet missiles nor the courage of the Argentine air force and, if imperialism finally won the islands, this was due not so much to Britain arms but the incapacity and unwillingness of the Argentinian army Commanders to fight (a more successful outcome for the Argentine military would have vastly increased the anti-imperialist efforts of the Argentine masses).

The persistence of Dayell's attacks is symptomatic of the enormous disintegration within the heart of the capitalist system. The mass of the British population was against the war, and one of the mothers who visited the grave of her son said it was all the waste of a life. The Malvinas episode is an example of the total impotence of world imperialism — many were killed, but imperialism was weakened. Moreover the professional army of British imperialism itself must think that even if it goes against its training and outlook to do so, the army did not emerge very well; and, in face of the Soviet army and its popular support, it will be 'all fall down' for British imperialism.

and the fact that the Soviet Union is for progress and not for war. At the same time, it is necessary to appreciate the progress of the Soviet leadership, the way they chose to intervene towards France on the expulsion of the Soviet diplomats in a calm and explanatory way, and the way they intervene to the United States writing an answer to a little girl who wrote to the Soviet leader.

The Labour Left has to understand the historic weight of the discussion between Andropov and Foot. The failure of the Labour Party and the trade unions to use May Day as a focus for major demonstrations and speeches shows the crabbed outlook of the Party and its apparatus, but it remains fundamental that the Labour Left begins to structure itself around a coherent policy and programme, discusses much more, utilises the texts of Posadas who correctly foresaw the course of the process in the Workers States and Britain. A more audacious and didactic Left based on the understanding of the Workers States could have a decisive weight in stimulating a Labour victory and winning over those sectors of the population who seek a decisive but supple leadership.

7.5.83.

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EDITORIAL

THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY MUST DEVELOP A COHERENT POLICY AND PROGRAMME

The return of the Thatcher government is not going to strengthen capitalism. On the contrary, all the contradictions which forced the election in the first place are going to increase, and the confrontation with the population will grow. The electoral swindle has allowed an increase in the number of Conservative seats while, at the same time, the Conservative proportion of the vote has diminished by 2%. The majority of the population is against them. This is no landslide. The Thatcher regime has no perspective for capitalism - except to act as a base for a war against the Soviet Union and Thatcher openly boasts of her willingness to 'press the button'. The low poll of the Labour Party points to the loss of unstable and rightist sectors and to the fact that new layers have not been won through the incapacity of the apparatus and the interested sloth of the trade union bureaucracy. The gains to the Liberals are not to be seen as gains for capitalist authority. Much of the Liberal base is seeking a way out of the capitalist morass and thus many accept unilateralism even if the leadership rejects this. Moreover, the capitalism of the Liberals does not correspond to the wishes of the central sectors of capitalism and is a dead weight against them. The SDP suffered major blows.



ANTI-WAR DEMONSTRATION

MAY 7 LONDON

The most important aspect of the election is the crisis of the social democracy, that is, the Labour Party and with it the trade unions. The programme of the Labour Party is a good one - against nuclear weapons and for social progress (whatever limitations there may be with the latter). But the reality of the discussion in the elections was very, very superficial. There were no mobilisations, few slogans, very few meetings apart from a campaign of meetings by Foot etc.

As for the trade union leadership, their relative silence throughout was particularly outstanding. Although the trade unions are directly under attack by capitalism, the trade union leaders have mobilised and discussed nothing. They are obliged to support the Labour Party, but it was clear - as occurred in the connivance with capitalism over unemployment - that they are terrified of the development of a revolutionary Left which can advance with the course of mobilisations and discussions. There is no doubt that in general the trade union leadership sabotaged the elections. Many of them - except Left sectors - did not want the Labour Party programme or the Labour leader Foot. Even in the very course of the election the Rightist Chappel (Chairman of the TUC!) supported a candidate of the SDP and, despite the efforts of Scargill, was not censured - what type of support is this for the Labour Party? Chappel also spoke

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The recent Congress of the PCI reflects the importance and representation which this Communist Party has for the world, and Italy; its function as a fundamental instrument for revolutionary social transformations in the country, and part of the progress of the internal discussion. This is not through the conclusions and resolutions, which have not meant an important change in the policy of the Party, but through some discussions which have been achieved in the preparatory stage, and because in the resolutions it has not been possible to retreat to positions which some demand. A rupture with the Soviet Union has not occurred nor has the left character which the Communist base gave to the Democratic alternatives been contained now, nor has it been possible to make the functioning of the Party even more open to influence through the capitalist structure. Hence, the historic validity and character of the Russian Revolution was sustained against the Christian Democracy of the 'democratic alternative' and the Communist Party continues being the 'nerve centre' of the working class.

Even with the evasions and errors of its leadership the intelligent function of the Italian working class was clear in this Congress. It has been the Italian working class and its Communist intention which has permitted the Party to receive the influence of the world, maintaining it in the centre of the struggles of the country facing the crisis of capitalism against the druggists and the Mafia, against imperialist armament and NATO and, in this way, it has maintained itself intact, linked to the centre of the world revolution and the Workers States. This was not in the discussion of the Communist Congress. It should have discussed the attitude of the working class over Poland. While

the leadership of the Party condemned the military intervention, while the trade union leadership united to the world campaign against the Workers State and called for stoppages and mobilisations, the Italian working class did nothing against Socialist Poland. This is not through ignorance, nor sympathy for the 'old' Socialist countries; but because the working class understands through its function the difficulties of the construction of society, sees it in their own difficulties to construct the strike, the trade union, and their Party; in their Party it sees that it has to live with people who want to change the Communist name and objective...

This strength of the working class and the Italian Communist vanguard was expressed in the rele-

even maintaining the positions adopted on Poland, Afghanistan, the view of 'the exhaustion of the impulse for progress on the Soviet model'; did not insist on nor made any further analysis on this line but spoke against Yankee imperialism. He spoke of the USA as the aggressive force which seeks war, but of the Soviet Union that it 'makes a policy of power', and sustained the importance of the Sino-Soviet discussion and the Soviet proposal for disarmament. Anyway, the problems of the construction of Socialism and of the Workers States have not been discussed in a profound way; they have had neither the security or the homogeneity to deal with them further. In the pre-Congress discussion, it was partly discussed - if it was not more it is because

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vance of the Congress. The world Communist movement and the revolutionary movement participated fully with important delegations, like those from the USSR and the Socialist countries. Also the Italian bourgeoisie recognised the weight of the PCI assisting all the bourgeois parties with their leading máxims, interrupting the Parliamentary sessions and the Government Council during the period of the CP Congress.

Berlinguer placed the discussion of Italy within the course of the world process of the class struggle,

the Communist vanguard understands that these are problems linked to the decision of anti-capitalist struggle in the country and that, with the proposal of the government of the 'democratic alternative', a perspective of struggles and of progress of the Party will open, which it is necessary to impel. More decided to liquidate capitalism in Italy, the Party is going to have better eyes to see the function of the Soviet Union and the Socialist camp: because from there they are going to feel the necessity to collect the strength and example,

turn to page 3

The Revolutionary process in the Middle East and the crisis of the Arab leaderships.

24.5.83 (International Secretariat).

SUPPLEMENT

THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEMS OF MARXISM FROM TROTSKY TO TODAY. J. POSADAS

25 October 1979.

The essential aspect of the problems of Marxism today is that the continuity of Marxist method in a total form does not exist in the world Communist movement; it only exists partially. On the basis of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States there is a partial Marxist interpretation of the process of history, on the crisis of capitalism in the economy, or on aspects of the class struggle; but not globally in the analysis of the struggle system against system. Today Marxism has to be applied system against system otherwise Marxism decays, does not have bases to develop and to be able to be applied in a global and integral form, but is partialised: a part there, another part there, another there.

How apply Marxism in Vietnam or China? It is necessary to interpret why the Chinese invaded Vietnam. What are the differences between the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam, the occupation of Vietnam by the Chinese, or the occupation of one capitalist country by another? One is to impel; the other to impede development, to devour and absorb it. Vietnam impels but China impedes development.

This is not discussed in the Communist movement, nor even in the Soviet Union or China or Cuba. That is to say, there is not a continuity of Marxism even with defects but there is a partial application of Marxism which then ceases, without the application and the global experience. This does not allow developing experiences in the proletarian vanguard of the countries which emerge from nothing and come out of the revolution to be something. There is no continuity, extension or development of Marxist application, foreseeing the course of history - which is the essential basis of Marxism. With twenty Workers States now, it should be possible to foresee, there should have been a general instrument in the world of foresight to see where history is going and, as part of that, to see that imperialism is preparing war and (without ceasing to use the inter-capitalist contradictions - including making a pact with the French against the Yanks or a pact with the French without being against the Yanks) in order to gain time, it is necessary to impel at the same time the revolution in the world. The French ally with the Soviets in part seeking their support, and the Soviets have to make a policy of support to Giscard d'Estaing which affects the French Communist Party.

It is not a question of proposing simply that Marxism is the method of interpretation but of concrete application. After the war Marxism was abandoned, pragmatic Marxism was applied, of a concrete order but reflecting interests in relation to each problem, independent of the later and general process. That is to say, it is not simply a question of returning to Marxism. Now, there is a partial application of Marxism because the existence of twenty Workers States forces its leaderships towards a partial application of Marxism.

A correction of the insufficiency of the interpretation of the method of foresight in history on the Permanent Revolution is necessary. There is no present existing text which shows that the process of history is that of the Permanent Revolution.

All the revolutions have developed with the principles of the Permanent Revolution, beginning with the revolutions after the war - where previously the Soviet Union alone had existed. That is to say that these Workers States did not go through the stages of the bourgeois state of capitalist development, bourgeois democratic liberties, but went directly to social transformations. The Workers States which arose developed with immense bureaucratic apparatuses arisen from this process, because there did not exist previously Marxist parties. There was not a revolutionary functioning, there were no parties which would organise the revolutionary will of the masses. Those which did this were apparatuses impelled by the Soviets. But the Workers States did not arise only because of the intervention of the USSR; the latter based itself directly on the masses which, in their turn, depended on the Soviet Union to sustain themselves in front of capitalism.

Hence it is not a question only of proposing the 'return to Marxism'. It is a question of a discussion of a very profound process of history, not complicated but very profound, where the necessity of support and criticism at the same time requires understanding. Between support and criticism what determines is support; not like the attitude of the 'dissidents', where the elements which determine are criticism and not support. Thus the dissidents work as a function of individual interest, of the group, of sectors not working as a function of the progress of history.

The problems which Marxism has to interpret are, among them, China/Vietnam, China/USSR. This is not the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. It is not a question now in front of these problems of political revolution and Permanent Revolution, but of confrontation between two Workers States. The old Trotskyists have been annihilated in all this.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

The problems of Marxism today are those of the construction of the Workers States to Socialism. In the stage of Trotsky the fundamental aspect was to defend the only Workers State, and this was the fundamental aspect of Marxism. Now today the defence of a Workers State is mixed with the advance of the revolution, with the empirical form in which the world revolutionary process develops, in which it is necessary to support and criticise the bureaucracy. But between the criticism and the struggle against the bureaucracy support is the element which decides our conduct. It is not the criticism or the struggle against the bureaucracy.

These are the problems of Marxism today. Another aspect of Marxism today is the birth of the child in space, the inter-planetary investigations which are now in process, and the birth of the child in water. These are also the problems of Marxism today. Now it is not the old poem of the 'class struggle' or the 'Left opposition'. Neither can one take as the experience or centre the Russian Revolution. It is an orientation, but the problems of today are not the problems of the character, and the tactic of Lenin in the July days with the taking of the Soviet by the Bolsheviks. All this forms part, but it is lesser. Humanity has an experience which is not the form of Soviet, but comes from the Soviet Union and it is the experience that the problems are resolved by taking power.

NO WORLD AUTHORITY

Another aspect of Marxism today is that there is no authority. Even with the presence of the Workers States there is no acceptable world authority. There is a world authority which determines the course or history, which is the Soviet Union and in part China, but the latter is mixed with the counter-revolutionary attitude of the bureaucratic leadership. Thus the influence of China is slowed down by this counter-revolutionary attitude of the leadership. Huo Guofeng is counter-revolutionary when he calls upon the German bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism to impel the development of the Soviets. This is a criminal state of affairs, and is now to the Right of the people who defend the dissidents as the objective against the Workers State, not simply as a right to speak on this, I reiterate what I said from the beginning: put at liberty all the dissidents and what are they going to do now? Who wants to speak now? What do they say? What ideas do they have? - including, I joked, that if they let them speak they are going to say 'scandalous, scandalous saboteurs, they have let me speak'. because what are they going to say? They have nothing to say.

Another new aspect for Marxism is that of the organisational form. In the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky the only experience of the workers vanguard was the Permanent Revolution made in the Soviet Union. But this vanguard was liquidated. All the old team which lived October was liquidated; assassinated or died naturally. Thus the Communist parties did not develop on the basis of the experience of the Russian Revolution, but guided by Stalin, by the sinister organisation of Stalin. Thus the deficiency of Marxism does not mean a retreat in the cultural, scientific level and level of intelligence, but that the worker, intellectual and scientific vanguard developed in the struggles without having time to learn from the Russian Revolution, because it had no other school where to develop. There was no school, the

'school' was Stalin - which meant the annihilation of scientific thought.

A very essential aspect which is not in the texts of the Communist parties is that there are twenty Workers States and there is no proper planning among them. There is a secondary superficial planning of raw materials, but not of the structure of production. There is still not a combination between all the Workers States, which shows to the capitalist world the superiority of planning among the countries which can do it, while capitalism cannot make a planned unification.

This does still not exist in the life of the Communist movement. Then there is the experience of the Chinese counter-revolutionaries who originally were revolutionaries but petit bourgeois and from quite rich families. All the Chinese leadership were originally the sons of the landowners and the petit bourgeois who alone could dedicate time to the study of ideas. Almost all went to study in Europe, even Chou en Lai who was a good leader of the Centre Right but a good leader because he was a Communist. In their epoch their policy was not anti-Soviet, as it is now

Among the new problems of Marxism today it is also necessary to understand how the ecologists have arisen, which correspond to what before were the 'Leftists'. The ecological movement does not correspond to the objective necessity of 'Leftism' or ecologism itself - this movement has arisen as a rejection of capitalist brutality and because the leaderships of the workers movement - Communists and Socialists - were not concerned in time with these problems. Those who come to the ecologist movement do not come through necessities of work, of wages, of political repression. They are defending more elevated levels in life, and to do it they have to put themselves in politics and to be against capitalism. In the progress of their movement they come to the defence of the human being, which is the object of Communism: to regulate life one of whose aspects begins with the defence of the human being against the brutality of production, of war and of capitalism.

For this reason these movements of the ecologists have much importance in the principle countries of Europe. We gave them from the beginning much importance, treating them very seriously when they were laughed at, including by the Communists.

The origin of this movement is a reaction even of very wealthy people who see that capitalist life is degenerating. They see that life is degenerating, and thus they come out in defence against the capitalist degradation in life, and this pushes them against the social interests of the class to which they belong. It is the same as the scientist who is paid by the capitalist but reasons in this way: I will not do this because it is a crime against humanity. Yankee scientists say: we do not study atomic energy to kill but to serve people.

This is a stage whose essential problems for Marxism are not as before and that arise from the final settlement of accounts. The final settlement of accounts is the process of concentration of class against class, in which all the other aspects enter - like that of the dissidents, the bureaucracy of the Workers States, and the differences of the leaderships of the Workers States, and problems which did not exist before in history, as with the counter-revolutionary attitude of the Chinese leadership; Tito in his attitude of objective partial alliance with capitalism; and the development of conditions which did not exist before, which are the intervention of the Soviets in Cambodia and Laos or the attitude of the Chinese of alliance with imperialism against the Soviet Workers State.

These are the problems of Marxism today and, in these problems, it is necessary to apply the Marxist method. Now it is not the Marxism of the economy, as in the epoch of Marxism. Even the tactic of the class struggle continues being important and fundamental, but in these new conditions that are not those of the stage of Lenin and Trotsky.

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J POSADAS

Italian Communist party from page 1 themselves. The discussion in the base of the Party held back the most retrograde sectors of the Party - the anti-Socialist elements and Berlinguer noted this.

Hence it is important what Berlinguer said: 'We want Poland to correct itself, but not to return to capitalism'. This is against those who pursue the rupture of the PCI with the Socialist camp to make it more agreeable with capitalism. Petulant people, like Lama or Chiamonte, join the capitalist choir who criticise the 'economic failures of the USSR' or the 'low productivity'. They do not criticise the USSR as Communists who are constructing a new society or the bureaucratic aspects which can be criticised, but they criticise it with the national capitalist backward criticism expressing the envy of the Italian bourgeois in front of the progress of the USSR. The difficulties in the Workers States are the product of the bureaucratic leadership which comes from Stalin; but, even more, they are the product of the world capitalist crisis which still affects the Socialist camp in that more than half the productive capacity of the Socialist camp must be destined to defend itself from the war which imperialism is preparing, and to sustain the revolutionary world movement. The Soviet economy must be measured by the fact also - and fundamentally - by the support which it gives to the progress of the struggles in the world, as in Nicaragua. If Nicaragua has been able to resist the most important of the Yankee provocation it has been through the action of the USSR and of Cuba. This is also part, and a conscious part, of the

productivity of the Soviet worker; but the productivity of capitalism is to mount missiles, provocations and invasions, like those from Honduras organised against Nicaragua.

The lack of depth in the discussion of the Congress is not because 'the alternative is being outlined en route', nor because capacity is absent within the Communist leaders. Some of them sought to interpret and argue to see how to overcome the capitalist system but others have expressed fear and resistance to this conclusion. In all the discussion over any discussion, the void is evident; a Communist Party, does it advance to Socialism or advance in reformism gradually or in expectancy of consent on the part of capitalism or of the present Socialist leadership? This has already been resolved in the base of the Party, in its worker and intellectual vanguard - there is no progress with capitalism. Hence, at this level, the discussion could have reached greater profundity - if, at the pre-Congress level this was not discussed at greater length it is because there is not sufficient preparation and life in the Party, because it is not possible to discuss themes now proposed as conclusions in the central document in meetings that are no more than twenty hours of debate (or two or three days), and in sections where the political life is reduced to four or five meetings in the year. The most polemical themes in all this time have not

been completely debated. Thus the Congress should have discussed the significance of the retreat in the Democratic conquests of the masses in Italy, discussed the narrowing of the margins to advance by means of administrative reforms or gradual advances or Parliamentary advances and have discussed in depth the experiences of the local administrations and the negligible means of controlling and modifying the decision of the central power by the Parliamentary Opposition.

An example of this is the behaviour of the Italian judiciary which has no organ of control apart from Parliamentary control but is the most submitted to the interests of imperialism, of fascism, of the Mafia, and works and resolves accordingly. If the agents in key posts find something is not in their control the judiciary has means to transfer such matters to itself. The Mafiosi, the fascists, the swindlers, attack the Communist administrations or create farces like the 'Bulgarian assassins' in which a paid assassin has such a welcome in the Italian judicial system as to lead to the arrest of officials of the Bulgarian Embassy and complicate relations between the two countries.

To smash this, the Communist Party has to be prepared and the Congress was insufficient for this. There was no reflection on the previous policy of the 'historic compromise', and its abandonment for that of the 'alternative'. What changes were there? The Congress had not prepared the Party to foresee, to know how to organise its forces and that of the masses for what was going to occur, and the Congress must serve to homogenise this foresight and the preparation of the Party.

...but it is necessary to expect a better discussion and a selection in the leadership, as the French Communist Party in part has made. The differences are not only those of Cossuta against the rest and, moreover, he has had support because he has remained in the secretariat of the Party. If he had had really minimal support he would have been thrown out. There are also the differences between Berlinguer and Napolitano, and Ingrao with Napolitano and, moreover, they are all the result of how this Party has been structured and the clash between this structure and present reality. This Party cannot break as the Spanish Communist Party did because of the weight of the experience and the influence of the workers vanguard. But if leading the discussion depended on the leadership, the PCI would fragment like the PCE. This is another reflection, absent from the recent Congress, that if the 'third way' is a path tested in experiment it is necessary to discuss the result to discuss what happened to eurocommunism and the Spanish Communist Party...The Congress should have discussed the advance of the totality of the Communist parties and to see that those who progress and increase their political weight are those who push forward an anti-capitalist policy and appear as linked to the Socialist camp like the French, the Greek and the Portuguese parties. Even with the vacillation of its leadership, the Italian Communist Party maintains itself linked to the world Communist movement and to Marxism.

Hence, in the middle of the Congress they made a homage for the centenary of Marx and emphasised that his thought was alive in the interpretation of the process to Communism, and that Communism is not constructed in each country separately but universally. This goes completely against those in the Party who want to see Marx as dead or useless for today, against those who imposed in the last Congress that it was possible to be a militant (or even leader) without being a Marxist, in the famous article five of the internal statutes.

Nor did discussion over trade union policy achieve homogeneity, nor were the proposals good. The most important were the analysis and proposals made by Berlinguer on the possibility of the Party determining a better and independent policy from that determined by the trade union leadership; in all the last strikes the Party was to the Left of the leadership of the trade unions as in the questioning of 'parity' in the leading organs of the trade union movement and the idea of replacing this with a democratic and representative structure of the real forces within the workers movement. This is a blow at the Socialist and Christian Democratic leaderships which, with the narrow support that they enjoy, have the same representation as the Communist centre. It is a blow also at the trade unions that want this 'parity' so as to pursue a conciliatory policy with capitalism...what has to be criticised in the trade union leadership is that their policy is one of submission to what capitalism can give and, in this sense, the policy of Carniti and Benvenuto is reactionary. Hence, in what he is proposing if rather badly, Berlinguer is closer to the truth because he proposes a series of points of an anti-capitalist character: among them the most important is the defence of trade union democracy and of the factory councils.

The proposal for a greater internal democracy was done to develop in a better way the preparation of the Party to intervene in front of the crisis of capitalism, and as a means for the preparation of the war on the part of imperialism. There are those who seek internal democracy as a means of making a Party of 'pluralism' of currents, reaching those who are against Socialism; the sense which the base and the vanguard

proposes is quite different. They want to elevate internal democracy as an instrument for the Socialist transformation of Italy - democratic centralism is not a principle whose simple enunciation serves to lead a workers party, but requires programme and policy. If the objective of the Party is anti-capitalist and is preparing for the government of the Left and power, the democratic life develops to prepare for this. If the Party advances with doubts, and with fear, democracy is going to be regulated by this fear and doubt. And the centralisation is fictitious if it only follows the intention of the leadership. Carrillo centralised the Spanish Communist Party but, at the same time, it broke into a multitude of tendencies.

The leadership must register the dissatisfaction and the criticism of the base of the Party to correct itself. When Napolitano is voted among the last as a delegate to the national Congress, and this is at a vote level of the Federation where there was such a selection integrated mainly via functionaries, this indicates a criticism of the policy of conciliation and agreement with capitalism of which he is the outstanding supporter. This is much more profound than the fact that the amendments of Cossuta only received 11% of the votes. To have obtained more support would only be possible if his sector were constituted as a fraction of the Party. Besides, the role of the Soviet Union was affirmed by the base in the document of the Congress where it says: 'The revolution of October has been the greatest historic transformation'. Support or not to Cossuta does not mean directly yes or no to the USSR, but expresses the need to discuss in a much more profound way all the problems. Moreover, it is necessary to consider that Cossuta was not thrown out of the Central Committee nor from the leadership of the Party. On the contrary, the changes in the Central Committee have shown a certain cleansing as with some of the intellectuals who were elected in the previous Congress, like Asor Rosa who is not a Communist. It is a tendency which is anti-Communist and which still has to be cleansed. It is important to see that in the Congressional Tribune meeting of

Unita there were some who proposed to change the name 'Communist' in the Party, and this was not just against the name but against the Communist objective. A selection has to come in the Party to clear out all these people as in the trade union and administrative apparatus who are dedicated to personal careers and ignore the Communist objective.

The changes in the leadership of the Party since the Congress are not significant, although there are a series of important signs like the appointment of Zangheri to the leadership, withdrawing from his function as mayor. This is a reinforcement of the Party over the local administration, because it is necessary to see that the mayor of Bologna is Communist mayor of the greatest authority in the country. This is a principle which comes from Lenin, that of separating Party from the state administration. The appointment of Zangheri is to reinforce the Berlinguer tendency in the internal discussion in the Party. Another important decision is the reduction in the number of functionaries of the Party, although there are still many - 22%. This is a line which is going to permit a great influence on the life of the population of the working class in the Party. Thus it is going to develop as a revolutionary party, not modern in the sense of being adequate and considered by the bourgeoisie, but modern in the decision to construct modern society: that is, Socialism.

The Communist Congress with its aspects of progress has not canalised the discussion, and the concern of the Communist base which is preparing the Party for the struggles in the country and to accompany the revolutionary world progress. This is the process which is elevating now in the Italian Communist Party.

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nate with the policy of anti-Sovietism.

The absence of a consistent Left in the Labour Party is the element which limits a much greater dynamism in the relation between the Labour Party and the masses. The attack on the 'militant tendency' was the occasion used by the apparatus and the Right of the Party to seek to contain the Left which is developing. To an extent Foot is seen by the remaining Rightists in the Party as a block against something much worse, a revolutionary Left. The fear of the apparatus in the Party can be seen in the consistent sabotage of May Day. Logically a massive demonstration against Thatcherism was called for, but there was no mobilisation and no preparation. The apparatus knows that any such mobilisation increases

the pressure for discussions and changes in the Labour Party. It is the same in relation to the anti-missiles movement. The Labour Party and the trade unions are in agreement on the anti-nuclear programme, but as regards mass discussion and mobilisation nothing has been done. It is the women of Greenham Common who have made the campaign and the struggle!

The stages which are coming are very favourable to the organisation of a consistent Left in the Labour Party and it is necessary to expect a dynamic rhythm both in the intervention or the masses, but also greater disintegration and disorder in the functioning of capitalism. There is no retreat in such a process - only delays within a dynamic process. Moreover the crises and discussions within all the social

democratic parties, Germany or France etc, will have repercussions in the Labour Party and facilitate reflection on what ways, what experiences have to be discussed on the solution for the problems of the social democracy in a stage when all the reformist solutions are kaput.

The Left that is developing in the Labour Party and which is still very dispersed can only gain consistency on the basis of the understanding of the Workers States. Questions such as the correct orientation in relation to Ireland or the Malvinas, or the meaning of democracy itself, can only advance on the basis of seeing the present role of the Workers States.

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THE FAILURE OF THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT

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The calling of elections by the Thatcher government on June 9, a year before the term of the government runs out, is the result of panic in capitalism in front of the failure of all the policies of Thatcherism and the constant augmentation in the forces of the Opposition. The dynamic intervention of the women of Greenham Common and the consistent opposition of the Labour Party to the policy of Cruise missiles and confrontation with the Soviet Union has created a situation in the country, coupled with the disastrous increase in unemployment and the all-round deterioration in the standard of living of the population, that capitalism felt it could not contain and could lead to a collapse of the government in the next stage.

The Thatcher policies were founded on a complete misunderstanding of the realities of the world as it is. Operating on the basis of submission to the policies of Yankee imperialism, the sectors supporting Thatcher assumed that it would be possible to weaken the Workers States and smash down the resistance of the masses to the reduction of employment and the attacks on the public services consequent on the application of the policies of monetarism. The most sinister aspects of this policy found expression in the Malvinas war and the policy of accepting Cruise missiles into Britain.

This experience, plus the proven incapacity of British imperialism to overcome its weakness in competitive power with other capitalist countries — the Thatcher policy has led in reality to the most brutal increase in unemployment imaginable — has decisively weakened British imperialism and accelerated all the forces which seek to terminate with the policies of imperialism and seek the social transformation of Britain.

The forces which have determined the failure of the Thatcher government come from the world process and the historic ascendancy of the Workers States led by the Soviet Union. The defeat of world imperialism in Vietnam, and the advances of the world Socialist revolution in Nicaragua, Zimbabwe, and Angola, the process whereby the Soviet Union and China seek agreement, the success of the Soviet intervention towards Afghanistan, the total failure of the Reagan administration to overwhelm the Soviet Union with threat of war, economic embargoes etc. — all these experiences over a period of years have developed anti-capitalist forces in Britain which would have been inconceivable without the world ambience and the growing weight of the Workers States. It is the example of the latter which has determined the rapid growth of powerful anti-capitalist forces in Britain, both inside and outside the Labour Party, especially the anti-nuclear movement. British imperialism thought it could operate as it had in previous epochs, without the Workers States and with a docile internal opposition. The results of the Thatcher illusions have been an enormous weak-

ening of British imperialism and, in reality, have accelerated the process towards the downfall of the capitalist system in Britain.

The historic change which is occurring in Britain is concentrated particularly in the transformation of the Labour Party. In previous crises when capitalism was in difficulties it was normal for a Labour administration to take over, make adjustments, contain the masses, and allow capitalism to continue. Now, an entirely new stage is opening. Whereas the last Callaghan administration, previous to Thatcher, had a policy and programme to help capitalism, accepted the missiles policy, the alliance with the United States as a cornerstone, and a policy of blocking the aspirations of the masses: now the policy of the Labour Party goes against the historic interests of capitalism. This is particularly expressed in the policy of rejecting the Cruise missiles, the Trident missile, the discussion of plans to close all the nuclear bases — in fact, the whole conception of unilateral nuclear disarmament. Thus, objectively, the Workers States and the masses of Britain via the Labour Party are in a united front against the historic interests of imperialism and capitalism.

The anti nuclear movement

Together with this change in the Labour Party, large sectors of the petit bourgeois masses have entered directly into political action in the anti-missiles movement; and this has taken on the most elevated character with the women of the Greenham Common movement. In their combative interventions against the establishment of the Cruise missiles, they have also expressed in their songs and dances a conception of social relations which transcends the social relations generated by capitalism and which stems basically from the existence of the Workers States. These forces are not going to die away, they will tend to increase with the disintegration of the forces of capitalism. They tend to act as a force which can animate the Workers organisations and, in part, substitute for the lack of a more dynamic response from the workers parties and unions.

At the same time, in all this rich process it is necessary to take into account the effect which the Workers States and the policy of confrontation of Yankee imperialism against the Soviet Union has on extensive sectors of the bourgeoisie itself. This is evident in many parts of the world, including the United States where sectors linked to the development of the normal industrial development of capitalism see themselves at the mercy of those whose only thought is more profits via the arms race and confrontation with the Soviet Union. Large sectors of

capitalism now have abandoned thoughts of the survival of capitalism and think in terms of immediate survival, and do not take kindly to the idea of being exterminated as the result of the policies of the Reagan clique or those that stand behind him. This process also exists in Britain.

Even in the Thatcher clique there have been many expressions of indecision and, as shown in the Press as in the 'Guardian', tendencies exist which do not accept that the Soviet Union is the devil.

A new process is now at work in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. The element which is missing is the Party and leadership which adequately expresses the force of the process. There is still not an organised Left with a clear conception of programme and policy.

Crisis of the trade unions.

Foot does not represent the forces that are at work. The critical problem is that a social democratic party constructed with totally reformist conceptions and with a functioning which corresponded to winning elections and making little gains is now launched without previous preparation into a struggle against capitalism. At the same time, implicit in this situation is the contradiction between the advance of the Party and the disparate nature of the trade union leadership which even if there are leaders more to the Left, has acted in a vile way in the period of the Thatcher government. It is not true that Thatcher is totally responsible for the disastrous increase in unemployment. What did the trade union leaders do in the whole of this period? Attempts at unification of struggles were totally sabotaged and defeats imposed by capitalism without need. But, again, a new process is at work. In previous periods trade union leaders acted as negotiators for capitalism, because the structure of history allowed this. Now this structure is gone, the old labour aristocracy is not being reproduced, and thus many leaders like Duffy appear as fossils of a past period. The expulsion of Weighell from the leadership of the railway union is an example of the crisis of the old trade union leadership, and there will be more to come because the policy of reforming and saving capitalism does not correspond to reality. The changes that are to come can be felt, although expressed in another form, when Scargill of the miners union, at a meeting of miners leaders in Europe, said that his union wants to affiliate to the trade unions based on the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and turn to page 3

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of the Soviet type programme of the Labour Party'. Now these appalling sycophants of capitalism speak of working with the government. In fact, they have done so for the past four years. Now they propose they must make the fact 'public'. In reality their crisis will become deeper because there is no means by which they can contain the crisis of capitalism or the need for a more combative class policy. They will make efforts to contain the Left of the Party, but we do not live in the epoch of Ramsey Macdonald and the structure of history undermines them.

It is important to see that opportunities to deepen discussions were not taken in the course of the campaign. Thus the anti-nuclear forces intervened against nuclear bases and were arrested, and Thatcher made clear her brutal perspectives of atomic war; but there was no effort to extend discussions to the population — and, indeed, in the course of the campaign the nuclear issue tended to be pushed to the background by the leadership: a concession to the apparatus and the Right. At the same time, pressures from the population imposed references to the Malvinas war, but nothing was developed on this despite evident hostility for the war from many whose relatives were obliged to die for British imperialism. Thus Thatcher was never faced with a serious problem on the issue. Nor was there any discussion over Ireland, where — in spite of the intimidation and harassment of British imperialism — Gerry Adams, candidate of the IRA, has won a seat. All this indicates the profound problem of the social democracy confronting a task for which its thought and functioning is not equipped. Logically a new type of party is required.

This election is a small and minute episode in the vast drama of the confrontation between imperialism and the Workers States. Thatcher finds resistance wherever she is and electoral successes will not solve the crises of the system which is corroding and dying. In the middle of the election Powell, representing sectors of capitalism ignored by the multinationals and the financiers, spoke against the concept of nuclear war and the policies of Thatcher. At the Williamsburg Conference, Reagan tried to dictate to the other capitalist powers, and this continues via NATO, but this 'centralisation' remains superficial and fissures develop everywhere in the imperialist alliances. Thus, in Israel, the Labour Opposition Party demands the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, and in South Africa, at the same time that the government executes three ANC fighters, an officer of the South African army deserts to Mozambique and says plenty in the South African army reject the war. All these are symptoms of the profound and increasing chaos of world capitalism. Reagan, Thatcher and the other dinosaurs, prepare war against the Workers States in the worst conditions.

A NEW TYPE OF PARTY

Quite rightly, Scargill has said that the government does not speak for the majority of the population and that extra-Parliamentary action is necessary to confront the plans of capitalism. But such action has to be accompanied with a far superior vision of the process. It is necessary to examine what is happening in the world, that imperialism is preparing to attack the Workers States, that when they use the word 'deterrence' imperialism means war on the Soviet Union. There should be a proper discussion and conclusion over the Malvinas war. Above all, there has to be a discussion over the complete insufficiency of the Labour Party to continue in its present form. There has to be a Party which lives the life of the masses, discusses everything, draws conclusions and develops cadres and leaders in the population. There has to be a discussion on the need for a different functioning of the trade unions and for genuine trade union democracy, as opposed to the functioning it has now. There is plenty to discuss and the activity of the class has to be given a perspective which is not limited to immediate demands. The struggle against the imposition of capitalist policies economically has to be linked with the struggles against nuclear bases and cruise missiles.

A whole process will be necessary to develop a Party which corresponds to the new stage in Britain and for a superior type of trade unions free of the leaders who work in the interests of capitalism. But the course of events is dynamic and the process of construction will proceed through a series of experiences. Clarity on the world situation and the role of the workers States is a prerequisite for an understanding of the need for a new type of Party which breaks with the inertia of electoralism. Marxist method is indispensable, and the Marxism of today is Posadism.

10.6.83

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XIII. WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL



— THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT —

The XIII World Conference of the Posadist IV. International was held at the end of February-beginning of March 1983, with the participation of delegations from Europe, Africa and Latin America.

The Conference rendered homage to Comrade J. Posadas who was the president of Honour of the Conference; although not physically present, he was indeed present as the Master whose ideas are the foundation of the very structure of the IV. International (Posadist). He was not only the leader, constructor and creator of Posadism, but the conscious expression of revolutionary Marxism in this stage of history. His work will be the necessary instrument for the organisation of thought and conscious human conduct for the construction of Socialism on a world scale, for a considerable time in the future.

At the same time, we rendered homage to comrade Karl Marx, on the Hundredth Anniversary of his death. It was resolved to publish part of the works of comrade Posadas on the significance and living function of the thought of Karl Marx. Today, a hundred years after Marx's death, his works remain completely valid in human thought and activity. Already two thirds of humanity organise life on the basis of his method.

This was the content of the first part of this World Conference. It had the character of a balance of the activity in this stage, in which the sections have attained a continuity and development. The conditions are very favourable for the further development of the International in its central task of advancing the struggle of the world Communist Movement and of the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union.

The World Conference rendered homage to the comrades who have fallen in the activity; comrade Carlos Flores (Gabriel), murdered in Bolivia in 1980, and comrade Cezar also assassinated in Bolivia in 1981, and all the Chilean and Argentinian comrades who have 'disappeared'.

The discussion was organised around the opening speeches which were on: the World Situation, Europe, Latin America, and Organisation. The Introductory speeches and discussions were based on the living texts of comrade J. Posadas that

facilitate the interpretation of the World Revolutionary process and draw policy, programme and objectives for the International from this process. This Conference, the first to take place after the death of comrade J. Posadas, did not need to take on the character of a Congress because it wasn't a matter of discussing policy, programme or (new) objectives, but a matter of the historic and concrete continuity of the instrument which the Posadist IV International is. The living objectives and validity of the International, are determined by its historic role of aiding the instruments already constructed by Humanity in the struggle for Socialism. These instruments are the Workers States, the Communist parties, the Revolutionary movements, in this stage of the final settlement of accounts between the capitalist system and the Workers States.

This historic function has been proved as a necessity of History. It is a necessity to which the Posadist IV International is united. The world team of cadres met in this World Conference to reaffirm their understanding and decision to continue this activity. They were conscious that there would be greater difficulties of method, of theory, of policy, without the Master comrade J. Posadas, but that the conditions are increasingly more favourable.

Posadism is fused with all the revolutionary processes and with the world Communist Movement. It is a current of ideas in full development which flourishes vigorously because it sustains the conscious progress of the world revolutionary movement with experience, examples and ideas.

THE USSR,
POLAND,
AND THE CHANGES IN THE WORKERS STATES

The Conference discussed the advance of the world revolutionary process, led by the Workers States with the Soviet Union at the head. The death of Breznev and the rapid installation of Andropov are an expression of the firmness of the structure of the USSR. It was not an expression of panic or fear but a demonstration of the high level of understanding that prevailed in the Soviet leadership that it was necessary to act in this way, to put themselves into accord not to give room for any capitalist speculation, and not to weaken the monolithic objective of

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the overall policy of having to confront capitalism. The Conference rendered homage to comrade Breznev who - knowing that he had a terminal illness - did not abandon his post in the leadership of the Soviet Workers State.

The new Soviet leadership continues to advance the course of internal elevation, in the USSR, politically, socially and militarily, to resist the murderous plans of imperialism. All the attempts of the capitalist system to weaken the Workers States have failed, and the Workers States instead have reinforced themselves in a cohesive and united way, at the same time as they have made internal changes, removed corrupt functionaries and corrupt bureaucratic leaders, and expelled from the leadership people who had adapted to a policy of endless coexistence with the capitalist system. This shows the vitality of the structure of the Workers State. As comrade Pokadas analysed, we have reached the stage of the construction of Socialism in which the Permanent Revolution, the Political Revolution, the anticapitalist struggle and the construction of Socialism are united. This results in an increasing concentration in the process of the class struggle which is expressed in the drawing closer of China and the USSR, itself a necessity of History. Although the Chinese leadership has not fundamentally changed, the previous leadership of Deng Xiaoping has already been defeated. China, as a Workers State, has to put itself in agreement with the Soviet Union and proceed to break links with capitalism.

The process in the Workers States - particularly in Poland - shows that in this stage of History no form of power can develop in the Workers State which is antagonistic to the historic objective of Socialism. In other words, Stalinism cannot be repeated. For this reason, the intervention of the Polish Army was not to smother the life of the Polish people, but to act as an instrument of the necessity to proceed with the clearances in the Government, the State apparatus and the Communist Party. The Polish Communist Party wasn't prepared for this task, even though it tried to do it under Kania. It tried, but it did not obtain the expected result.

The Polish Army is the organ of the Workers State closest to the Soviet Union; whilst the Communist Party was very much educated in the Stalin's school of conciliation with the proprietors in the countryside, and narrow nationalistic conceptions. This is why the Army had to intervene in order to advance the process of internal clearance.

The process in Poland is not an end in itself nor is it coming to an end. It is part of a combined process of having to supercede aspects of bureaucracy, by means of elevating the intervention of the Working Class in the leadership of the Workers State, and by means of preparing to confront the (capitalist) War. This process is common to the Workers States - China included - but it has its centre in the Soviet Union. It's centered in the Soviet Union because the USSR has a historic anticapitalist structure with the greatest firmness; the latter comes from the First Seven Years of the Soviet Workers State, led by Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party. At the same time, there was the fullest Soviet democratic intervention of the masses in all the problems of the State. This structure today comes from then.

Capitalism has no idea of what is happening in Poland, or of what is happening in the Communist parties. "Solidarnosc" and Walesa did not promote this process of elevation in Poland, and neither are they the decisive factor in it. The Polish Working Class has learned very rapidly to reject the sector of "Solidarnosc" which was developing an anti-Workers State policy. The Polish workers have not supported any movement against the Workers State. But they have supported all the changes for improvement that took place in the Government and the Party. When the Polish population saw that the Communist Party leadership was open to change, was accepting the need to make changes, they pushed the process farther - and this is what they are doing now. Let us not forget that after the mobilisation of the workers in 1980, the whole leadership of the Party and the Government was entirely renewed. When the workers saw that they could achieve all this and that there was no repression, they continued the process of impelling their leaders whilst a sector of Solidarnosc, for their part, who are no more than intellectual protectionists of the working class, did not understand, and continued to believe themselves to be the representatives of a programme for a new society. These people have an individualist conception of history which has taken them onto an anti-Socialist path. This is why they no longer have any sympathiser in the population. However, they continue to exist because they are supported by a sector of the bureaucracy which sustain the idea of the defense of what they call the 'pluralist' programme and 'individual rights'. This is the way in which the bureaucracy limits the process of cleansing and the struggle against privileges. The "clandestine" leaders of "Solidarnosc" are protected by precisely this sector of the bureaucracy and by a small sector of the highest echelons of the Church. This sector of the bureaucracy fears any more measures that signify more advances on the Workers State's road; such as the elimination of speculation, the closing of the black market in the countryside and the trial of corrupt functionaries - measures which the Government is taking.

The intervention of the Army intends to continue with these measures. The New Trade Union Laws are an expression of this ability of the Workers State. Indeed, even the capitalist press had to admit the democratic character of the new Trade Union Laws. It is clear that the role of the Army has not been to crush Trade Union activity altogether. There would have been no need for new Trade Union Laws if this was so.

The present stage in Poland is one of the construction of the (Communist) Party and Party cadres to construct a leadership that is more capable and decisive. This sort of leadership is necessary in order to intervene in the process of internal reorganisation of the economy, and to proceed with the clearance of what is left of the bureaucratic apparatus. The Army is intervening in the countryside to stimulate the Party to reorganise distribution in a way which goes against the interests of the rich proprietors, who are allied to State functionaries, and who maintain the parallel markets. This is the activity the Army is conducting and it does it in the name of the Party. We do not judge the Polish Army on the ground that it has a General at its head - a General who is anyway a Party leader in every sense - but on the basis of the

fact that the structure of the Workers State is being strengthened. In consequence, this is developing the necessary conditions for the advance of the Party as a leadership in society.

Democracy is not decisive or determinant in itself. What is necessary is Soviet Democracy, and this means that the Soviet objectives of the State are paramount. If the Workers State advances - as it does - then it becomes clear that it is not 'democracy' that prevails, but the elevation of political life. To demand "democracy", so that those who are against the Workers State can have a say, makes no sense and is illogical.

When the Soviets say that in case of war they will not even try to find where the missiles had been launched from, but will retaliate against all the NATO countries that have such missiles, they are saying that it's indeed system against system. This understanding informs the whole world because such is the objective process and the masses of the world have come to see it very clearly.

Imperialism does not prepare the war because the USSR is an enemy country, but because it is the base and Centre for the construction of the new Society whose very development means the end of the capitalist system. The very existence of the Soviet Union is an example for humanity which immediately questions private property. This is why war is a necessity for the capitalist system. This is why capitalism creates a permanent atmosphere of conflict. At the same time, all the contradictions inside the capitalist system increase. The bourgeoisie is faced, for the first time in history, with a War that is not the consequence of pure inter-capitalist competition but which is against an antagonistic social regime. Whole layers of the highest spheres of the world bourgeoisie feel that the Soviet Union has developed a social, political and military authority - and capacity - of a kind that makes them fear that they may not triumph. They also see that the internal intercapitalist contradictions are not attenuated in front of the historic enemy, far from it. They see that in the unlikely event of a military victory by capitalism over the Soviet Union, the result will be victory of the highest sectors of capitalism over others. The sector of capitalism that is heading towards war would - in the case of a capitalist victory - crush all the other capitalists. The European bourgeoisie is the most conscious of, and the most anguished by, this reality. It fears that Yankee imperialism will liquidate it, in the process of their inter-capitalist economic competition. The European bourgeoisie sees that in case of war, it has no future, whatever the outcome! This process is new and it results in concrete changes in the conduct of the bourgeoisie. No doubt, its historic conduct in the case of war, will be that of alliance with Yankee imperialism but it will not be without vacillations, doubts and immense fear.

The problems of the construction of Socialism are posed in this stage of history in such a way that they form part of the experience which the Workers State is making. The leadership has no practical, theoretical or scientific understanding of this process, at the level that would enable it to lead it. In consequence, difficulties arise which are the product of situations that appear difficult, but which are only the

reflection of the limitations in leadership. But even these difficulties are now in the process of being overcome. This is why one cannot deal with the process in the Workers States using the same terms of reference as those of the epoch of Trotsky. Already a level has been reached in the process of Partial Regeneration, which has brought about new forms of the Political Revolution*.

The Political Revolution has become bloodless and does not need insurrections; it takes today the form of the renewal of Party leaders, of Party meetings, of the better intervention of the Working Class and population in the leadership of society. This level is expressed in a concentrated form in the Soviet Union because of its role as a Centre. This is why the Soviet leadership does not yield to capitalism, and supports all the anti-capitalist movements that appear. The Soviets are prepared for war; they are prepared to liquidate capitalism as a system and they have said so without ambiguity. This is the level which the Soviets have reached. The Soviet leadership has no other way to defend the Workers State, but to break with the capitalist system, because being antagonistic, the two systems cannot coexist with each other.

THE ADVANCE OF THE LEFT IN EUROPE

There is a development and very elevated conditions for the class struggle in Europe. This is only partially expressed electorally. The Communist and Socialist leaderships have no initiatives in front of the crisis of capitalism but the masses are learning how to advance the process and how to stimulate these leaderships. There is a transitory concentration around leaderships such as the Socialists, who are in a position, in an immediate form, to attract the petty bourgeoisie.

The French masses, for example, consider the victory of Mitterrand and of the Socialist/Communist Government, as their own conquest. What determines the course of events, in not the understanding of the leaders - even though this is very important - but the fact that the people have a vision of the world, they live the world, and not just France.

The policy of Mitterrand towards the Soviet Union - of dispute and a certain degree of confrontation - has no perspective. In depth, it signifies fear in front of Soviet influence, and expresses the backwardness and narrowness of the understanding of this leadership. This can be explained by the origins of Mitterrand who was, after all, a Minister in an imperialist and capitalist Government which presided over the repression of the Algerian masses at the time of their struggle for liberation; clearly Mitterrand is not the same now as he was then, but the world changed more than Mitterrand. The French (bourgeoisie) does not want to depend on the Yanks but their conception of a "Great France" prevents them from seeing that the Soviets do not have any interest in war or in the domination of Europe. What the Soviets are telling the European bourgeoisie in a very simple form, is: "With us, you

* Read by J. Posadas: "Political Report of the XII World Conference" (January 1980) - £1.00.

have some air to breathe"*. This is indeed true because the Yanks, on the other hand, want to subject Europe. It shows clearly in economic competition and in the political domination Yankee imperialism seeks, which negates European capitalism.

In this sense, it is very important to give an orientation in the process of France. We critically support the Government of the Left in France. We support and accompany the experience they are making. Above all, we intervene with the Communists to develop the intervention of the masses in the leadership of the nationalised sectors of the economy. It is necessary to show that the fundamental problems of the economy and society cannot be resolved without proceeding with anticapitalist measures. We also have to show that there is no "Socialism with the Colours of the French Flag"; This type of thing sustains Mitterrand in his anti-Soviet attitudes, and he does this, in order to limit the influence of the USSR inside France: not just on the Communists, but on the Socialists and large sector of the petty bourgeoisie and technicians. The measures of nationalisations have been important and are a blow to capitalism. However, they do not resolve things in themselves. What really decides is: who leads the nationalised enterprises and for what end? Capitalism, through the EEC and high finances - and through the Yanks - try to imprison France and make the Government fail. It is not true that the criticisms of the Soviets Mitterrand makes please the Yankees. What concerns the Yanks in this actual stage is the need to have a trustworthy government in respect of their historic objectives against the Soviet Union. The Government of Mitterrand cannot be an unconditional ally of Yankee imperialism in this, and moreover, the presence of the Communists in the Government stimulates the intervention of the proletariat whilst it proves to all, that when Communists are in Government- whichever country this may happen- the world does not come to an end! This influences the entire world and countries like Italy particularly.

The electoral triumph of the Left expressed through the Socialists in France, Greece, Spain, Sweden and now Portugal, forms part of the favourable conditions for social transformations in the world. There is an enormous movement of the masses in Europe which matures rapidly. It expresses itself in the Ecologist and Pacifist movements on a one hand, and on the other hand, in the struggles of the workers' movement which are taking place through permanent mobilisations.

This means that an anti-capitalist movement is developing in Europe. It does not have a clear programme because the Communist parties do not sustain it in this direction. Neither do the Trade Unions. But it is enough to see that there have been no anti-Soviet mobilisations in any country -not even at the time of Poland or Afghanistan- to see what the character of this movement really is. All the mobilisations that took place have been against the Yankees, their weapons, the capitalist system and its armament. Even the attempts by sectors of the Socialist parties and the right wing of some Communist Par-

ties to organise demonstrations against the Soviet Union, have failed. This highlights the very high level of maturity in the population and in this case, this maturity is not expressed through the proletariat, but through large sectors of the petty bourgeoisie who are those who constitute the bulk and overwhelming majority of the Pacifist movement.

The complications in the process in France are the consequence of the lack of leadership. The programme of Mitterrand - whilst being an important programme - was not, and is not, sufficient to confront the crisis of capitalism now unfolding. As Mitterrand's movement does not receive, from the Communists, programmatic formulations in a clear and concise way, that movement runs behind the crisis and remains confined to measures that belong to the capitalist camp. It is necessary to intervene in the discussion on how to develop France because under capitalism, France cannot develop.

The other aspects of the discussion in Europe is the experience in Spain, where the crisis of the Communist Party is a necessary subject for discussion. The electoral victory of the Socialists expresses the maturity of Spain for social transformations. The masses concentrate in the most prepared and capable centre at the moment. In other words, it is not a victory for Gonzalez -who does not have any idea or initiative - but the result of the decision of the masses to use the world balance of forces to advance in Spain. This victory was a social expression of a resolve to oppose NATO, the Yankee bases, and to advance social and economic transformations. The Socialists have only taken up this programme in a very partial way, but this is the means by which the masses have advanced.

There is no possible progress for capitalism in Spain! The Government either advances in measures of nationalisations, such as that of Rumasa which they have done, or the crisis of capitalism deepens and the Government starts clashing directly with its base and the population. In this process, the Communist Party has a very important role to play. It is necessary to discuss the importance of the unification of all the Communist currents in Spain on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme. The Communists must support the Socialist government and at the same time, develop the intervention of the population for a United Front with the Government and the Trade Unions for Social Transformations.

The crisis of the Spanish Communist Party is the consequence of its leadership's "Eurocommunist" policies. It's a consequence of its adaptation to regionalism and its trailing behind the bourgeoisie. Santiago Carrillo (Ex General Secretary of the Party) rejected Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat. He tried to make it appear that he was 'autonomous', that is to say, not with the Soviet Union. All this was done against the Communist base which continually demonstrated its staunch opposition. It was the arrogance of the leadership that led it to ignore the protests of the Party's base. For instance, the point was reached where the Communist masses no longer bought "Mundo Obrero"- the paper of the Party- and the latter had to close. As the Communist Party soldiered on regardless, a process of breaks between it and the workers vanguard started, as in Catalonia. One has to

* This has been developed by comrade Posadas in many documents where he shows that with the Workers States, capitalism can trade - and so "breathe" whilst Yankee imperialism wants to destroy all competitors. (Editorial).

intervene in the crisis of the Communists and to help them to put themselves in agreement on the basis of the anticapitalist objectives. The important thing is that this crisis is not the result of the Communists giving up or abandoning the Communist ideas. It is simply a crisis provoked by the lack of capacity - and a certain degeneration - of the leadership. Those who have left the Party or stopped voting Communist, have not abandoned Communist objectives; they had to leave the Party transitorily. It was not a question that boiled down to a problem of being for or against the Soviets. It is a question of what programme and policy to bring Spain out of backwardness. To put the question in any other way is a justification.

The World Communist Movement must discuss this situation. This experience has a great weight and importance. The same is true of the process in the Italian Communist Party. The recent Congress of the Italian Communist Party has confirmed that the ICP cannot break with the USSR, neither can it continue with the line of divergence with the USSR. This is why without actually abandoning the search for what they call 'autonomy', they have retreated and justified the changes they have made by saying that Andropov actually represents 'a change in the USSR'. They have retaken the position of virtual support for Soviet proposals. In this recent Congress, they talked of looking for what they call an "Alternative" which means dropping the "historic compromise" and opening a perspective for a Government of the Left. The experience of the Italian Communist Party which went from "Compromise" with the bourgeoisie to an "Alternative" - a Party that in reality moved from a partial break with the USSR to a position of supporting the USSR - shows that a Communist Party cannot advance in opposition to its historic objective. A Party that persists on the road of doing this, disintegrates; and this is what happens with the Spanish Communist Party.

It was in this context that our Conference made a call for a discussion in the world Revolutionary movement, in the Communist parties, on these experiences and in a public form.

The European Communist Parties that maintain clear class positions and the support to the Soviet Union, like the Portuguese, the French or the Greek Communist parties, are advancing electorally whilst the other parties lose more and more support; this must be discussed.

The situation in Portugal and in Greece, is giving significant examples. The Greek Communist Party has increased in political weight and in electoral force with the electoral victory of the Greek Socialists. It is a Party known openly for its pro-Soviet position. In consequence, the process in Greece is moved by a dynamic force that can no longer be controlled by the capitalist system in conditions where the Greek bourgeoisie is as weak socially as it is economically. The Government of Papandreu is taking measures that represent a great social progress for Greece; on the question of women's rights, in the field of the separation of the State from the control of the Church.

The most important aspect in relation to the Greek economy is the wholesale cooperation it has started with the USSR that becomes the main associate of Greece. Papandreu has an attitude

of antagonism towards Yankee imperialism in foreign policy. He continues with a policy of resistance to NATO. He has imposed conditions for the Yankee bases to remain in Greece, that practically annul their reason for being there. There is a movement of the masses against the Yankee bases and NATO that shows a very great influence of the Workers States in Greece. The Communist Party has a very great role to play in this process which is ripe for a more profound anticapitalist programme. The Communists did not understand, at first, the significance of Papandreu's victory but they had to change, and they have now adopted a more flexible position; they are now seeking a United Front. In fact, it is necessary to make the United Front with the Socialists, in order to develop Greece and to show imperialism the door.

THE NEW STAGE IN LATIN AMERICA

The final crisis of the capitalist system was discussed as the fundamental aspect of the world process of the class struggle, but as one which is not really determinant. However, the new conditions which the depth of the capitalist crisis means for the anticapitalist struggle, are very important. It means that the social, economic and political disintegration of the capitalist system, lead to very deep contradictions between the Asian, Latin American and African bourgeoisies - and between these and Yankee imperialism. At the same time, an anti-imperialist process stimulated by the masses and of great magnitude, developed in Latin America after the Malvinas conflict.

In Argentina, a process was unleashed after the Malvinas conflict. In reality, this process came from a previous period of uncontrollable crisis of the dictatorship. The Latin American bourgeoisies do not have any other solution but to seek some independent development from imperialism. Their external debt of 300 million dollars to the big imperialist world finances, simply cannot be paid back. To pay such a sum back as far as capitalism is concerned would mean dictatorships even more furious than that of Pinochet, and this is absolutely excluded. Instead of this, in Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, there is a development of sectors - even bourgeois ones - who have started to call for important anti-imperialist measures. In Mexico, this can be seen in the measures of nationalisation of the Banks, taken by Portillo. President Betancourt of Colombia has a position of opposition to Reagan's plans against Nicaragua and El Salvador. The Brazilian government has taken the same position as Colombia, but beyond this there are political leaders of the bourgeoisie, even ex-Ministers of the former military governments, who - like this ex-Commander of the Chief of General Staff - call for the non-repayment of the external debt. They call for this action to be taken unilaterally. The new Popular Government of Siles Suazo in Bolivia represents a blow to imperialism's designs and it is an impulse to the masses of Latin America. In other words, there is a very powerful process in development, going directly counter to imperialism and capitalism, in which Marxist leaderships - at present absent - are being formed 'on the march'. What decides in all this, is the attitude of the masses who live the

world process and do not depend on their local leaderships. In Nicaragua, El Salvador, and before that in Cuba, these measures either triumphed or are triumphing now. The world process prevents imperialism from intervening (as it would like), and the masses have not been intimidated by all the murders that have been perpetrated by imperialism, murders that it still goes on perpetrating. The Latin American bourgeoisies were, in the past, in the habit of sending soldiers to fight the wars of imperialism, to massacre Revolutions. Today, however, they abstain from doing this, and very recently, they did not accompany the large-scale invasion attempt by the Yanks in Nicaragua. Indeed, they opposed it.

The masses of Latin America are making very deep experiences without mass parties as such, and without Trade Union leaderships of substance. The masses are learning to intervene without leadership and they learn how to confront imperialism as a single united body, with a sort of centralisation that used to require years and years of experience in political life to attain. The Latin American masses are learning from the world process and they count firmly on the world situation in their own struggles.

The situation in Argentina has an immense importance for Latin America as a whole because the protagonist in the Argentinian process, is a proletariat with a great experience and with a decisive weight in the life of the country. It is the reason why, without leadership, and in a very short time, it has produced two great General Strikes as part of the deepening of the crisis of the dictatorship. The movement of the Mothers of the "Plaza de Mayo" is a phenomenon that points to the social maturity that exists in layers of the population that aren't all from the proletariat but who participate in the struggle with security. They intervene in the political process with a security and confidence which aren't just from Argentina, but from the world. The Mothers feel that they are not just defending their own children, but the progress of human life. They see the need to change human relations and they say so. The majority of them know that their children or other relatives will not return.. that they are dead. However, they carry on because they are moved by objectives which go far beyond their own sons or relatives. The Mothers act with the same conduct of objectivity in Argentina, as the Nicaraguan mothers and children - and those of El Salvador - who are motivated by objective sentiments for Human Kind and not just by the family. It is a proof that "Humanity is mature for Communism" (as comrade J. Posadas characterised it). When this appears in Argentina, it is because changes of a much greater scope are being prepared and they are immensely more profound than the present leaderships can imagine or express.

The Conference discussed the necessity of intervening in all the movements that develop in Latin America and of making alliances with sectors of the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie - like the 'desarrollistas'* in Argentina, or with

Brizola in Brazil. These alliances will be to stimulate further changes, in order to bring about more consistent leaderships. At the present time, the Latin American proletariat does not have either the time or the means to form a leadership. But they do form it, "on the march". In so doing, the proletariat does not wait for a future stage, but intervenes already to impel leaderships which have to become capable of programmatic action and decision in a much shorter time than previously.

The present stage of the development of the Revolution in any part of the world, contains a factor which was absent in former stages - or at least had insufficient weight when it was there. That factor is the intervention of the Workers States, particularly and essentially the Soviet Union whose intervention no longer leave any scope for major retreats in the process. At the same time, it permits the people to intervene in order to advance the processes already in development. So, it was in the Malvinas conflict that the Soviets, without being directly involved militarily, were profoundly present socially. They were not drawn to intervene directly because the military dictatorship of Argentina did not have any intention of a serious confrontation with imperialism. However, the Soviets have intervened to support Bolivia and Nicaragua. The moment that the plans of the Yankees were known, Ortega was to be seen with Andropov in Moscow. This is why the nationalist leaderships of this stage, with all the Soviet support they get, can take another path to the one they took previously. In the past there was an insufficient or very belated intervention of the workers states which did not allow the development of the (necessary) leaderships and mobilisations.

THE MIDDLE EAST

The Conference discussed on the of most important aspects of the world situation: the Middle East. The murderous Israeli invasion of Lebanon which took the form of a military victory, proved to be a political and social rout of the highest order for Imperialism and Israel. The Palestinian and Lebanese masses demonstrated that the military force of Israel and of imperialism, could not defeat them. They proved decisively that arms do not decide the course of History.

Imperialism and Israel cannot attain their objective in Lebanon. They have not managed to crush the Palestinians and neither have they expelled the Syrians. They also have been unable to impose a Government completely submitted to Israel on Lebanon. This is the reality of the apparent military victory of Israel. It is a reality decided by the world balance of forces. Israel, having managed to push Syria closer to the Soviets, finds that for the first time, there are Soviet missile bases on Syrian territory run under the direct control of the USSR. This is the most important defeat imperialism and Israel have suffered. They were not able to defeat either the Palestinians or the Syrians. All they have left is the dead bodies of the civilian population in Lebanon, with all the internal consequences resulting in Israel, such as the development of a movement which looks for unification with the Arab Masses. These are new conditions which are going to determine a much more profound process in the coming stage. The Jewish masses

*The 'desarrollistas' may be called something like "developmentalists". See J. Posadas on this subject "The Actual Phase of the Class Struggle in Latin America" 19th May 1981.

are ready for unification with the Arab masses , against their common enemy: imperialism, the murderous zionist leadership and the Arab bourgeoisies. The process of rebellion in the Israeli Army against the assassin function of Israel in the region - and in the world - and against being the stooge of imperialism against Revolutions, is a symptom of the readiness of the masses for this unification.

THE ORGANISATION AND ROLE OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL

The Conference discussed the problems of organisation and functioning as part of the political problems rather than as separate issues. The basis of the discussion was the text of comrade Posadas on the History of the IV. International.

The structure of the IV International is based on the principles, methods and conceptions which were developed and applied by comrade J. Posadas. These were for the construction of our movement, true enough, but they have a universal validity. The centralised functioning of the world Party is a fundamental principle of the International, and it is based on the historic experience of Lenin, the Bolshevik Party and the Third International up until the death of Lenin. Comrade Posadas put all this experience at the service of creating a highly concentrated form of centralisation which corresponds to the necessity of this present stage of History we live in, and to the function of the Posadist IV. International.

The vivid example of comrade Posadas, his guidance and objectivity, his purity of intention and sentiments, are necessary in the construction of our movement and for the development of Revolutionary Marxism. This is why the Conference resolved to publish the History of the IV. International, written by comrade Posadas. We intend in this way to make the origins, the bases, the method and principle of life and of Posadism - and of our master comrade Posadas - known.

At the same time, there is the need for an elevation of the sections in the political, revolutionary and cultural functioning, so as to develop new cadres in the objective life of ideas.

The Conference resolved, as a fundamental objective, to publish the works of Posadas ; the greater part of them have yet to be published. A case in point is his work on "The Process of the Development of Human Civilisation". This work represents a great contribution to the explanation of the development of social relations and human thought, even though it is unfinished. There are writings of comrade Posadas on the most important processes of this stage, the USSR, China, Poland (already published in books in many languages), France, Italy, the Middle East, the crisis of capitalism, etc. which it is necessary to study in order to understand completely the world situation. In addition, Posadas wrote on themes which form part of today's preoccupations such as the education of Children, the problems of Women, of Old People, of Culture and Art. The thoughts of comrade Posadas are a unity in all these fields. He has left behind writings, analyses and principles which develop the capacity to interpret history. A portion of all this work has already been published. We can say with confidence that the thought of comrade Posadas is part of the thought of Humanity's vanguard which already works with the consciousness of the necessity and inevitability of Communism.

The Conference made a call to the world Revolutionary movement, to the Workers States, to the Revolutionary States and all the Movements of the Left, to the Communist parties, the Revolutionary Nationalist movements and the Catholic of the Left, to contribute to this objective and through it, to the publication of the works of comrade J. Posadas which are a public property of history.

The Conference closed by saluting and wishing Long Life to:

- The masses of the World!
- The Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Vietnam and all the Workers States!
- To comrade Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and comrade Posadas! Viva!

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EDITORIAL

The world balance of forces and the incapacity of the Thatcher regime

The incapacity of world imperialism to organise its forces against the Workers States has been notably expressed in various recent events. The attempted 'watergating' of part of the Reagan team and the sharpness of dispute between Yankee and European imperialism over trade issues are all aspects of the balance of world forces, the effect of the social superiority of the Workers States, which does not allow imperialism to overcome its internal disputes. The team of Reagan has been unstable since the start of his presidency and, with only failures to register whether in the Lebanon or Central America or Chile, despite the organisation of massacres in these areas, it is not surprising that tensions multiply in the teams of imperialism. Wherever there is progress there is the influence of the Workers States. Kohl and Strauss of West Germany, both representatives of capitalism, are hostile to the advance of Communism and have to associate with the United States, but both seek increased trade with the Soviet Union and the DDR. This shows how German imperialism, although historically tied to the wheels of Yankee imperialism in the defence of private property, seek all the time to evade history, seeking to survive with the aid of the Workers States.

SUPERIORITY OF THE WORKERS STATE

The superiority of the Workers States is exemplified in the case of Poland. Imperialism developed a whole world campaign over Poland, seeking to entrain the world bourgeoisie, seeking to utilise the problems in Poland as they hoped disorder would increase, to invite imperialist intervention. Now martial law has been lifted and it is clear that the regime of the Workers State is secure in the trust and expectations of the population. The visit of the Pope was to conciliate with the Workers State and dissociate the Papacy from the bandits and gangsters in the leadership of Solidarity. The masses have succeeded in breaking a monstrous apparatus in the Unions and the Party, and exert a pressure for rectifications in the Workers State. The Labour Left has to understand this process because it is a verification of the solidity of the workers State. Such a process is impossible for capitalism, which cannot be cured: only buried.

NO YANKEE BLOCKADE OF NICARAGUA!
FOR A WORLD CAMPAIGN AGAINST IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION

It is only on the basis of seeing the world process that the Labour Left can make a balance of the elections and see the perspective for the downfall of capitalism. The Labour Party, in its present form, is not capable of making a text or a balance of the election and its consequences, because it is not so much a Party as an electoral apparatus, grouping together a miscellany of Left, Right and Centre. Now the Left forces are deciding the orientation of the Party, but such as they exist they do not represent the depth of the process because they possess no coherent method or policy, but remain at the level of pragmatism.

The resolutions of the IS and the last editorial in RF based on many previous articles of Cde Posadas have elaborated on the congenital deficiencies of the Labour Party organisation, which has little political life, has been submitted over years to the weight of the Trade Union bureaucracy and, above all, the interests of imperialism. Thus, although the world balance of forces have led to the crisis of growth of the forces of the Left in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions, it is not possible to expect a sturdy Marxist Left to leap out suddenly from the cinders of social democracy. All the leaders of the Left, whether 'soft' or 'hard', have received their education in the hybrid, non-Marxist outlook of a British social democracy which breathed the atmosphere of imperialism. Thus Marx or Trotsky may be respected, but rather as icons are respected. Their contribution in method and outlook are not grasped.

Objectively, it is absurd for the Labour Party and the Labour Left not to make a fundamental issue of the electoral fraud which has been perpetrated in these last elections. The most ingenious apologetics for Parliamentary democracy cannot justify the fraud of the June elections. What is democratic about a Conservative government which loses votes and gains more seats? The electorate did not give a mandate for this government, as Murray of the TUC has argued against Scargill. There

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BRITISH SECTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

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ON THE BRITISH ELECTIONS

20th June, 1983. RESOLUTION I.S.

The British elections have to be discussed as part of the experiences of this final stage of the capitalist system. Thatcher's great 'victory' is in reality a loss of 1.5 per cent; that is to say, 600 thousand votes compared with 1979. This shows the reason why Thatcher called the election before time: to prevent greater losses later on. This is a fundamental aspect of the electoral results in Britain. It is not a triumph of the Right! The Conservatives have lost 600 thousand votes and, thanks to the changes in the electoral boundaries (equivalent to a state coup), they have won 58 more Parliamentary seats.

At the same time, Labour lost three million votes, essentially the result of its leadership's incapacity to attract the petit bourgeoisie which voted for the Liberals and, to a smaller extent, for the Social Democrats. This loss was also due to the fact that the Labour Right and Trade Union leaderships were against the programme of Labour and sabotaged Foot's campaign.

The fact that the Conservatives are more represented in Parliament does not signify any social or political strengthening for them. On the contrary, Labour - together with the Liberals and the SDP (the 'Alliance') - have gained more votes than in 1979, an increase from 50.7% to 53%. In other words, the opposition to Thatcher is in a majority electorally and it is a growing majority. The electoral farce of the distribution of Parliamentary seats came about precisely because the process was favourable to the Opposition.

The Liberals presented themselves in 'Alliance' with the SDP, but with a programme opposed to Thatcher. They increased their vote from the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. However, it is the Liberals in the 'Alliance' that gained votes and who presented themselves with a programme against Thatcher and against war. In social terms, we are dealing with an increased majority of people who are going to continue to struggle against Thatcher. This will express itself even among the Conservatives themselves, whose homogeneity is going to suffer increasingly.

Labour lost three million votes - the greatest part of these losses went to the Liberals and a part is accounted for by abstentions which increased four per cent in relation to 1979. The proletariat voted for the Labour Party. It did not desert Labour, even though in some workers' areas there was an increase in abstentions. The working class supported all the changes that led to the fall of Callaghan and the ascent of M. Foot. It has supported the Labour programme in all its important points against the plans of British imperialism.

The quality of votes cast for Labour in these elections cannot be underestimated. It is a vote determined by the programme that was presented, including unilateral nuclear disarmament, statifications, and some measures of planning in the economy. Labour had given a measure of support to the peace movement, to the very profound movement of the Greenham Common Women (who encircled the Yankee base), etc. Labour's programme is one that has had, and continues to have, a great impact in capitalist Europe because it is in objective united front with the Workers States. In this respect we must not forget that Foot went twice to the USSR and declared openly that 'the Soviets want peace'. It is for this leadership and programme that more than eight million votes were cast.

The eight million votes are going to have an enormous political and social weight in the future struggles, because all the problems are going to increase and the crisis of capitalism is going to sharpen. At the very moment when the importance of the programme raised by Foot against Yankee imperialism - and in favour of an economic policy which included important anti-capitalist points - should have been seen, the Socialist and Communist Right wings have decided that it was responsible for the loss of Labour votes. In consequence, they quite forgot the conclusion that must be drawn regarding the political importance of eight million votes having been cast for this kind of programme.

This conclusion is fundamental because the process of the political

and social struggle is going to pose the need for this programme: not just in Britain but in all the capitalist countries in Europe. The world process is favourable to a Leftwards programmatic development. The world situation does not stabilise a real force for the capitalist system in any respect. This is even more true regarding sectors like Thatcherosaurus (so-called in Britain because she resembles a dinosaur). The mass movement against the war preparations of the capitalist system is going to continue. It will do so because it is one of the forms the anti-capitalist struggle takes in circumstances where the Socialist and Communist leaderships do not respond. This is why capitalism concentrates itself in Britain to deliver blows at a leadership of bourgeois origins (such as Labour is), which has gone quite some way in opposition to war plans. However, this cannot impede the development of currents and tendencies in the Socialist and social-democratic parties which advance in opposition to the installation of the Yankee missiles, or to NATO's war plans headed by the Yankees, in general.

Germany has undergone a similar process in the sense that the changes in the Social Democracy - Leftwards even now under the new leadership of Vogel - resulted in an immediate loss of votes. This was because of the defection of the Right wing that had been previously in the leadership and imposed a different programme, submitted to capitalism. However, this having changed, the Leftwards process in the Social Democracy did not stop. It went on all the same, because capitalism, as a system, can no longer offer anything. Capitalism is exhausted. This was very well demonstrated in the Williamsburg 'summit', which was a failure and did not resolve upon any measure other than general declarations of war preparations. Even in this question of war preparations, there was not that much agreement amongst them. On the question of the Middle East or that of Central America, the capitalist system is riddled with divisions and did not support the Reagan plans.

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN IRAN AND THE CRISIS OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP.

Even with the differences in political level and development of the different peoples, resolutions in all of them develop in an almost identical way. They differ through the economic and social base on which these peoples live, but the decision which they develop is almost identical. This is because the base of these decisions is not determined by the poverty in which they live, but through the world progress of the revolution, the existence and the progress of the twentythree Workers States which all the populations of the world see. The masses of the capitalist countries see the Workers States and their own countries, and make comparisons.

They see countries which have emerged from very great backwardness like Mozambique to develop measures of the Workers State. In Mozambique they understand that there is no more backwardness in education, no more hunger. The masses are making this apprenticeship in Iran. When the population of Iran can express itself - the population, not the religious leadership - it is going to do the same as Mozambique. It is not going to make the course of previous revolutions, but is going to make an immense leap.

The masses of Iran, in seeing the world, are developing in their mind the structure of cultural and political understanding. They cannot do so in aspects of the economy, because this requires more dedication and people have not been able to do it. But culturally and politically they have understanding because it is simpler. In order to understand, social means and conditions are necessary, and the masses see that change is not impossible, as they see more backward countries and populations make immense leaps. The capacity of a country must not only be measured in advancing from backwardness to progress, but in the resolution of the population to do it. This elevated resolution did not exist a year before in the majority of cases, but now it acquires it. Who provides this? It cannot be the work of the revolutionary Party because this relates to a small number of people: in fact, such a resolution is the influence of the world.

The masses of the whole world learn from the world. They have ears to hear and eyes to see, and they have the mind to understand. Iran is also this. It is not possible to measure Iran by what it is today, but by the power of the world influence on Iran. The more the revolutionary process expands, the more it attracts and organises the more backward populations, giving them the discipline of the task they have to carry out. The masses put themselves in agreement even without knowing or seeing the process before. The base which centralises knowledge is the world relation of forces.

The present government of Iran governs but does not lead events in Iran, because people are thinking in a much more advanced and decided way about social transformations. This conclusion is already in the mind of the Iranian masses, and all the present phase of the political

We are publishing this article by Cde Posadas on Iran in two issues of Red Flag. The flight of Bani Sadr and the intervention of the Right against the Tudeh Party do not contradict in any way the essential features of the analysis of Cde Posadas. Iran still lacks a coherent leadership which corresponds to the need for the progress of Iran. The Right has continued with the unnecessary war against Iraq in the vain hopes of preventing discussion and strengthening the role of the army against the revolution and social transformations. This has no perspective, but the Iranian revolution was not anticipated or led by the necessary historic leadership.

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discussion in Iran is made at the top and the population does not live this discussion in any way.

The masses of Iran, like the masses of all the Arab countries, among them Algeria, is the most advanced think of religion as a supplement and not as the base, and the motive of the consciousness and of the objective of life. The populations of the world with religious sentiment think in this way.

A simple measure of the progress which Iran has made is that two years before the population decided nothing. Today, none is capable of making a decision that may go against the population, not even the Ayatollahs of the Right. They have a very great fear of the population, and this is only in two years. It is the world which is entering Iran, taking it by the hand and going with it; and the world is the Soviet Union and the Workers States which say to Iran: 'Come with us'.

In Iran, in two years, the masses have matured in a way that would normally take much more time. This has been possible through the world, through the closeness of the USSR, and also through the revolutionary process in the Arab world, above all Algeria which openly declares for Socialism. Iran forms part, in turn, of this world which is influencing. In the world relation of forces the force which has historic right always wins, like Algeria. In nineteen years Algeria has passed from being submitted to the French to struggle for Socialism, emerging from a greater backwardness than Iran.

The French in order to subject Algeria had to make a certain development of culture and science. As opposed to the Yanks, the French incorporated a part of the population of their colonies into the leading body. They incorporated the petit bourgeoisie into cultural, scientific and university development. No other imperialism did this; the Yanks only killed. Algeria brings along many people who come from this relation with the French. In order to develop Algeria, with this intellectual base, the march to Socialism has been undertaken.

Iran is quite similar and has a cultural and intellectual base of a certain importance which weighs in the country. The majority is Left and wants the Socialist development of Iran. Hence, in a few years, the Iranian revolution has been able to make such a development. It is not through these people, but the world relation of forces which has helped the intellectuals and allowed them to take the decision to develop the country.

Iran does not have a mass revolutionary Party. It has a very weak bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. With everything, it has taken the

decision to advance on the way to Socialism. They do not say it in this way but when they resolve on the statification of seventy per cent of the economy, this is now the base of a Socialist economy. Private industry - if it develops - cannot compete with this structure. The masses learn from the world all these principles of economic and social development.

The Iranian revolution represents one of the forms sui generis of the Permanent Revolution. Iran is a process of Permanent Revolution, a revolution which is bombarded on all sides so as to overthrow it, and this revolution without bombs continues advancing. A revolution which does not have bombs, which does not have ideas, which has no leadership, advances because it is a logical necessity of Iran. In order to live, Iran has to progress; and in order to progress it has to make social transformations, to advance in planning and statification, otherwise the revolution collapses. The Iranian population now sees this. No leadership in Iran has any notion of this, nor the assassins of the Muslim Right.

The process of the revolution in the world has influenced Iran to make a group of tendencies leap forward, and impeded the establishment and construction of firm reactionary apparatuses. The Left has firm resolution, but still it does not have a solidified strength.

Iran cannot advance without the advance of the revolution. It has to separate itself from the present army which brings with it a previous structure, and must plan an important development of the economy - so as to resolve the problem of agrarian property with the concentration of the land to produce cheaper and better and to make a programme of industrial production now, without remaining subject to petroleum, but on the basis of the revenues from its sale. All this requires a public discussion in Iran and for this it is necessary to impose democratic liberties.

The apparatus of the government and the army particularly is a centre of the old leading layer not in the top of the apparatus of the government but certainly in the governmental structure. The Muslims of the Right impede every discussion and every process of discussion, because they feel weak and cannot yield. When they resist discussion it is because they see this is an invincible necessity for people and that for people to intervene it is a necessity and this leading layer of the Right is an obstacle. The masses are proceeding now very well from the plane of centralisation, and Khomeinian religious belief, to the centralisation that 'the country must progress'.

Iran is a proof of how the process of the Permanent Revolution in this

state of history operates, which is determined essentially by the world relation of forces. The base of this process is that capitalism has no strength for anything save to prepare war. In Iran the leadership is missing in order to make the Workers State and history needs leadership. The root of this plant which is growing in Iran needs air, and the air is the Workers State.

In order to centralise itself as a class the Iranian bourgeoisie, besides not having the means, has not found the historic conditions because of the existence of the USSR. The latter sustained intellectually, culturally and socially, the Iranian revolutionary process. In front of the Soviet example the Yanks were thrown out because the only thing that they had was money and arms. The Soviets showed that they had money, arms and social progress.

The point that we made two years ago over the Iranian revolution has been proved. 'In the Iranian revolution 1905 and 1917 of the Russian Revolution have been unified.' They have still not finished with 1905 but they have already entered 1917 - they are two steps which are joined. It is not the first and then the other, because the difference compared with the first Socialist Revolution is that now there are twenty Workers States, and with the USSR in development of public intervention throughout the world in support of the revolution. The Soviet Union is the element which decides the process of Iran. It is not decided anymore in any particular country but by the Workers States. It is not the same for capitalism. Imperialism cannot impose its will on other capitalist countries because otherwise they would be expropriated.

But at the side of the revolution the masses of the world unite with the Soviet Union, and in Iran it is the masses, part of the petit bourgeoisie, and even a sector of the bourgeoisie - which sees that it has no other perspective in order to continue existing but to unite with the Soviet Union.

The crisis of capitalism creates this situation for sectors of the Iranian bourgeoisie, which is not anguished but it is the form in which they have to continue living. They take from the Soviets, not from the Yanks. These lower sectors of the bourgeoisie see that with the Yanks they lose, and they do not feel that they have the strength to organise themselves as a class or develop the function of the class. They do not have the strength for this and take this other road. Before they called it the least evil; now it is not, because it is the normal evil within the functioning of the capitalist system.

For all the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, Yankee

imperialism appears like a dummy. A country which has nothing, like Iran, imposes on the Yanks so they have to pay for the exchange of the hostages. Everybody sees that it is not Iran which is imposing this, but the Soviet Union. Brezhnev appears with an expression as though he would not intervene in anything, but it is the Soviets who sustain the resolution of Iran.

Kissinger made the trip to the Middle East believing that he was going to organise the bourgeoisie to resist the revolution and the Soviets. He believed that it was a problem of people who govern countries like Israel or Egypt. Reagan is of the Left by the side of these people and must declare 'We cannot do in-root of this plant which is growing show himself separated from this trip of Kissinger, and it is necessary to record that Reagan was for participating in the Olympics and for abandoning the cereal embargo on the Soviets.'

The masses of the whole world see this impotence of imperialism. They see the resolution to intervene everywhere by the Soviets, and they see that all the countries who progress on the revolutionary road - Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, - are all a prolongation of the Soviet Union. Yet imperialism is trying with the Iranians to quibble over money like a discussion in the rag market. This is a work which Carter is making in order to be a candidate in the next elections, as he believes. After having tried to enter with armed helicopters he has to see how much money to shell out.

The Soviets cannot intervene with all the strength which they have, because they do not want to confront India or Turkey, or Pakistan. They want to influence within Pakistan and Turkey. Hence they make a series of concessions which prolong the life of capitalism. The Soviets believe in this way to create difficulties in the preparations of the war by imperialism by trying to win historic time. It is not a bad tactic, but it does not correspond with this stage. Certainly they must use all the contradictions that are possible for the benefit of the process of the revolution; but, at the same time, they must impel in the most profound way the revolution towards Socialism. In this way they increase their influence in the world and over the North American masses.

Yankee imperialism never speaks of the North American people and what openings they have, what meetings, what conferences they have.

Yankee imperialism has a very great fear of the North American people, and there are important movements against the imperialist leadership - like the recent demonstration against the appointment of Haig in the future Reagan Cabinet.

THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE CRISIS OF THE RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP.

Bani Sadr is not of the Right nor of the Centre, but is to the Left in the government. What he represents is fear because he has no movement, nothing. But he has been elected by more than 70% of the votes. This means that he has the confidence of the working class, of the petit bourgeoisie, and of an important sector of the bourge-

oisie. But, in the whole of the force which supported him, the bourgeoisie is a small number; the rest is the majority. The Right tried to overthrow Bani Sadr and was unable to. Bani Sadr has had to make a policy of accommodation between the Muslims, the bourgeoisie and the masses, with a programme of conciliation between capitalism and the Workers State.

In the conditions in which Iran is advancing, where the principle sources of wealth are in the hands of the state - like petroleum - it is not possible to make a policy to develop the bourgeoisie. It is not possible, because to do so would mean a second revolution in a few days; besides, to develop the country cannot be done with the bourgeoisie. The latter does not have either money or sufficient means to develop as a class in Iran - and, even if it could

obtain them, it does not have the historic possibility to do it. The capacity of the bourgeoisie is not only money. Imperialism has more money than a million Shahs together, and they are thrown out everywhere. It is the world relation of forces which determine this crisis of capitalism.

The whole Iranian leadership finds itself in front of a process which has been beyond its foresight, and has had to make many changes en route like Bani Sadr. He believed that it was possible to develop in Iran the 'third' way, to support itself a little on the Soviet Union and a little on the Yanks. He believed in this without counting on the Iranian masses and the influence of the world process of the revolution on Iran. This leadership has had neither political programme nor preparation. Bani Sadr has a very general pro-

gramme. It is necessary to interpret the movements which all these leaderships make, because they do not know what to do.

They are all afraid of advancing towards the Workers State, including also Bani Sadr. But the masses are not afraid. This difference between the masses and the leadership shows why this discussion is based on the summit. This situation occurred in the Revolution. The present symptoms of the Iranian revolution are not retreats but leaps forward, and the Soviets are supporting.

The Iranian revolution advances. An element to measure this advance is that the bourgeoisie is incapable of containing the revolution. The bourgeoisie cannot take the revolution for itself and lead it, and the Iranian proletariat and the masses want to take it but do not know how to do so.

It is a question of time. The strength of the proletariat is not only what it has in Iran, but it is necessary to incorporate within it the strength which it has in the world. As soon as a little movement has developed in Iran, then this strength which comes from the world, will increase by a million times its influence within Iran. The Iranian population has already seen the relation between the internal process and the world, part in the preamble of the Russian Revolution. The present symptoms of the Iranian revolution are not retreats but leaps forward, and the Soviets are supporting.

Another means of the progress of the Iranian revolution is that it is not the religious sectors who are advancing. They have now met with a barrier. A decomposition is now coming in the religious summit. It is going as far as Allah, and it is going to go and to say to all these corrupt elements who govern, 'Out of here!'

The very good relations with the USSR have a great influence in Iran not only through the interest of India of making a front against Pakistan and China, but also because within India there is a very important movement which wants to go forward. Part of this movement is the Indian Communist Party which controls two important regions in Kerala and Bengal; and the Indian Communist Party is to the Left of the Chinese, a leadership which was before 'neither China nor the Soviets', but is now 'neither China nor...we will see'.

It is necessary to count on the intensification of the internal struggle in the religious apparatus.

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To be continued

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should be a mass campaign against this fraudulent government which pushed through an electoral law to defend its class interests. In fact, a coup was organised by capitalism. Even now, so inured is the Labour Party and the Left in part to accepting capitalist behaviour that they are less forward than sectors in the Liberal and SDP in denouncing this monumental swindle (the Liberals have also rejected the Defence Budget, not simply abstaining as did the Labour Party). In the period from 1979 onwards the Trade Union leaders in particular, but also the Labour Party and the Labour Left, were mainly involved in complaining. It is not possible to continue in this vein but to analyse, conclude, and act.

FOR A MORE AUDACIOUS AND PRINCIPLED OPPOSITION.

It is not possible to see this Thatcher government in perspective without seeing the world process. Thatcher'saurus is linked to the total character of capitalism collapsing as a world system. The fact that the military budget is constantly rising is symptomatic of the character of this government. It is linked to the Reagan regime in preparing war against the Soviet Union. But what is most significant in all this is the inability of the Thatcher outfit, despite many heavy blows they have aimed at the population, to gain acceptance for this policy. Indeed, the opposition forces in the Conservative Party have not gone away with this election but have augmented their resistance.

The forces of the Labour Left can be far more audacious in their policies if they see the historic superiority and power of the Workers States compared with the degenerate incapacity of the world capitalist system. The Labour Left will not develop just on the basis of its own forces but on the basis of seeing the weight of the Soviet Union. It is the existence of the latter which blocks capitalism at every turn. Imperialism has to compete with forces which confront it socially, politically and economically. There is no justification for the inertia of the Trade Union leaderships, their collaboration with capitalism. Why not discuss this? The Left has to confront this issue directly and analytically. Why are all the struggles being fragmented? Why are the Miners expected to oppose pit closures without any support from other Unions? It is necessary for the Left to intervene on such fundamental issues and not submit to the void in the Labour Party and Union organisation. This needs bulletins, discussions; publications that analyse, not simply criticise, the ways of Thatcher'saurus.

No doubt the policies of this government are going to provoke resistance in the population whatever the passive attitudes of sectors of the Labour Party and Trade Union leaderships, but there is no need to wait for the blows of this very feeble government. From the start the debates over the 'cuts', the discussion over capital punishment and over MP's salaries, brought out all the disorder in the ranks of the Conservative Party. Pym's speech after his dismissal also shows the confirmed opposition of a whole layer to the intransigent policies of Thatcher, and Pym particularly called for independent negotiation with the Soviet Union over missiles. This has been taken up now by Owen, and shows the line of a powerful sector of the bourgeoisie who, like sectors in Germany, are not disposed to be destroyed at the whim of Yankee imperialism. This is why the circumstances are very favourable for the organisation of both a discussion for a superior functioning of the Left and also for an offensive against Thatcher, via strikes and mass mobilisations.

Everywhere Thatcher is faced with the Workers States. Over Hong Kong the Chinese Workers State decides, not Thatcher. There will be no Malvinas 'success' here (the Left should intervene over Hong Kong, of course, and not leave the matter to Thatcher, as they should also intervene over Gibraltar). It is time that the Labour Left raised more consistently the issue of the monarchy which is part and parcel of imperialism. What has this institution to do with democracy? The fact that the monarchy is not attacked is part of the lack of an organised consistent Left. It is necessary to repudiate this government as the equivalent of a coup and to make this issue fundamental with the struggles against nuclear weapons and the continuous impoverishment of the population by the degeneration of the capitalist system.

THE NUR CAN ADVANCE MUCH MORE POLITICALLY AND SOCIALLY

The decision of the NUR 1983 (Annual Conference) confirms the process first expressed in the sacking of the previous general secretary, S. Weighell, last year. The Conference voted for a series of Left and militant resolutions, including for strike action against government's attacks on the Railway industry, for unilateral nuclear disarmament and affiliation to CND, for 'withdrawal from any future talks on productivity, and against any form of 'wage freeze'. As with the sacking of Weighell, these important changes of policy by the NUR Conference, express the crisis and disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus of the Trade Unions. It is an expression of the fact that all the old policies of conciliation with capitalism - and the NUR was a leader in this field - no longer have any validity in circumstances where the capitalist system has nothing left to give.

This weakening of the bureaucratic apparatus allows the pressure at the base of the Union to express itself. The Conference, of course, is a very limited form of expression since 77 delegates represent around 180,000 workers. The fact that such a highly bureaucratic structure allows the expression of even limited anti-capitalist sentiments and policies means that the present historic stage - above all, the favourable world balance of forces - does not allow the Trade Union bureaucracy to act as a firm support for capitalism. A vivid example of the crisis in the Trade Union apparatus was seen in the fact that Len Murray, of the TUC, attacked the idea of strike action against Thatcher the day after the Conference had voted for just such a form of action. Murray attacked the sentiments of Arthur Scargill, but the NUR Conference that had invited

him to speak agreed with Scargill. This is the extent of the crisis in all this Trade Union apparatus.

In the standing ovation given to Ray Buckton, general secretary of ASLEF, and the formation of a federation between the NUR and ASLEF, we can see the effects of the militant strike of the ASLEF workers last year. The instance which caused the sacking of Weighell may well have been the 'fiddling' of the NUR/Labour Party votes. But the underlying reason was his attitude of refusing to support the ASLEF strike. The latter was the straw that broke the camel's back. The Federation is limited at the moment to the tops'. But it reflects the aspiration of the base and will find an organic expression there in the very near future. Even this very limited move towards the unity of the Railway Unions is a triumph of anti-capitalist spirit over bureaucratic divisions. It forms part of the preparations by the working class to confront the Thatcher government in the next period.

If the Conference's position on the 'witch hunt' on the Left in the Labour Party was ambiguous, it was some improvement over the previous position of supporting expulsions and attacks on the Labour Left. What is unambiguous is that the NUR is no longer a pillar of the Labour Right wing.

Weighell was the apex of a pyramid of a structure based on Conciliation. This pyramid is now beginning to crumble. The opposition to Parker (Railboard) of the Conference expressed this. There is no longer any room for conciliation.

In this respect, the decision to bring local Union representation directly under the control of the

Union is a first tentative step towards a genuine democracy in the Union. It is a small decision, not very well publicised, but a heavy blow at the apparatus of conciliation with capitalism.

The Conference decisions give a base on which the Trade Union Left has to build. Already the refusal to participate in the dumping of nuclear 'waste' at sea is an advance. The Left now has to push for an advance of democracy, in its truest sense: the creation of the means for discussion and exchange of ideas. The fact is that, in front of the attacks of the Thatcher government on the Rail service, in front of the 'Serpell' report, the Trade Union apparatus is unable to survive without some intervention of the workers themselves.

The apparatus is never likely to mobilise the workers, but it will find it more and more difficult to resist such mobilisations. A good example of the attitude of the bureaucracy is over this year's wage claim. It was not incorrect to have decided to concentrate the struggle against 'Serpell' and not on a wage claim. The experience of the Steel Workers shows how much a struggle on wages can be a diversion from the struggle to confront the government. However, the acceptance of less than 4 per cent was decided at the top without any reference to the workers at the base. Clearly, the extension of democracy in an organised form is urgent. The decisions for a Federation with the other Rail Unions, for a more direct local Trade Union representation and for a 'campaign against Serpell', provide the possibility of campaigning for workers' committees at depots and work-places, with the right of instant recall of representatives, a permanent life of discussion and

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CORRECTION

Last issue RF (No 335), page 2, middle column 3, should read: 'Huo Gustfeng is counter-revolutionary when he calls upon the German bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism to impede the development of the Soviets'.

RESOLUTION ON THE BRITISH ELECTIONS.

In these conditions, the process of crisis in the Socialist and social-democratic leaderships, although far from being decisive because the world balance of forces is determined by the Workers States, is going to continue to sharpen and to spread. This is why the programme adopted by the British Labour Party is so important. On the question of disarmament, for example, it is well to the Left of many Communist parties, the Italian Communist Party included.

However, the loss of votes for Labour is not the inevitable consequence of having adopted a programme that confronts capitalism in important aspects. This is a very important conclusion to discuss in the Socialist and Communist movement. It is true that when large Socialist or social-democratic parties, pressurised by the world process and the concrete conditions of the crisis of the capitalist system, advance towards more Left programmes, they inevitably lose a part of the social base that they used to have, who supported the previous policies and programme. In other words, bourgeois sectors leave. But this does not signify that the Party has to suffer an electoral defeat. When the result is an electoral defeat, it is because the changes have not been sufficient and the leadership has not conducted the necessary activity in the working class to increase its social weight. At the same time, it is a fact that it is not through elections that the social and political process takes place anyway.

In 1979, Comrade Posadas analysed the electoral result in Britain thus: 'Labour's defeat is the result of the failure of the bourgeois leadership of the Party which wanted to perpetuate a bourgeois leadership with working class support. The workers have not voted Labour, and neither has an important sector of the formerly Labour petit bourgeoisie. The Liberal votes were not from the working class or from the poor petit bourgeoisie but from capitalism, which undergoes a shift to the Liberals. Sectors in Scotland, Wales and Ireland, have voted Liberal. The conduct of the working class in recent strikes has to be noted. These strikes did not come from important sectors, but from rather marginal ones. As a whole, the working class has not intervened. This may have affected the outcome by failing to draw a sector of the petit bourgeoisie towards Labour. However, there have been no important desertions of the working class regarding Labour'. It was for this reason that the Labour Party, later, changed and had to yield. The old leadership of Callaghan had to go. The working class continued to seek the means through which to change the Labour Party but it did not have the instruments to influence in a constant way. The Left represented by Foot managed to get into the leadership, but it had to confront afterwards the apparatus of the Party which is still greatly dominated by the Right and by the Trade Union bureaucracy whose leadership is bourgeois. This is to say, in Britain there is a whole Trade Union and political structure organised to impede the intervention of the working

class. It is a structure formed in the days of British imperialism. When things reach the stage of someone like Foot in the leadership, or of the present Labour programme, it is because this apparatus can no longer determine or impose. At the same time, there is still the absence of a prepared leadership ready to develop the Left as a central force. This, however, is in formation. Foot and Benn have already expressed the fact that conditions are politically and socially mature for the continuation and strengthening of the anti-capitalist Left in Britain.

The working class have been unanimous in concentrating themselves in the Labour Party. The votes cast for the Liberals are not from the working class. One has to discuss why the Labour Party failed to attract these sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and others, when it had a leadership closer to the population and a programme opposed to the capitalist system.

The essential reason for this is that the working class has been prevented from being heard in the elections and, above all, the Trade Union leadership adopted an attitude of conciliation and complicity with Thatcher. The Trade Union leaderships impeded the development of struggles and boycotted every strike and mobilisation. This stopped the working class from weighing in the rest of the country and, on top of this, the Trade Union leaderships had opposed the changes in the Labour Party. They may have been against Callaghan for Trade Union reasons in the past, but today they did not support the Left either. They saw that Foot was taking initiatives that stimulated the intervention of people, and this scared the Trade Union bureaucracy to death. In the very midst of the electoral campaign, the president of the TUC Chappel declared his support for an SDP candidate. He was not condemned by the rest of the Trade Union leadership who had pretended they supported Foot. In these conditions, the working class could not attract people, it could not give the petit bourgeoisie a sense of political or social security. This was the essential reason why the Labour Party could not triumph in spite of having its present Left programme.

It is not a defeat for the proletariat. The proletariat is going to intervene to impel the Party Leftwards and, at the same time, to break up the obstacles that impede it intervening more. Among such obstacles there is the present Trade Union leaderships who are accomplices of Thatcher. The working class is going to develop through social struggles an understanding in the population of the significance of the robbery these elections were. What then is this democracy? It is robbery! The Party which lost 600 thousand votes ends up with 58 more MPs! It obtained 42.4% of the votes, but gets 61% of the Parliamentary representation! The Liberals who won three million votes obtained only six more seats! This experience will not be lost on sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, who will be involved in ever greater struggles against capitalism. This is going to be expressed later and will have quite an effect. The British petit bourgeoisie cannot be measured by the votes it did not

cast for Labour, but through such as the Peace Movement, the Greenham Common Women, the Ecologists - who obtained 1% of the votes, passing from 30 thousand in 1979 to 300 thousand! Besides, the Ecologists acquired all these votes on the basis of a programme of 'Britain out of NATO!'; clearly this movement is going to weigh in the Labour Party. It will have a lot of importance, as with the 'Greens' of Germany.

The world process is favourable to the struggle of the masses. It is going to help the Leftwards trend in Labour, stimulate the peace struggles and the struggles of the workers' movement, and strengthen the resistance to Thatcher. She is looking to concentrate power in the hands of a small team to be more free to decide. This is part of the preparations for war of the capitalist system, but, at the same time, the Conservative Party is far from being unanimous. When the ex-Foreign Minister Pym comes out openly to criticise Thatcher for being authoritarian, it is because a sector of the big bourgeoisie disagrees with her policies. This sector sees that there is no perspective in confronting the workers' movement or the Workers States, because it makes them depend on the Yankees. There is going to be an increase of these dissidences in the bourgeoisie.

The crisis of capitalism is going to necessitate more unemployment, less social services, and a retreat on a good many conquests previously made by the masses. Sectors of capitalism like Thatcher who have a certain resoluteness can only manage to impose themselves temporarily, because they will have to adapt later to the world situation that prevents them from carrying out their plans. Thatcherism or the Strausses of this world are types who correspond to fascism. The fact that these people are in government but do not manage to put through one per cent of what fascism did push through in their time, shows the immense weakness of capitalism. In this stage, capitalism tends irrevocably towards fascist forms; and so these people arise. But the content of what they can do can no longer be the same. There are twenty Workers States and the world revolutionary process is in continuous advance. Laws such as those Thatcher herself pushes through in Britain will only serve to show what sort of thing capitalism is presently. If capitalism had strength and ability, it would have imposed direct measures against the masses. The force they still have left is the weakness of the Labour Left which has not been capable of putting up an opposition or denouncing the electoral fraud.

It is necessary to intervene in the discussion in Britain, raising all these problems. The Labour Left must be helped to draw conclusions from these elections. There are sectors which can be affected more deeply than those of Foot and Benn. The latter represent a Left which was formed in a previous stage, in competition with the old bourgeois leadership of Labour, but it does not represent the depth of the maturing proceeding in the British masses, workers and intellectual vanguard.

The working class is going to stimulate the Labour Party in the process of breaking the Trade Union

bureaucracy and bourgeois leadership that dominates the Unions. The Labour Left will be drawn into supporting this process and this will provide a much more solid base for changes in the (Labour) Party. The Left of Foot and Benn was formed in the Labour apparatus itself, and this is why it has no ability of decision when it comes to confronting the capitalist system and its laws. This is why it neither supports nor bases itself on the mobilisations of the working class in the political struggle. In the same way, they submit to the conditions dictated by the capitalist rule of the country. This is why they kept pretty silent in front of not only the boundary changes reforms of Thatcher, but also in front of the imperialist war in the Malvinas; or in relation to the imperialist military occupation of Ireland. None of these things has been dealt with except with ambiguous and weak positions. The fact that they accept the monarchy as a permanent fact of life shows this. Labour has not the necessary capacity to influence and mobilise precisely, because it has not confronted capitalism on these grounds. At the moment, capitalism is looking to enact laws of a kind to impede or hinder the possibility of more Socialist or social-democratic parties rising into governments through elections. It wants this all the more so after the experiences of France, Greece, Spain or Sweden. It looked to these laws in a previous period, and it is not going to drop the idea now. However, such measures are weak, and these laws only show that direct repression of the masses can't be done in the way capitalism would like, in the way it plans to do. At the same time, of course, such laws protect the capitalist apparatus and impose some measures in its favour.

The defeat signified by the loss, by Thatcher, of 600 thousand votes is going to have its effect later on. It is not Parliamentary majorities that determine the life of Britain, but the masses, the working class, and the petit bourgeoisie, who are constructing superior instruments to those that existed previously, in order to be able to continue to intervene. Amongst these instruments there is the Left in the Labour Party. In relation to this it is necessary to call on Benn and Foot, on the Labour Left, on the workers' movement, and on the Peace and Ecology move-

ments, for a campaign against the daylight robbery signified by these British elections. There is no need to accept the verdict of the elections as being 'democratic'. It has been a fraud, and it is necessary to call for the non-recognition, the non-acceptance of this government and Parliament as representatives of the country. There must be mobilisations against any measure favouring capitalism put through as a consequence; any measure attacking the population. There is no doubt that Thatcher will not fail to attempt this through this invented Parliament. This has to be discussed, and it will influence the petit bourgeoisie.

The experience of the British elections is important for all Europe. It has not strengthened the capitalist system, and all the problems Thatcher wanted to push under the carpet by calling an early election - in the name of British imperialism - are going to re-surface with a vengeance. In particular, there is going to be the resistance of the working class and masses, who do not feel in any way defeated. Thatcher will not find the necessary support for a much greater retreat in democratic rights, not even in her own Party.

In the coming stage, the discussions and Leftward changes are going to deepen still more in the Labour Party. This is to say, it will move further towards an anti-capitalist programme and a Marxist understanding of the process of history. This is true, even though immediately and in this apparatus, the departure of Foot allows certain sectors closer to the Right wing to step in. However, this is not going to be decisive. It is only transitory. The movements of the Left have been strengthened, not via elections but through the struggles such as the Peace and Ecology ones. This is going to develop further still. Fundamentally, the attitude of the working class will be one of resistance and intervention against the Trade Union leadership and the Conservative government. The influence of the world is going to help the breaking up of bureaucratic apparatus and sharpen the general crisis of the capitalist system - it will increase the influence and authority of the Workers States (the Soviet Union in particular) within Britain.

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preparations for mobilisation. At the same time, the conditions exist for joint organisations of Railway workers with the masses who use the Rail services to fight government's 'cuts' and to prepare the ground for workers' and popular control of this nationalised industry.

THE ADVANCE OF SINN FEIN AND THE LABOUR LEFT

The visit of Gerry Adams, a leader of Sinn Fein to Britain for a meeting of Labour MPs, is a symptom of the objective need for an organic and conscious united front of the British and Irish masses to finish both with the capitalist and partition system which prevents the development of both countries. This is still not consciously expressed by leadership either in the Labour Party or in Sinn Fein, but the visit anticipates changes to come. Ireland is intervening in Britain, and the Labour Left must intervene much more towards Ireland.

It is a measure of the weakness insufficiency and class collaboration of the existing leaderships in the Trade Unions and the Labour Party that the Irish problem is still largely evaded and, for example in the last General Election, was hardly referred to. This is still part of the lack of an adequate formation of the Labour Left and the tendency to go along with partial conciliation with imperialism. But the Irish issue is going to weigh much more in Britain because there is a process developing, even if limited, in both the Labour Left and Sinn Fein and the IRA. The presence of the Young Liberals at the meeting with Adams is an example of the effect of the struggle of the Irish masses on sectors of bourgeois and petit bourgeois youth, who see the imbecility of the barbaric policies of the repression by British imperialism.

It is quite scandalous that the Labour Party and Unions do not develop a massive campaign against the miserable farce of the 'supergrass' trials, whereby informers are allowed to say anything with no jury present, leading to the imprisonment of large numbers of people, the shooting of people by the RUC and the army as they see fit. It is necessary to denounce these crimes in class terms, that is, British imperialism has no solution

to the Irish problem except more repression. Any struggle against the fraudulent 'election' of the Thatcher government must be linked to the denunciation of imperialist repression in Northern Ireland and the posing of a programme both for the unification of Ireland and for a federation of both countries on a Socialist basis.

It is a limitation of Sinn Fein not to use the possibility of a seat in the British Parliament. If Adams were to intervene consistently in Westminster in an elevated way it could have powerful repercussions in the Labour Party and be a powerful blow at British imperialism, which is terrified of any serious discussion even in Parliament. Parliament is not going to solve the 'Irish situation', but it is a means of gaining attention and influencing widely. To do otherwise is to continue on a line imperialism is interested in continuing - 'Britain is Britain' and 'Ireland is Ireland'. But there is only one way for the unification of Ireland and Socialism in both countries, and that is the objective unification of struggles in both countries. Adams is right to attack the pro-imperialist sectors in the Labour Party leadership, but that is not the whole story, when eight and a half million people in Britain vote for a Socialist programme that is a gain for Socialism and an elevation in the quality of the Labour Party which is going to have repercussions later on.

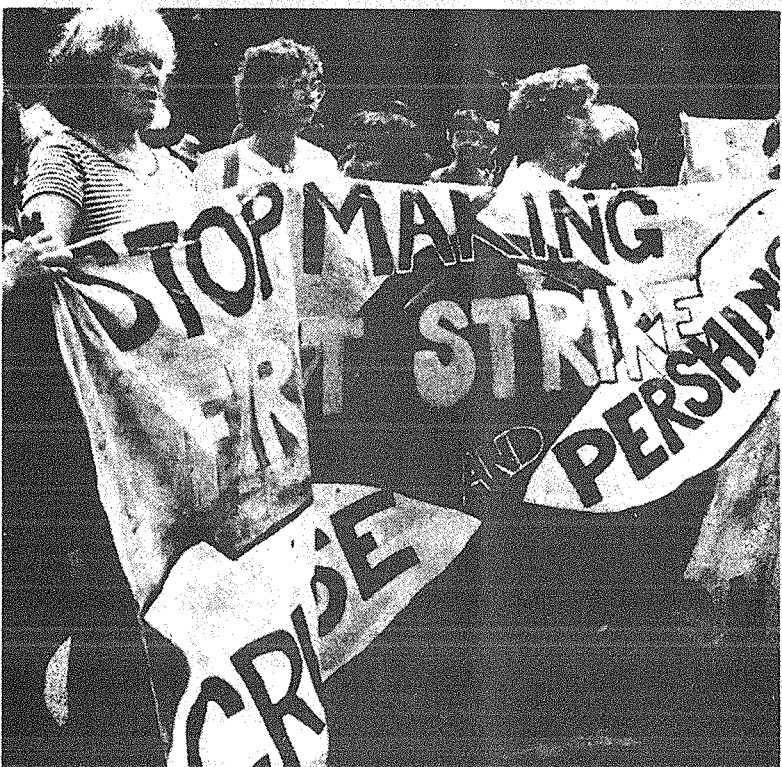
The Left should develop a much more definite position in relation to the armed forces of imperialism. It is quite obvious that British troops were not overjoyed to fight in the Malvinas war, and they cannot be keen to act as an army of occupation in the North. The Labour Party should direct attention to this problem, if there is a programme against the use of nuclear weapons there should also be one aimed at the British troops engaged

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EDITORIAL

THE DISCUSSION OF MARXIST IDEAS IS A NECESSITY FOR CHANGES IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS

Whatever the exact details, the incident with the Korean Airlines aircraft in Soviet air space, is a provocation against the Soviet Union by a sector of Yankee imperialism. It is another desperate act designed to draw together the disintegrating elements of Yankee imperialism and world capitalism. It is the latest in a long line of such provocations, and it will be a failure as all the others were failures, because this sector of Yankee imperialism - most determined on war - has no social support. It is a reaction to a series of retreats by Reagan: notably in lifting the embargo on the Soviet gas pipeline to Europe, and American sales of wheat to the Soviet Union. These retreats are themselves expressions of the total and final crisis of the capitalist system

All the dictatorships with which Yankee imperialism hoped to stem the tide of human progress - in Chile, Pakistan, Israel, Uruguay and the Philippines - are in a state of total collapse. Dictatorships, like that of Pinochet in Chile, yesterday apparently solid, are faced with wholesale mobilisations, not just of the masses but of large stratas of the bourgeoisie. A large part of those now opposing Pinochet are precisely those sectors that supported him, and Yankee imperialism, in the overthrow of Allende. The system of private property is rotting away, and that rot has reached the highest stratas when people like Giscard d'Estaing, Ford, Callaghan and Schmidt, meet in the United States to denounce the policies of Reagan as a disaster for the capitalist system. It is a rot that will not be stopped by provocations against the Soviet Union such as that of the Korean Airliner. Indeed, they only accelerate the process.

A CENTRE FOR WORLD PROGRESS.

What really decides the total crisis of the capitalist system, over and above its own inherent contradictions, is the existence and advance of the Soviet Union. Demonstrably, the Soviet leadership is not prepared to give an inch, in the system against system confrontation, to Yankee imperialism. At the same time, it puts forward proposals - like the moratorium on military activity in space, like the proposal to limit nuclear arms - that attract the masses of the world, including stratas of the bourgeoisie. This strategy of the Soviet leadership also helps stimulate the movement of the masses in the United States. When a march, like the recent one in Washington (mobilising around half a million people) produces a foreign policy document condemning the reactionary role of Yankee imperialism in the world, it has gone beyond a simple movement of protest. It is a response to the world process of advance which seeks a centre and it is more and more urgent that the Soviet Union intervenes towards the masses of the United States politically.

The Soviet Union is increasingly seen for what it is the centre for world progress. The statement by Arthur Scargill (general secretary, National Union of Mineworkers) in Moscow - that Reagan and Thatcher represent war and the Soviet Union represents peace - is an expression of this fact. The statement of Scargill is significant because it was made in Moscow. It is also an expression of the weight of the forces for progress in Britain. It came at a moment when Basnett, and to a lesser extent Murray, were proposing to openly conciliate with the Thatcher government. They are prepared to negotiate with the most reactionary bourgeois government that this country has seen. The class position taken in Moscow

by Scargill and the statement of Basnett show just how deep the rift in this apparatus is. It shows an apparatus that has reached the end of the road, and this apparatus is about all that capitalism has left to rest on. The role of the trade unions and how to deal with the trade union apparatus needs to be discussed on a Marxist basis.

AN ANTI-CAPITALIST OFFENSIVE

The statement of Scargill in Moscow is also an indication of the forces for progress on the move in this country. The current crisis in the Liberal Party is part of the same process. When the leader of the Liberals, Steel, threatens to resign - and goes into hiding - immediately after a considerable electoral advance, it is not because the Young Liberals have been 'entered' by 'leftists' but because the masses who voted Liberal voted against the policies of capitalism. Above all, against the war preparations of British imperialism. The 'Alliance' leadership were able to hold the base in check during the electoral campaign, but the Liberal base is now re-asserting its position of opposition to the war plans of imperialism. The Liberal Party is linked to the bourgeoisie, at all levels, but the majority of its support has either completely lost faith in any perspective for the capitalist system or is actively opposed to it. This crisis of the Liberal Party emphasises just what a fraud the electoral victory of Thatcher was.

This Liberal base, together with the 'peace movement' with which it is linked, are part of the force prepared for an anti-capitalist offensive. They are forces which the Labour Party could have gained if it had been

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The apparatus in the leadership can last for a long time, but it is never going to be able to sustain itself. It cannot do so because it does not correspond to the necessity of the development of human history - of all countries and not just one particular country. The apparatus is an occasional structure to solve immediate problems - even if years pass - and, in the case of Iran, it is not going to last much longer. The apparatus has never served to develop any country or any people. The development of the population is made with economic, social and intellectual development.

In Iran it is necessary to consider that the strength which the Right appears to have - that is the Fundamentalists - is the strength of the apparatus and not social strength. This strength of the apparatus has some correspondence with the necessity of the country through the desire of the bourgeoisie to maintain itself in power against imperialism. But this bourgeois layer cannot develop the country, because it does not have the means, the ideas, nor the programme. It has an interest restricted to itself and does not meet the necessity of the social development of the population, the practical experience of the population, and, much less, the necessity that in order to live, Iran has to advance towards Socialism, otherwise Iran stays stagnated.

The Iranian population has an idea of what this present religious leadership represents. This is not organised or developed in the form of programme and policy, but yes, it is installed in the consciousness of the people. What it is necessary to understand of the process of Iran is not that the programme of the Left, and the Workers State, in Iran has still not been won. But it is necessary to understand, on the other hand, that the Right has not got its way. It is the bourgeoisie which has the power, but they have not been able to impose on the masses, and Allah has to pay attention to the march of the revolution.

The Right and the Centre allied to the Right has no force or perspective. Besides the problems which exist in Iran, there is the external relation. In what country is it possible to find the support of the Islamic Right? None! But the Left, the intellectuals - even the intellectual bourgeois - see the world relation of forces and feel that the possible and necessary alliance in order to progress has to be with the Soviet Union. They feel that the USSR has the objective interest for the development of Iran, while no other country has this interest. The Iranian population is experimenting with life, the understanding and the political development. The Right and the Centre of the religious movement are maintained as an apparatus and not because they have the confidence of the population.

The calculation that the Iraqi leadership made in invading Iran was to combine with the Right and Centre of Iran and Bakhtiar. The invasion was pushed forward by the Right in Iraq to deliver a blow to appropriate Iranian territories, and also to affirm within its own country a policy of the Chinese

type (Deng Xiaoping). But Stalin and China and Iraq are a triangle incapable of supporting anything. The calculation which Hussein made was to rely on the internal conflicts in Iran, plus the threat of a reactionary sector of the Iranian army - the army has still not been completely purged - Yankee pressure and the discontent of the Iranian population. All this was the basis on which the invasion was to be successfully organised. They believed that they could make a 'blitz' and then retreat, but they had to retreat without the expected effect.

This war which Iraq began against Iran is the effort by the leading layer of Iraq to defend itself from the revolutionary process. It is a war against the progress of the revolution. Iran responds to it in a local, nationalist form, because it does not have a leadership which corresponds to the necessity of the process of the revolution, otherwise it would have finished the war some time ago, with the defeat of Sadan Hussein and the advance of the revolution in Iraq.

The march of the process in Iran must be taken as a very elevated phase of the process, a very mature phase of the revolution; and it is the lack of leadership which allows the counter-revolution to operate. Part of the strength which Iraq has, lies in Iran, partly in the Iranian army. Iraq counts upon this, foresaw it, and hoped to promote a coup in Iran from this situation, but now it has gone badly. The Iranian army cannot continue in this way, but has to be changed, and all the plan which we proposed at the beginning of this process of the revolution in the army continues to be correct (i.e. in the first parts of the article, RF 336). The war of Iraq against Iran is going to end with the opposite of what Sadat Hussein intended. In place of the smashing of the revolution, it is going to be an impulse to the revolution. Hussein believed in a war just between them, Iraq and Iran, but the world revolution has also been present. Hussein etc. believed that everything was going to end early and the Soviets have shown them that the situation does not end here, nor in the way that Hussein expected. The war area is Iran, but it is a region that lies within the world and everything weighs on Iran.

The military forces of Iraq were not prepared for the objective of Sadan Hussein because he had no social justification for what he did, while Iran, which had not organised important military forces, was socially justified; and the population thus beat Iraqi aggression. This is a base which is going to develop political relations within Iran and also in Iraq (see 'The Conflict between Iraq and Iran and the necessity of its Unification for Progress', J. Posadas, 24-29 September 1980). The Islamic Right has the power, but it has less and less power, because the population advances in understanding and the USSR advances in influence within Iran. Another element of influence in Iran is Afghanistan which is now stabilised. All those who speak of the 'resistance of the guerrillas' say nothing now because there are only two or three who are in the mountains, and without any importance in the life of the coun-

try. Of all the apparent resources to shoot down Soviet planes, to kill entire battalions, there is no evidence, no photographs, nothing. It appears that the dead have escaped.

THE NECESSITY OF THE PROGRAMME AND THE LEADERSHIP TO DEVELOP IRAN.

The fundamental problem in Iran is the development which a leadership must make. The previous leadership which depended on the Tudeh Party (Communist) was not genuinely representative of the historic, programmatic and political understanding of Iran. Hence the Communists have been very shaken. If the Tudeh Party had had a good programme and a good political life, there would be no force in the world capable of destroying it. Its strength would not have been only Iran but the world relation of forces favourable to them. But, through its errors, it has been very shaken.

The strength of all the parties is necessary not only for numbers, but through the theoretical and political ability which has to be acquired to form the leadership. The process develops through the necessity of theoretical and political interpretation. Theoretically there is the interpretation, and politically this provides the leadership and programme. The Tudeh Party has been remote from this necessity. The Communist militants have been very resolute and many have been assassinated, just as during the war thousands of Communists fell in defence of the USSR, and they were resolute but did not have the possibility of the political leadership. But now in Iran, the present USSR is not that of the epoch of Stalin; without being from the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky, it is not against Trotsky.

Iran cannot develop as a capitalist country. The population has seen that in very backward situations economically and socially, countries like Albania have been able to develop and progress, because they have been structured on the base of Socialism. The internal political relation is not developed, but what determines Albania is its economic and social structure, which is the Workers State. The Iranian population sees this progress and sees that whoever maintains and supports this progress is the USSR. It is the first time that the masses of the world have seen this Soviet Union; before they saw it with Stalin in manoeuvre and in agreement with capitalism. Now there is no more dividing up with capitalism; now the USSR intervenes on all sides so as to say, 'Here I am', without making great demonstrations of strength. Carter protests a little, but afterwards goes.

The relation of forces is clearly favourable to the Workers States and to the revolution. Now it is no longer the situation in which the masses of every country look at the United States to see the things that they cannot do. Now it is the United States which must see what it cannot do. This relation of forces is not because the USSR has more arms, but because socially it is superior. While the inter-capitalist crisis weakens immensely capitalism, the internal crisis in the Workers States does not weaken these countries because the struc-

ture of the Workers State is not put into question. But, in France or any other capitalist country, the structure is in question; in this case the capitalist leadership.

In Iran it is not a question of making a capitalist country but how to structure the economy and the experience of the population. The intellectual and worker, religious and Communist Left vanguard, has already seen that from the capitalist point of view there is no possibility of development. Iran does not have the ability to confront the competition of the world market. Internally it cannot do so because the relation with the world market determines the cost of production and the price. Thus, production on the capitalist plane would be too expensive and without any possibility of development. But there can be development even if somewhat expensive, if it is made through the activity of the population; producing food, developing transport, schools, hospitals and housing. This can be done even at double the cost of capitalist countries.

The wealth which before was in the hands of the capitalists - to increase the quantity of capital for re-investment - would now go to the population. The difference would be that the mass of capital destined to compete with the others would not be necessary. The Workers State still competes from the point of view of price, but not with the accumulation of capital because the capital of the Workers State is essentially the population. Developing and resolving the necessities of the population is the basis of the authority of the new Iranian leadership, and the masses are going to see and support it.

Instead of making a plan for heavy industry which the Soviet Union can supply, plans should be made for the construction of houses, roads, hospitals - a plan of production of machinery to support the agrarian reform, and a plan of food supplies with the Soviet Union for the exchange of products, Iran offering gas, petroleum or surplus agricultural products.

The movements in Iran do not in the majority take into account the opinion of people, the maturing which is being made. They all speak of the masses of Iran as if they were waiting, or as though women were being beaten and pushed aside. The women are not going away, they may be beaten but they go on intervening.

The first duty of every revolution or of the revolutionary process is to win the confidence of the population. For this, it is necessary to make a plan of production according to the needs of the population. It must be a plan which develops a relation of progress between the leadership and the masses. There is no accumulation of capital in Iran to be able to compete on the world market, and thus what must determine in every plan is satisfying the needs of the population. The sectors which have to compete on the world market, as with petroleum and steel partly, should certainly produce efficiently in order to compete.

It is necessary to develop agriculture through modern technology, and to make an alliance between the small proprietors: a form of 'kolkhoz' to develop agrarian production. This would run the risk, though very minimal, of developing an agrarian sector, which could acquire the intention of becoming capitalist. But this cannot be impeded, save through social development, including the development of the proletariat on the land.

It is necessary to re-animate the process towards the political and Trade Union functioning; that is, alliance of workers and peasants on the basis of a programme of development both of the peasantry and of the petit bourgeoisie, of the student movement so that it is educated in this process. In a country with a peasant weight like Iran, and where the proletariat does not have a great concentration, it is the student sector which has great concentration. In a poor country with wealth concentrated in a few hands, the student movement has a constant propensity towards the Left because the activity of the student gives him a knowledge of the world. The student does not work as the son of a rich or well-off peasant, but as one working with an acquired consciousness. In Afghanistan this can be seen, as with a series of students who are the sons of the landowners and support the government of Karmal, and support all the progress made.

It is necessary to realise that we are in the first phase of the Iranian revolution and that it cannot advance much because it does not have a previously formed, but a Muslim leadership. This leadership of Khomeini has not been able to submit the revolutionary process to Allah, but has had to give wings to Allah so that he can fly over the economic and social process. Otherwise nobody would have believed in Allah and would have sent him to down the tubes.

The most important aspect of Iran is not the religious but the social one. It is not possible to compare it with Saudi Arabia because the latter is a feudal state. A measure of Saudi Arabia is that it has to import bread. This is the result of the inability, inertia, brutality of this robber layer which has the state power. This layer lives because imperialism gives it support, otherwise it would have fallen. Soon internal problems are going to arise through the influence of Algeria and of Iran: there are already signs of this.

The object of the Islamic Right in Iran cannot be achieved. They want to contain the revolutionary process with the power of the religious apparatus. This is not possible because world relations are intelligent and based on social necessities, which are not Muslim or Catholic nor evangelical requirements. It is a question of social solutions and needs oriented to the masses, and afterwards there is religion. For the masses, religion is submitted to political necessity.

Saudi Arabia is no example for the religious sectors of the Right. There a thousand people dominate everything, saying that they are all princes with the eternal power

THE CRAXI GOVERNMENT AND THE DISORGANISATION OF ITALIAN CAPITALISM

The appointment of Craxi as Premier of Italy is a mark of the stupidity and disintegration of Italian capitalism. Here we have a situation which begins in farce and can only gather momentum in this direction. Craxi is notorious for the high pomposity of his performances, and as he struts across the historic stage — or so he thinks — we can expect to see him fall off the platform. Why do we say this? Because there is no serious basis for the pretensions of this wretched person from opera buffa. His assuming a leadership in government is the measure of the changes that are necessary in the policy of the Communist Party, which in the elections showed itself as the centre of concentration of all the most progressive forces in the country.

The elections were a major defeat of the parties of the bourgeoisie, and the shattering defeat of the Christian Democracy is a particular blow at Yankee imperialism which works behind the Right of the Christian democracy. It is the defeats registered on the principle party of the Right and the insufficiency of the leadership of the Communist Party which has allowed the preposterous gnome Craxi to assume the Premiership. The votes for the Christian Democracy fell by 6%, the Communists were approximately stable, the Socialists gained little. An unusual element in this election was the fact that almost five million people abstained and 2.3 million cast blank of spoilt papers, which is a record for post-war Italy. All this phenomenon represents a profound rejection of capitalism and, in part also, dissatisfaction with the failure of the Italian Communist Party to respond to the need for a Socialist solution.

THE SECOND GOVERNMENT.

Craxi has made a line in anti-Communism and support for Yankee imperialism. The unreality of his position its pseudo-bonapartist character balancing among the bourgeoisie without a real base of its own partly corresponds in its cynicism to the 'second government' which weighs increasingly in Italy. Thus the last period has seen the interventions of a second government in the augmentation of political killings through the forces of the Mafia and the Camorra. The Mafia, in particular, is no longer simply an international criminal organisation with the highest social links, but an organisation whose political character is a form of substitution for the fascist

forces that capitalism cannot develop. This organisation eliminates sectors of the administrative apparatus itself, as with the Public Prosecutor in Sicily; plus the Communist Mayor of Palermo and the killing of Calvi in Britain. The more the usual channels of capitalism fall apart, the more this second government operates and, in part, the void of Craxi corresponds to the growing weight of these forces which correspond to the failure of the Christian Democracy to contain the masses. Yankee imperialism, with its base in Sicily, has to resort more and more to these methods because all else is failing.

All the capitalist 'governments' bear a common aspect of unreality and incompetence. The Craxi government is a jumble of the various bourgeois factions and the one which determines is the Christian Democracy which, behind Craxi, endeavours to continue a line of confronting the masses. Craxi is the creature of all this. At the same time, big business has had to come out directly into the political arena which is the worse for them. Thus, Visentini, now Minister of Finance, represents Olivetti, and Gorla is another business ruffian formerly of the Fanfani government. Big business thus shows its lack of confidence in its Party 'front', and when big business is so unsure of itself as to be represented directly in government, that is the measure of the debility of the whole capitalist system.

In his 'first' government Craxi has further distinguished himself as a star performer — the Socialists had to settle for only five of twenty seats, whereas in the previous cabinet they held eight. Craxi is not the beginning of something new, rather he is to be associated with the decrepitude of those sectors belonging to the ancient social democratic line of collaborating to the bitter end with capitalism, and anything to keep out the Communists. At the same time that Craxi is unencumbered with anything at all resembling Socialism, he is also bereft of any ideas whatsoever to help capitalism. The line of trying to eliminate indexation, reducing the social gains of the masses won in a previous period, and imposing the Cruise missiles, is the continuation of all the old line of the Christian Democracy, but in a more difficult situation than before. Inevitably,

Craxi is going to meet opposition within his own Party which is bound to grow, because many of the principle cities are governed by Communist-Socialist coalitions — such as Rome, Milan, Turin, Genoa and Venice. This contradiction shows that Craxi is a representative of a particularly closed apparatus and does not represent the masses who voted Socialist.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS THE PARTY OF THE FUTURE OF ITALY.

The instrument for social change in Italy is the Communist Party. Its success in the election is indubitable, completely confounding the bourgeoisie — and the leaders of the Communist Party itself who were moaning about a Rightist wind. At the same time, the Italian Communist Party has the massive allegiance of the Italian proletariat, but it lacks a real anti-capitalist programme: its line tends to be that of a reforming party which in government proposes to 'clean up corruption'. Although the most powerful Communist Party outside the Soviet Union, the Party has not weighed with sufficient force in the anti-nuclear missiles campaign. There is the additional problem of a Trade Union leadership in the CGIL with people like Lama who is more reformist than Communist, and this weighs on the Party's intervention, although the Party — through Berlinguer — is intervening against this leadership. The Communist Party conferences show quite clearly that there is a large sector of apparatus functionaries with their own interests who are a weight in the Party and this, combined with the low level of political life, hinders the better functioning of the Communist Party. Ultimately this goes back to the period of Stalin and Togliatti whose 'polycentrism', one of the consequences of Stalinism, opened the gates to euro-communism and a lower level of political functioning and life. Thus the line of the Communist Party has changed from the 'historic compromise' to the 'democratic alternative' without any discussion or explanation.

The historic origins of the Italian Communist Party and the interventions of the Soviet Union are, however, the factors which decide the function of the Communist Party. The Party is obliged to confront capitalism and will be obliged to confront its conservative apparatus.

The Chad crisis and the weakness of imperialism

The sending of French troops into Chad, the crudest form of imperialist intervention, has to be placed in the context of the final settlement of accounts between the forces of progress and the forces of counter-revolution in the world. It has been made under maximum pressure of Yankee imperialism, but French imperialism does not have the same objectives. All this characterises the course of the present process, one where Yankee imperialism has to impose its will on unwilling allies, and ultimately this promotes a deterioration within the imperialist war alliance. French imperialism does not wish to liquidate Ghadaffi, as it is expanding trade there and it wishes to contain the intervention of Yankee imperialism working through Zaire.

The objective of the war, for the Yanks, is not Chad but the attempt to augment forces to liquidate Ghadaffi on the justification that he is a source of 'disturbance'. Chad itself is the victim of the 'balkanisation' of Africa carried out in the nineteenth century when the imperialist powers grabbed whatever they could and, according to their needs, let Africa rot if it did not contribute to the objectives of imperialism. Thus, Chad is a country of immense poverty and backwardness, and when French imperialism talks of its historic links with Chad these links are those of poverty maintained in the past by French imperialism.

The two political rivals, Habre and Goukouni originate from tribal differences; but Habre was more willing to be used as a weapon of Yankee imperialism against social progress. Chad, like many countries of Africa, not only faces the objective problems of poverty, lack of industrial and agricultural development, but the complications of tribalism which, again, imperialism utilised and developed — as, for example, British imperialism used the old tribal structure in Nigeria, Uganda and Zimbabwe — and has left a whole legacy of problems for countries advancing to Workers States and Socialism who do not possess parties prepared for the process.

Through the war in Chad, Yankee imperialism is trying to provoke the fall of Ghadaffi, hoping to use forces in Egypt, Israel, Sudan and Saudi Arabia. It is part of the same policy which seeks to contain the revolution in central America and tries to develop the 'independence' of some regions in India. Libya is a permanent menace to imperialism, not so much because it is aiding Goukouni in Chad but because Libya has expropriated imperialism and tries to develop an economy which corresponds more to the needs of the masses. Inevitably it is linked to the Soviet Union, whose expropriation of the expropriators is a permanent example for the progress of humanity.

Throughout the whole of the Middle East Yankee imperialism is trying to organise its war preparations against the Workers States. It has organised Israel as

its base, and attempted to use the fears of Hussein of Jordan, Assad of Syria, to develop an offensive through Lebanon, like the nazis, to flatten opposition. All this has failed, even with Assad trying to intimidate developments within the PLO, because the resistance to Gemayal increases inside Lebanon with the formation of the front around Jumblatt. Moreover, the internal opposition in Israel has been much extended. Thus the process in Chad is all part of the attempts by imperialism to regulate a process which it cannot control. Although the Soviet fleet makes clear the Soviet attitude on these issues and the Soviets now control directly the missiles in Syria, the Yanks hope to use the lack of organised left forces in the Arab and adjacent countries to contain and overthrow Ghadaffi.

The intervention of French imperialism is going to accentuate the problems for the re-organisation of the left forces in France. Mitterrand has conceded to the Yanks as part of his chronic fear of associating with the Workers States and the French Communist Party in particular must develop a campaign on this and not remain submitted to the adaptationism to the Mitterrand government, hoping to slip through this phase without too much difficulty.

The process in Chad finds other equivalents in Africa. For example, while capitalism tries to invent non-existent crises for the Polish Workers State, fifty people were blown up in Angola as a result of a mine laid by the 'Unita' forces dependent on South Africa. The press in Britain and the other sources of misinformation, such as television, make no or little reference to this. A war is being waged against Angola and Mozambique, and the independence of Namibia is being blocked — all part of the 'forward strategy' of Yankee imperialism.

There can be no success for Yankee imperialism. The Chad problem will not be resolved in their favour — because there is no historic basis for such a solution. All their closest allies in the region are in crises of disintegration. Sudan, for example, has made no progress under Nimeiri and Egypt is a seething mountain of social discontent. Libya uses its oil revenues for the benefit of the population, but in Cairo blocks of flats fall down because the rich speculators do as they like. Sadat was liquidated, but the people he represents still thrive on and exploit the masses. The process in Chad poses many issues, but there is only one solution for the country — its incorporation into a Socialist federation of African states linked to the Maghreb and the Middle East. This is a perspective which has to be proposed by the Workers States.

OUT WITH IMPERIALIST TROOPS FROM LEBANON!

FOR A SOCIALIST LEBANON!

which comes from Allah. All this is to create a leading caste. Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are completely backward, and also Egypt. The latter cannot last much longer as a branch of Yankee imperialism. History shows that no branch of imperialism has been able to maintain itself. But all the branches of the Soviet Union have won, because they have become Workers States, while Egypt is allied to imperialism and cannot be more than it is.

In two years of revolution fundamentalist power has fallen, but the Left is advancing. The needs of Iran are not solved by fundamentalism but by economic, social and cultural progress which includes the intervention of women in social life. Iranian women have made a very important but inconsistent struggle. This lack of consistency is not because they do not want it but because the leadership of the men has not been consistent and they, in turn, have not been able to be so because the fundamentalist leadership has impeded it.

Women are very important in Iran. They have a social weight and a very great political and social authority. This is not because the revolution has provided it but because they have won it. The Iranian women, together with the Left Muslims and the workers' movement, are a force who feel that the Soviet Union is behind them, and they also feel it is in front of them. This example is not only behind in order to impel but in front so as to show the way. The combative and political activist women still does not exist but is now preparing to erupt into the Islamic world.

Much more backward relations than those imposed on women in Iran were the relations of the Latin American Church with the population. Now there are various countries in which the Church officially takes sides with the revolution - like Brasil, Nicaragua, El Salvador. These do not say it only as adaptation in order to win believers, but because they are convinced that only with the revolution is there progress. They speak with rifle in hand like E. Cardenal, (Nicaragua priest who is a Minister in the government) saying 'It is necessary to use the rifle because God alone is not enough'.

It is not only in the backward countries that this is occurring. Recently in capitalist Germany, in a meeting of the leaders of the Catholic Church, they disputed

the programme of the Pope and were against his attitudes in Germany. They also declared that the foreign workers who have stayed more than two years in Germany must have the same political rights as the German worker. God has said nothing about this, but all the Bishops and priests have to declare their position, and in this way. Besides, they have gone against Strauss. 'He is an assassin, is no use; and we call on the Catholics to be against Strauss'. They have declared that, although they are Catholic with clerical functions, they can and must have political responsibility and be able to give opinions that 'we are in agreement with a movement which mobilises for a superior society'.

If there are all these changes and the Pope cannot attack Poland - if he speaks against Poland all the Catholic Poles would be against him - how is Iran not going to change? In Iran we see already the beginning of the decomposition and disintegration of Islamic power, and an important influence in this process is Algeria which is Muslim, Socialist and Marxist. Its leaders, who call themselves Muslim, have said this. They have statified all the most important aspects of the economy. In Iran, Algeria influences a great deal, and it is now acting as a mediator with the Yanks - a country which in 1965 was submitted to the French and has now progressed on the revolutionary path. The process in Iran is one that transcends Iran, but decides throughout the world.

The fall of fundamentalist power is not only through the situation in Iran but through the world process. The concession of the Yanks in paying for the hostages is not only through weakness but is going to be aimed to stimulate the capitalist sector within Iran. Hence they provide money. It is not a manoeuvre of Carter for his electoral future only, but to provide security to the capitalists in Iran, to resolve their problems and so they do not depend so much on the Soviet Union.

The world relation of forces determines that the Soviet Union must have an interest in maintaining Iran within the field of its influence. If the USSR sustains Cuba, which is quite distant and which costs it a great deal, it is going to do the same with Iran. Cuba costs the USSR a very great deal, but it is also very good for the USSR - not through economic aid but through the revolutionary influence in Latin America and in the world.

J. POSADAS

seen to be prepared to lead an anti-capitalist offensive. This Liberal base is questioning the result of the general election. The Labour left has to take this fact into account, and openly denounce the election as a fraud, and, on this basis, stimulate an anti-capitalist offensive.

It is not a question of agitation, although agitation against the electoral fraud is necessary, but a question of discussion and the development of ideas. To denounce the election as a fraud brings into question the electoral perspective and this 'parliamentary road to Socialism'. It is a dis-

cussion that leads to the Marxist conclusion that bourgeois democracy is only one form of bourgeois dictatorship and that the movement cannot be submitted to such a dictatorship. The forces for progress exist but the leadership does not, and the leadership is developed in the process of a political life, of discussion. No doubt a more elevated intervention from the Soviet Union is a key, but the Labour left and the left in the trade unions has to open itself to the Soviet Union, as to some extent Scargill has opened himself to be influenced by the Soviet Union.

The world balance of forces is favourable to the advance of Socialism and applies equally

to this country. The main reason that the capitalist system, in the form of the Thatcher government, can continue its offensive against the masses, is the lack of a leadership in the movement. The development of such a leadership - conscious and consistent - depends on the elevation of ideas and discussion, not only amongst the Labour left or in the Labour Party but in the trade unions, the 'peace movement', and amongst the base of the Liberal Party. In other words, in all those sectors of society that seek the progress of humanity and who are now on the move.

3.4.83

The ascent of the permanent revolution and the uneven and combined process

J. POSADAS

The ones with voices, those who decide in history, are neither Reagan nor Haig, none of them. Those who decide are the masses and the Workers States, whether it's Breznev or some one else. The USSR determines the course of history and is the chestnut(*) (Giscard d'Estaing smiles at Breznev and is photographed at the side of Breznev). They are the ones who do this. It is the Soviets who say, 'We are not going to allow anything disadvantageous to us or retreat', and Giscard says, 'Well, let us seek agreement, we must discuss, discuss.' The Chinese believed they were the axis of history because they were a pendulum going from one side to the other. History has no need of this Chinese leadership, but it needs the Soviets; and history judges the Soviets not through the bureaucratic apparatus and by bureaucratic relations, but because they are the ones who have to impel history. In order to advance they have to change history. They have their pockets full of progress and they cannot let it stay there. They have to go with progress, Stalin went with reaction, with the counter-revolution, because progress clashed with the bureaucratic apparatus. But the bureaucratic apparatus which still remains in the USSR has to go towards progress or it dies.

Six books have come out on the Soviet Union each one showing that the Soviets eat without peeling things. These people do not understand anything, and humanity judges the Workers State, seeing it in Vietnam and beating the Americans. The world supported Vietnam, not in everything, but supported it; and the pressure of the world and the effect on the United States was both military and social. Without this social pressure on the leading layers of

the United States, they would have engaged in an adventure. It is the social pressure of the world which stopped the Yanks and the contradictions with the Chinese, but also there was Mao Tse Tung. Mao would never have made this policy which these people are making now (i.e. Deng Xiaoping).

The North American bourgeoisie have no points of support. It is enough to see that they resolve problems as in the old stage of India and Cambodia. A President annoys a leading layer, which is not a great layer - about 25% - and they kill him. This can be done as in the films and for a period. The Yanks continue receiving defeats, defeats. From the Bay of Pigs to the assassination of Kennedy, from the threat of destroying the USSR to the killing of Reagan - and though they may not have killed him he is already dead. In South Korea, they resolve these problems in this way, but not in North Korea. North Korea is a front for the Soviets. If the Chinese had their way, it would have been liquidated some time ago.

The world is now no longer led by the capitalist system. The world is led by the need for the construction of Socialism. It is still not directed by Socialism but by this very advanced necessity, and the Soviets provide the leadership. Neither our old fossilised comrades nor capitalism have ever seen a process of permanent revolution. They thought that the revolution was already past. 'They are opinions of Trotsky, an intelligent person...but now it is another stage'; but it is the most beautiful process of history, uneven and combined.

We are not large in number and do not grow in sufficient number,

but we grow in authority immensely. The USSR does not grow directly as the USSR in El Salvador and in Nicaragua. But El Salvador and Nicaragua, in order to advance, have to grow like the USSR but in a better way and without clashing with the Soviets. There is no Stalin that can liquidate people. The Soviets have to shake hands and support them. In the process of uneven and combined development the process is more combined and less uneven. Historically and scientifically, it is an uneven and combined process. But the previous levels originated from a great backwardness of the country in all aspects (i.e. the USSR), with a small team taking power. Now it is the whole people which takes power and the conditions are now posed for a social elevation, a social understanding and capacity which overcomes all the necessities of momentary poverty, economic and social (i.e. not cultural), but as soon as the masses succeed in having a certain power culture is installed immediately! The elevation of human sentiment is expressed in this, not in the egoism of private property, the sentiment of possession, including the life, the family, to eat, to sleep. 'A son has to go to fight'. Senora they will kill him'. But the mother also goes to the fight. The revolution elevates the level and grade of culture. This is culture, and the system of private property is not culture. But everything which elevates the human relation and the knowledge of life is the essential base of culture which allows the development in science, and developed science is one of the most essential bases of art.

J. POSADAS 18.4.81

* a play with words

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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in the war in Ireland which has no solution within the framework of capitalism.

Both Britain and Ireland are in the Common Market. There is an inevitable process towards economic unification even in the structure of capitalism. From the point of view of Socialism, what is necessary is a Socialist federation throughout Europe, including the Workers States. It is logical that the tendency towards the integration of Britain and Ireland should be given a Socialist character.

Britain and Ireland would be integral in a Socialist Federation of Europe. The Labour Party has an anti-capitalist programme and Sinn Fein rejects 'exploitation of man by man', speaks of the Banks

and key industries being under public control, and forms of co-operatives for the land. There exist all the bases for a united front of the Irish and British masses. It is the leadership with sufficient vision that is lacking. The lack of perspective uniting Ireland and Britain in a Socialist Federation facilitates the fears and

insularity of sectors in Northern Ireland who simply see everything in terms of 'Ireland' or the 'United Kingdom'.

When a sector from the United States visits Northern Ireland, as they have just done, they show the world support against British imperialism. We appeal for conferences and meetings of the Irish and the British Trade Unions, the workers' parties of both countries, to discuss common programmes and policies on the basis of mass campaigns and struggles against the repression of British imperialism.

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Editorial

The struggle against the war preparations of imperialism and for social transformations, creates the conditions for a new left leadership in Britain

The efforts of North American imperialism to 'frame' the Soviet Union over the Korean plane incident have failed utterly. The Soviet leadership remained secure in its actions in the defence of the Soviet Workers State whilst imperialism has emerged as hysterical, adventuristic and totally perverted throughout the whole affair. Since the incident American and British imperialist leaders from Reagan and Bush to Thatcher have augmented the crude violence of their attacks on the Soviet Union but such attacks serve only to display their historic impotence and the class motives of all that they do. British imperialism has maintained the barbaric repression of Northern Ireland. They sunk the Belgrano solely with the objective of extending the war over the Malvinas. They connive with wars of repression against the people of Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and for such creatures to speak about the Soviet repression of 'the individual' is ludicrous and seen as such more and more, not only by the masses of the world but by larger and larger sectors of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. The net result of the Boeing incident has been that the imperialist sectors like the American ruling caste and the Thatcher cliques are even more beleaguered than before. The crisis in Lebanon where the tables have been turned on imperialism in spite of all the massacres by the Zionists and their allies, is the true measure of the historic weakness of capitalism compared with the Workers States.

The Conservative government will continue its attacks on the British masses only through the connivance of the trade union leaders. It has no other means of imposing its will and a coherent policy is totally absent. The 'talks' with Tebitt are a complete capitulation and do not correspond to the reality of the world and national situation. As we argue elsewhere it is a 'leadership' in process of abandoning its role because there do not exist any further possibilities for such a reformist leadership. The pre-occupation with the role of Scargill by all the 'public opinion' of capitalism is because capitalism sees the beginning of a new centre in the trade unions linked to the Workers States and with class positions against capitalism. The waging of the class struggle in Britain means the eventual destruction of all the trade union apparatuses who represent capitalism in the workers' movement. As Cde Posadas analysed, the struggle to smash this bureaucracy is the revolution in Britain. The recent miners' intervention in Yorkshire is in depth not simply an example of combativity, it is an intervention to impel new forces in the union against those leaders who do not correspond to what is required. Turn to page 3



THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

J. POSADAS

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The incident of the Boeing which crashed into the sea of Japan is entirely the responsibility of Yankee imperialism. It is a premeditated mass assassination by imperialism using a flight of passengers for military ends over Soviet territory, and also the campaign which was launched against the Soviet Union in case the Soviets shot down the plane was premeditated. It forms part of the activity which imperialism is organising, aimed to prepare and accelerate the conditions so as to launch the war and also to try to diminish the influence and the authority of the Soviet Union throughout the world. These are the means it uses to prepare and justify itself in front of the world bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie, above all those of the United States, to unify them behind the warlike actions of a fait accompli. The shooting down of the plane by the Soviets is a legitimate defence of the Workers State.

The USSR decided on a defensive action in front of the counter-revolutionary step of imperialism, and did not want to kill the 269 passengers. What has to be condemned is the use which imperialism has made of these people, whether for an act of espionage or to make a provocation against the USSR - in both cases as part of its sinister plans for the preparation of the war. The social regime of the Workers State, through which the Soviet Union is organised, harmonises with the defence and the enrichment of life in the USSR and the world, and not with the elimination of life. Thus it is the Soviet Union which is the principle sustaining force in the existence and permanence of the Nicaragua revolution, together with the Nicaraguan masses, and it has saved more than a hundred thousand people, the number formerly assassinated by the Somoza regime sustained by the Yanks. The USSR is

measured in this way by millions and millions, to whom it gives life in the world, and not by the 269 passengers whose deaths are entirely the responsibility of North American imperialism and the feverishness with which it prepares the war.

Hence it is incorrect to consider that the Soviets have exceeded themselves in their defence, as the Italian Communists say in UNITA. Firstly, because the Soviets tried to divert and warn the plane; and, secondly, because the Soviets are most conscious and responsible in front of the intentions of imperialism. In the defence of the Soviet Union, it is not only the simple consideration of defending one's country against an intruder which is in question, but the fact that in the defence of the Soviet Union is understood the defence of a conquest achieved by humanity which is the centre for its progress to Socialism. It is thus that in the understanding and action of the Soviet pilots is the social historic consciousness of the function of the Soviet Union.

This provocation of imperialism will immediately turn against itself. The farce organised by imperialism has had no transcendent value from the beginning, because it has not been an action accompanied by an increase in its economic, social, cultural or scientific capacity - which is the terrain in which the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries influence. Hence there has been no demonstration in the world of condemnation of the USSR in support of the Yanks, no intervention nor mobilisation of the masses. In Japan thirty thousand paid people met in front of the Soviet Embassy, and nothing more happened - and even the families of the victims rejected any intention

of making a political use of the issue favourable to the Yanks. Also, in the narrow circles of world capitalism, this farce has had a very brief innings. When Yankee and Japanese imperialism made the farce of Pearl Harbour to justify the Yankee intervention in the Second World War, the conditions in history were different: with that event, the Yankee entry into the conflict which was developing in Europe immediately followed. Now, internally, world capitalism sees the weakness of imperialism to decide the war against the Soviet Union. It sees that this leadership which impels all its energy for war to stimulate and make war on sea, land and air, which develops this type of provocation like the Jumbo, is the same leadership which is obliged to retreat in Chad, which cannot confront Cuba and Nicaragua. It sees that, while the Yanks know well that the Soviets have shot down the spy plane, instead of responding and taking some measure of military reprisal, they have to make a tour throughout the world with a piece of flight recording, saying that the Soviets 'are bad'.

This action of imperialism is not going to help the unification of world capitalism, taking into account that the choir of the farce was not homogeneous in the attack on the Soviets. The most reactionary sectors in favour of measures of boycott, like the North American senator who proposed the repudiation of the wheat contract between the USA and USSR, were placed in front of a reality determined by the world relation of forces favourable to the revolution. The same is going to happen with the devious measures which Reagan announced, as happened with Carter and the wheat boycott or with the Olympics over Afghanistan, which failed completely. This action of imperialism is going to boomerang against it.

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POLAND AND THE PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE PRESENT STAGE. J. POSADAS

25.4.1981

The policy of threats by Reagan has no perspectives. It's like some one who kicks about in all directions and, when he sees that the ball does not move, has to change policy. The termination of the wheat boycott to the USSR which Reagan made is one of the most complete defeats of Yankee imperialism which has repercussions outside and inside the United States. It has repercussions in the rest of the capitalist countries, which see that imperialism is impotent in front of the USSR and has to yield; while they see the USSR intervening in Poland to correct the existing bureaucratic apparatus, and to correct itself.

The process of Poland, the problems which it has, form part of a dialectically necessary restructuring of the Workers States which leads to progress. Imperialism, on the other hand, seeks to take hold of the problems of Poland, to try to make it retreat - as do the Trotskyists, the ex-Trotskyists plus the old Communists. Imperialism gives all these groups thousands and millions of dollars so that they publish whole pages against Poland, but they do not convince even the ants. This is the function of these groups, but we do the opposite: we write to develop the capacity, the confidence, the security and the organisational progress of the Workers States and the Communist Party, which is our own progress. There is no comparison for our attitude in history. It is a specific attitude of history. A small group works and acts to find the means to help the construction of the organs which are the bases for the development of the anti-capitalist struggle and to advance to the construction of Socialism. On this road of the construction of Socialism, our activity forms a part. The Workers States, in order to develop the construction of Socialism, need to develop the explanation which gives them the notion of the forces which exist, allows them to understand the nature of the problems and the foreseeing of the process. What we are doing forms part of the struggle

But the Communists, particularly the Italians, lie over the process of Poland. They tell lies, and it is not that they are mistaken or are bad journalists (this refers to those who write in Unita over Poland), but they just lie. They lie because they fear the centralised process of Communism. They conceive Communism as the private affair of each country, and afterwards every one joins together with the other to discuss and reach an agreement. This is not Communism. It is a new association of powers based on national interest, the private interest of the sector which has greater strength to exercise power. But the stage in which we are living is one of very great advance in the construction of Communism, which passes through the stage of Poland of 1953, of Germany of 1953, of Bulgaria, to a stage where the objective is to impel in every country - in Poland in particular - progress towards Socialist measures. Capitalism is against all this and supports itself on the disappointment of the old revolutionary, or of the type who never was a revolutionary but simply

participated whether Trotskyist or not, and on a layer of the petit bourgeoisie led by the Socialists who are opposed to this process. The Communists do not explain this, but we provide dialectical explanations of the process which give cultural and scientific security

We are living through one of the most beautiful phases of the history of humanity where the triumph of ideas is demonstrated, which is the triumph of the necessity of Socialism. But capitalism shows its impotence when the Yanks have to resolve 'We sell wheat to the USSR', and when Haig has to go around making apologies. It is the assassin and the arrogant boss who smash people and they say 'I'm sorry'.

The situation in Poland has nothing to do with the line of the daily newspapers. They all say lies. None of them speaks of what is in reality being discussed, but give their opinion that 'Suslov went to Poland to contain, to stop'; while the result is that the workers of the Party are intervening, not those outside the Party; but in the Italian CP they do not allow the workers to intervene and, if there is a Communist member - like Senator Pasti (ex general head of the NATO forces) who gave a report attacking NATO - they treat him as cynical and lying. But Unita published reports of the bourgeoisie whom they present as 'good thinkers!' So they 'think', but those who oppose capitalism do not? They do not let the militants speak. The trade union leadership - of which part are Communists - now decide the assemblies. They speak in the name of the assemblies and they speak of a basis of support incorporating in the leadership of the union bourgeois layers, layers of bourgeois origin, and petit bourgeois layers linked to the bourgeoisie. It is necessary to discuss this. They are discussing this in Poland and without ruptures but, on the contrary, with an elevation of Poland. But the Italian Communists say not a word on this, and thus they do not educate the Party. It is a Party which has to follow orders and there is no discussion. Now, where is there discussion over Poland in the Party?

The capitalists have to base themselves on the dead and to seek injections which give them a little life, i.e. the problems of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and to demonstrate their unrepresentative character they write 'He said to me' because someone else said that someone told him that the Poles have the intention of impeding democracy'. This shows the weakness of capitalism. But the Soviets bring out a resolution which has an immense historic level which is: 'Poland is Socialist, the USSR is Socialist, we have an alliance in defence of Socialism and nothing affects this.' The USSR helps countries which are of capitalist origin to overthrow capitalism. This now is a principle: 'We are Socialist countries and in

consequence intervene in accordance with the interests of Socialism; not of any particular interest, but of Socialism'. The Workers States intervene in other countries which are not Socialist, which are capitalist, to overthrow capitalism. And without concealing it. Capitalism has to put up with such a situation, which shows that it is in retreat and, although it may remain in the same situation, it retreats at the level of influencing and dominion in history. But the Workers States advance.

The Communist leaders do not understand this process, hence they want a Socialism of the Italian type instead of 'real Socialism'. 'Real Socialism' does not exist. Certainly a society exists in construction towards Socialism, where humanity, as humanity, has to learn and to live. Humanity, and not only the leadership of the Party, has to learn to construct Socialism - nor is it a question of just those countries which are the Workers States. They do this without difficulty, but they have to do it at the same time as confronting world capitalism which is preparing for war. It is not a society which has a model and is guided by a plan of construction. It is a society in construction, and where also the governing class of this society is in construction.

The International has to make an activity which corresponds to a number at least ten times greater than we are. But, at the same time, not only with greater number but we need a greater maturity, a greater intellectual rapidity than at present, because events rush from one day to the next and are not simple changes of number or form, but are changes in the course of the process, and at other times it is necessary to intervene in processes which are apparently contradictory but have a dialectical continuity: for example, to understand the bureaucratic process in the Workers States where the necessity to confront the capitalist system means the bureaucracy has to correct itself somewhat. Poland is an aspect of this process. We are the only ones that understand this and explain.

These are the fundamental problems of this stage of history, not strikes or elections in the capitalist countries but the process in the Workers States. The elections in France, even being important, do not change in any way the course of history which is 'already outlined' as the singer Labordeta would say.

This requires a greater understanding and maturity not to feel hemmed in or small, but that what we are doing is necessary and we do it well - although we want to do better to increase our weight in history, our influence and capacity of leadership and organisation in history; and our dynamism, which is one of the most important effects of our influence. We orientate in the problems which decide the course of history. It is necessary to maintain this, improving the

rhythm, the time and the capacity.

It is necessary to intervene in the Communist parties and the Workers States, understanding that these live a process of construction of Socialism, which is absolutely legitimate and necessary, the unconditional defence of the system of the Socialist countries, whatever the errors or the bureaucratic barbarities which they commit (although there cannot be any more important bureaucratic error). China could commit such errors, but in China there is a process of crisis. The Workers States around the USSR cannot commit the errors of China. In the form those of China appear to be errors, but basically this is the form in which the bureaucratic apparatus is expressed politically, and the disappointment in the Communist conception. In China, a nationalist layer developed, had no solution in the bourgeois class and then developed in the workers' area with layers of Communist origin, but was disappointed through the course of and with the lack of Marxist preparation, product of the previous stage of Stalin. There is no mystery about what is happening in China; this is the origin. But, even so, the leaders work with feet of lead, and cannot impose what they want - which is the historic retreat of China. It is not that they have intentions of returning to capitalism, but of using the Workers State for a conception of elites. Hence, they tried but got nowhere. There is not one Workers State which followed them. Albania broke away and then Yugoslavia distanced itself. But the rest of the Workers States are influencing the world and have secured one of the greatest progresses - which is to influence the French Communist Party so that it understands that the policy of the USSR towards Giscard d'Estaing did not mean a support to him but was convenient on a world scale. This is one of the most complicated matters which the French Communist Party has had to accept, but in Italy the ICP does not accept the policy of the USSR.

It is necessary to reiterate that no Socialist country exists, but there exist countries which are in construction of Socialism. The Communist and Socialist parties and, above all, the Italian, speak of 'real Socialism'. This does not exist. There is no Socialist country - there are Workers States which are transforming society (from the economy to social relations) to create the bases of the construction of Socialism. Now is a phase in the construction of Socialism, the lower phase, not the lower phase of Communism but of the construction of Socialism. Hence it is a Workers State and not a Socialist country, not 'real Socialism' or imaginary Socialism. It is a Workers State which has a programmatic base for the construction of Socialism; that is to say, it is in construction. And this construction is measured not by one or other measure (this is a base to compare the level of development of the Workers State) but it is assessed in the intervention of the country as a country

within the state. The country as a state: that is to say, the intervention of the worker masses and non-worker masses. But the Communist parties speak only of 'the working class of Poland' - and Poland cannot only be measured by the working class but by the country as a whole, because it is a Workers State in which the working class is the most genuine representative, but not the only one.

'Real authentic Socialism' on the Italian or Polish model does not exist as Socialism is a universal social relation for the economy, society and the future. Thus, it is necessary to measure that, in the Workers States, there is no Socialism. How can there be Socialism if there is still private property? When the ICP appeals to this Socialism, it is because it shows what type of Socialism it thinks of constructing in Italy - which is, to leave FIAT as it is. Workers States are in existence now: that is, a stage of transition to Socialism which, without having reached the most advanced stage of this structure, must now prepare for the final settlement of accounts with the capitalist system. These create new problems, because the Workers States have to dedicate a great part of their budget and of production to the preparation of war. But, at the same time, they dedicate a great part of their budget to scientific and space investigation.

All this is what we have to publicise, to reach the Communist parties. The strikes of the capitalist countries are very important, but it is not the strike which decides the course of history. If a strike decides the course in Italy, it is because the Workers States are besieging capitalism. It is the Workers States who decide. The strikes and elections are important and it is necessary to intervene and to support with everything the trade unions and the Communist parties, but it is not they who decide the course of history. The most elevated cultural understanding of this stage of history is to understand this conclusion - it is the Workers States who decide the course of history, not any Communist Party or trade unions in Britain, Germany, Italy or France. The struggle which these countries develop is important and has a great effect on the progress of the anti-capitalist struggle and of the progress of the Workers States, but they do not decide the course of history. On the contrary, these trade unions and Communists and Socialist parties of the centre and of the left are the result of the progress of the world relation of forces favourable to the Workers States.

In the final settlement of accounts, relations develop which have never before occurred in history; nor could anyone foresee them, neither ourselves nor our masters. These new relations mean that, in the final settlement of accounts, capitalism has to show openly its

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In this act of war, the behaviour of the USSR and that of the North Americans have been clear for humanity to see. The USSR appeared secure and decided, and their statement on the incident is very important — above all where they say that if the Yanks repeated this performance they would do exactly the same. But the Yanks and world capitalism were frenetic and showed themselves vacillating and weak. They lost a plane which exercised a counter-revolutionary function and were not able to respond. Hence a sector of imperialism afterwards reported the existence of the reconnaissance plane in such a way as to diminish the character of the shooting down made by the Soviets, that is to say, 'As we were spying, the Soviet action is justified'.

The delay of the Soviets in clarifying that they had brought down the plane does not arise from any intention to conceal or misinform. They waited because, in the beginning, they had no idea of the level of the provocation of imperialism. Immediately Andropov interrupted his vacation and the Party met, as the plane's flight could have been an action initiating the war. If imperialism wanted to make a test, it was able to confirm again that the Soviets were not disposed to any concession. This is not the leadership of Stalin, which allowed the nazis to advance (including making agreements with Hitler); this is a leadership which is preparing to answer and defeat the war which North American imperialism is preparing.

As Cde Posadas analysed, imperialism is preparing the war without being able to determine the moment, the form or the place. It needs to stimulate and to live in the middle of a climate of war and in the middle of actions like the South Korean plane incident, and it does this as a means of being able to launch the war. It has to do this, because now it does not determine in the world and must confront the opposition of the world masses who are influenced by the progress which the existence and progress of the Socialist world means. The Soviet Union integrates and identifies with everything which means progress, whether it is political, revolutionary, economic, cultural or scientific. Imperialism must confront the immense resistance of the masses, which affects large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie and the European bourgeoisie against the establishment of missiles in Europe at the end of the year. It must confront the opposition of all Latin America and the world to the military manoeuvres which it undertakes in Central America, and the counter-revolutionary actions and sabotage against Nicaragua, against Cuba, and against the revolutionary movement in El Salvador. With this type of farce which it has organised and making use of the control of the world press, it seeks to overcome these resistances: not of the masses — with these it is in decisive confrontation — but that of sectors of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. The stupidity of the Yanks leads them to believe that it is possible to do it simply with a tape of a Soviet pilot

The plane flew for two and a half hours over Soviet air space

and was followed throughout its course by the radar and an American reconnaissance plane, to such a point and with such efficacy as to be able to register the conversation of the Soviet pilots. Why did there exist such a concern with this plane? Why did they not warn the USSR throughout this time that there was a plane not on its course? Evidently such an error served another objective of espionage or provocation, or the two things at once. Technicians throughout the world assert the impossibility that the automatic equipment of the plane can have a breakdown leading to such a miscalculation in this way, unless a diversion had been programmed from the beginning. The defensive action of the Soviets is logical, seeing that all the movements of this plane in Soviet territory led to the deduction that a counter-revolutionary action was in process, the level or form of which could not be established.

The Yanks have developed a whole series of factories which are capable of combining civil and military production or of civil production which can be immediately transformed into military production. This is a way of combining economic utility with the need to prepare the war. This is the case with factories like Caterpillar. The Boeing firm manufactures both passenger and military planes like the AWACS and the RC35. It is not by chance that the provocation was organised with this type of plane which could conceal its military activity behind a normal civil air flight — or that would combine the action of two planes: i.e. that of

the KAL and that of a reconnaissance plane, or that one (i.e. the KAL)

would undertake both functions. It is necessary to take into account that in all this region the Soviets have important military bases destined for defence against attacks from the United States.

This criterion of the defence of the USSR by the Soviet pilots is that which the world Communist movement must adopt. It is not possible to accept the doubts which the Italian Communist Party expressed, investigating and seeking all the explanations on the event in itself. The action is a terrorist act promoted by imperialism, another of its innumerable assassinations. But it is necessary to respond and explain, by making the class considerations and the comparison between the social regimes. The only base of the accusation comes from imperialism, nor has the rest of world capitalism the capacity to confront the elements of accusation launched by the Yanks. The Soviet Union does not have to answer this accusation nor give explanations to imperialism. Imperialism has no authority to judge the USSR. The North American government, with their support to the junta of assassins of El Salvador, has assassinated people equivalent to two hundred jumbos like this. In Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, El Salvador, in the Middle East, in all these countries who is the assassin and what is the force which helps human progress and liberation? The Yanks assassinate and develop provocations like those in Central America and the invasions of Nicaragua. But the Soviet Union defends, sustains, and impels the progress of all these people, developing the economy, culture and

the social intervention of millions. These are the explanations which the Soviet Union gives daily to the world. They are the living historical proofs, millions of times superior to the piece of tape with which imperialism perpetrates this farce.

The Yanks with these actions want to stimulate the preparations of war, and they are going to seek to repeat this by including the countries of Europe (once the missiles are installed). This is the feverishness with which it works in this final stage of its existence. Hence, it is utopian to think that one can control the action of NATO or that even all Europe can weigh in the decision which the Yanks are going to take. It is a small sector which is preparing to launch the war. The feverishness and the desperation increases in front of the world social reply to imperialism, and in the United States itself there was the recent mobilisation of half a million people on the anniversary of Luther King. It was a mobilisation in which not only blacks, whites, youth, women, who condemn the assassin policy of the Yanks throughout the world. The repression of the pacifists in Germany is one of the consequences which world capitalism wants to affirm on the basis of these provocations, but they are going to fail, and the process will turn against imperialism. It is necessary to extend the anti-imperialist policy throughout the world, against the establishment of the missiles and for the process of social transformation of the countries, but it is necessary to be based on the example, the solidarity and the support of the Soviet Union and the other Socialist countries. 15 6 September 1983.

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The crisis of the parties linked to capitalism such as the SDP and the Liberals develops without interruption as can be seen in the last conferences of both parties. Imperialism has tried to intervene saying the Labour Party is being marginalised, but the crisis of the SDP and the Liberals are examples, on the contrary, of the persistent disintegration of layers normally firmly fixed to capitalism. Owen in the SDP augments the rift with the Liberals by insistence on acceptance of Cruise missiles, while radical sectors in the Liberals against the leadership supported the conception of a united Ireland and rejected the imperialist line of non-negotiation over the Malvinas. All this shows the possibility for a firm Labour leadership to gain immense social support behind an anti-capitalist policy on the basis of the struggle against the reactionary apparatus in the trade unions and the development of a party which lives the life of the masses.

IMPERIALISM HAS NO HISTORIC INITIATIVE.

At the very moment when imperialism needs maximum concentration against the Workers States, there is disorder on all sides. Hitler, before he launched the war, liquidated all manner of weak sectors, whether in the party or the army. Imperialism as Cde Posadas has argued does not have the means to conduct such a purge. The escape of the IRA prisoners from the H-Block points to a high level of decomposition in the police apparatus there, and this will find parallels in all the armed forces of imperialism although it may not surface in so obvious a way. The fact that the commander of the small British force to the Lebanon objected to the situation in which he was placed points to the demoralisation of the professional army of imperialism. The forces that are developing in the trade unions and the Labour Party have to be based on issues of principle — and the interventions of Scargill in defending the Workers States and rejecting the respect for phoney electoral results relate to matters of principle — by rejecting capitalist notions of democracy for the conceptions of class struggle, and by gaining confidence from the historic central role of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. The progress of Britain revolves around the Soviet Union, not the other way around. This has to be related to a different conception of the party and the trade union which has to relate to all the daily concerns of the masses, sustaining a life based on this and not a life separated and submitted to conceptions of progress only by parliament. It is necessary for the left to take initiatives to call meetings and discuss, to write and to publish and incorporate Marxism, Posadism

The development of new struggles of the anti-nuclear movement — which rejected the anti-Soviet campaign over the Korean airliner — against the war preparations of imperialism, combined with the need for social transformations, is providing new bases for the emergence of a new left leadership in Britain. 30 9 83

THE FAILURE OF THE ANTI-ABORTION REFERENDUM IN IRELAND

The referendum in the Irish capitalist system. The Irish Republic on abortion has been a complete fiasco. However, when a referendum on what is not a central relationship with the other capitalist issue in the progress of society creates such a turmoil, it indicates the depths of the crisis of the Irish Republic. Those reactionary forces — in Ireland, and outside in Britain and the United States — that campaigned to insert an anti-abortion clause in the constitution, when abortion is already illegal in the Irish Republic, did so in order to rally reactionary forces in Ireland and to divert attention from the major issues. In the event, 47% of the electorate showed that they considered it not to be a major issue by abstaining, and 18% voted against. In other words, only 35% of the electorate voted in favour. It is indicative of the nature of the Irish state that abortion is illegal under an Act of 1861 passed by the Westminster parliament and which is still part of Irish law.

The turmoil of this referendum campaign, with elements of the law, medicine, the three major political parties, the Catholic and Protestant Churches all at each others' throats is indicative of the crisis of capitalism in Ireland, as part of the total and world crisis of the capi-

talist system. The Irish Republic cannot live by itself as a small capitalist state, it is forced into a relationship with the other capitalist countries through the Common Market, and, in the nature of the capitalist system, it is crushed by them in the process of inter-capitalist competition. On this issue of abortion all the major political parties — Fine Gael, Fianna Fail and the Labour Party — were split. Fitzgerald, the Prime Minister, originally supported the anti-abortion amendment and then changed horses in midstream. His motives for this change of mind were that the amendment only had the support of a minority, and that it was damaging to his policy of trying to integrate the Irish Republic more into the structure of British imperialism.

The top layers of Irish capitalism have no future in the war that is coming and want to take refuge with British imperialism. They are caught in a vice. Stunted they lived and stunted they die.

This split in the major political parties shows that none of them represent the demand for social transformation by the Irish masses.

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impotence before the Workers States and prepare feverishly for war. But feverishness finds obstacles and internal resistances in the United States — like the attempt to assassinate Reagan — and in layers of capitalism who feel that they are the ones who are going to pay for the consequences of the policy of the Yanks. These sectors, for example, were against the wheat boycott of the USSR. These two events — the bullets which Reagan received and the removal of the boycott — show the defeat of Reagan and the lack of perspectives in his policy. It is necessary to intervene on these problems and aim at the Communist parties and the Workers States.

J. POSADAS 25.4.1981

Note: The trip of Suslov — as other Soviet Communist leaders made previously — was made with the objective of strengthening and increasing the function of the Party in Poland.

THE TRADE UNION CONFERENCE AND THE CRISIS OF CLASS COLLABORATION

Ireland from page 3

The recent conference of the TUC has marked the immense level of crisis in the trade union movement. It was not possible to conceal under any formulae the gravelling nature of the rightist leadership in front of the actions of the Thatcher government. Capitalism spoke of the 'turn to the right' of the apparatus.

But that was only the more openly expressed sanctioning of a policy of the right consistently followed for years and years, during which time the British working class has been prevented from using its strength both to defend its own class interests and from influencing the petit bourgeois masses. The reason for this is well known - the existence of privileged layers, the aristocracy of labour who developed with imperialism and owe it their allegiance. Although these sectors do not socially have the same weight as in the past because of the crumbling of the empire which gave rise to their position, the right continues to weigh in the trade union apparatus because of its reactionary structure and functioning to which the left is still largely submitted. At the same time, even with the reactionary weight of the apparatus, it was impossible to break links with the Labour Party or unilateral nuclear disarmament.

The degree of submission of this apparatus to the interests of imperialism was seen in the vote condemning the Soviets for the shooting down of the Korean airplane. This took place, of course, at the same time that the right was making highly sanctimonious declarations about the need to 'take politics out of the trade union movement' and producing other sublime gems about trying to prevent the discussions on the candidates for the LP leadership disturbing 'purist' industrial discussions. The vulgarity and absence of thought of the apparatus has rarely been displayed so brutally. But this is precisely the historic ruination of these people. Such an apparatus is the construction of years and based on the conception that capitalism works and can be made to concede and reform. The apparatus can conceal its servile nature when in fact it does gain some goodies, but when the capitalist system is clearly incapable of anything save more exploitation of the masses and the preparation of war with gigantic expenditure on missiles and the apparatus rushes to defend the system, then it is clear that its days of dominion are few. It can only prepare its own messy funeral together with that of capitalism.

The attack against the Soviet Union over the Korean Jumbo crash has to be seen as a desperate alignment with the forces of the world counter-revolution. If forces of the left went along with this, that is the result of years of absence of

understanding and submission to the functioning of the reactionary trade union apparatus. The behaviour of the right is really desperate and shows that they are deprived of function. They exude hate against Socialism and against the Soviet Union at the very moment when capitalism is disintegrating. All this demands a new type of trade union functioning, as Cde Posadas analysed, which goes beyond the normal trade union role and seeks to intervene on all the widest problems of society. Basically, the right would like to be the heads of company unions, and the discussions with Tebitt are discussions for mutual protection - how to contain the masses and the left, and how to perfect their communications against the independent functioning of the working class. Murray's remarks on the need to accept that a government has been elected and that to oppose it with political strikes is 'madness', show a bureaucracy without cover. Murray has the look of a very tired undertaker, and certainly with this line the trade union hierarchy based on class collaboration is not long for this world. The line of talking to the Thatcher government - which shows capitalism at the end of its tether - abolishes the function of these trade union leaders. They put forward the notion of 'influencing' the government, when capitalism as a system is totally exhausted. All this is a mark of their historic impotence, and they are close to disappearing with the capitalist system which gave them origin.

THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE WORKERS STATES.

At the same time it has to be seen that in their collaboration with capitalism the union apparatus is deserting the field and the way is open for a different type of trade unionism altogether: not yet a revolutionary trade unionism, but the way towards that. The campaign launched against Scargill arose from the fear that he might prove to be a centre for a more vigorous trade union opposition. Capitalism was particularly outraged by Scargill's open denunciation of the collaborating tendencies of the TUC following his visit to the Soviet Union in which the influence of the Workers States can be seen in his denunciation of the policies of imperialism, of Thatcher and Reagan, as the source of world conflict.

The rotten organisation of the WRP - which cannot bear the progress of anyone and certainly not of the Soviet Union - as part of its help to capitalism tried to create problems for Scargill over the issue of the Polish Solidarity movement. Scargill, against the positions of the trade union apparatus, rejected Solidarity as anti-Socialist. This is a major step against capitalist thinking in Britain.

The attitude of Scargill shows the development of a tendency which is seeking for a different orientation for the unions, one which seeks to confront capitalism and lines up with the Workers States against the capitalist system. Without doubt there is no organised or homogeneous left in the trade unions and thus the apparatuses can still have a field of manoeuvre, but all the conditions both on the international and national planes favour a new type of left leadership in the unions, as in the Labour Party, and one which for correct orientation has to be based on the recognition of the role of the Workers States. Hence capitalism sought to intervene in the congress as much as possible. The crisis of this trade union leadership is complete because it can no longer control the Labour Party. It can hamper it and take full advantage of the limitations of the present teams in the Labour Party, but the old relationship of a social democratic party working in harmony with a conservative trade union leadership is over. This means that however the right and centre seek to contain the process, the forces of the left will continue to grow and develop, and this means the link with the Labour Party will accelerate the left in the unions.

The process is complex but also dynamic. It is not a question of a lengthy elaboration of ideas in abstraction from the actualities of the class struggle but a stage in which sectors of the masses are going to resist the policies of the government and are going to seek for a new type of leadership. Like the Labour Party, the left in the trade unions is not homogeneous and there are centrist sectors who in reality go along with the right when it comes to issues of principle. Thus a union as powerful as the TGWU has been incapable of acting as a centre for the masses, because of the heterogeneity of its leaders.

The left has to develop with the understanding of the role of the Workers States, and also that it is impossible to conduct the old reformist or trade unionist policies that just refer to immediate needs of the particular union. To continue in that way is to limit enormously the capacity of mass intervention and to restrict the possibilities for the liquidation of capitalism. Thus the mineworkers union cannot be confined to the interests of just their own union, nor can railway workers be galvanised just on issues of the railways - because the system which causes all these problems is not a series of different enemies but one: the capitalist system. It is precisely the narrow trade unionist mentality which keeps everything separately. It is true that various unions through the pressure of necessity do adopt policies which are indeed political and go outside purely union aspirations. The NUR is anti nuclear wea-

There was no questioning amongst all this political leadership, including Fianna Fail and the Labour Party, of the backwardness and poverty in Ireland which generates the need for abortions. On the contrary, they tore themselves apart on an issue which 47% of the electorate considered secondary. It was the trade unions, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in particular, that underlined the fact of 194,000 unemployed during the referendum. At the same time, little was made of the 'right to life' of those killed in the recent rail crash which was the result of a lack of investment in an out-dated rail system. Above all, what was shown in this crisis of the political parties is the necessity for a new political centre. Clearly, the conditions exist for a united front of the trade unions with the left of Fianna Fail and the Labour Party left. The political intervention of Sinn Fein in the Irish Republic will help in this direction. They, at least, propose a United Ireland on the basis of social transformations. However, the solution to the crisis of the Irish Republic, which is part of the crisis of the capitalist system, does not lie in the Irish Republic but in the British Isles and the rest of Europe.

If, for example, the Irish trade unions want to make social advances, they have to make links with the British trade unions. Indeed, the conditions exist for discussions and meetings between the trade unions and workers' parties of Ireland and Britain. These links should be made on the basis that the crisis is a crisis of the capitalist system, that the masses of Britain and Ireland have a common interest, and that there is the perspective of the Socialist Federation of the British Isles. The delegation of Labour MPs that went to Northern Ireland recently, and who have denounced the repression against the masses of the six counties by British imperialism, show that the Labour left is trying to reach out to the Irish masses. The Irish trade unions and workers' parties, Sinn Fein in particular, have to weigh on this Labour left because it is from the development of the left, as a tendency, that a conscious, consistent and anti-capitalist leadership, capable of leading the advance to a Socialist integration of the British Isles, will come.

pons and the seamens union against dumping nuclear waste at sea, but the union left has to make a qualitative leap of a tendency on this basis and, like the forces of the left in the Labour Party, seek to mobilise the unions on the most central anti-capitalist policies.

THE NEW ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS.

The trade union left is developing in a rich situation from the point of view of the rapid decomposition of the structures and security of capitalism, but to develop it has to make links with the population, call meetings and discussions, and publish bulletins to develop a life superior to the old life of trade unionism which, in its routinised forms, is the cemetery of thought.

The process of the termination of the pro-capitalist trade union functioning and the development of the new passes through the general waging of the class struggle. The more degenerate the capitalist system in its brutal attack on the mass of the population for the enrichment of the few and their associated layers, the more the trade unions will have to free themselves from the present structure of trade union functioning. Capitalism constantly attacks the unions for their 'lack of democracy', but they simply want to use the forces of the right more completely. The real issue is that, in the process of the reconstruction of the unions, a real workers' democracy is essential in which union officials are open to immediate recall and earn no more than the average wage so that the incentive for careerism at

the expense of the workers' movement is eliminated. Delegates must be mandated and controlled. The right thrives on the existing 'branch' life, which means little life. In many unions it is literally not a case of a struggle of ideas within the scope of common Socialist objectives, but a necessity to construct the left in the very process of smashing the right and smashing capitalism in the workers' movement. The left will have to lean on the support of the workers directly, and in the course of this process the old structure will have to be broken - as with the need to actually transform the functioning of the Labour Party, and this depends in turn on the discussion and clarification of ideas, programme and policy; and, as explained constantly by Comrade Posadas that trade unions have to adopt a totally different conception of their role to weigh in society. This does not mean substituting for the Party, but the trade unions can intervene and not wait for the Party. In this sense it is important that after the last elections the Labour Party made hardly any clear response as a party to the elections, whereas Scargill denounced the electoral fraud and attacked the junk in the trade unions for the collaboration with Thatcher. To that extent a sector of the unions responded with much greater vigour to the situation than the Labour Party. The 'new unionism' of this epoch has to be based on the strength of the Workers States and the need for social transformations, transcending the 'traditional' functions of trade unions.

THE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT AND THE ROLE OF THE WORKERS STATES

The massive demonstrations in Britain and West Germany against the installation of the American Cruise missiles were among the biggest ever held by the anti-war movement, and they have dealt powerful blows at the confidence of the ruling cliques who have lined up with the North American imperialism in the preparations for the attack on the Soviet Union and the attempt to prevent the advance of humanity toward Communism. These mobilisations followed on the immense demonstrations in Moscow - estimated at eight hundred thousand - where sectors of the Soviet masses came out against the Korean airlift over the Soviet Union, which was an act of war, an attempt at the maximum to probe the response of the Soviets to an aggressive action, and at the minimum an effort to develop the antagonism to the Soviet Union and augment the dictatorship of the United States over its allies,

The anti-nuclear mobilisations in the West are firmly against imperialism, which creates all the conditions for war against the Workers States. In these demonstrations there is no anti-Soviet sentiment, only the sentiment that war is not necessary and only serves the interest of a few privileged sectors of private property. In the most recent stages, particularly in Britain, efforts were made by capitalism to say that the CND movement was fading. But this was clearly not the case from the evidence of the demonstration and even when, according to the capitalist Gallup polls, complete nuclear disarmament is a minority view, the majority of the population is against Trident and Cruise missile installation.

Sectors of capitalism, both in Britain and Germany, are petrified at the clear intention of Yankee imperialism to unleash the final encounter with the Workers States and the forces of world Communism - without regard for capitalist 'national' interests. The opposition in the Conservative Party insists on the continuation of talks with the Soviet Union, and Callaghan went to Moscow with the same message: that it is not possible to threaten the Soviets. Sectors of the bourgeoisie and sectors linked to them are active in the peace movement - and thus Petra Kelly of the Greens is making a visit to the Soviet Union. The movement thus tends to elevate its anti-capitalist character and objectively acts as an impelling force on the relative inertia of the workers' parties and trade unions who support in words these movements, but are geared to the norms of Parliamentary procedures and do not mobilise mass actions.

The movements in the United States are of immense importance in all this, and the large number of arrests of anti-nuclear protesters in the United States points to the fear of the extending influence of this movement by the sinister cliques who seek to launch war against the Workers States. The masses who turned out for the Luther King Commemoration, show the power of such popular movements. Anti-war movements become a means of direct intervention by the masses in capitalist countries, whose massive bureaucratic and repressive structure prevents discussion and exchange of opinion and 'democracy' is of a purely formal character.



THE GREENHAM COMMON WOMEN AGAINST THE MISSILES.

As the intentions of world imperialism become more and more obvious to ever wider areas of the population, it is necessary that the peace movements' intervene on all issues, including the necessity to intervene directly towards the workers in the factories who have not

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EDITORIAL

DEMONSTRATIONS, MEETINGS, STRIKES AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST OCCUPATION OF GRENADA!

The occupation of Grenada by American imperialism is part of the whole course leading to the final encounter with the Workers States. In this brutal attack on a very small island the central team of American imperialism tries to maintain the fever of confrontation with the Workers States, seen also in the case of the Boeing aircraft shot down by the Soviets. As imperialism lives from day to day and cannot determine a coherent strategy because it lacks sufficient political and social support, it has to cut across 'negotiations' with the Workers States and seek to give a sense of imperious decision which can spill over at any moment into war. Reagan is a puppet and all the grandiose schemes of re-asserting American power have diminished to the size of a Carter. The clique of assassins will shove a new script into his hand, but the fact remains that the forces that seek war with the Soviet Union cannot look to any presidential candidate to promote their success. The recent renewed threat to Reagan shows the violence of the internal conflicts raging in the central teams of Yankee imperialism.

The Grenada intervention offended British imperialism, not because they are against smashing or trying to smash the people of Grenada but because American imperialism acted with disregard of the niceties of decorum and showed that they will do as they please.

When Thatcher protests that it is not possible to intervene against any government simply because it is Communist, this is a squeal of pain from sectors who feel that American imperialism will decide alone, whatever the cost to their allies. The rest of the European bourgeoisie were also linked in a round of protest. But the fact remains that, in the historic contest with the Workers States, American imperialism is the driving force to war - and if this crosses the national interests of the other capitalist powers, so be it. It is true that

American imperialism cannot structure a powerful, obedient alliance on this basis, and a process of interminable decomposition is at work in the United States and the other capitalist powers, but it has no other choice. It cannot organise as it would like and lives in a state of agonised desperation, and so it goes towards war - anarchistically, because it has no means of imposing its will in a coherent way.

THE EXAMPLE OF THE WORKERS STATES.

The reason for this decomposition and perpetual disarray in the imperialist alliances is the power and decision of the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union. For years imperialism has procrastinated in its attack on the Workers States, because they have no security as a class that they can survive such an encounter. The team now heading towards war with the Soviet Union is desperate. They are an expression of the determination of a class

undermining bureaucracy.

In this context the functioning of the Labour Party and trade unions is extremely limited. The left has to base itself unconditionally on the weight and advance of the Workers States. Both in the unions and the LP it is hampered by this deficiency and, as a concomitant, works within the structure of the apparatuses. For example, where

was there any mass mobilisation over Grenada? Grenada is not only an island oppressed by Yankee troops, the invasion was part of the preparations for world war. The anti-missiles movement mobilised hundreds of thousands; why does not the LP and the trade unions mobilise in the factories against the missiles? The German trade unions called for a five minute stoppage recently - very small - but at least some mobilisation was called for. Here the TUC supports nuclear disarmament and then does nothing. In this sense, the CND movement is playing an important

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to survive, even though subjectively they are smitten with doubt. The Workers States are weighing all over the world, and capitalist interests from Argentina to capitalist Germany and France seek links with the Soviet Union to develop their trade and industry in competition with the Yanks. The movements against nuclear arms in Europe and the United States receive their impulse from the Soviet Union, primarily as the alternative to the pathological nature of the capitalist system which can solve nothing save on the basis of war. The Soviet Union is an example of inexhaustible human progress, including the process - as in the new workers' collectives of developing organisms against the usufruct of state property and thus

role in mobilising and stimulating resistance to capitalism, and has a superior conception of the role of the Workers States. They see that the Soviet Union has no desire for a war, and say so, but the weight of the conservative apparatuses in the LP and the trade unions is against such conclusions, in the same way that they do not wish to discuss the reactionary role of the monarchy. The appeal of the CND to British troops to reject the use of missiles is a step that the workers' organisations should support and extend. The forces of the left have to base themselves on these forces and on the Workers States, from which the peace movements stem, in order to develop a consistent Marxist left

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Capitalism is in the last stages of its existence and Marx is going to terminate it. Through the Communist parties the proletariat fulfils its historic function, as Marx foresaw and understood. He gave ideas to organise this objective function which had no programme, policy and leadership.

In the visits to the house of Marx one goes to seek historic features, antecedents, evidence. The determining historic evidence is that capitalism, whose principle centre of support in Europe is Germany — because that country depends most of all on Yankee imperialism — cannot prevent German capitalism maintaining Marx's house. It has to do so in order to survive: which shows the contradictions of the capitalist system and the strength of the continuous and uninterrupted progress of the struggle for Socialism and of the Workers States.

The interest of capitalism is to suppress the Workers States, every thing which leads to Workers States, everything which refers to the Workers States, and everything which means historic antagonism and competition with the Workers States. But it has to accept and put up with the fact that there is an historic competition between capitalism and Socialism, and the existence of Marx is the proof that it is ideas which triumph when they represent a necessity of history. Hence Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history, and Marx's house is also the conscious expression of the unconscious process of history.

They wanted to abandon Marx, but history brings him forth again: the proletariat, the Workers States are responsible for this. It is not a question of any particular writer or historian, but the Workers States establish him. Without their existence, Marx would have been buried some time ago, but, as the Workers States represent the practical and material life of Marx, it is not possible to annul him.

When capitalism maintains this house of Marx, it is because it cannot negate him. He cannot be annulled: neither Marx, Engels, Lenin nor Trotsky can be annulled, nor can Posadas — because they represent necessary ideas in history. All the old Trotskyists, of now and previously, do not have any importance because history does not think of, mention, nor need them. But Marx is a necessity of history, not of the proletariat but of history. He is supported on the strength of history, which is the proletariat. But, independently of the proletariat, Marx is an expression of the quality and the creation of history which is his thought and intelligence, an intelligence which was not created by the proletariat but by human intelligence, among others by the Greeks, the intelligence which allows the interpretation of the course of history. Hence, in our homage, we pose that the ideas of Marx are to resolve all the forms of oppression and all the forms of necessity: the two forms which humanity has to resolve, those of oppression and necessity. In Socialism there will be no necessity. Everything which today is

THE MARX MUSEUM IN TRIER

J. POSADAS

14 8 1977

In this centenary year of Marx's death, we publish this analysis by Cde Posadas of the historic role of Karl Marx. Marx finds the material expression of his thought in the Workers States, and there is no creative understanding of Marx which ignores this relationship. Marx confronts the barbarism of imperialism in the security and elevation of the Workers States led by the Soviet Union.

called necessity — eating, sleeping, etc. — will not be necessity but a function of what must be done. Today it is a necessity because it is necessary to live to work and to go on strike. Hence we render homage to Marx as the most complete expression of progress.

Marx was not the representative of one class against another, but the representative of the progress of history for which he found support in the working class against those who represented the backwardness of history, through capitalism.

The greatness of Karl Marx is not to have represented the proletariat and defended its interests, but in having represented the future of humanity being based on the instrument which history provided:

the proletariat. Hence Engels says that Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history, because all the progress of the economy and society leads to the necessity for social transformation, and this social transformation must be led by some one. Who leads it? It is not a class which can in turn become a new owner, but which will annul all classes. It was necessary to interpret this, which is a new and unique experience in history; to exercise a function of eliminating a class which oppresses in order to eliminate all classes. That is to say, it is an action as a function of humanity and not of the working class. The working class is an instrument for this objective. Hence Marx said, 'The working class is revolutionary or it is nothing.' This means that to fulfil its function it has to be revolutionary, otherwise it is one more exploited grouping as there have always been exploited people in history.

Our homage to Marx is not because Socialism triumphs or Marx triumphed. Marx is not represented because the Soviet Union triumphed, or because there are twenty Workers States, but because he represented the ideas of the progress of humanity, whose instrument is the Workers States, the Communist parties, and Marxist ideas.

Marx is not the representative of the working class against capitalism — to be the antagonist of capitalism — but the consciousness of this process which lacks consciousness.

It is necessary to consider that when capitalism has to admit that in Germany the house of Marx is maintained as a museum — a living record, a living presence of ideas of Marxism — it is because the Social Democracy, which is one of the representatives of capitalism, needs it. This means that now it admits in an open public form that there is an antagonistic competition

which is historic between capitalism and Socialism, and that Socialism has already shown that it has the capacity to substitute for, replace, and eliminate the capitalist system. Thus the museum which they made of Marx's house was not made in homage either to Marx or to his ideas, but was aimed to contain or to win over the Socialist left.

Marx's house was reconstructed after the war. They did this because German Workers State was nearby. At the same time that the German Workers State was constructed, capitalism reconstructed Marx's house. They conceded because if they had not taken the initiative the Socialist left would have done so. They hastened to find a way to limit the levels of history and distort them. It was a political means to deform the homage to Marx which reconstructing his house meant. But, in doing this, it was shown that even in the Social Democracy Marxism could not be drowned or assassinated. After having resolved to reconstruct the house they negated Marxism. The Social Democracy annulled Marxism (at the conference of Bad Godesburg in the late fifties the SDP abandoned Marxism — Ed.), but not Marx's house. This was aimed at the left of the party, to contain it, to have the support of the proletariat, and, in a certain way, to compete with the German Workers State.

If capitalism had advanced, it would have eliminated the house of Marx and of Engels. When they leave it, it is a political tactic of the German Social Democracy — which is a party, an agent of capitalism, not the most secure representative, which is the CDU — to dispute with the left of its party in order to weigh and to have an influence over the working class.

Within the house almost every thing is missing. In order to make a museum of Marx's house, it is necessary to provide a chronological analysis, but vivid with the life of Marx. The life of Marx is the most complete and alive that there is. It is the most complete life because it was dedicated to the organisation and application of his ideas. In the house nothing of this appears. Aspects and parts of his life appear but the essential part of the organisation of his thought, which is when he reached the Marxist conclusion — after Feuerbach — is incomplete. There is a void because it does not show the life which he led, which allowed him to be concerned with problems, among them those of the Paris Commune.

Marx criticised the Communards but he supported them. He criticised them not because of their

mistaken objective, but because they made a movement too precipitately; but he gave them all his support, as did the First International. This was the practical conclusion of a conscious leadership on the error of a just movement — with a correct conclusion, but mistaken in tactic and stage. Hence the criticism was not one of opposition or of condemnation, but of persuasion. All this does not appear in what is exhibited here, although it was one of the most beautiful stages of the First International.

In this museum the stage of the polemic with Bakunin is not in evidence, yet this was one of the most important polemics where Marx demonstrated that he had to win currents who showed that they were valuable like Bakunin, at the same time that he led a struggle against Bakunin. Marx made a great effort to reach in the process an agreement with Bakunin and to influence him in the activity. He showed in this way the most elevated form of the capacity of theoretical elaboration and the most elevated form of theoretical conclusions. This is Marxism. Marx did not combat Bakunin, but tried to win him to give an example, showing that the experience showed that 'it was so'. But Bakunin did not accept. With Lassalle, Marx did the same. He showed the character of Marxism, the organisation of human intelligence capable of understanding new experiences in history; because

Bakunin and the Bakunist movement was new in history, and Marx tried to win the best of this movement in the same way as he tried to win Darwin. The proof that he could have won him was the reply which Darwin gave to the dedication which Marx made to him in 'Capital'. Darwin was not against, but accepted in a timid form, because Darwin feared that the dedication would compromise him before his wife who was very religious. Darwin was also religious but a scientist, and scientific ideas won him over from religious ideas. Marx discussed with Engels about dedicating the first volume of 'Capital' to Darwin, and this shows that Marx, like ourselves, sought to win everybody.

We live in another stage. That earlier stage was the beginning of ideas; while today those who question Marxism are the expression of decadence, including the 'old and new Trotskyists'. The stage of Marx had more value, because there was no existing historic experience. Today, there is the experience of the Workers States, of tactics and policy, and in this the factor to combat is not tactic or policy but apparatuses structured not on the basis of ideas but of organisational vision. They are apparatuses which resist change and not through lack of experience or of ideas as in the epoch of Marx with Bakunin.

Bakunin was a person of good motives, but completely empirical. Marx valued him for his capacity of action and organisation, but saw that he was a tremendous empiricist. Bakunin came prepared to act, saw something which diverted him, and remained where he was. He ended having left nothing that was useful. He did not leave writings or experiences useful for humanity. He left nothing more than his experience of organiser, above all, the organisation of the poor peasants which did not require many conditions for this, because it was sufficient to say to them 'rise up' and they rebelled.

The essential character of Marx is absent in this museum, which is only a passive reflection of his life.

It is not possible to present Marx in a passive form only through his writings, but as the form of commemoration and record through a museum is static, it is the analysis which gives the movement of the life of Marx. This has not been done here. Nor does the life with his companion appear, although Marx led an intense political life with her and, according to what Marx said, she gave good political opinions which he afterwards corrected or extended. In this museum there is no sign of the life of Marx and his family, with Elena the housekeeper who was integrated with the family. For his activity he needed someone who could do the housework. She was integrated, lived with them, and was no expense; and, as Marx recounted, at times she thought of schemes to provide money for the Marx family. The historic heroism of Marx is not present here. Between the life of his family and ideas he chose ideas and had to stop being preoccupied with the family. If he had dedicated himself to looking after his family he would have been a millionaire. Those who made the museum — the capitalists — do not bring this out because they, in a similar case, would opt for the money; which, stupidly, serves them to live with the belly full and the mind empty. One cannot expect anything else of this museum because it expresses the limitations of capitalism.

Another aspect which does not appear is the polemic prior to the founding of the First International. In order to form it, there was an enormous discussion. Marx and Engels were the First International, only two of them; and they rushed about (like the flying IS, as we call it) to various countries to convince them that it was necessary to have an International. The process then showed a certain maturity and richness when the Communist Manifesto was published in almost all languages. Marx sought that it should be published in every language so that it would have a transcendent value. He was conscious of the process of history. All this should have been placed in the museum in a chronology of documents, texts and meetings from which would emerge communications on local and world aspects — a lively chronology not in a dead and passive form as the

documents are presented here.

Capitalism does this because it has no interest or concern in doing anything else, but the Workers States can and must supply an alternative. In the museum the homage which Marx made to the Paris Commune should figure, as it was very profound. This shows that it is not possible to expect anything of the capitalist museum, nor that criticism is going to achieve anything with them. But it is necessary to show the impatience, the incapacity and the lack of interest in making a real museum of the house of Marx. Although the fact that they have had to do it at all shows that they cannot ignore the process of history.

There is no museum made for this by the Workers States and the Communist parties, capitalism in Germany has taken advantage to make one, to canalise and attract the documentation and then bury it, leaving it all dead so that it may not be a continuous testimony of Marx. As part of this, there are no practical conclusions in the museum, from the Soviet Workers State, the rest of the Workers States, the practical experiences of the Paris Commune which continued with 1905 and 1917 in Russia and the practical conclusion that Marxism today is a force everywhere throughout the world; while capitalism retreats and the countries which ascend do not go towards capitalist forms but towards forms of the Workers States. That is to say that the practical form of the ideas of Marx is the form which transcends and organises the world.

It is not to be expected that capitalism can make a museum with these conclusions, but to see that it is obliged to keep Marx alive and, although in memory and record, to hold there the principle ideas of Marx. They cannot ignore or eliminate the representatives of the progress of history. They minimise, reduce or carve up Marxism

but they cannot ignore it; and, although it may only be a part that is shown, they have to allow it. This shows the weakness of the capitalist system when, in reality, its interest is to smash and eliminate Marxism. They have to try to adapt it, and the German Social Democracy has to present itself as the continuator of Marxism and that Marx is as they show him.

When the Social Democracy wants to split up Marx and to be the fragment, it is because in the Social Democracy itself Marx is alive. They want to conceal him, so that the working class or the left do not have a means of protest and of organisation; and thus also it deprives the Communist Party of initiative. In the last instance this is a weakness of the Workers States and of the Communist parties, because they should have made the Marx museum.

The important element in a Marx museum is not to record where he lived, the chair on which he sat, and the table at which he was working; what is important is the ability of Marx to have been the organiser of the greatest and most complete and objective ideas of history. It was done, above all, in the worst conditions and he had to allow a son to die so as to be able to complete the task which he had to do. Moreover, the life of Marx does not appear here as one of the most elevated forms of life, showing dedication to ideas superior to any other example in history. Dedicating himself to work and to get money and look after his family, and in very trying circumstances, Marx wrote 'Capital' and organised the First International. There lay the dedication to the progress of humanity which was represented in the form of the ideas of Communism. It was not a dedication to an abstract or sectarian idea which lived for itself for a group or for a current, but an idea and organisation of thought, of programme and of method of the interpretation of history, Marxism; and to transform society. This was necessary and part of an uncontainable process, because it showed that the accumulation of the progress of science, technology and the economy, and the development of intelligence, had as a result the necessity for social transformation. The conscious factor which was going to realise this social transformation was the proletariat.

The proletariat meant an instrument, a programme, an experience, which needed to be organised in the form of a leadership so as to fulfil the historic function to which it corresponded. It has to learn to organise itself for this function. This was Marxism, a conscious instrument of trans-

formation and the organisation of society. No capitalist country is in the conditions to represent the life and function of Marx in this way in a museum.

But the Workers States should do it, and we aim at them so that they should complete this task. They could draw on an infinity of experiences, of examples, and thus contribute to organise security in Marxist thought in the social conscious transformation of humanity. Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history and the process is unconscious because, between the ruling class, the economy, science and technology, there is no harmony. The ruling class has an interest in exploitation and develops in competition. At the same time, it has to develop science and technology which surpasses its structure; thus it cannot utilise science and technology, but has to smash them in order to survive.

The decisive example now is atomic energy. Capitalism utilises atomic energy to kill people when it could be used to eliminate every form of energy need. The progress of science and of technology surpasses the ruling class. Hence Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history.

It is necessary to aim at the Workers States so that they perform this task. At the same time, they must see the clear example of the behaviour of Marx, who had no doubts in organising on the basis of ideas an organism like the First International. It was a handful

which, in historic comparison, was infinitely less than ourselves. Marx, on the basis of scientific capacity and his organising capacity of ideas, was the most dynamic man who lived in history. Based on the security of the ideas, on the affirmation of ideas, he had to construct

organisms which were going to develop on the basis of quality not quantity; even when it was quantity that was going to decide, as, for example, the Socialist parties who had an enormous quantity and no quality. Afterwards the Communist parties, who were nothing, were the quality of the quantity.

It is necessary to realise that Marx dissolved organisms when he saw that they had fulfilled a function in history and that they were of no further use. Thus, there was no difficulty in working in this way. It was not, as they say, 'his life's work' but a work for the progress of humanity.

The First International ceased to fulfil this function and thus another organism was necessary, and Marx had no proprietorial interest. In this sense, it is legitimate to pose the similarity with us — when an organism is of no further use and does not fulfil its historic function it should be liquidated. If it is not prepared and lives for itself, then it is necessary to eliminate it. When this is the case, as Marx, Lenin and Trotsky acted, as we acted, it is because they earlier and more recently ourselves had confidence in the value of ideas which it is necessary to preserve.

Trotsky founded the IV International for this function, conscious that there was only a small team. From that IV International, the only one who remains is Posadas. But the earlier IV International had fulfilled its function, and this new IV International, which we founded

in 1962, fulfils a function, but better than before. It is a concentrated function aimed to influence leaderships, because now we live in another stage of history and of twenty Workers States. Now it is not a question of saying how to act, how to organise tactic and policy. Now it is a question of tactic and policy in relation to the Workers States and the existing Communist parties.

Our similarity with the life of Marx is from every point of view important and profound; but, even being very profound, the difference in capacity and quality between Marx and ourselves is very profound. We are disciples of Marx and we do not have the ability nor the acuteness nor the depth of Marx, but we do have the same historic responsibility as Marx and the same decision.

Thus, in seeing this museum, we do not go as spectators but as investigators of history, to see ourselves as part of it; not to see retrospective examples, but examples which affirm our function in history. This is the homage to Marx made with our function.

J. POSADAS 14.8.1977

The Festival of 'Unita' and the intervention of the Italian section

Among the hundreds of thousands of Communists who participated in Italy this year, as every year, in the 'Unita' (paper of the Italian CP) Festival, there was an increasing number who defend the USSR and criticise their party leadership. This could be measured in the fact that the Posadist IV International could sell 3,500 publications — a lot of these on the leading role of the USSR in this stage — and distribute thousands of leaflets defending the USSR for shooting down the Korean spy-plane. The Communist Party leadership has not substantially changed its positions from previous years, and it took a rather anti-Soviet position regarding the shooting of the jumbo. Also, this year, the new regulation by which it is not necessary to be a Marxist to enter the Party is in force.

The speeches during the Festival were superficial, did not allow the Communist base to express itself, and generally covered subjects of lesser importance. The question of the jumbo that arose in the midst of the Festival did not motivate any public discussion. However, there was a very marked disagreement between the conduct and opinions of the Communist leadership and that of the base. The mass of the Communist workers who attended the Festival congratulated the Posadists for their support to the USSR, for their analysis of the spying jumbo, and showed that they are confident that they will be able to elevate their

own Communist leadership in due course.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PRESENCE OF TROTSKY.

In the Festival there was a display of the life and activities of the Marxist masters. Amongst these Trotsky was featured for his role in building the USSR and the IV International. In the part dealing with the IV International there was the following mention: 'Trotsky was an unconditional defender of the USSR and a critic of Soviet bureaucracy, which he considered as a transitory product and the ebbing conditions in the world revolution so that, when these conditions no longer existed the bureaucracy would start disappearing.' This is a fundamental thought of Trotsky that only Posadas developed in all his works. The fact that it was present inside the Festival of UNITA shows that the process of elevation of the Communist Party is not expressed so much by its leadership as inside its ranks, and at the level of ideas; that is to say in the appreciation of Marxist ideas and interpretation that will inevitably return to be the base for all activities in the Communist Party in the future.

The fact that Berlinguer (CPI general secretary), in his very weak and empirical speeches, had to make a mention of the Marxist masters shows that he has to continue to fight against the right wing of the Party that does not want to hear of them. The leadership of Berlinguer

is the result of a heterogeneous Party in which the right wing has not been able to impose a non-Communist leadership. However, there is a lack of principle and a certain fear of Communism in the actual positions of the leadership of the Party that come from Stalin's time. It is important, however, to situate this Festival of UNITA in a world context where no right wing Communist leadership triumphs, and where even the Chinese have to return to a more positive relation with the USSR.

This intervention of the Posadists is a means by which to measure the changes that will soon come in the Communist Party as part of its anti-capitalist progress.

Italian capitalism has nothing to offer to the opportunists of the Italian Communist Party. The road for Italy is Socialism, and the task of the Italian Communist Party is to bring down the capitalist system. In this process, the role of the Posadists is to help the Communists with Marxist ideas, positions, based on the fundamental principles of our masters, in the absolute certainty that Soviet bureaucracy is in decline and that the Soviet Union is returning to play the role of being the 'beacon that illuminates the world'.

SUPPLEMENT TO

RED FLAG

International Secretariat
2.10.83

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ACT OF WAR
OF THE SPYING-JUMBO
AND ITS SHOOTING-DOWN
BY THE SOVIET UNION

LABOUR'S CONFERENCE SHOWS THE NECESSITY FOR CONSISTENT DISCUSSION

Labour Party conferences are not a medium for the exchange of ideas or for profound discussions. At best, they allow a formulation of a programme, in a limited way, and reveal to a certain extent the balance of forces inside the Party. The 1983 Conference was a desperate attempt by the apparatus to give the impression of a semblance of unity — exemplified in the Kinnock/Hattersley 'dream ticket' in the leadership. This contrasted rather badly with the differences on most major issues, revealed by the discussions in the conference: above all, on the fundamental issue of Ireland.

The conference was, as ever, a series of discussions on isolated or marginal issues which did not allow an overall understanding of the world process. Without an overall understanding of the world process, in particular the existence and development of the Workers States, it is not possible to understand any one issue.

Even on the programmatic level, the dead hand of the trade union bureaucracy prevents very much advance. The limited proposals for 'British troops out of Ireland,' for instance, was sunk without trace by this trade union bureaucracy. Nonetheless, the conference did reveal the balance of forces inside the Labour Party.

The fact is that the Labour Party and trade union apparatus was unable to retreat on the central issue of unilateral nuclear disarmament. This remains the programme of the Labour Party. Disarmament is the central issue in this stage of history precisely because imperialism, on a world scale and led by Yankee imperialism, prepares the war. Disarmament means the disarmament of the capitalist sys-

tem, in reality, and — as such — it is profoundly anti-capitalist. It strikes at the very existence of the capitalist system. The fact that the Labour Party has not retreated on this programme means that it is no longer an alternative Party for capitalism. Callaghan publicly opposed this programme, but from the sidelines. Hattersley, now deputy leader, has had to go along with the disarmament policy. This is the real balance of forces inside the Labour Party. All the confusion and retreats and equivocations revealed by this conference are nothing compared to the fact that the Labour Party has maintained its programme for disarming capitalism.

In his speech, Kinnock — amongst all the rhetoric — did actually call on 'everybody to defend the National Health Service.' It is not much considering that, at the very least, the Labour Party should be co-ordinating the struggles of all the workers in the social and health services under attack by the government.

Even though the trade union bureaucracy prevented any programmatic advance on Ireland, the discussion and the events around the conference are important. They measure both the developments in the Labour Party and the evolution of Sinn Fein. Some of those who supported the 'Troops Out' resolution also called for a united front with Sinn Fein; and Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein MP, made an attempt to intervene directly in the conference. As it was, the 'fringe' meeting called by Sinn Fein was very well attended. There is a growing realisation both in Sinn Fein and in the Labour Party left that the problem of Ireland cannot

be taken in isolation and that there is a necessity for a united front between the British and Irish masses. This forms part of the maturing of the Labour left which the 'block vote' of the trade union bureaucracy cannot negate. In some senses, the questioning of the policy to leave the EEC also shows a certain maturing of the left. Although it is a subject surrounded by a great deal of confusion, the left is no longer simply following behind the idea that Britain leaving the EEC is a solution to any problem.

Programme is one thing, and policy another. The Labour Party and trade union apparatus still clings to the idea that history will wait for 'parliamentary democracy'. Thus the trade union apparatus voted in the conference in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament, but did nothing to support the massive demonstrations of October 22nd or the action of the 'peace women' at Greenham Common.

What the Labour Party conference shows, above all else, is the need by the left for a political life, for ideas. This developing, but still under-developed left, sees the world process in a very fragmented and partial way. It is remarkable, even given the nature of Labour Party conferences, that the world process was hardly mentioned. Above all, there was no discussion on the nature and development of the Workers States. Even the TUC conference was unable to stifle that particular aspect. The Labour left needs, as an urgent necessity, Marxist ideas, the Marxist method and the means of discussion and exchange of ideas. It needs to free itself from the Labour Party apparatus; not the Party but the apparatus — which means to structure itself as a conscious Marxist tendency. This means to see the process in this country as part of a world process at the centre of which is to be found not Britain but the Soviet Union and the Workers States.

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in the Labour Party and in that process break the conservatism of the ruling camarillas there and in the trade unions.

NO TO THE ELECTORAL PERSPECTIVE.

The forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions must reject submission to the electoralist perspective of waiting on elections four years ahead! Imperialism is in its last insane stages. Everywhere capitalism shows its utter disregard for human life. The way the police were exonerated in the case of the man nearly killed through mistaken identity, is an example of a cynical disregard for human life. On the basis of that 'legal' decision, any one can be killed at any moment because they look dangerous or have the wrong expression on their face, or make the police nervous. This is allied to the cynicism over asbestos dust, and the running down of the health service where doctors themselves more and more reject having to decide on who lives and who dies because of lack of facilities. Pollution is rife: at Winscale, for instance, there is a far higher incidence of leukaemia because of uncontrolled nuclear energy. And the 'culture' of capitalism in its last phases? Video nasties!

THE WEAKNESS OF THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT.

Imperialism is in full decomposition and there will be more incidents of the Boeing air crash type and more Grenadas. It is possible to see this disintegration in the ranks of the Conservative Party in Britain, which more and more breaks up into factions and, although it inflicts suffering on the population, is weaker than ever before. As we have argued, the Thatcher government survives

through the goodwill of the trade union conciliators and the lack of a leadership in the Labour Party which corresponds to the course of the process. On the other hand, neither can the trade unions or the LP provide a solution for capitalism as they did in the past.

It is not true that the workers will not fight against capitalism because they are dominated by fear of unemployment. It is true that the trade union leaderships have acted over unemployment like Stalin used to act — organise a defeat and then say, 'We have been defeated'. But time and again, as in the fight over Telecom or the ASLEF strike, it is clear that combativity is there but not organised and co-ordinated with other struggles; because much of the trade unions' leaders live in terror of a movement which threatens the existing order.

The Socialist parties and trade unions of Europe, for example Britain and Germany, are all in forms of crisis of development because the final encounter between the Workers States and capitalism demands a response to the masses of their countries for which they are not prepared. Nevertheless, the inexorable pressures and example of the Workers States is the basis for radical change in these organisations which also feel the pressure of the mass peace movements. With this consciousness and understanding it is possible to link the struggle against the installation of the missiles, against NATO, and against the preparation of the war, with all the struggles against unemployment, for the control of the environment, and for social transformations. The left will become a Marxist left in the Labour Party on this basis.

For world mobilisations against the war preparations of imperialism



Scientific, Cultural and Political Editions

THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION.

J. POSADAS

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SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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Union, they can grow and augment the nature and character of their resistance to the objectives of capitalist society. Without competing with the parties of the Unions and the parties, they must act as a compelling force to deepen the mobilisation of millions and millions against the plans for war of capitalism. Imperialism cannot be converted to peace because its structure leads inevitably to war against anything that competes with it. In the case of the Workers States it confronts a force which poses the universalisation of the liquidation of private property. But all the organisms of capitalism are in total disarray, more and more people, including among the bourgeoisie, see the

criminal character of imperialism. On the other hand, the Workers States everywhere bring progress — as to Afghanistan. The Soviet Union gave economic aid to Grenada, the American imperialists only bring destruction, and the attempt to throw Grenada back into the hands of the exploiters which the 1979 revolution threw out. Basing itself more and more on the objective course of the historic progress of humanity, which passes through the Soviet Union and the construction of more Workers States, the peace movements can develop more and more into agents of social change and help stimulate an incessant mass mobilisation against capitalism.

EDITORIAL

COMBINE THE ANTI-CRUISE CAMPAIGN WITH ANTI-CAPITALIST DEMANDS

The installation of Cruise missiles in Europe has not resulted in a crisis for the Soviet Union but a deepening of the crisis of capitalism. The Soviet Union has remained steadfast in its opposition to the war preparation of imperialism. It has kept its word by breaking with the Geneva Talks. It has kept its word by installing missiles in Eastern Europe and sea-borne missiles close to the United States itself. This resolute attitude of the Soviet Union has given the lie to all the bourgeois speculations about the health of Andropov. The policy of the Soviet Union is not determined by the health of Comrade Andropov. It is determined by the fact that it is a Workers State at the centre of a system of Workers States. The confidence of the Soviet Union did not falter at the death of Brezhnev and it will not be affected by any ill-health that Comrade Andropov might suffer.

The world policy of the Soviet Union remains sure and determinate. It was the intervention of the Soviet Union that stopped Assad, of Syria, trying to prove that he could control the PLO. Assad was attempting to use this as a bargaining counter with Yankee imperialism in pursuit of his own national-bourgeois interests. In the event, he was prevented from continuing the attack on the PLO by the Soviet Union. This is a considerable blow to Assad and Yankee imperialism because the PLO emerged from this crisis strengthened considerably. It was strengthened, not least, by the release of some thousands of Palestinian fighters by Israel. This is a retreat on the part of Israel and a blow to the imperialist war preparations. It is precisely the collapse of Israel — the direct agent of Yankee imperialism in the Middle East — that has forced Yankee imperialism to become more and more directly involved in Lebanon. And, in so doing, it finds itself in direct confrontation with the Soviet Union, and this only serves to feed the fear and defeatism of world capitalism. The collapse of Israel is an extreme expression of this, but all world capitalism suffers in the same way, in one degree or another.

At the Commonwealth Conference also imperialism sustained a defeat in the sense that Thatcher was obliged to fight a rearguard action on issues such as Grenada and the PLO. On the other hand, it was also clear that the policies of American imperialism inspire fear and defeatism everywhere. Trudeau's mission to Peking is an example of the panic of capitalist sectors submitted to US imperialism.



Mass demonstration in Liverpool against capitalist policies

It is this firmness and confidence of the Soviet Union and its present leadership that feeds the confidence of the world masses. In Latin America, for example, all the old dictatorships are in a state of collapse.

Nearly a million people demonstrated against Pinochet in Chile and hundreds of thousands in Uruguay were on the streets demanding the end of military rule. The masses of capitalist Germany feel the same confidence, and the result is that the SDP voted against the installation of Yankee missiles. This is a major blow against imperialism because Schmidt, former leader of the German SDP, was one of the strongest supporters of the installation of Yankee missiles in Europe. Now he has been thrown out of the leadership, and his policies with him. In a sense, the decision of the SDP reflects the objective united front of the masses in the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union. The same is expressed in the decision of Bruce Kent, general secretary of the British CND, to speak at the British Communist Party Conference. He was not attracted by the 'eurocommunist' policy of the British CP but by the fact that the CP is seen to be linked to the Soviet Union. It was a step closer by Bruce Kent and the British 'peace' movement to the Soviet Union, and part of the growing realisation in that movement that social systems and classes decide history, and not weapons.

The violent confrontation between the workers and the capitalist state during the NGA strike and picket at Warrington has to be seen in a world context. Turn to page 4

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THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND THE CRISIS OF NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

RESOLUTION OF THE IS 10 II 83

It is necessary to intervene in the process of the Middle East, understanding that it is a higher stage in which the intensification of the conflict is determined by the direct presence of Yankee imperialism. The North American fleet want to invade the Lebanon, although it may not do so immediately. They may act as in Central America where they threaten Cuba, Nicaragua and end by invading little Grenada. They were only animated to do that when an internal crisis was produced; that is, they are very weak reactions politically, however large the display of military force.

When Yankee imperialism has to intervene directly in the Middle East, it is a consequence of the failure of all their political initiatives. If it had political support, it would impose an agreement with advantage for itself. All the agreements stimulated by the capitalist system and directly by the Yanks have failed. The objective of dragging Egypt into the policy of imperialism failed, plus the policy of Camp David which they buried with Sadat and the invasion of Lebanon through the assassin army of Israel also failed. They invade Lebanon in order to dominate the country and, after, they had to withdraw as they were unsuccessful in destroying either the Palestinians or the Syrians because the world relation of forces — united in Soviet support — prevented the Israelis going further and utilising all their military power. The crisis which developed in Israel afterwards is the most important expression of the failure of the invasion. The split in the Israeli army and the development of a movement in Israel which wants peace with the Arabs, in which the Communists are present, has weakened enormously the assassin function of Israel in the region, on which the Yanks are based in order to intervene in the Middle East.

The result of the invasion of Israel in Lebanon has been an expression of the present world relation of forces, where the impotence of the Israeli military apparatus in front of the Palestinians was shown because the latter have the support of the masses of the world and of the Workers States. The social and

political defeat of Israel and of Yankee imperialism which supported it, has shown that the capitalist system cannot determine in the Middle East. The madness of Begin is an expression of the crisis of Israel, a country developed as a great barracks for the function of a counter-revolutionary wedge, of a military base of the Yanks for the war against the Workers States and the Arab revolutionary movement, which sees the impossibility of exercising its power. The necessity of the direct intervention of the Yanks is also a consequence now of the crisis in Israel.

At the beginning, in order to mask the intervention, they invented the multi-national force involving the French, Italians and the British. These have been sent there also because they have their own interests in the Middle East; but militarily those who decide are the Yanks, and the others only remain as a cover. Now, with the Yankee fleet in the Lebanon it is clear that the others have no value and similarly with the countries of the Caribbean who before invaded with the Yanks. It is not the same, but the point is valid.

Yankee imperialism seeks to justify its intervention because politically it does not find support in the Arab bourgeoisie; for example with Gamayal who became President. The Yanks believed that they were going to manoeuvre him to their taste, and could not do it. Gamayal has no value, but expresses the fact that the Arab bourgeoisie sees that it is not the Yanks and Israel who decide the situation, and that the intervention of the Soviets — through the Syrians — is decisive, and hence they want to regulate the situation without clashing with the Workers States. In Lebanon now, they can do even less with Jumblatt who militarily has developed a militia, armed with Soviet support, which Gamayal and the others, of themselves, cannot defeat. This is the process which goes beyond the Yanks and for this reason they have to intervene there directly and in the most desperate form, as shown in the mutual assassinations — the work of the CIA and the Pentagon. It is not possible to believe that in places protected

with the most sophisticated technical means, they cannot prevent a lorry with dynamite reaching its objective. The Yanks have small arms capable of immobilising an armed vehicle, and they have electronic controls in order to detect the presence of explosives at a distance. How believe then that these massacres could have been made by anybody else but the Yanks.

Soldiers and officers will come to denounce the fact that it was their own leaders who are the assassins. After having made attacks on each other and the French, they have now acted against the Israelis. These are crimes made against themselves to justify their presence in front of the world bourgeoisie and the Arab bourgeoisie, and to impose a more profound military intervention. Yankee imperialism is preparing a 'coup' of the Grenada type, whatever the form — aimed against Syria, Libya, and the revolutionary anti-imperialist process in the Middle East.

The crisis of imperialism is so profound that, to prepare itself for an action of war, they confront each other in mutual killing; and this is not the way to prepare war, because the consequence is to develop insecurity and internal disintegration which the invasion of Grenada superficially concealed.

Thus it is necessary to consider the situation in the Middle East and in Lebanon within this general process. Imperialism is losing strength and capacity, and there is a sector of the Pentagon which seeks to launch war and to intervene to make 'coups' to strike at the Workers States and their united front with the world revolution, because in the Lebanon the policy of Reagan of supporting Gamayal has no future. Any agreement in the Lebanon begins with the withdrawal of the Yankee troops: which is the condition the Syrians posed, but also Jumblatt, the majority of the Christians and the Muslims and, before the attacks, by Gamayal himself.

In this sense, it is necessary to understand the function of Syria and the deepening of its alliance with the Soviet Union. There is a sector in Syria which wants to de-

Turn to page 3

The function of the trade unions is decided by the development of the class struggle. Historically, the trade unions were considered to be representative of the interests of the working class in factory struggles. As such, they were contained within these limits. It was like this in capitalist countries and — at a later stage — in the Workers States.

In reality, and in the historic depth, the trade unions are instruments of struggle which developed within the capitalist system in the whole previous stage of the class struggle. They sought to raise the living conditions of the workers, but this was in the days when the capitalist system was developing.

In this stage of the total world crisis of the capitalist system, the function and field of action of the trade unions has been extended beyond the normal immediate demands. Now they make an intervention at a social and political level. This intervention does not substitute for the party, but if the trade unions do not begin to play a role in the anti-capitalist social struggles, for the defeat of the capitalist system — if it does not elevate itself beyond simple trade union, factory or economic demands, the trade union dies.

The role of the trade union is determined by the development of the crisis of the capitalist system, and one of the essential factors in the crisis of the capitalist system is the existence of the Workers States. The simple fact of the existence of the Workers States is the central factor in the crisis of the capitalist system. It is like this even on the economic level. North American, British, Japanese, German and French capitalism have differences and

THE ROLE OF TRADE UNIONS IN THE PRESENT CRISIS

I. POSADAS

disputes among themselves which are the result of their competition with each other, through the market.

Competition within the capitalist system sharpens all their internal differences, but it does not alter the regime of private property. Competition increases but it is within the framework of the system of private property. On the other hand, the capitalist system has a relationship with the Workers States that is both competitive and antagonistic. The competition between capitalism and the Workers States comes from the fact that the Workers States do compete on the world market with the capitalist countries — in the field of technology, installation of factories, and the production of commodities. But, at the same time as the Workers States compete with the capitalist system, they also confront the capitalist system in an antagonistic form. The Workers States — the Soviet Union, China, Cuba etc — cannot simply compete commercially and economically with the capitalist system because, for their very existence, the Workers States need to defeat the capitalist system. As this social antagonism deepens, the function of the trade unions in the Workers States also changes.

The function of the trade unions in the Workers States in the stage of the Workers States being born and developed, was not the same as the function of the trade unions in the capitalist system, but it isn't completely

the reverse either. The trade unions of the Workers States have to organise an activity to support and develop the interests of the working class in the social organisation of work; they do not have to overthrow the state. Their activity is to organise the system of work and salary distribution. This is the same as in the capitalist system but with the difference that, in the capitalist system, the trade unions have to struggle for wage increases and better work conditions, whilst in the Workers States, on the other hand, it is only the organisation of work according to the overall plan of the Workers State with which the trade unions need to be concerned. They function in agreement with the programme of production and in conditions where there is no internal competition, but where there is still an apparatus

which decides the economy and its orientation, the distribution of salaries, and all aspects of the development of economic and social care for all. Recently, in Poland, Germany (East) and Bulgaria — in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union also — hundreds of trade union leaders have been thrown out of the Party for being bureaucrats and for having robbed the state. They were accused of making plans of production in agreement with their bureaucratic interests, and not in agreement with those of the people. In the USSR, they have expelled 70 leading technicians and administrators in fish export. These people had entered in their books that ordinary fish, such as sardines or anchovies,

were being exported. In reality, they were exporting caviar. They 'exported' thousands of tons of fish for which the state only received one tenth of the income. These people were pocketing the difference, and were expelled from the Party.

This sort of robbery and corruption would be impossible in the Workers State if the trade unions controlled production and quality control. This is the form of class struggle which exists even in the Workers States. It is not an antagonistic form of class struggle as it is in capitalism, because in this case workers' control is aimed at impeding bureaucratic functioning and not to smash or overthrow the regime. In other words, its aim is

to establish a form of control which comes from the fact that the Workers State still lives in a capitalist world with a structure of development, of relations, with the capitalist system. This means that if the organisms of planning, distribution and leadership are not controlled, they tend to become bureaucratized and to come under the influence of the relationship with capitalism. This makes workers' control, and control by the Party, necessary. Clearly, if there had been workers' control, there would not have been such an event as 70 officials defrauding the Workers State by exporting caviar under the guise of sardines. The function of workers' control in the Workers State is to improve the development of the economy, of distribution and of quality.

However, under capitalism it is exactly the other way around. The trade unions in capitalism need workers' control of production, prices, quality and distribution; but, at the same time, in order to attain this, the trade union has to combine these demands with the struggle to defeat the capitalist system. The trade unions originally appeared because of the development of the class struggle, but now they have to develop in accord with the class struggle as it is today. The class struggle in the capitalist system today is in conditions where the capitalist system is exhausted.

Capitalism can no longer give either wage increases, better working conditions or better food without, at the same time, adopting methods and introducing conditions which immediately erase the wage increase or the improvement in conditions of work. It produces a constant deterioration and contamination of the quality of food, for instance.

The deterioration of the capitalist system is an irreversible and unavoidable process. It deteriorates constantly, and one of the centres of this deterioration lies in the poisoning and adulteration of food, of all types of consumption goods and agricultural production. The adulteration of food forms part of the normal programme of production in the capitalist system worldwide. The trade unions can no longer simply struggle for wage increases, they have to struggle against the adulteration of the natural quality of foodstuff and against the abysmal conditions of life of the workers.

If conditions similar to those in capitalism existed in the Workers States, it would be

THE INVASION OF GRENADA FORMS PART OF THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPOTENCE OF IMPERIALISM

Yankee imperialism invaded Grenada, taking advantage of the lack of political homogeneity there, due to the lack of time and the lack of Communist experience that would have allowed the leadership to discuss and resolve the problems of the strategy and tactics about how to advance to Socialism. However, as the action of Yankee imperialism forms part of the world preparations of imperialism for war, Grenada was selected for invasion because this is the only place where imperialism could intervene with relative impunity. It is necessary not to see this as the end of a process, but the expression of the antagonistic nature of capitalism to human progress, and its social, political and even military weakness. When it has to attack small Grenada, it is because it cannot confront the USSR head-on. In the meantime, it will have to maintain its troops there much longer than it anticipated, and the social and political contradictions of imperialism are going to deepen, particularly in the United States. Movements for Peace are going to unite more

with the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme, even in the United States, and this experience forms part of it.

The whole world can see that imperialism did not invade because 'it was invited' by any one, but to crush the process of social progress which was influencing even inside the US. It is the social competition of the Workers States — the superior social regime of the Workers States — that imperialism cannot tolerate. It is not excluded that imperialism will intervene in other parts of the Caribbean, but it has to take account of the presence of the USSR through Cuba and it does not feel the capacity to attack the USSR. The whole world sees that US imperialism is the centre of backwardness and military mindlessness.

The behaviour of the Cuban workers represents the behaviour of the soldiers and masses in the war which capitalism prepares against them. The Yankee army did not bargain with the masses of

Grenada or the resistance of the workers of Cuba. It feels strong — and is strong — only when confronted with unarmed masses. But it is lost as soon as it is confronted with resistance. We render homage to the workers of Cuba who have shown that they form part of the vanguard of humanity that will destroy capitalism in the coming war and construct Communism.

The dispute that broke out in the leadership of Bishop must be seen as the lack of the Party. The MJM is a movement, and to construct Socialism it has to progress towards the form of the Party. In the Party, the most complicated problems regarding the overall perspectives of where the country is going, the relations of forces, and how much one can advance, are discussed as in Lenin's time. Lenin was the most flexible of fighters, and used the German train

to go back to the USSR to lead the Revolution. It was not a case of where those who made the revolution turned out to be traitors and agents, but a case where all the big orientations of the country and the plan needed to be discussed overtly in the Party and in all the mass organisations. A Party was needed in which all the opinions regarding how to advance to Socialism could have been openly discussed. It is possible to take power without the Party, but the Party is needed to construct Socialism..

The task for the left in Britain is to advance the anti-imperialist struggle on the front where it can advance it: in this country, in the Labour Party and trade unions. The positions of the right of the Labour Party, respectful to the monarchy and to the Commonwealth, must be opposed. The left has to adopt a clear anti-imperialist

stance, which includes a denunciation of the connivance of British imperialism in the invasion of Grenada.

A position of principle on this issue is needed in the Labour left and the trade unions.

British and Yankee imperialism out of Grenada!

Britain out of NATO!

For the Socialist United States of the Caribbean!

possible to struggle against them. But this is not the case. On the other hand, in the capitalist system it is not possible to continue to struggle just for a trade union programme because the characteristics of capitalism exist in what is now the final stage of its existence. There is no way of preventing capitalism doing all this, because it is an essential condition for capitalism to survive. The law of supply and demand and world-wide capitalist competition is the law which determines that production has to seek the minimum necessary time to produce. This is the law of capitalism, and the one which is the most rapidly applied in this stage. This law and the preparation of the war are the most applied aspects of capitalism, and they are spelling the death of the capitalist system.

It is not a question of a given stage but of a permanent condition. It is not one crisis, which is going towards some sort of regeneration of the system— On the contrary, it is a permanent condition of the capitalist system. There are no foodstuffs which aren't adulterated, and there is not one form of either vegetable or animal produce which can be said to be pure. Inter-capitalist competition intensifies the search of the capitalists in finding the ways to speed up the normal maturation processes and those of production. In the interests of lowering the cost of production so as to compete with the other capitalists, they do all this. They have no interest in the life of the people, and in these conditions of capitalist functioning the people are being poisoned in various forms. The people are being poisoned directly by means of toxic elements or by all types of chemicals introduced in production, in environment, into the work areas — and by the injection of stimulants into agricultural produce, or into the soil, or the preparation of animals with chemicals which poison the human being afterwards.

Factories are being built further and further away from where people live, and thus more time is absorbed into travelling to work; the effort to go to work becomes greater and the means of transport diminish. Around 40% of the world proletariat, the proletariat of Greece included,

have to travel four hours a day in order to go to and return from work: an exercise which is naturally unpaid. All this forms part of work and of the effort which the workers have to make and which is not paid for by the capitalists. If the worker has to spend four hours of effort of wasted time and costs, coming to and returning from work, it forms part of the worsening of work conditions. In a sense, it is all a form of pollution. The crisis of the capitalist system can be expressed in various ways. For instance, North American, French, German, British and Japanese capitalists are the most powerful in the world. They all manufacture automobiles. Their production of cars is one of the bases of capitalist production, and the increase of automation itself means an increase in the ability to produce in the least possible time. This, in fact, means that for the capitalist the priority is to reduce the work-force and sack workers. At the same time as the means to reduce the work-force are increased, they develop an ambience, work conditions, which actually alter the organic functioning of the workers; they pollute the environment, they increase the work effort of each worker, contaminate the air with toxic gases, increase noise, heat or cold. In other words, capitalism increases production and its competitive capacity at the cost of the worker's life. At the same time, the recession and crisis of the system constantly deepens.

There is an uninterrupted process of recession and crisis in the world capitalist system. A very clear instance of this can be found in the car industry. A very great crisis deepens in all the car factories of the world. Ford, General Motors, Chrysler, FIAT, Volkswagen, Opel — all in crisis: they are in crisis because they aren't selling enough. Actual sales do not decrease and there is an increase in population. However, proportionally, the sales are increasing less than before, whilst they have to invest more capital than before so as to automate; this automation does not mean any improvement for the people, but simply a reduction of the necessary production time. They throw workers out and for that they incorporate and include means of mechanisation and automation which poison people.

J. POSADAS October 1980

For the United Front of the Arab
and Israeli masses to expel
world imperialism!

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velop the country towards a Workers State together with the Soviets, while the leadership of Assad wants to maintain this alliance and not to develop the revolutionary process — but to maintain it in the limits of bourgeois nationalism. This is the cause of the conflict between the Palestinians and the Syrians. The Soviets have succeeded in establishing a military apparatus in Syria, politically independent of the Syrian leadership, and this is a very profound blow at the Yanks and at Assad himself — because, in the event of war, what is going to decide is not the bourgeois interest of Assad but the Soviets with a sector of the army and of the leadership who want to advance. The alliance with the Syrians is a necessity for the Soviets, even with the contradictions which it brings, because the present phase of the process shortens the stages towards the war, and imperialism is intervening with this objective in the Middle East. The only force which can impede the Yanks from smashing the revolutionary movement in the Middle East is the Soviets: not Syria, the Palestinians, nor Libya. Otherwise the Yanks and Israel would have organised a far greater massacre than those they have already set about. But, for the objective of defending the revolutionary process and the struggle of the Arab masses, the weapon which the Soviets now have is the alliance with Syria, and for this reason it is necessary to maintain it.

At the same time, it is necessary to consider the insufficiency of the Soviet intervention in not having seen again the action of Assad against the Palestinians, as in 1976 at Tal Al Zatar. The Soviet limitation which Cde Posadas then analysed in order to contribute to an elevation of the understanding on the part of the Soviets for a better intervention towards Arab nationalism, is the non-promotion of public political discussion on the problems and to remain stuck with agreement at the summits. From 1976 until now, there has been a very great progress in the Soviet intervention throughout the world, including having succeeded in establishing in Syria a military autonomy, which indicates that they have developed a tendency in support of this. But, at the same time, it is necessary to propose a political discussion which stimulates the mass organs, revolutionary tendencies and, as a consequence, removes the opportunity for the manoeuvres of the Syrian bourgeois leadership so that it cannot commit the crimes which it is doing.

THE PROBLEM OF

THE PALESTINIAN STATE

The intention of Assad in the attacks against Arafat is to control the Palestinian movement and the real revolutionary process in Lebanon, because this leadership fears that the influence of the revolutionary process surpasses its own objectives. Nevertheless, there is a real crisis in the Palestinian movement in which it is necessary to intervene. The Soviets should have intervened more politically, proposing a public discussion on the perspective of that movement, and they should have done this before it reached the present point. Anyway, the letter of the Soviets

against the intervention of Syria, attacking the Palestinians, is going to have a very great effect. The crisis of the PLO is not the crisis of the Arab revolutionary process but of the Palestinian leadership, and of the programme of the national Palestinian State — because the only possibility for the Palestinians to have a territory to organise a state now is that the PLO submits to the Arab bourgeoisie. These are not going to give them a territory so that they can organise a Workers state, which will naturally be a centre of influence against the Arab bourgeoisie. In February 1978 Cde Posadas wrote a document published in the Posadist press called 'The formation of the Palestinian state and the world revolutionary process', which proposed this discussion and the necessity to unite the Palestinian liberation movement to the general problem of the Middle East, i.e. the perspective of a Socialist Federation of the Middle East. If the Soviets had posed this discussion on the objectives of a Palestinian state, the crisis of the PLO could have taken another form, not that it could have been avoided.

It is not a question of opposing the objective of the Palestinian state but of discussing for what and with what objective. There is after all a Palestinian bourgeois sector which wants this state in order to be able to make its arrangements more freely, while the masses see it as a means of elevating the life of everyone. The present crisis is part of this. Arafat did not want to break with the bourgeois sectors of the Palestinians and the Arabs, even after the experience of the invasion of Lebanon when the Arab bourgeoisie was an accomplice of Israel. As a consequence, a crisis in the leadership was logical because tendencies mature which understand the necessity of posing a programme which unifies the struggle of the Arab masses, and the Israeli masses, against capitalism and imperialism.

The experience of Lebanon shows that a territory in which people can live is not enough. The Lebanese have a territory, but they cannot organise their life because the interests of world imperialism are mixed with the local bourgeoisie and impede this. In this way, a revolutionary movement in order to develop the struggle has to understand this process, which is the world process of the class struggle. Any movement in the Middle East, in order to have perspective, has to develop an alliance with the world strategy of system against system — that is to say, to ally with the Soviet Union. And, at the same time, to understand that the USSR has a world strategy against the capitalist system and not a local strategy. In this work already cited from February 1978 Cde Posadas said, 'We propose a Palestinian state but, at the same time, we make an appeal to the masses of Israel and to the masses of the rest of the Arab world to show that such a state is totally unstable. It is necessary to propose the problem now in a much more elevated, more extensive form, because now the Palestinians are against the Arab reaction and the unification of the Arab reaction with Israel. Thus, the small movement of Arafat is going to be smashed and has no field for action and is going to be a disappointment for the Palestinian masses, making them believe that they can have a solution. It is necessary to discuss this with the Palestinians.

These words can appear to be prophetic for those not accustomed to the ability of foresight of J. Posadas, but the conclusion is that this process can be foreseen. The Soviets have not considered it and, as a consequence, if they have progressed in their intervention, they have not had the time to develop a movement more politically profound, so to diminish the field of manoeuvre of the leadership of Assad. It is necessary to help the discussion within the Palestinians, to orientate the crisis to a conclusion of political progress and programme. The intervention of the Syrians against Arafat weakens the Palestinian resistance and, indirectly, favours Israel and Yankee imperialism. It is necessary to appeal for an end to the Syrian intervention and that of the tendency of Abua Mussa against Arafat, as the Soviets have done; and appeal for a discussion on the objectives of the struggle of the Palestinians. It is necessary to discuss, at the same time, the necessity of a united front now against the principle enemy, Yankee imperialism, and Israel which is preparing to give a new blow in the region against the Lebanese left, against the Syrians and the Palestinians. It is necessary to discuss this in the PLO.

THE SOVIETS ARE ELEVATING THEIR INTERVENTION

Arafat does not have a precise programmatic intervention, has conciliated with the most diverse tendencies of the Arab bourgeoisie, but is not an agent of Yankee imperialism nor of Israel. He wants a Palestinian state in conditions which do not allow it or which would mean submission to the Arab bourgeoisie. This is the basis of the mistaken conception of Arafat. It is imperialism now which can yield nothing in the Middle East, because any instability in the process of the Middle East favours the development of the revolution. Any agreement to cease fire in the Middle East means the withdrawal of the Yanks, and they see that the masses are going to intervene in order to develop anti-capitalist processes in the region. It is for this reason that Yankee imperialism has to maintain a state of permanent war. It is like the Balkans before the Second World War, as Cde Posadas analysed previously.

The direct intervention of Yankee imperialism in the Middle East shows how the stages of the final settlement of accounts are diminishing. Imperialism is desperate and the presence of its fleet can mean launching into an attack at any moment, even in an uncoordinated form as part of its internal struggle — which is ferocious as the various recent killings have shown in the Lebanon (of Yankee and French soldiers etc). Thus, we appeal to the revolutionary movement to intervene for the united world front against Yankee imperialism, against its intervention in the Middle East and Grenada, and against the installation of its murderous missiles. The criticisms which we make of the Soviet intervention are to contribute to its progress as a world leadership, as we have learnt from Cde Posadas. In June 1976, Cde J. Posadas analysed

Lebanon and the intervention of the USSR: 'The Soviets support the Syrians seeking the least evil for a stage, without political claims — which shows a bureaucratic conception — seeking to sustain Assad against Sadat, manoeuvring between the Arab bourgeoisie, to try to maintain an equilibrium of forces and to contain imperialism. But it was a military and not political and social calculation; it was soon shown how in a short time Assad used the Soviet force to intervene in Lebanon. The Soviets should have foreseen this, and they did not foresee it — because they had a bureaucratic conception, and this is going to have consequences within the Soviet Union.' (The crisis and limitation of Arab nationalism and the revolutionary solution in Lebanon, 20.6.76, J. Posadas).

These consequences and the changes derived from it were the analyses of Cde Posadas, who showed how the Soviet leadership had progressed, and continued to progress, in its intervention in the world. In the present situation, the lack of sufficient political preparation by the Soviets to intervene can be seen partly through the limitations of a diplomatic apparatus which must be changed and which is being changed to be able to apply a new policy. In their intervention now, the letter of Andropov to the Syrians where he poses that Soviet arms are not to attack the Palestinians, and that this internal conflict favours imperialism, says at the same time that they recognise the

PLO as the only representative of the Palestinian people, and Arafat as its leader. This shows the security of the Soviets who have intervened even at the risk of breaking the alliance with Assad. It is necessary to consider that this alliance in the present situation is very important, in order to confront the direct intervention of Yankee imperialism. It is a very great political progress, which is going to help the USSR to develop the capacity and the cadres to intervene better in the objective process of the Middle East. Thus, even in the conditions of war, it is necessary to discuss all the problems of war and not to conceal the depth of the problems in the name of the alliance with sectors of the bourgeoisie. This was the method of Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks — who, in full civil war, did not cease to propose openly and publicly the discussion on the problems of social and political organisation.

It is necessary to appeal for a united world front against imperialism of the Communist and Socialist parties, the nationalist revolutionary movements, and peace movement against the installation of the Yankee missiles in Europe, and they must discuss these problems. They must mobilise for the withdrawal of all the troops of Yankee imperialism from the region, including France, Britain and Italy. It is necessary to discuss the necessity to appeal to the Israeli masses for a united front

against the assassin function of the Israeli imperialist army, in order to organise a Socialist federation of the Middle East with autonomy for Jewish masses, the Palestinians and the Muslims. But, so that there may be a real autonomy, it is necessary to develop the economy and the life of the masses, and for this it is necessary to expropriate imperialism and capitalism. In the liberated territories of Lebanon, it is necessary to continue the principle which Jumblatt has begun to apply, of organising forms of popular power, to extend it to the economy and to organise production in accordance with the needs of the population.

The process of the Middle East concentrates the world process of the class struggle, and it is for this reason that small countries like Lebanon assume such importance. The objective of imperialism is to smash in every way the alliance of Syria with the USSR, and to change the relation of concrete forces in the region — because on a global scale it knows that it cannot change them. The Soviets are learning to intervene in a complicated situation, because they have, at the same time, to try to prevent the Yanks smashing the revolutionary process in the region — with all the risks of war which this means, today much more than before — to develop revolutionary tendencies, and correct the Communist parties of the region which do not understand the process and which still do not have much concrete weight, in general, they are doing very well, even with the deficiencies which we have posed.

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THE PASOK GOVERNMENT AND THE PROCESS IN GREECE

The continuation of the American bases in Greece, although formally with a time limit some time in the future, is no surprise taking into account the conditions of Greece and the role of the party of PASOK. At the same time, the refusal of the Greek government, through the Presidency of the European Common Market Assembly, to sanction the abuse of the Soviet Union over the crash of the Korean airliner shows the character of the present world process, where countries still working within the framework of capitalism, in practice enter the orbit of the Workers States. This is characteristic of countries which have a weak bourgeoisie and which, in face of the overpowering weight of competition from the leading capitalist industrial powers, are obliged to seek relief from this situation by developing relations with the Workers States. To this extent Papandreou has continued a relationship with the Soviet Union already developed by Karamanlis. The latter associated in the early fifties with extreme anti-Communism and modified his policies to take account of the changed balance of relations in the world and the need for Greek capitalism to seek another way than merely total subservience to world imperialism.

Papandreou could go much further than he has, particularly over the agreements over bases with imperialism, as Nicaragua has done at the very doorstep of Ameri-

can imperialism. But the elements of adaptation to Greek capitalism and the pressures of world imperialism do not decide the evolution of PASOK, nor does this intimidate the progress of the Greek masses who see the possibilities of augmenting the pressure for social change and permanently containing the ambitions of puny Greek capitalism.

The aspect that should be emphasised in the discussion over the bases is not so much the limitations of the new agreement, but the much more important question that whatever agreements of this type are signed with imperialism are not worth the paper they are written on. The limitations in the progress of PASOK, both in relation to imperialism and the problems of the economy, relate to the illusions about extracting concessions from imperialism without the mobilisation of the masses. It is possible to proceed to a policy of much more profound social transformations without being dominated by bases. Cuba is a Workers State, even with the imperialist base of Guantanamo, and the existence of Guantanamo has not prevented the advance of Cuba. Similarly, there is no reason whatever for the vacillations of Gonsales in Spain for a process of social transformations, even if NATO bases remain in Spain.

The problem with the leadership of PASOK and of Papandreou is a lack of audacity through the nature and origins of this movement, and

ultimately through the earlier limitations in the KKE and the world Communist movement. At the same time, progressive measures have been achieved. Laws on sex equality, abolition of dowries, introduction of civil marriages and simplification of divorce, some measures of democratisation of university education, the shortening of the working week to 40 hours, and removal of reactionary sectors in the trade unions: are important steps in bringing Greece from backwardness, completing bourgeois democratic reforms and advancing towards other more elevated measures.

As the measures of the government have been limited, certainly the effect of the world recession and the weakness of the economy have not been overcome, with unemployment increasing. Thus the weaknesses of Greek capitalism have continued, although now the public sector already accounts for 60% of the GNP. Papandreou represents a wing of the bourgeoisie which wants to proceed to make changes and associate with the Workers States, but in a gradualist and to some extent nationalist spirit. Thus, at the same time as seeking improvements, a central issue is the attempt of the government to contain the proletarian sectors, in particular by attempting to restrict the right to strike in the public sectors. This comes from the sectors of the planners and

context. The confidence of what are not central sectors of the working class can only come from a world balance of forces which is in favour of progress. After all, the NGA workers received no support from the TUC or Labour Party leadership. In fact, as a body, the TUC put itself on the side of the capitalist state against the workers. This is the significance of the TUC's insistence on not breaking the 'law'. What they mean is not breaking the capitalist law which allows the police to attack workers. The fact that the TUC leadership failed to denounce the violence of the police against the workers is a measure of its conciliation with, and defence of, the capitalist system.

The Thatcher team reflects all the crisis of the capitalist system. Lawson has to reverse the promises made by Thatcher in the panic election she called in the summer. Now tax increases are being proposed instead of the reductions

promised. At the same time, Pym, an ex-Tory minister, acts as the spokesman for a whole tendency of the bourgeoisie — inside and outside the Tory Party — that is opposed to the Thatcher policies. This tendency is opposed because they see that whilst Thatcher is attacking the working class, damaging the social and health services, she is not defeating the class. The militancy and confidence of the NGA workers shows that the working class is by no means defeated or demoralised. The retreat of the Newspaper Publishers Association in front of the national strike in the major capitalist newspapers — they sacked the workers one day and took them all back the next — shows that it is the capitalist class that is demoralised.

THE WORKING CLASS IS NOT DEMORALISED.

In fact, there is a considerable groundswell of militancy on the part of the working class. A majority of Ford workers voted in favour of a strike — 260,000 for and 160,000 against — and there is a threat of a strike in the shipbuilding industry. This militancy of the working class is paralleled by the continued struggle by the Greenham Common women and the 'peace' movement generally. The events of the NGA strike have shown that the trade union leadership, as an apparatus, and a sector of the Labour leadership are defenders of the capitalist system. The capitalist class leans on this support because it no longer has a force of its own. Progress cannot advance very far with the present leadership of the Labour movement, and the Labour and trade union left has to take this into account. They have to take their own initiative. The 'peace' movement and the workers' actions in confronting the capitalist state show the disposition of the masses to struggle. Another very powerful example is the fact that the Liverpool Labour Party was able to mobilise 30,000 people against government policies. The masses do not lack either militancy or confidence what they lack in leadership.

In one sense that leadership is provided by the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States. In another immediate sense, the Labour and trade union left has to provide that leadership. Above all, by proposing a programme of demands which link opposition to 'Cruise' with other anti-capitalist demands. The campaign against 'Cruise' has to be combined with demands for the 35-hour week without loss of pay, all wages to rise with the cost of living, that the level of health and social services is maintained, the removal of all nuclear bases, Out of NATO!

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technocrats, from the attitude of Papandreou himself, that take a paternalist view of the masses and fear the audacity of the masses in accelerating the process of social change. Thus the government speaks of its five year plan without adumbrating the means by which this plan is to be realised, and without making its fulfilment being made on the basis of the participation of the population. Without such a participation such a plan becomes the instrument of economic administrators and technicians who seek to work within the structure of what exists, i.e. the capitalist market and structure, and not at the possibilities of an economy planned with the objective of solving the needs of the masses. The need to make the population participate in the economy is still the principle task: to link the university with the problems of the population. The policy of the government to use co-operatives on the land to help solve the problems of the fragmentation of agriculture, could be extended to involve the population much more in discussions on the future of the economy, although it is the trade unions and the parties which must help, particularly to stimulate more popular organisms.

In order to stimulate the demand for an economy planned for the masses and not for the limited vision of the 'professional' planners it is necessary to develop a discussion that involves the masses so as to place the economy at their disposal to solve the immense backwardness of the communications system, the isolation of the small peasants, etc. The proposals of the government to establish a health service, and the suggestion of a wage-price indexing, show the possibilities of progress and the masses turn out to support Papandreou recently in Athens point to the possibilities of developing Greece much more now.

In the recent NATO manoeuvres in the Mediterranean the presence of the vessels of the Soviet fleet near Athens is an index that Greece is tilted toward Socialism, not capitalism; and it is necessary to facilitate even more the participation of Greece in COMECON as a means of developing the economy. The way forward in Greece has to be based on a united front of the PASOK, the Communists, and the other left forces.