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Resolution of the European Bureau of the Posadist IV International on the Miners Revolutionary strike in Britain

The continuation of the miners' strike is not the continuation of a strike with trade union objectives but a revolutionary strike against the capitalist system with the basic objective of smashing the Thatcher government. Capitalism hoped to destroy the strike and its spirit by isolating it with the aid of the trade unions and the Labour Party leadership, and also using the maximum police brutality with mass arrests and violence. All this failed to break the struggle of the miners and, on the contrary, has tended to fortify their decision to confront the class enemy.

The miners' strike corresponds to the present stage of the tumultuous advance of the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union, in the revolutionary world process to liquidate imperialism and capitalism. It is this process going toward the final settlement of accounts which has determined the historic quality of the strike. Despite the absence of sufficient world and national leaderships with the adequate programme and policy, the masses - based fundamentally in their confidence in the perspectives of the Workers States, of the inevitability of Socialism find means of expressing their will to liquidate the oppressors of an outmoded social order. The miners' strike is part of this, just as in an earlier phase the 1968 French May was an expression of the need to destroy capitalism. But the miners' strike corresponds to a higher level of the world process, particularly from the point of view of decision and elevated social relations.

The social relations are especially moving. On the one hand, there has been the great combativity on the picket line, the ability to confront the violence of capitalism; and, on the other, the immense spirit of Communist love, of sharing, an equality of women with men, and the sentiment, the complete integration of the children and the old people in a common struggle. These Communist sentiments are a profound link with the Workers States, with the Soviet Union at their head. The latter gave aid from a very early stage. Miners' families have enjoyed holidays in the Soviet Union, and delegates have visited the tomb of Lenin affirming the common objectives of the miners' strike and

the Soviet Union, the construction of Socialism. It is this, allied fundamentally to the great support received from the population, which has sustained the decision of the miners to continue whatever the cost. This is a profoundly political and revolutionary decision. The world has felt this, and money has come from countries as far apart as Ireland and Australia.

In all this process the miners are expressing the desire of the exploited population to dispose of capitalism, and specifically of the Thatcher government. The miners have acted essentially as a substitute for the absence of a political leadership in the Labour Party, a substitute for a party which really corresponds to their needs. Declarations of various miners' leaders have stated that it is a political struggle, and the masses - through the miners' strike - are seeking to impose a left government, to develop social transformations and the liquidation of nuclear bases. Early on the intervention of the miners' wives to the women of Greenham Common expressed the united front of the population against the war preparations of imperialism.

The Thatcher government rests entirely on the support of the reactionary trade union leadership and the incapacity and ambiguity of the Labour Party leadership. Despite a merciless campaign against the miners, the government is weak. It needs a fascist solution, and undoubtedly has used lumpen elements against the strike, but has no means to develop fascist power. Hence, it has no solution and is socially weak. In the middle of the strike there has been a series of rebellions by Conservatives in Parliament of considerable dimension and attacks of Conservative leaders, such as Pym and Heath, which show clearly the decomposition of the bourgeois united fronts and the social disintegration of capitalism. At the same time, the hand of the CIA in the Brighton bombing is part of the internal civil war in the top sectors of Yankee and British imperialism. This, too, shows the lack of centralisation and the enormous social weakness of imperialism. Fundamentally, large sectors of capitalism feel excluded from power in the capitalist countries, because the sectors which

decide are geared to war and are not interested in the overall development of the economy. Hence the depth of the crisis.

The visit of Gorbachev was aimed primarily to weigh in the inter-imperialist centralisations between the policies of United States imperialism and the subordinate British imperialism; in this case particularly over the new Yankee drive for military installations in space, which alarms the Thatcher government, hopelessly insecure as it is in the future of capitalism. After all the anti-Soviet campaigns of Thatcher - in the middle of a strike which has taken a revolutionary character - the leader of British imperialism is obliged to be very polite to the re-

possibilities for a much more profound intervention by the Soviet Union.

Imperialism is placing all its hopes on the idea that the strike will disintegrate. It feels that if it concedes over the question of who is in control of the mines (that is, to close mines which in their view are 'unprofitable'), then it will receive a fatal social and political blow - not simply economic - leading to its fall in whatever form. It hopes against hope that the Soviets will not extend their interventions. The miners' leadership has acted with a class perspective to defeat the class enemy. It is making a profound contribution towards the new type of leadership necessary to

united front with the Labour and Communist parties for the overthrow of the Thatcher government and the establishment of a left Labour government on the programme of social transformations, for an economy which serves the interests of the masses, for workers' control, the closing of all nuclear bases, out of NATO, and the termination of the monarchy.

We appeal also for the political support and intervention of the Soviet Union. The support given to the strike has been excellent from the point of view of social and financial aid but, at the same time, we appeal for the Central Council of the CPSU to take public resolutions of support for the miners' strike, affirming its



Miners show their confidence (Cumnock gala)

presentative of the Soviet Union who does not hesitate to criticise British imperialism for its suppression of human rights in Northern Ireland and the repression of the unemployed. That is the measure of the weakness of British imperialism that, when the Soviet trade unions support the miners and denounce the line of Thatcher, British imperialism has to accept and respect the authority of the Workers States. This also shows

liquidate the capitalist system and construct Socialism. It is necessary to extend the anti-capitalist programme and develop the policy in this situation. It is necessary to develop the miners' committees in a life of discussion with all sectors of the supporting population, to appeal for popular assemblies in the workers areas, in the factories, the universities and offices; to continue the appeals for the General Strike, for a

profoundly Communist character, sustaining appeals for a General Strike in the European capitalist countries to support the miners' strike, and with mass assemblies and public discussions in support of the miners. The Thatcher government is weak. United States imperialism has to terrorise everyone, including European capitalism, and

THE FUNCTION OF THE USSR IN THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF HUMANITY

It is not possible to render homage or celebrate or comment on the anniversary of the Russian Revolution without emphasising that it was the Bolshevik Party which was responsible for the revolution. The Party with the most complete discipline in the whole of human history. The science which requires the most intrinsic, most complete uninterrupted discipline, is inferior to the discipline which required the formation of the Party to make the Russian Revolution. It was a stage in which the construction of the Party was still remote from human experience. The Russian revolutionaries, led by Lenin, created these conditions. It is necessary to emphasise, to define, to expound through every anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the conscious discipline of the construction of the Party to impel the Socialist revolution, to elevate the human being, and to elevate humanity in relations with the earth and the universe. This is the conclusion of the Russian Revolution.

The examples of the Russian Revolution show that they are imperishable. The Party is indestructible, but the Party for a particular task. It is not a Party made to merge with the daily trade union and electoral life of the capitalist system, but prepared for this developed in science and in the consciousness of this revolutionary conclusion. Hence, in spite of Stalin, the Russian Revolution went forward because the first seven years of Lenin gave the structure, the solidity of these structures (economic and social). More important socially than economically, because the first seven years gave the security to the Soviet people that the progress of the Soviet people was determined through the progress of the Russian Revolution and, if progress was not possible, it was necessary to maintain the revolution at all costs awaiting another stage. The Party was educated in this and knew how to wait, did not break up, did not divide, and other parties were not formed.

We salute Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev, all the leaders of the Bolshevik Party assassinated by Stalin. At the same time, there is the verification that the progress of history is a necessity of life. They assassinated all the Bolshevik leadership but the first seven years which these Bolsheviks constructed with Lenin gave security to humanity that this was the way to progress. The cadres maintained, and, so far as they could, developed it as with the struggle against the nazis.

In the epoch of Trotsky in the first stage there was no other perspective than to organise the left opposition to intervene. After the foundation of the IV International was made with this sentiment, Posadism, when it saw, felt that the historic stage already did not correspond to the function of the IV International organised by Trotsky, and followed the path we now give to the Posadist-Trotskyist IV International. This anniversary of

the Russian Revolution shows the function of the USSR which leads the process of the progress of the world. It sustains and impels the organisation of the activity to suppress the capitalist regime and to pass to a stage of progress of society. How not feel that this is the true anniversary of the Russian Revolution!

How not see that the heroism of the Bolshevik Soviets who led Soviet society in the first stage created the basis for a conception of the development of history on the basis of the suppression of the capitalist system, without which no progress is possible. It does not mean to liquidate it at one time everywhere; but, yes, progress prepares the Party for this historic task. This is the anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Imperialism is preparing the war and is going to launch it. This is different from the stage of Stalin, who allowed German imperialism, the nazis, to attack.

The Soviets are preparing the world to respond to the capitalist atomic war with the struggle to destroy capitalism and to make Socialism. This must be part of the programme of the USSR limited in the levels through lack of a sufficient preparation which we believe can be better, but this is the objective.

The experiences which the Communist parties must draw out,

the Socialist parties and the trade unions of conscious and political preparation is that it is necessary to advance, making social transformations, to state, develop and expound this, so that it may be effective, so that such conclusions may be possible. Above all, the Communist parties must do it.

The USSR feels that imperialism is preparing the war. Imperialism is taken by an internal competition which partly paralyses its military and economic power. The economic crisis develops such limitations in capitalism, but it prepares the war in every way possible. This does not mean that it is going to launch it when it wants and as it wants, but it is preparing. In preparing the war it has to consider that the economy is placed at the service of war, society at the service of war, elections at the service of war. The USSR

This 63rd Anniversary of the Russian Revolution and its development shows that there is no programme of national peculiarities which change the historic programme or historic tactic of the anti-capitalist struggle. The local tactic may change in transitory programmatic points, but not the objective form of the anti-capitalist struggle; that is to say, the struggle to suppress the capitalist system of which the aspects of parliamentary and trade union development form part. Trade unions and parties must concentrate their decision, that it is necessary to prepare and develop the activity of the masses towards the anti-capitalist struggle, to transform society. This is the conclusion of the experience of the USSR and this is the impulse of the USSR.

The USSR has organised the experience of the birth of child-

One of the fundamental reasons for the development of the crisis of capitalism is that it has developed science and technology for production but it cannot control, govern or utilise human relations because this requires a superior social relation; that is to say, Socialism. There is a progress of science and technology in which human life is subject, is prevented from utilising knowledge already acquired, because the system of private property impedes it.

The Workers States, particularly the USSR, are the fundamental centre which constantly exhibits this antagonism between the progress of science and technology and the existence of the capitalist regime. This is one of the essential thoughts of Marx. The system of private property develops science and technology because it needs them for competition and at a determined stage cannot utilise them and degenerates, as it degenerates with the atomic war.

These are only extracts from a very much larger text by Cde Posadas on the 63rd anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Union, but they will give some of the principle bases of the Posadists conception of the Workers State and the historic role of the Bolshevik Party. Only on the basis of this theoretical grasp of the function of the USSR is it possible for the Communist and Socialist parties to develop as leaderships to liquidate imperialism and capitalism. The attempts of capitalism and its scribbling stooges to say 'Stalinism' every time the Soviet Union is mentioned, seeks to block objective discussion. The elevation of the left forces in the Labour Party demands clarify over the historic role of the Workers State and its determining character in world history.

has just finished celebrating the 63rd anniversary of the Russian Revolution, and North American capitalism has called an election in which only fiftytwo per cent of the population voted. The one elected - Reagan - obtained only 26% of the votes. In the USSR the Russian Revolution has been celebrated and with one hundred per cent support of the masses of the world and of the USSR. This shows what capitalist democracy is: the elections in the United States are for a president; while in the USSR democracy is the celebration of the Russian Revolution and the joy of contributing to the development of humanity.

The experiences which the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions must conclude in the conscious and political preparation, is that it is necessary to go towards social transformations and to enunciate and declare, develop and expound them, so that such conclusions may be possible and effective. Above all, the Communists must do it.

ren under water, prepares the birth in space, the intervention of the blacks and the whites, the Vietnamese, the Cubans, the Bulgarians in the life in space; showing that the concern is not the extension of such power over the economy and society, but of science and consequently of art. The Cubans, who have been in space, the Vietnamese are an expression of the most elevated aspects of the human integration to develop human society, not just the USSR. This is the example of this anniversary of the USSR.

One of the essential aspects of this commemoration of the 63rd anniversary is that the world crisis of the capitalist system is determined fundamentally by the Workers State, not through the natural, economic crisis which leads to the social crisis of the capitalist system. This is not a conjunctural economic or political crisis but the total crisis of the capitalist system where internal competition and crises are accelerating.

It is necessary to consider that this anniversary of the Russian Revolution was made in the stage of the final settlement of accounts. It is not one more anniversary which shows the superiority over capitalism, but it is an accelerated preparation of the final settlement of accounts. In the Workers States there is no nervousness, agitation, fear - absolutely not. Thus it is necessary to consider that it is the existence of the USSR which is the essential and fundamental factor of the crisis of the bureaucratic tendencies in the Workers States, as in China, as in Bulgaria, as in Albania, and partly as in Yugoslavia. The existence of the Soviet Union is the fundamental factor of the crisis of all these leaderships.

The Workers State, in order to pass to forms of Socialism, needs a stage to eliminate the forms of unequal distribution, to develop the forms which develop the closest possible to the equality of necessity, the principle to each one according to necessity'. If this is still not resolved in the Workers States, the USSR - in supporting Ethiopia, Cuba and Vietnam - makes such a function; part of the wealth of the Soviet masses is going to stay in these

(EXTRACTS). J. POSADAS.

countries to elevate them and to extend the area, the centre of relations of the Workers States, which weakens the capitalist system. Hence the Workers States prepare for the war which capitalism is preparing with the most complete tranquility. The Workers States, and in particular the Soviet Union, gives as much aid to the world revolution as to the preparation of the war.

It is necessary to reject with indignation those who say we live in another epoch to justify the elimination of the principle; that it is necessary to overthrow by force the capitalist system — though force means many forms, including parliamentary means. But, at the same time, the intervention of the trade unions, of the Party and of the mass movements towards the forms of progress requires the scientific preparation of the Party, the discipline of the Party, and the creation of cadres which live the life and the necessity of social transformations. That is to say, the Marxist conviction of the proof of changing the structure. This shows the inviolable continuity of the necessity of Marxism and of Leninism.

It has been shown that history corrects the defects, the evils and adversities which were encountered and develop in the development of progress in the USSR. There were a large number of difficulties, but the masses stayed with the Bolshevik Party. Among the greatest obstacles was Stalin, the war with the nazis, and the destruction of the Bolshevik leadership. The masses did not slow down, were not depressed, did not abandon, did not cease in their will of combat. When the masses are led by the Party, they acquire the conviction — and this conviction is the arm, the most powerful instrument in history, in the sense that the masses won the intellectuals, the petit bourgeoisie, the technicians; won them to the idea that progress was made in this way, that this is the only road in the form and the tactic, there is no other road. It is necessary to destroy the capitalist system, it is necessary to statify property, to plan production, and the workers must intervene in production. All the population must intervene in the leadership of society in every way and thus learn to lead society. The child must intervene, the old person must intervene. The whole structure of society must intervene in the leadership

of society, not in the economic leadership only, but in all aspects — economic, science, technology, culture, art. It must intervene and learn to lead society. This is a new event in history and one which the Bolsheviks applied, because for seven years the Soviet population intervened to lead society, and neither Stalin nor the nazis could smash them. There is the experience which all the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist and trade unions leaderships must draw upon. The trade unions have intervened in the USSR and are a fundamental factor for the development of the USSR, because intervening as trade unions they feel that they are leaders and work as leaders of society not as trade union leaders with transitory preoccupations over wages and conditions of work. Maintaining these concerns, they made them as a function of impelling the Workers State — not against the Workers State — as the Polish masses do now, showing that they are learning to lead and construct Socialism and to pass from the Workers State to Socialism.

7 11 80 J. POSADAS

THE CIA AND THE BRIGHTON BOMBING

The article on the Brighton bombing in Red Flag (349), although containing correct points, was superficial in analysing the deeper aspects of the problem. It is certain that others were involved apart from the IRA. In this stage of the crisis of imperialism, as explained by Cde Posadas, the tensions within imperialism are increasingly expressed by assassination.

In the Brighton affair the connivance shown in the absence of proper security confirms the intervention of sectors of the CIA and related services. It is not possible to speculate on the precise objectives of the CIA, but they are certainly related to the fights over the functioning of NATO and the needs of Yankee imperialism to impose centralisation against the particular resistances of the European capitalism.

It is necessary to record in this instance the assassination of Mountbatten which was also regarded as an exclusively IRA liquidation. In fact the CIA was

present in this as part of the policy to impose the line of Yankee imperialism on NATO. The Brighton bombing has to be placed in the context of the assassinations of Kennedy, the attempts on Reagan: that is, it reflects the enormous internal contradictions within world imperialism which cannot be solved among themselves and find expression in outright assassination. Thus, the so-called 'Communist groups' involved in bombings in Belgium are also organised by the CIA to stimulate repressive measures in Belgium and strengthen the apparatus of NATO.

The IRA claimed the Brighton bombing and the CIA and its associates used the interest of the IRA in attacking imperialism for their own inter-imperialist war. The target was not necessarily Thatcher in view of the situation of the apartments.

Certainly such an operation cannot be placed under general rubric of 'destabilisation' or 'provocation'

Selected Texts of J. Posadas.

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RESOLUTION ON THE ELECTIONS IN THE UNITED STATES (extracts)

The most important conclusion of the elections of the United States is the confirmation of the abstention of the masses. These elections were made under the objectives of Yankee imperialism to show a great participation of the population to impress the world. Imperialism spent the greatest amount in history on an electoral campaign — more than two million dollars according to the organisers — but it is necessary to calculate according to at least double this. But they have not attracted people to vote.

The Democrats with Mondale allowed the intervention of Jackson to attract the blacks and the poor petit bourgeoisie and, nevertheless, have failed. The masses of the United States, the active population, the working class, the poor petit bourgeoisie, the intellectuals, have not participated in the elections. They rejected this election because they had no confidence in any of the candidates. This is the most important fact which affirms the tendency already expressed in the previous elections.

At the same time, the masses of the world and the

United States have seen that small Nicaragua, an invaded country at war, called elections in which 82% of the population participated to support the revolutionary process, and to reject the threats of Yankee imperialism. This is democracy. The masses of the world see where the strength lies and where the truth lies. The farce is to be found in the elections of the United States, where there is no election but the imposition of voting for Reagan because 'he is going to win', as all the polls said. This is a form of imposing the result that interests the top bourgeoisie governing the United States.

The elections of the United States have to be compared with Nicaragua to see the superiority of Nicaragua.

Ortega and the Sandinistas have the real support of the much more than 50% of the population older than eighteen. Reagan, who was voted in by hardly 30% of the population, says that the Nicaragua elections were a farce. Where is the democracy?

The capitalist system seeks to show Reagan as a victor who has the support of the people, concealing the basic facts because, as a system, it needs a unifying centre of the world bourgeoisie in the stage of the final settlement of accounts with the Workers States.

As a system they need a centre to provide a certain block to the process of the disintegration within the heart of capi-

talism and present themselves in front of the Workers States and the Soviet Union with a certain unity. For this function they have an idiot like Reagan, who does not decide but recites what they say.

Capitalism as a system has no other policy than to prepare war, and for this, above all, the inter-bourgeois contradictions they are trying to centralise themselves around Reagan and to make him appear as having social authority and support. Hence the Yankee and world bourgeoisie are in agreement in showing Reagan as victorious and not his party or, as they say, his policy. Hence they say it was a personal triumph, not the policy of Reagan. They cannot put themselves in agreement in almost anything but, at the same time, they need a centre. As Reagan has no ideas of his own, a programme, a fool serves for this role. Anyone who might be the President of

the United States has to make the policy which big business decides, and this policy is the preparation of the war. Even this does not mean that they can prepare war as a consistent programme. For example, they cannot invade Nicaragua through the relation of world forces but they have to prepare it, provoke it, and try it all the time. They have no other solution because any agreement which they make with the Sandinistas favours the revolution in the region and the world. Capitalism, led by the Yankee imperialists, in this stage wages war every day without declaring it, without being able to make it against the Workers States as they want. Imperialism makes it every day in a thousand forms from assassinations, like that of Indira Gandhi, to the terrorist attacks against their own soldiers, as in Lebanon. For this they need Reagan. It is

necessary to consider that there is a great part of the population which lives and produces in the United States which has no right to vote, including the Chicanos — Mexican immigrants — or those younger than eighteen; while in Nicaragua people vote from the age of sixteen. That is to say, the population with the right to vote in Nicaragua is much more representative than that of the United States. It means that Reagan represents a small number of people; the rest is a product of the invention and creation of the capitalist press in the hands of big business which works as a function of the war against the Workers States.

The view the world capitalist press wants to present is that Reagan is one who has secured his objectives, and this is false. In these four years imperialism has not been strengthened. It is enough to see that Reagan has had to change his attitude over the Soviets, and in full electoral campaign with Mondale appeared together with Gromyko when he was in New York for the UNO meeting. Reagan has not strengthened imperialism nor the capitalist system in the world. The initiatives of Yankee imperialism under Reagan have not led to anything more than failures. In the Middle East they were obliged to come out almost fleeing from Lebanon. They have programmed and continue att-

empting to smash Nicaragua and the latter appears with more authority and support than before. In El Salvador they have failed, first in the attempt to attract the local bourgeoisie to support a military intervention; and they have finished having to accept in words the initiative of Duarte of a dialogue with the guerrillas. They have invaded Grenada, but have not been able to make of this action a base for social and political strengthening. The cost of the invasion has been very high, and the world bourgeoisie has not seen it as a demonstration of force but of arrogance and impotence in front of Cuba and the Workers States, because it was evident that they intervened invading Grenada because they did not have the strength to do it against Nicaragua and Cuba. The world sees that whatever threats the Yanks make, the Soviet ships pass through without military escort and reach their destination

Reagan does not show himself with more force in front of the world nor before the Workers States. There is no concession on the part of the Workers States nor of the USSR to Yankee imperialism. The process of changes in Poland continues and the Workers State is reinforced even with the provocation of the assassination of Popielusko, who expressed the desperation of a sector of the bureaucracy which is most corrupted or which consequently allies with

imperialism against the Socialist progress of Poland. The Polish masses centralise themselves in defending, preserving and developing the Workers State. In Afghanistan, imperialism finances and arms the bands which every day commit more crimes, but the country goes towards a Workers State and consolidates the relation with the masses.

In the United States, conditions are emerging amongst the masses for the constitution of a movement against Yankee imperialism more profound than that formed at the time of Vietnam, or with the pacifist and solidarity movements with Central America, numerous and well supported as they are. The crisis of the capitalist system draws these movements closer to the working class. Even though there are not the trade unions and parties capable of expressing this, movement is in formation. It is slow because the masses of the United States lack political experience, but Jackson was an expression of all this.

The unification of the capitalist system around Reagan has been achieved substantially through measures applied in the economy. Thus from Thatcher to Craxi, there is a unification. All capitalist governments seek to put through the same measures against the standard of life of the population. In Europe, they can't quite manage it because of the conquests (gained by) and the existence of a strong workers' movement, of strong Communist, Socialist and Social Democratic parties which have to answer to the masses. But, in the United States, the left wing parties are small and the trade unions are controlled by the mafia. But, even then, some independent ones do exist, with very advanced left wing positions, and the future is theirs — not Reagan's.

Capitalism tries to make it appear that Reagan is the one to thank for the economic 'recovery' — among other things; but this is to justify more of the same policy. However, they are plans without perspective. In the first place, there has been no 'recovery' of the economy. Production has not increased except in the field of new, highly technological products applied to war. In this case, production increases but only through concentration and not through an increase in the overall value of production.

Capitalist economy concentrates, on a one hand, in financial capital (which orchestrates the manoeuvres with the dollar), and, on the other hand, military and nuclear production. And then, in turn, the two are intertwined. These people are those who also decide politics in the capitalist system, even if they cannot move completely alone. However, one must consider at the same time that the measures of Reagan increase the contradictions between the industrial — traditional — sector and the big financial capital. The traditional sector for the European and Japanese producers lose out through the high rise of the dollar. This is why ever new and deeper divisions arise in the interior of even the North American bourgeoisie, with tendencies much more opposed in the political camp than is expressed between Reagan and Mondale.

The basic cause of this is the development of the Workers States, and neither Reagan nor any leader in the capitalist system can do anything to change this.

As opposed to this, the sort of thing that weighs and influences in the world is the elections in Nicaragua. A people that had nothing, did not know how to read, had no trade union, no parties, lived under the material and cultural oppression of a Somoza, liberates itself via the Sandinistas and in five years mobilises to vote and intervene against imperialism, in the throes of military invasion. This could only happen when, before learning how to vote, the masses of Nicaragua carried out the revolution, arms in hand. The revolution is the most complete school and deepest democracy for social progress. The masses of the United States see this and receive this influence. 'Unita' (paper of the Italian CP) published an interview of the North American intellectual Robert Cohan, who said that in the US people do not vote because they do not see the difference between the Democrats and Reagan and that 'in the US there is no right to choose, there is no alternative. This is why people do not vote!' And he added, 'It is under the Democrats that situations of greatest danger of war with the USSR developed'. It is not, therefore, because the North American people are backward that they do not vote. The maturity of the

masses of the US must be gauged in that neither Reagan nor Carter nor any leader before have managed to organise a movement of support for an intervention in Vietnam, in Grenada, or against Nicaragua or Cuba, and much less even against the 'Russian bear'. This way you see the real maturity of the masses, who have made all manner of movements in support of Nicaragua or for the guerrillas in El Salvador, against the nuclear weapons of Yankee imperialism etc. The masses are learning from the world process and this is why

a little girl like Samantha, or intellectuals affirm that the USSR is not an enemy but a society where there are none of the social or economic problems such as they have in the United States.

It is necessary to discuss the United States in the world Communist movement, to elevate the relation with the masses of America and support them in constructing a movement against imperialism. It is necessary, therefore, to analyse and make appeals to them with examples of the public discussion that goes on in the Workers States — showing an elevation of the Socialist democratic functioning in the Workers States; and thus to increase an organisational influence over the masses of the United States.

We call for these conclusions to be discussed in all the revolutionary and progressive world movements. Imperialism prepares the war and this election is a verification of the fact that it has neither the force nor the support to take on the world. As comrade Posadas has already analysed in 1980 regarding the previous elections (in the US), this result does not galvanise imperialism into launching the war, far from it. At the same time, of course, it makes it even more conscious that it is losing the political and social leadership in its own country, and this drives it into the preparation of war against humanity. This is the contradiction that will keep heightening to greater levels still the internal crisis of imperialism and its ruling camarilla.

IV. International Posadista
10th November 1984.

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is now sending floating arsenals to the Eastern Atlantic as part of its preparations for war. A political explanation and appeals by the Soviet Union could have an immense effect, even provoking the fall of the Thatcher regime. The workers' parties and trade unions in Europe as a whole have not reflected the desire of the masses to intervene. Sectors have responded; for example, the CGT in France. But, in general, the apparatuses have tried to conceal the nature of this strike. But, a political intervention of the CPSU would be an immense impulse to the masses throughout Europe. It is true

that the apparatuses are tenacious in their passivity and rejection of the masses, but they are also weakening because the world process goes beyond them and they have no solutions. If it is argued that there are no prepared leaderships to undertake all that has to be done, it is necessary to see that the leaderships will be constructed en route, and that the intervention of the CPSU can play a fundamental role, in giving a perspective and impelling the masses against their conservative leaderships and constructing new ones.

1.1.85

For a General Strike in the European capitalist countries to support the miners

MASS ASSEMBLIES AND DISCUSSIONS THROUGHOUT EUROPE ON THE BASIS OF THE UNITED FRONT OF THE WORKERS PARTIES AND TRADE UNION CENTRES. FOR THE LIQUIDATION OF THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT BASED ON THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The miners revolutionary strike and the anti capitalist struggle

DISCUSS THE PERSPECTIVES FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The resumption of discussions between the United States and the USSR is retreat on the part of Yankee imperialism. The USSR has not retreated from any position, but Yankee imperialism appears anxious for discussion. Yankee imperialism's interest in talks with the USSR have dual motives, and this internal contradiction is expressed in the crisis in the Reagan administration between Weinberger and Shultz. They enter these talks with two opposed teams. The Yanks hope to create favourable conditions for them to launch the war by lulling the Soviets into a false sense of security. This is a vain hope since Yankee imperialism decides nothing on a world scale. The other motive, and therefore the other tendency, is the necessity to pacify the European bourgeoisie and to draw together the war alliance against the Workers States, and to pacify public opinion in the United States. Kennedy went to South Africa, expressed his support for the black masses, denounced the South African regime, and attempted to visit Nelson Mandela for his own electoral interests. However, it speaks volumes for the opinion of the masses of the United States that, even for electoral interests, Kennedy has to take such a public position. Yankee imperialism's attempts to pacify and stiffen up the European bourgeoisie is a failure because Tindemans the Prime Minister of Belgium, for example, used the talk as an excuse for questioning the siting of Yankee missiles in his country. This is why he went to Washington.

For their part, the Soviets continue their limited, if correct, policy of driving a wedge between the European bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism with considerable success. This was the significance of Gorbachev's visit to this country late last year which resulted in Thatcher opposing aspects of Reagan's war policy. At the same time, the USSR continues to improve its relations with the masses of the capitalist countries. It can be said that, since the Soviet Union is supporting the British miners' strike and the masses of capitalist Europe are also supporting the miners, the USSR is elevating its relations with the masses of capitalist Europe.

What really determines in the process of history at this stage, what advances the process of the disintegration of the system of private property on a world scale, and what unifies the masses in the anti-capitalist struggle is the existence and advance of the Workers States. The Workers States are being seen increasingly by the world masses as the alternative to the stinking, decomposing capitalist society. Above all, what weighs in this process is the advance of Soviet democracy in the Workers States. In this respect, the process is expressed in the public discussion in the Soviet Union on the 'law of work collectives', in which a sector of the Soviet bureaucracy is supporting this law although another sector has opposed the idea that manage-

ment of works and factories should be elected by the workers. In all this, one factory - in Kaluga - in the Soviet Union has applied this law of 'works collectives', with the workers running the factory on the basis of work teams and discussing and making decisions on the basis of a mass assembly of workers.

Additionally, wages are decided in this factory on the basis of 'to each according to necessity'. If such a process exists in one place, inevitably it exists, or will develop, in another. Also, the world masses and the British masses have seen the process of popular democracy at work in Lybia. The whole question of the fate of the British prisoners was discussed in assemblies in which men, women and children, the young and the old, discussed and decided. What a contrast with the capitalist countries in which small teams decide - for their own interests and behind closed doors - for the rest of the population!

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Another aspect that advances the disintegration of the capitalist system is the virtual war that Yankee imperialism is waging through the value of the dollar against their capitalist competitors. It is a virtual war! It has hit British capitalism very badly. What the Yanks are doing by this policy is both to teach Thatcher and British capitalism who is boss, and to make them pay more for the cost of war preparations. The cost to British capitalism of the 'Trident' programme has doubled since 1981.

The result of all this is the galloping disintegration of the social authority and structure of

British capitalism. the meaning of the refusal, by a very large majority, of Oxford University to give an honorary degree to Thatcher. The Oxford dons are, after all, a highly privileged layer of the British capitalist structure, and they are in complete revolt against the policy of the Thatcher team. This same is true of the denunciation of Thatcher's policy towards the arts by Sir Peter Hall, head of the National Theatre, made publically at the recent theatre awards ceremony. This is to say nothing of the continued barrage of criticism from Heath and the Earl of Stock-

growing realisation that this 'democracy' is for the interests of the bourgeoisie and not for the mass of the people. The denunciations of the general repression and thuggery of the British capitalist state, both overt and clandestine, by Tam Dalyell is also an expression of the general disintegration of the social structure of capitalism, because he is by no means of the Labour left.

What leads the process in this country is the miners' strike which remains the vanguard of the anti-capitalist struggle. The fact that the miners maintain themselves, as a majority on strike, in face of a Labour and trade union leadership which only wants to get them back to work at any cost, comes from the favourable world balance of forces. In the immediate sense, the miners' strike is maintained by a mass of women and youth. Of course, the working class supports the miners, but they are hampered by the passivity of the Labour and trade union leaderships. Those women and youth who support the miners are, in large part, those who comprise the 'peace movement'. In other words, the miners' strike is the continuation of the anti-capitalist struggle. Despite all the speculation it is now quite clear that the miners' strike is not going to collapse.



A women's Derbyshire action group against pit closures.

ton (Harold MacMillan that was), which has been a rather more effective parliamentary opposition to Thatcher than the Labour 'front bench'. The demonstration by left Labour MPs in the House of Commons has some considerable significance. They were absolutely right to demand that the miners' strike should be discussed, and they expressed a contempt for the functioning of parliament itself. This is in very sharp contrast to the previous submission of Labour MPs in general to 'British parliamentary democracy'. They express their

There is some uncertainty in the miners' leadership which comes from the fact that they are receiving no support from the leaderships of the Labour movement, but they are not going to retreat and they have made this clear. Thatcher, on the other hand, with all the panic of a cornered rat, has shown that she is too weak to conciliate in the way previous Tory leaders have done. The miners' strike will continue for a whole period, and even the NACODS leadership is

EXTRACTS FROM THE RESOLUTION OF THE LATIN AMERICAN BUREAU ON BOLIVIA.

The bringing forward of the elections in Bolivia is a move to contain the process of the permanent revolution.

The incapacity of capitalism to find a solution to its crisis, together with the lack of a revolutionary leadership in the mass organisations to respond to the necessity of the Bolivian masses to develop the permanent process of the Bolivian revolutionary state, has led to this agreement at the top. The bringing forward of the general elections, with the ending of the government of Siles Suazo, to the 6 August 1985 is the reply of the right and of imperialism to impede the consolidation and the maturing of the anti-imperialist and revolutionary nationalist process which comes from within and outside the government of the UDP (Popular Democratic Union) and in particular of the MNR (nationalist revolutionary movement of the left).

The electoral solution in Bolivia does not favour the masses and does not resolve the problems of the external debt, of unemployment, and of the need for economic stability of the country, certainly within the capitalist system. It is a question of a deal at the top made at the expense of the Bolivian masses who have defeated the fascist dictatorship of Garcia Mesa and Co. The government of Suazo accepted this solution since it is not ready to provide a political and programmatic decision that is more advanced to make Bolivia emerge from backwardness as part of the world process of the revolution and of

an objective and necessary alliance with the rest of Latin America.

The elections have been brought forward to try, through electoral clientelism, to give weight to the sectors who participate less in the economy and in production, and which are linked to imperialism. These try to establish a stable bourgeoisie while the social conditions in the country and in the world show that capitalism is falling. Hence all the tendencies, including the trade union bureaucracy, accept agreement. The trade union bureaucracy impelled by the base propose mobilisations and economic and trade union programmes in favour of the masses, but to apply them a popular and revolutionary government is necessary which develops the economy and the life of the country transitionally, liquidating then the base of the connection with the dependence on imperialism.

When the masses are not able to give a revolutionary solution to the crisis of the capitalist system, bourgeois sectors - linked and allied to imperialism - impose their own positions. Bolivia, as analysed by Cde Posadas, passes through a crisis which is not new, whose solution is linked to the process of the rest of Latin America. At the same time a leadership of the movement is necessary, of the miners, the workers, the peasants allied to the nationalist and anti-imperialist sectors of the army, to impose a **POPULAR AND REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT** with a programme of nationalisations, of workers'

control, of relations with the rest of Latin America, and, in a particular way, with the Workers States and with the USSR which allows the development of the economy and the construction of the leadership of the masses. All that has a very direct and profound example, as today in Nicaragua which affirms the revolutionary process with the elections, but with arms in the hands of the masses also.

In Bolivia, the elections do not offer a way out and stability for the country. Throughout Bolivian history, the government has been imposed by tendencies of the oligarchy: yesterday the miners' oligarchy, to-day the agrarian (above all in Santa Cruz) and financial, linked directly to the Yanks and allied with the fascist military camarilla. The failure of the UDP government and in particular of the MNR tendency of Siles Suazo depends on the fact that it has not known how to lead in depth, the programme, and has conceded on the only form of stabilising a progressive solution of the process, i.e. the Front with the miners, peasant, worker and student movements, sustained by the nationalist and anti-imperialist current of the armed forces. As Cde Posadas held, the government of General J.J. Torres has been the most profound expression of this process. Today in Bolivia, it is necessary to take the experience, deepening it not only in the programme but also in the intervention and the leadership which the masses must exercise.

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links between the british and irish anti-capitalist movements are growing

The recent arrest, and imprisonment without trial, of nine people, including two Labour Party activists, amply justifies our characterisation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) as a 'fascist law'. The PTA is an indication of the fascist intentions of the Thatcher government and the British capitalist state at this time. They have fascist intentions without the historic possibility of a fascist solution to the total crisis of the capitalist system, because a fascist solution needs considerable social support for the system of private property which today does not exist. Thatcher might like to be another Hitler but she cannot find the social support necessary for a fascist movement at this stage when the world balance of social forces determined by the existence and development of the Workers States, are favourable to

the advance of humanity to Socialism. However, the PTA is a repressive instrument in the hands of the British capitalist state. It is simply a means of arresting whoever the capitalist state wants to repress. The fact that only 2.7% of those arrested under the PTA since 1974 have been charged with offences under the PTA - and an even smaller number actually convicted - proves the point. Of course, the major use of the PTA is in the North of Ireland where more people were detained under it in 1983 than in the first six years of the Act's existence. The PTA is a fascist law because it allows imprisonment without trial, and without legal representation, for a number of days. It allows the Secretary of State to extend this by five days, as happened in the case of two Labour Party activists, Maire O'Shae and Peter

Lynch, who were arrested in Liverpool recently. The nine arrests in Liverpool, including people who were simply drunk, under the PTA forms part of the growing repression by the British capitalist state under the Thatcher government, and includes the use of terrorism against the miners and their families, and the death of the anti-nuclear activist, Hilda Murrell. The new Police Act proposed by the government will simply be an extension of the PTA, because it contains provisions for imprisonment without trial. It is just another fascist law. In fact, the general increase in thuggery by the state apparatus is shown in the fact that Maire O'Shae had her house broken into, searched and generally vandalised, as was the house of Hilda Murrell. It

Turn to page 3

The rise in the value of the dollar J. POSADAS.

This article of Cde Posadas analysed the artificial character of the rise in the dollar and its use as a way of the Yanks to discipline and call into line the rest of world capitalism. The pressure on the Pound is part of the same tactic applied to control Thatcher, especi-

ally after the Gorbachev visit. Yankee imperialism uses two forms of pressure: economic blackmail and assassination. The Brighton bombing and the rise in the dollar are part of the same policy.

The rise in the value of the dollar is an artificial device which can only last for a period because, if production does not increase and if there is no increase in the relations of sale and demand, it means that the dollar is simply artificially sustained and its increase is not real.

The economy is ruled by laws which cannot be ignored or broken. What the Yanks can do with the dollar, the Germans could do with the Mark. It does not suit the Germans because the cost after the manoeuvre would be too much, as it will prove for the Yanks.

These are fictional profits which really do not exist except on paper. They increase or lower the rate of interest, increase or diminish deposits; but all this occurs in the top layer of those who manage the economy. Afterwards it will have repercussions throughout the economy. It is a coup made by the great banks, the top industrialists of the USA. Sectors of the bourgeoisie itself will come out against this step.

The Reagan plan seeks to consolidate the great firms and to liquidate those with less competitive capacity in order to concentrate those with greater capacity. But this is not a problem which exists, because of Reagan; Carter would have had to do the same. They are making the campaign against the Soviets to conceal the problem of their own country. A sector of North American capitalism will come out against this policy to propose another solution, because 'otherwise we die'.

This is the same resistance which sectors of the bourgeoisie made against fascism in their epoch. The Social Democracy was based on them because they saw them as 'democrats'. But the Third International of Lenin and Trotsky analysed this struggle as a 'conflict between sectors of capitalism', and it was necessary 'to support one against the other, but without negotiating an independent policy'.

That is, they called to make a united front with a sector of the bourgeoisie which was against fascism, but meanwhile the Communist parties and the workers' movement were to advance with their own programme.

In the present final crisis for capitalism, North American imperialism cannot recover its markets. Latin America is already lost. Imperialism lost it partly through the revolutionary process which exists, but also through the development of the bourgeoisie who dispute with imperialism - like the Brazilian and the Argentinian. There are bourgeois sectors of Latin America who seek to use the revolutionary process for their own benefit. Thus it was Peron who asked the Argentinian Communists why they did not vote for him instead of voting for imperialism. 'They are making a stupid policy', he said, 'They should support me now and later the moment will come for the Communists'. Although this was a declaration aimed for the bourgeoisie, it also shows the progress to which Peron was disposed in 1946.

The European bourgeoisie, and partly the Japanese, are still not very concerned with the Yankee measure, because this rise of the dollar is not expressed in the greater capacity for exports of the Yanks and of competition with them, nor is it expressed in the export of North American capital. As this development does not exist, the world bourgeoisie understands that this is a manoeuvre and wonders how to deal with it.

The rise of the dollar is a measure organised at the top level. It is not a measure of natural development and an increase in production of exports nor of a reduction in the cost of production due to an increase in productivity.

All the capitalist attitude is determined by the form, the increase and rapidity in the accumulation of capital. If this process does not develop, with what is the rise in the dollar maintained? The Bank can make loans, but who gives loans to them?

THE BIRTH OF THE CHILD IN SPACE. J. POSADAS.

The experiment which the Soviets are going to make of conceiving a child in space is part of the development of the form which love will take in the future. It represents a step forward not only of gynaecology but of all human science. Only the Workers State can undertake such an experiment. It shows also that even if the bureaucracy exists in the Workers States it no longer decides. It is the Workers State which decides. The bureaucracy is still at the tail end of the Workers State, but it is no longer the bureaucracy which moves the arms. It is the Workers State which moves the arms and which must demonstrate its superiority and justify this superiority — which is not only economic. At a certain stage in the development of humanity, it is social relations which take the lead in the economy.

These problems are very important. One has discussed them a lot already. Without there being a programmatic discussion there are activities which lead to the need for a programmed discussion, for example, the fact of conceiving and undertaking the birth of a child in space. This experience is going to have an immense effect in biology for the study of birth on land and in space. It shows that the human spirit is projecting itself into hundreds of millions of miles in space. It no longer has a fear of space. Dimensions no longer impress it, there is no longer a sense of void. The vision has progressed enormously from the social point of view — whatever it has received from the optical point of view — because the scientific apparatuses allow one to see enormous distances. Men before saw better but had a more limited vision. Today, thanks to calculations, the vision extends far further and reaches objects invisible to the naked eye. For example, Marx saw that capitalism would be destroyed.

It is going to be the same for the problem of the procreation of

the child. When the Workers State decides to do that, it is because there is a very great social assurance, otherwise it would not have taken place. People would seek only to live in a better way, to cohabit or to defend themselves. But the Soviets are making this experiment because the Workers State is pushing them, and wishes to go beyond the limits fixed by the bureaucratic apparatus, or even the obstacles imposed by the fact that the Workers State must co-exist with capitalism.

The conception of the child in space is united to the experience which the Soviets are making in Siberia, where they are constructing towns 60 degrees below zero. All these facts show the audacity and the security of humanity which feels that there is no problem with life but only with classes. It is the last problem which continues. It is necessary to resolve it by liquidating capitalism.

Humanity already has the assurance that human relations must be based on human love. This experience which the Soviets are making has a profoundly human character. Capitalism makes experiments to resolve laboratory problems to sell products or to see how to eliminate the human being and the proletariat. Capitalism supports even now the elimination of a great part of the proletariat because it cannot utilise the excess of manpower against the rest of the working class from fear that it turns against the system. The Church itself clashes with capitalism because capitalism wishes to eliminate people, and the Church wants them to live.

The forms of love are not determined by the relation of the sexes but by objective love for humanity as part of nature, and nature as part of the universe. A certain time is necessary to acquire this level of

consciousness. The creation of private property develops the fear of necessity and creates egoism. The lack of sufficient food for all, created all the bases to make egoism arise later, and from that the sentiment of possession and envy. These are not the attributes which the human being has at birth, as the Church says. But even in this case that would turn the argument against it: why has God created such beings? Indeed, all the creations of the Church emerged from the mould of private property, including the devil and hell.

These new forms taken by the process of advance towards Socialism answer to a logical necessity of the movement of humanity. This is not an answer to a local or partial need, but undoubtedly a logical movement. Humanity feels itself constrained, oppressed by the limits of science. Science is oppressed by the capitalists who utilise it to kill people. When it will be possible to utilise fully science, within five years hunger, poverty and floods would be eliminated. There would be no more of that, absolutely nothing! and in a short time everybody will be an architect, engineer or doctor.

This resolution of the Soviets to conceive a child in space is a very rich experience. It will allow measuring how birth develops procreation at such an altitude, which means a more direct relation with the universe. This is a very audacious step to show that one no longer depends on the earth, and to seek relations with other worlds. Then the problems of the earth will also be resolved. No class nor bureaucratic society could achieve such a thing. Only the harmony of Socialism allows this. This is not the result of a calculation, of a programme, but that of the action of all society.

The economy and science develop at the same time as the system and methods of production are concentrated and centralised. The latter depends more and more on programming, calculation, machines and electronic brains. The human being feels more and more the absurdity of having to live, to work, to launch wars, to lack food, to lack reasonable conditions of life, on the basis of which one can be concerned to be useful to nature. This is what this experiment shows of having a child in space: humanity has more and more confidence in the possibility of resolving everything and of doing everything easily.

The consciousness of humanity is advancing and it does so because the proletariat can think now as humanity. The proletariat has no historic future as proletariat but historic future as humanity. To develop itself as a class it must disappear: this is the process of the Permanent Revolution. It must disappear to be able to accomplish the superior phase of its own development, the construction of a new society.

It is important to win strikes or the war, but it is more important to construct the new society. It will develop then the thought, the programme, the relation between economy—society—science with the preoccupation for the universalisation of the human species. It will think in the name of humanity and not in its name considered as a class.

The Soviets' experience is the beginning of this. Proletarian internationalism is not an objective in itself but the base to develop this principle of internationalism, because it contributes to extend to the entire world logical and necessary objectives for the progress of humanity. The other aspect of

internationalism consists in the direct intervention to sustain and impel the struggle for progress, in the same way that one supports and impels a spaceship going to Mars. We support and impel the triumph in Mozambique, in Angola and in Ethiopia. One goes to Angola, the other to Mars; these are different directions but with identical objectives. These are different forms of organisation, but the same objective. Tomorrow all will identify with the same objective.

In the future there will be means that are a thousand times better. Thought will emit waves and electronic apparatuses, or other more perfected apparatuses, will have the sensibility to show the weight of thought, the forms which it takes in order to determine a movement of communication.

Now the great General Staffs use fifteen people to do what a hundred thousand did previously. But they utilise them to make war, to massacre. But why is it necessary to work in the brutal way in which people are obliged to work at present?

When humanity proposes to conceive a child in space it is because it has already the certainty to make it part of an objective superior to the earth. This is a very great audacity.

The Workers State has no interest in reproduction nor expansion. The people who speak of poor Czechoslovakia deceive themselves. If the Workers State had an interest in reproduction to accumulate, then it would be a question with what object of such an accumulation. On the contrary, it acts in supporting revolutions, it tends to develop the flowering of the human race; whereas capitalism only acts to suppress, and still suppresses. In order to live the Soviet state must eliminate every form of oppression and need, otherwise it does not live.

12.8.1978

J. POSADAS

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appears that Hilda was actually killed in the course of this house 'search'. Certainly an atmosphere exists in which MPs, like Tam Dayell are prepared to state publicly that 'British intelligence was responsible for the death of Hilda Murrell'. On top of this, the PTA allows the Secretary of State to include people from certain parts of the country without giving any explanation. This has been done, of

throughout the world and all the large enterprises of the capitalist world are linked with Yankee imperialism. This developed structure is the base of the existing resistance in the North American bourgeoisie itself.

14.2.1981. J. POSADAS

The world bourgeoisie understands the sense of this manoeuvre but is uncertain about when it is going to end. All the Yankee governments have resorted to similar measures. They are measures which — together with a world reactionary policy — are aimed to make the world bourgeoisie submit to the policy of the Yankees. It is a threat against all the world bourgeoisie and, at the same time, a measure which the Yanks must make to compete with it.

But this is not going to last very long. The structure of North American capitalism has changed a great deal and depends greatly on the investments which it has in Japan, France, Britain and Germany, through the multi-nationals. The centre lies in the United States, but it is associated with capitalism

course, in the case of miners' pickets.

The arrest and imprisonment under the PTA of the two Labour Party activists, Maire O'Shae and Peter Lynch, are more than just further evidence of the growing repression by the Thatcher government against the population. Their arrest is, of course, an abuse of the PTA because the charge made against them — conspiracy to cause an explosion — has nothing to do with the PTA and did not require the provisions of the PTA. However, what is most significant is that these two were Labour Party members. The fact that Peter Lynch was recently expelled by the Birmingham Labour Party means very little as the Labour apparatus is no stranger to repression against the left and his expulsion does not make him any less part of the growing Labour left. In attacking these Labour Party activists, British capitalism is attempting to cut

across the growing contacts between the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland and the Labour left. The growth of the Labour left is an important part of the advance of the anti-capitalist struggle in Britain and, at the same time, Provisional Sinn Fein has moved considerably in an anti-capitalist direction and adopted a perspective of a Socialist Ireland. Since there is no solution for the problems of Ireland within Ireland itself, there is a necessity for the linking of the British and Irish anti-capitalist movement. The growing contacts between the Labour left and Sinn Fein bring together, in an indirect way, the British proletariat and the Irish masses. This is an extremely dangerous development in as far as British imperialism is concerned, and thus this growth of repression against the Labour left.

The charge of conspiracy to cause an explosion levelled against Maire

O'Shae, a leading consultant psychiatrist, is clearly unbelievable. Anybody who knows Dr O'Shae, and this includes the Labour leadership, cannot take it seriously. Her arrest is clearly the result of her activity to link the British Labour Party with the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland. This being the case, it is totally unacceptable that the Labour Party leadership has said nothing about this repression of a Labour Party member. If such a thing had happened in the Soviet Union or Poland, we would never have heard the last of it from the Labour and trade union leaders, but they keep very quiet about the arrest and imprisonment without trial of one of their own activists. The reason for this is that any link with the movement in Ireland frightens them. This is because, although there is no possibility of defeating British

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THE ASSASSINATION OF INDIRA GHANDI AND THE INCAPACITY OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The assassination of Indira Gandhi must be seen as part of the efforts of Yankee imperialism to limit the influence of the Workers States in the preparation of the war against human progress. The killers were Sikhs but the prime movers in these events lie outside India, in the appropriate section of the CIA. Indira Gandhi herself, after the suppression of the rebellion in the Punjab indicated that this was all linked to outside influences. It may have passed through Pakistan, but US imperialism stands behind Pakistan.

There is no doubt that elements of the world imperialist camp were particularly shaken by the assassination because it shows that Yankee imperialism is totally determined on its violent course of attempting to destabilise whole countries to allow it advantage — so it thinks in competition with the Workers States. It acts as it thinks fit. If its allies are shaken, too bad. Thatcher rushed off to the funeral and expressed her horror at the events, feeling that this event was part of a process that lurched towards catastrophe in which they would all drown. The rightist MP, E. Griffiths, said the aftermath of the assassination had all the marks of a Kennedy-type cover up, with one of the assassins being killed to stop him talking. The Yanks take no account of their allies. It was only possible to kill Indira Gandhi through links with the state and police apparatus.

The relationship of India to the Soviet Union is very important and confirms the analysis of J. Posadas that weaker capitalist nations are obliged to move in the orbit of the Soviet Union in order to survive the rigours of the world capitalist market. As in Latin America, sectors of capitalism see in relations with the Soviet Union a means to sustain themselves, and through a large state sector to utilise this to survive also. In fact, Indian industrial exports to the USSR increase as it finds more and more difficulties in the world capitalist market. The Soviet Union takes into account the needs of a poor economy which seeks to develop — something which capitalism seeks only to exploit. In fact, in India, it is the Soviet Union which has been practically entirely responsible for the development of the state sector of the economy.

The support Indira Gandhi gave to the Soviet Union over Afghanistan expressed the necessity of this sector of capitalism to associate with the Soviet Union, but also it responded to the aspirations of the Indian masses who saw a process of liquidating backward feudal elements, solutions to the land problem, and a seeking for improvements in the life of the masses.

As with Latin American countries, there are sectors of Indian capitalism most linked to imperialism which reject this policy of close association with the Soviet Union and seek, in alliance with the Yanks, to destabilise India. They work particularly through attempting to decentralise the Indian state and mobilise regional interests. The most spectacular example of this recently was the outbreak of the extremist Sikhs led by Bhindranwala. The ultra-right Akali Dal Party had previously embarked on a policy of extreme racist provocations, forcing presidential government.

The insurrection, which ended with the storming of the Golden Temple in Amritsar, was organised with the objective of spreading disorder throughout India and provoking also a disintegration in the army. All the great propaganda about the 'repression' of the Sikhs was a cover for a fundamental attack on the Indian state so as to return to a regime like that of Desai: that of submission to world imperialism and the dismantling of the state side of industry.

Nor is it a question of the 'Sikhs' as such. In fact, there is a great class differentiation among the Sikhs, because the Punjab is one of the richest and most industrialised states in India, with a powerful development of capitalist agriculture, a centre of Indian cereal production. The poorer sectors of the Sikhs voted for Indira Gandhi. Essentially, the tendencies calling for the independent state of 'Khalistan' were backed by some sectors of Indian big business and shade off into fascist elements.

But the whole effort of the Yanks has backfired. Rajiv Gandhi was able, on the support of the masses of India, to contain the attempts at decentralisation and warmly applauded the Soviet Union. The latter has also been concerned

to correct tendencies in the Indian Communist Party who, under the pressure of local interests, adopted sectarian attitudes towards the government of Indira Gandhi.

Since the time of Nehru, the Congress Party has spoken of having 'Socialist objectives'. Its objectives remain, in practice within a bourgeois structure. Thus, the banks were nationalised but submitted to talism. The fundamental problem in India is that of the land and there has been so far no profound progress in solving this issue. But, the experience of the Gandhi regime confirms the analysis of Posadas that the weaker capitalists are obliged to link with the Workers States, and this impedes the operations of those sectors who are linked to world imperialism and weakens the functioning of the capitalist mode of production. Sections of capitalism survive on the basis of the Soviet Union. Thus, the classical path of capitalism is closed and, in its own form, announces the demise of the system.

The hatred for Indira Gandhi frequently expressed by the top layers of the Yankee and British ruling cliques is because her government moves in the orbit of the Workers States, even though such a government cannot be sufficient for the social transformations that India demands, and which again are accelerated by the proximity and progressive role of the Soviet Union.

Imperialism is trying to suborn India as it has tried to effect changes in China, but with similar lack of success.

The explosion in Bhopal is another act of war of imperialism against the Indian masses and the Soviet Union.

It is necessary that the Soviet Union not only maintains the tactic towards the Congress Party but seeks to elevate the independent class policy of the Communist parties so as to express more fully all the vast creative capacities of the Indian masses in the programme of social transformations.

The election of Rajiv to succeed Indira Gandhi has been a further blow at world imperialism and shows, whatever assassinations are organised, nothing can impede the progress of the masses of the

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expressing doubts about its agreement with the NCB. The miners feel that capitalism is weak and the passivity of the Labour leadership is based on the same perception. They don't feel that Thatcher will crush them, but that the system is so weak that any major mobilisation of the class would advance to the overthrow of the system. This leadership is wedded to, and largely integrated into, the capitalist system and they fear its collapse. They really cannot see any alternative, and they remain passive for this reason. Even so, the trade union leaders have been unable to oppose the support given to the miners by the Workers States, and even Kinnock goes to Nicaragua and makes favourable noises.

MASS MEETING TO DISCUSS IDEAS.

Even after eleven months of strike it is still not too late to use the miners' strike as the basis to extend the anti-capitalist struggle. The attitude of the women's support groups is not one of people engaged in industrial action, but of people engaged in a struggle to transform society. They are engaged in the anti-capitalist struggle even if there is no clearly formulated programme.

And a programme is necessary to extend the miners' strike. A programme including the 35-hour week (without loss of pay), all wages to rise with the cost of living, a national minimum wage, and a programme of public works in housing, roads, hospital building, schools, sewers and public transport.

Above all, there is a necessity for a discussion of ideas, a discussion for an alternative society to the decomposing capitalist society. The miners, their families and supporters, have already experienced an alternative form of life to the competition of exploitation under capitalism. This can provide a basis for discussion for the creation of a society which is based on the collective, rather than the individual, interest. After all, the miners already distribute money and food on the basis of need! There is a great necessity for the discussion of ideas in mass meetings in which all can intervene: the men, women and children, the young and the old. This is an advance which the Labour left, the miners support groups, and the trade unions have to make in order to extend the miners' strike.

3.2.1985.

CORRECTION, RED FLAG 351

col 3, page 4, bottom paragraph: should read 'In this case, production increases together with concentration, but not the global value of production...'

continued from page 3

imperialism without the mobilisation of the British proletariat, the Irish movement brings with it revolutionary methods. The perspective of a combination of the strength, organisation and class consciousness of the British proletariat with the revolutionary tradition and method of the Irish anti-imperialist movement frightens the Labour leadership because it disrupts all their cosy, parliamentary conciliation with the capitalist system.

The arrest of Dr. O'Shae and Peter Lynch indicates the strength of the advance towards a unity between the Labour left which is based on the British proletariat, even if it does not represent it, and Sinn Fein. The arrest of Dr. Shae is a measure which indicates panic on the part of the state apparatus. To arrest a leading psychiatrist like Dr O'Shae,

on a charge of conspiracy to cause an explosion is itself going to cause a social explosion of a very unwelcome kind for British capitalism. There is a necessity for a protest against this arrest and a discussion of its significance in the Labour and trade union movement. There is the need for the conscious advance towards a united front between the British proletariat, and with it the Labour left and Sinn Fein which represents the aspirations of the Irish masses. There is the necessity for a United Front of these two forces on the basis of a programme for social transformation and with the perspective of the advance to the United Socialist States of the British Isles.

Selected Texts of J. Posadas.

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world in alliance with the Workers States.

EDITORIAL

The miners revolutionary strike - a political and social rout of capitalism

EXTEND THE DISCUSSION ON THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The ending of the miners' revolutionary strike is only a stage in the constant ascent of the class struggle in Britain and the search for a new leadership in the Labour Party and trade unions which corresponds to the needs of the population to liquidate capitalism. The strike has been a severe political and social defeat for capitalism, and also the apparatus of the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy. The miners' leadership denounced the TUC which refused to mobilise for the strike, and also Kinnock for his failure to support the strike with force and vigour. But Scargill was right to say that the strike, even before the termination, had already been a great success. The lack of a sufficient leadership, with programme and authority to mobilise even greater force against capitalism and extend the discussion for social transformations, meant that at some stage the strike would terminate. Inevitably, there were differences over whether to continue or to go back, and there are the problems of struggling for an amnesty for miners who were dismissed. But the return to work was both disciplined and festive, and the miners expressed and maintained their continued anti-capitalist decision. The Miner's Union is not just a trade union force, but a social and political force which will continue and develop. This revolutionary strike will continue its path in impelling a more vital political life in the unions and the Labour Party.

The miners are a form of Communist vanguard in Britain and, in the Communist conduct of the strike, there was an element of Bolshevism *sui generis*, without the fullest expression of policy and programme but Communist and revolutionary.

This cannot go away, can only augment with time, because the world goes towards Communism. Moreover, the immense social support the strike received from the population as a whole, and the fullest possible mobilisation of the women and also the children of the miners, are the symptoms of a profound revolution in social relations which also requires a political expression - the programme and policy of social transformations to overthrow the capitalist system. A whole series of political lessons are being assimilated by the miners vanguard and will have repercussions in the Labour Party. It is clear that the state apparatus is totally in the service of capitalism, there is no 'law' or police above the conflict. In the decisive actions they work for capitalism. The attack on the miners by capitalism was a small war - the logic would be a fascist state, but capitalism does not have the strength to smash the masses. This is not the stage of Hitler and Stalin, but the stage of the Workers States whose social relations and superiority over capitalism weigh more and more in the world

and drive imperialism to dis-traction.

Thatcher's visit to the United States made clear once more that the Yankee team that prepares for war treats its allies, however sycophantic, like dirt. Thatcher may disagree over the dollar and may even be allowed to express it, but Reagan made it clear that her views did not count. Yankee imperialism calls the tune and its British partner is very junior. World imperialism is accelerating all its preparations for war. The 'Star Wars' discussions are pure smoke-screen on the part of Yankee imperialism to justify even more feverish preparations to attempt to annihilate the Soviet Union. At the same time, this process for imperialism is one of profound disorder. Even little New Zealand proceeds to tweek the monster's nose, and rejects Yankee nuclear preparations. This is a small event but shows that, with all its immense powers of destruction, Yankee imperialism cannot discipline even the small fry. In the Middle East the Israelis commit enormous atrocities in the withdrawal from Lebanon, nonetheless the policy of trying to impose a defeat on the PLO and Syria etc. has failed. After all the slaughter, Yankee imperialism is weaker than ever.

Workers of the world, unite!

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THE SOVIET UNION WEIGHS MORE AND MORE.

As the Thatcher regime represents only those sectors of capitalism most linked to the multi-nationals, the top banks and the arms industry, large sectors of British capitalism who seek the development of the internal or export markets see themselves being dragged along into the ditch, to become embroiled in policies which lead to social disaster. They are afraid of the final encounter with the Workers States, but they are not the ones who decide. Hence the uproar over phone tapping, the crisis in the state apparatus over the Ponting affair. Hitler also faced a bourgeois opposition, but now this opposition cannot be smashed as in the days of Hitler because world capitalism is far, far weaker now. On the other hand, the removal of capitalism does not, and cannot, depend on these bourgeois layers. To remove capitalism it is necessary to develop the independent weight of the proletariat. In this sense, the miners have given an example.

The strike developed outside the LP-TUC apparatus, and in this anticipates a whole future of independent proletarian action.

In all this process the Workers States - but especially the Soviet Union - augments its weight more and more. Although the negotiations over Star Wars are farcical, it is clear to the world masses who is preparing war and who represents the forces of progress. Recently again in all the discussions over the defeat of the nazis, the new head of the Soviet General Staff reiterated that the Soviet Union will never be taken by surprise, as in June 1941 (which was a result of the idiotic policy of Stalin seeking to pacify Hitler.) At the same time, it is clear that the Soviet Union will tend to improve its direct intervention towards the world masses as part of the preparation for the final encounter. To this extent, there is no doubt that the miners' revolutionary strike in Britain will provoke much discussion in the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union gave much social and financial support. It was fore-

most in this, but politically it could do much more. There is need for the Soviets to be less dominated by exploiting inter-bourgeois divergences and more open to accelerating the independent forces of the proletarian and petit bourgeois masses. This phenomenon of the Miners' strike is part of a new ascent of the world; not just the British process, and it is necessary to discuss and draw all the conclusions from it. Once the Soviet Union is committed to such a course and its discussions are manifest directly in the Soviet Union and communicated abroad, the effect will be very powerful - particularly in the United States. 'Scargillism' echoed around the world because it corresponds to the need for world wide social transformations.

There is no question that the miners' strike will, and has already, accelerated a profound discussion among the masses as a whole, including especially the youth and the women. It is necessary for the left sectors who are advancing in the Labour

Continued page 4



Womens' action group (Cortonwood) express the spirit of triumph.

THE DECOMPOSITION OF THE BUREAUCRATIC APPARATUS AND THE REBIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST LIFE IN CHINA.
J. POSADAS. Centre Page

THE DECOMPOSITION OF THE BUREAUCRATIC APPARATUS AND THE REBIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST LIFE IN CHINA.

J. POSADAS.

In this article Cde Posadas brings out the fragility of the bureaucracy. Deng Xiao Ping and his 'reforms' are attempts to develop support for his caste which is under augmenting attack within China. The attempts to encourage foreign capital have failed because world capitalism sees that the essential foundations of the Chinese Workers State are solid.

The Communes which Mao Tse Tung formed were an invention to defend themselves from Khrushchev and after a structure remained, as there was no Party life, no proletarian base. The Soviets could overcome the limitations imposed by Stalin because they have a proletarian base and it also existed in the army. In China there is the army, but without a proletarian base. There are Communists among the members of the Chinese army, but they do not have a proletarian base. They have Communist understanding and conviction, but they do not have a life of the Party, the practice of the Party.

All this is going to be overcome in less than five years. This does not mean to say that everything is going to be changed, but now progress is going to march. The Communes of Mao Tse Tung are going to return, not as the Communes of Mao Tse Tung but with the wealth of experience which, until now, the masses and the Soviets organised.

The Soviets before rationed bread and water to the Chinese. They did not give them money, technicians or loans. The Soviets now are hastening to give them to the Chinese — although the Chinese spit at them — so that they advance, because they need them. The USSR needs China but China also needs the USSR. Deng Xiao Ping believes that he could free himself from the USSR. He can do nothing of the kind. China needs the USSR much more than the USSR needs China.

The Soviet Union has allies in China, which are the Chinese masses, and also part of the Chinese apparatus. China has no alliance in the USSR, not even with a local fruit seller because Soviet society is superior. The Chinese cannot find in the Soviet Union what the Soviets find in China, that is, allies. The Chinese do not find alliances in the Soviet Union because the latter is superior. The bureaucratic forms are better.

I hope to develop all these themes in the next Congress or world meeting which we are going to make, because these are problems of this stage of history. I am going to emphasise the historic role of Mao Tse Tung, even with all the criticisms which I have previously made. Now also I make them, but improved, because I have read more, understand more. The problems are like this, but I have a better dominion of the problem.

The journalists in the bourgeois camp see this. They go to China, and when the owner lets them speak they say, 'Look, in China people want to continue with Communism. I spoke with people who are Communists. I am not in

agreement with what they say, but some things are good.' This is what journalists of the French press say.

It is necessary to see that China comes from a country which was nothing. In order to measure China one has to remember that no father was secure that his son or daughter would not be kidnapped. If Chiang Kai Shek took a fancy to a woman, then she had to go to the palace or sleep with him any time he wanted. It was not a sexual or human usurpation, but the result of sexual madness and delirium. because sexual satisfaction is not like this. This is sexual delirium. All sexual satisfaction is united to the satisfaction of the sentiment. Everything outside that is sexual delirium, not representative of the human being.

This was Chiang Kai Shek and I have read novels which spoke of this, among them 'The China I have Seen', where they posed that when Chiang Kai Shek with his court saw some woman in the street — not anyone, but rich — he summoned her, gave orders to his secretary or his wife to 'Get me this woman tomorrow between four and five', and the woman had to go or they arrested and tortured her. Afterwards they gave her jewels or presents, and this was China as it was.

THE USSR AND CHINA HAVE THE SAME IDENTITY IN HISTORY.

This is common to all these people because, as they do not have the stability, to represent intelligence, the brain and human sentiments, they act in this way. Of this China now, nothing remains. But now some present-day Chinese are re-animating this.

Chinese generals are accused of violating Chinese militants. Chinese female comrades refused to obey chiefs, marshalls or generals. They accuse a part of the Chinese general staff of violating comrades. Others have been violated and then denounced all this, and some of these types admit it as though it were a norm — 'But if this was normal in the army, why is this woman different?'

In this it is possible to see all the decomposition of these people. It is as in the epoch of Stalin. Stalin was all this, and look where all that was to go. But the elements that are advancing in China and in a very preponderant form are the sentiments that the USSR and China have the same identity in history. China has to follow the USSR not the USSR, China. This is advancing in China very greatly. It is the factories which are beginning to move, and also the army. The Chinese army is a representative of the proletariat, because the Chinese proletariat developed after the revolution, did not have time to form itself, did not have the Party to form it. It was developed in a whole

We have seen in the cinema and on television the celebrations that occur for production for the oil wells with decorations, completely bourgeois habits. The life of the Soviet proletariat did not exist here, nor even of the Yugoslav proletariat because the Yugoslav proletariat had Tito, who was of Communist origin. But in China there is a large number of climbers who were nationalist and went to the camp of Communism: some for careers, and others because it was closer to what they aspired. But they were without theoretical and political formation, without a Party. Thus they saw this process as more useful than Chiang Kai Shek, and Deng Xiao Ping supports himself on this.

The Chinese revolution shows that it is feeling the effects of the world revolution. Look at the crisis of this character Deng Xiao Ping who has a mentality obsessed by China. He is not a Chinese nationalist but a nationalist revolutionary. He wants to advance in China in the name of Chinese nationalism. Hence

he coincides with capitalism. It is not simply a manoeuvre or a political measure of the Stalin type to defend themselves from the progress of the revolution, but a conception of politics which they have.

When they make the programme of production so that the capitalists posed: 'All this has no basis. Capitalism is not going to give any credibility to this because they see that this is all in the air.' And it is all in the air. It was all invented by Deng. He believed that he was going to make a new economic regime. It is absurd. This is to believe that Marx invented the process of capital and saw the results to which it led. But Deng Xiao Ping invents. He takes a mass of things and invents to show 'China as the greatest nation in the world'.

According to some reports, there are walk-outs and occupations of factories. We have to interpret what level the reports have, because they come from capitalist agencies. But they have given reports from Shanghai of factory movements and, after the Chinese make condemnations, appeals for the maintenance of order and discipline — but not to make the process of the revolution violent. There has to be in China an opposition movement to the plan of these people, because they are establishing differentiation in accordance with each one according to his capacity. In present day China 'to each according to his capacity' means that the one with most ability is the bureaucrat, and not he who produces more. He who has most power is going to decide, which means the bureaucrat.

The general sense of these novels which they are publishing in China is criticism of the generals, the heads of the army, heads of the enterprises who violate comrades. The novelists are not all good. But there are two of them who say, 'The reason for this is that there are no Soviets, no discussion, no cells; we have seen it'. They make compari-

sons with what went before. 'Before, we have seen cells and life, and this did not occur. Now it does'. This shows the perversion of all these types.

THE NATIONALISM OF MAO.

The first seven years of the Soviet Union was the form in which the Communist objective was determined formed and developed. After, there was interference but that first seven years is the immovable base of the experience of history. The Chinese made it; not sufficiently, but they did it — because it is necessary to see that the first years of Mao Tse Tung were not disturbed by Stalin, who imposed the most ignominious things.

It was a lie that Mao Tse Tung supported this. Reading Mao Tse Tung, although it is not very profound, shows that he has a good human understanding of Communism. He does not have the theoretical capacity, but neither did he have a theoretical team with him, nor the base to do it. He had a good conception of Communism.

Many of the things which they (the old leadership of Mao Tse Tung) had, and which Mao shared, were reactions against Stalinism because the latter imposed terrible things. For example, in the reaction of 1927 Stalin was against Mao Tse Tung. Trotsky did not say this openly because he did not have sufficient information but there was a whole team against Stalin. But they had to accept Stalin because he would have betrayed them (refers to the resolution imposed by Stalin to make an alliance with Chiang Kai Shek).

The world Communist movement with Poland is animating itself to discuss forming itself theoretically and politically. This has an effect in China, as well. Between China and Poland there is the distance from here to the corner of this room. There are no terrestrial distances, only distances of ideas. Deng Xiao Ping can close all the doors, but nobody listens to him. Turn to page 4

THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMECON MEETING IN HAVANA AND THE WESTERN POLICY OF THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (E. GERMANY).

FROM THE ARBEITERSTIMME 11.12.84, ORGAN OF THE GERMAN POSADISTS.

This meeting took place under the conception stimulated especially by the Soviet Union of a stronger integration of the Socialist camp. Not all the Workers States participated nor are members of COMECON. China and North Korea were absent. But all the others were present, including Yugoslavia (as an observer); and, besides Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Mexico, Laos and Kampuchea, were present also as 'observers'. The basic tendency of the preparatory meeting in July in Moscow and of the approved resolutions in Havana is a close collaboration of the European Workers States with the USSR in the field of the economy (already previously resolved so as to harmonise the dates of the five year plans); help for the poorest of the members - Mongolia, Cuba and Vietnam - to elevate them gradually to the level of the others: collaboration with the Revolutionary States, especially with those who take the Socialist road of development; reduction of the economic relations with the western camp and of technological dependence on it. Although this last was not expressed too clearly, it arises from all the orientation of the deliberations and resolutions where the trade with the West is hardly mentioned; placing, on the other hand, all the weight in relations and collaborations within the Socialist and revolutionary camp.

This line decided upon in Havana responds to an objective necessity, not to the national interest of the Soviet Union as the bourgeois press wishes to present it. All the states parties, movements, and forces, Socialist and Revolutionary, feel the necessity to develop closer relations and, at present, Nicaragua is the clearest example. But the necessity for a common collaboration and

planning is evident, not only in the military and political field, but is also expressed in that of the economy. All the countries of the so-called 'Third World' which find themselves in a process of social and national liberation, need a collaboration in this way, to avoid strangulation by international capital from Ethiopia to Nicaragua, from Mozambique and Angola to Bolivia, Argentina and Birkinia (formerly Alto-Volta). Neither the Soviet Union nor any other Socialist country have the means to compensate for all the catastrophe caused by capitalism in the world; but what is possible is the common planning with the objective of co-ordinating and developing existing forces. Basically there is the necessity to co-ordinate the five years plans not only of the countries of the Warsaw Pact but of all the Socialist and Revolutionary world, and also with the revolutionary movements. A step in this direction are the resolutions, even if limited, taken in Cuba.

But, in reality, they do not answer to the world necessity only of Socialism, but also to each one of Workers States. The example of Poland is valid, in lesser or greater degree, for all. There it was shown in a drastic way to what collaboration with capitalism leads beyond a determined limit. This also has validity for the DDR, even if that is not being threatened with any serious crisis.

The DDR like all the other Workers States, Poland included, has succeeded in obtaining an enormous development compared with the

capitalist past, and also with the reality in capitalism of to-day. All the 'great' problems of humanity which neither capitalism nor any other regime of private property were capable of resolving, like those of unemployment, starvation, education, the problems of transport and of accommodation, of medical help for all: all these problems are already resolved there, and for ever. All the rest have the real chance of being solved, and not in an historic stage but in a relatively near future. For this article we are not analysing this, but the repercussions of a trade and of relations with the capitalist world which go beyond these limits, on a Workers State like the DDR which does not have either the strength nor the tradition of the first seven years of the Russian Revolution.

Leaving Yugoslavia on one side, it is the DDR which together with Rumania has the greater percentage of trade with the West, that is twenty eight per cent of external trade; and, although that of the USSR, with a thirtytwo per cent is even greater, it is not comparable since in its greater part this is composed of the sending of petrol, gas or raw materials, and also of the importation of cereals; that is to say, it is not the USSR which depends on the economic relations with the West, but the reverse. But, in the other Workers States, there are entire branches of the economy which are amalgamated with the capitalist system. Poland was not an exception, even if this was especially acute, since around

50% of industry was affected by this situation and with an agriculture in which private property was maintained.

There is in the DDR (and also in other Workers States) important branches of the economy which work in great part for the capitalist foreign market; that is to say, which practically become independent of planning for the construction of Socialism. In West Germany there are entire distribution chains and commercial houses which work on the basis of high quality goods from the DDR (although in the marketing this is not indicated). Thus it is explained how it is possible that, for example in the textile and chemical industry, there is a shortage of paint for houses or there is a shortage of textile articles of high quality or these are sold at exorbitant prices in the DDR.

In Yugoslavia, but on a lesser scale, also in Rumania and in Hungary, the effects of obstacles for the construction of Socialism arising from a close link and collaboration with capitalism can be seen ever more clearly, but also in the DDR one notes this. In spite of this, a little after the COMECON meeting in Cuba, this agreement between the DDR and the Volkswagen has

been made. Although they have released only a few details - here as in Socialist Germany - it will reach a volume of 600 million Marks distributed over the years.

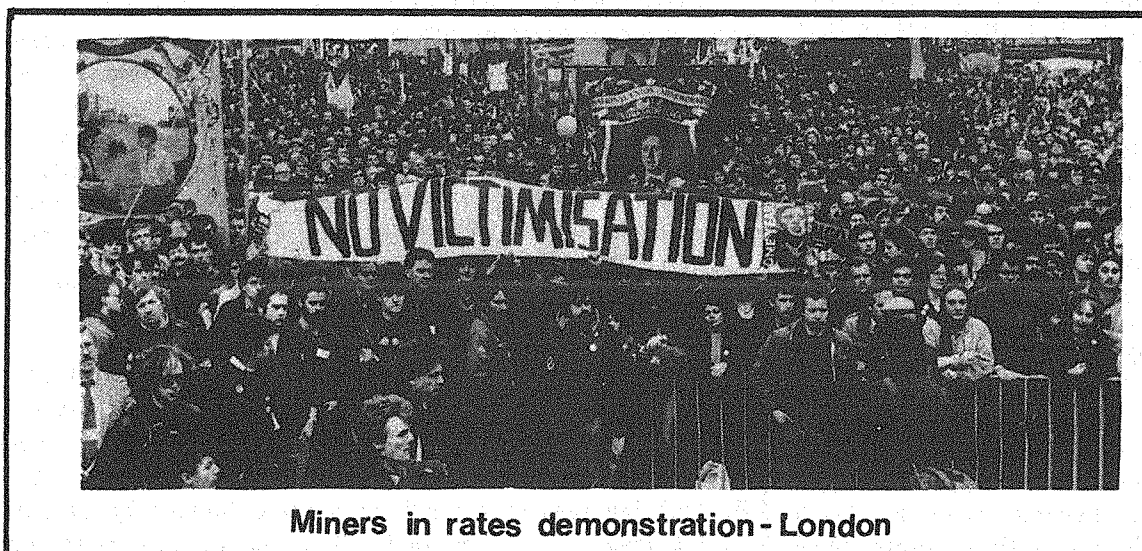
Besides, there are now demands for credits, especially from the Banks of West Germany, which reach millions of Marks.

It is not from the point of view of Socialist construction that cars and spare parts are being produced, which through their nature benefit only a small privileged minority and which in no way answer to the needs of the population, and a great part - they speak of three quarters of the planned production - is destined for the Volkswagen factories of Federal Germany. This is not an exception.

These are problems of the construction of Socialism which must be discussed. The resolutions taken in the COMECON meeting in Havana are a great progress. It is necessary to inform the masses of the world about this, in the first place, those of the Workers States themselves, so as to give them life. All the Socialist camp of which revolutionary movements and states form a part must unify much more in the political, military, cultural, scientific and economic field and, if it is convenient and necessary, at the cost of the economic relations with capitalism. As far as the relation between the two German states is concerned, taking into account also the present Kohl Genscher government, the most closely linked to Yankee capitalism and its preparation for the atomic war, the most positive form of relations is that between the masses and their parties and trade unions, movements for peace, youth organisations, between scientists and intellectuals of the DDR and the West German state among all those who seek progress. These relations must be developed without limit.

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Miners in rates demonstration - London

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| The counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Workers State | 1.35 | - War, peace and the function of the Socialist countries | 1.00 |

From page 4

which schoolchildren and their parents should be involved, mass meetings - not to accept a defensive posture over education but to demand an education linked to the need to transform society, not an education for sectors useful for the needs of private property, exploitation and war.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE TEACHERS' UNIONS AND THE DEGENERATION OF CAPITALISM.

The wage demands for the teachers' unions are in profound conflict with the wage reductionism of the Conservative government. In the demand for a very extensive wage demand, there is an implicit desire to take the offensive against capitalism and not allow the system to do as it likes. The teachers' union does not have the weight of the proletarian centres, but, although faced with the repression of the anti-trade union laws and the efforts of the TUC to prevent any unification of struggles, it is possible for the teachers' unions to raise a much more fundamental discussion over the need for a different type of education and turn the tables on capitalism.

Capitalism now as a social system has basically terminated with culture and science, is actively preparing to attack the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and thus has no interest in culture or education.

It is insufficient for trade unions to adopt a defensive policy in front of capitalism, i.e. that proper educational resources will make Britain more competitive on the world markets. The sectors that decide in British Imperialism have no long term views.

Capitalism lives from moment to moment in the preparations for the final encounter. They

From page 2

The Chinese people had the discipline to accompany Mao Tse Tung and learnt from all the errors which Mao Tse Tung made — which are enormous. But they were all errors of lack of capacity, of militant construction, and not errors of the type which come from the other side, from the bandit, the conservative or the nationalist. When he was a nationalist, it was to defend himself from the Soviet bureaucracy. Thus it was a logical conclusion and followed the line of Party egocentrism which was stimulated by Stalin who was the one who developed it to assassinate the whole worker vanguard.

When the Communist masses of China animate themselves, even without a Party, without leadership to weigh, it is because they see the world. When there are writers who write on corruption of the military or political leaders, and also there is dissidence of the extreme right, it shows that Deng Xiao Ping seeks support there but also that he has to defend himself from the extreme right. This shows the political maturation of China through external, not internal, maturing.

With Mao Tse Tung, China was on the road to learn. The Soviet bureaucracy was afraid and is afraid today because the programme of Mao Tse Tung led to the rupture of the bureaucratic apparatus. He

only want to cut all possible costs to sustain arms expenditures, including for internal repression, export capital abroad, and that's it. It is not possible to convince capitalism that it must behave properly. It is dying, and it is degenerating.

Josephs has proposed to make the educational system more 'effective', to improve it and, particularly, to eradicate 'incompetent teachers'. In other words, he has opened up an educational discussion and linked it to wage concessions. But it is absurd to allow any initiatives to the gangsters of capitalism. The teachers' unions should open their own complete counter-offensive on a wide front.

Capitalism is now talking of the need for more 'practical' forms of education, more 'relevant' subjects, and the need for a dedicated well paid profession with career prospects, and proper monitoring of teachers' 'progress'. It is necessary to take up all these issues and argue them in a radical, not a defensive, way. The fact is that the education system is in a very bad state, because it no longer in any way corresponds to the needs of advancing human needs. Joseph's 'modernism' is total cynicism. It is part of the attempt to have education on the cheap, with the reduction of numbers of teachers and with a

posed: 'The army, the trade unions and education have political life as priority'. And this is how the army, trade unions and study are the most elevated aspects. This was the programme of Mao Tse Tung, which was the programme of Lenin. Mao applied it bureaucratically, but the Soviet bureaucracy fought him — not for this reason, but because it influences the Soviet Union. And part of the present bureaucracy accommodates to the attack on China because it still feels the danger. It is not certain that all the declarations which they make against Mao Tse Tung are shared by all the Soviet leadership. It is the apparatus of the right which attacks the policy of Mao.

Mao Tse Tung committed errors of every sort, but his intention was to construct the Workers State and to confront the Yanks.

Mao died in 1976, but for several years he had decided nothing. Hence they liquidated Lin Piao, because with the death of Mao Lin Piao would have succeeded.

The masses of the world are learning to construct Communism, and it is imperialism which has retreated. It is going to launch the war — but in the worst conditions for itself.

J. POSADAS 14.3.81

tendency to reduce education towards a purely vocational emphasis.

Is education to be for the objectives of a moribund degenerating capitalism, or is it to be linked with a programme for social transformations? Capitalism does not have to be allowed to take the initiative, as it is clear that — on the level of ideas — capitalism has very little to say.

To be combative and militant is necessary, but it is necessary to place the educational struggle in the context of the total crisis of the system and the need to discuss the solution.

Under capitalism large sectors of the youth are being thrown aside. Capitalism not only liquidates older sectors of society, it tries to rid itself of many young people who are no use for capitalist profit. A whole social capital is being squandered by capitalism — it is not possible to discuss an offensive against the government just on the basis of wage claims. What is at stake is the need to terminate with a social system which is alien to anything but immediate profit.

Capitalism does not mind if the struggle with the teachers' unions are conducted on the flight over wage percentages, or even a narrow dispute over 'conditions of professional advance'; what it is afraid of is a general discussion on the need to change society in an anti-capitalist direction. If, for example, the miners' union had opened an attack on the general functioning of capitalism and brought this into every interview, capitalism would have been very shaken and even tend to concede. Despite capitalism controlling the means of discussion, i.e. radio, television, papers: popular opinion is against capitalism, and this has to be expressed much more directly.

The emergence of 'Thatcherism' and the attempt to adopt the 'fuhrerprinzip' expresses the crisis of the whole capitalist social order, and it is not possible to discuss educational problems in isolation from this. It is not possible to expect anything from capitalism now, save

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Party and in the unions to develop an activity of intense political discussion on the theme of what is the perspective for Britain? the need to take Britain on the road of social revolution. The Miners' Union can play a great role in this, because it has shown that it has no respect for the apparatus whether of capitalism or of the old bureaucracy in the unions and the Labour Party. More and more the struggle against nuclear weapons must be linked with

war and the increasing wastage of human resources. This can be seen on a world scale — outside a few industrial nations, all the major continents outside the Workers States are in massive economic impoverishment; to the point of destruction. It is absurd to imagine that education within such a world crisis can go along seeking little reforms and little compromises.

It is necessary to appreciate the complete contrast with the crisis of capitalist education, in seeing the evolution of education in the Soviet Union. There they have problems caused by the rapid progress of Soviet society; here we have problems caused by the virulent and monstrous degeneration of capitalist society. It is necessary to pin point this situation, because the conception of non-political, non-social trade unions is a profoundly backward conception which maintains capitalist domination.

The Soviet Union is advancing rapidly both in purging the bureaucracy and improving production. As there is a need for greater quality of scientific and technical progress, at the same time, there is the necessary elevation in social relations throughout the Soviet Union. Education is part of this. Thus the issues in the Soviet Union are not how to cut resources or 'dump the youth', but how to utilise much more human capital of Soviet society, how to improve the education of everyone.

The Soviets are extending schooling and deepening it, to increase both the depth of education and improve the bases for the development of specialists. There is still much to be done there, but, at the very least, they are expanding education to correspond with the enormous cultural and practical needs of a society which is developing. Even in the past, reviewers of 'Le Monde' commented on the fact that the Soviet Union seemed like a gigantic educational establishment where all were learning in one way or another to improve their capacity. Much greater flexibility and democratisation are still necessary, but the advances of the Soviet Union in social relations and economic progress are obvious. This all stems from a planned

economy where the private ownership of wealth has been liquidated. Under capitalism there is nothing but cuts and reductions, on such a scale that even the privileged layers in education — i.e. those at Oxford etc. — see their sector of education being damaged, including in fundamental areas such as scientific research. Extended research for military requirements is all right, but for the benefit of human beings certainly not! That is capitalism.

It is necessary to place all the particular trade union struggles of the teachers in the perspective of the need for social change. Education has to be related to the needs of the population. The whole private sector in education has to be liquidated, and links with private business interests abandoned. The system of headmaster should be abandoned as quite redundant, especially as it is also grossly related to numbers in schools. A system of democratic popular control is fundamental in all schools, universities and polytechnics, with the perspective of an end to gross inequalities in pay, an end to the overpaid heavy bureaucracy which is the basis of 'careerism' in education. It is a discussion which has to be socially profound and historic. Where is Britain going? Education cannot be detached from this and relegated to speculative technological futurology, a world for 'computers' to suit the ends of a minute fraction of society geared to war and mass impoverishment.

It is notorious that in many schools the social relations are limited between teachers and students, because the problems of social relations are thrown onto the teachers, when they are problems which come from the decomposition of capitalism. The structure of capitalist education cannot meet the needs of the population. It caters for fewer layers and, even compared with other capitalist countries, education in Britain at university level caters for a relatively privileged layer.

We appeal for much more open and public discussion between the teachers' and student unions, in

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the struggle for the planning of production, in the interests of the masses, workers' control, wages to rise with inflation on a scale decided by the population and not the experts of capitalism, popular control of the police, termination of private education and medical services, end of the monarchy and the House of Lords. The forces of the left in the mass organisations must seek to develop links with the population, and so to develop the immense forces seen at work in the miners' strikes.

Capitalism is now very pre-occupied with subversives, what they mean is all the population who do not accept the policies of war and the destruction of the masses. The miners' revolutionary strike has contributed immensely to the united front of the masses in the impulse for a left Labour government to impose social transformations and the ending of nuclear missiles.

8.3.85.

EDITORIAL

The Labour left must base itself on the experience of the workers states

For an economy to meet the needs of the population

The election of Gorbachev to the position of leader of the Soviet Union has been the occasion for much frantic speculation by capitalism on the nature of the new leader and his intentions. But the speculation on the possibility of a more 'liberal' position by the Soviet Union, i.e. conceding to imperialism, has been quickly disproved by reality. Gorbachev's declaration showed the continuity of all the Soviet positions, both in relation to the Workers States and in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The policy of liquidating arbitrary bureaucratic policies and corruption continues unabated, allied to the policy of elevating the role and capacity of the Party. The support to the world revolution was reaffirmed, and also the necessary support for the armed forces; no concession to imperialism but, on the contrary, the strongest reaffirmation of the continuity of Soviet policy - anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist and anti-bureaucratic. The Soviets have continued to exploit the differences between the Yankee and European capitalism and have reiterated that Yankee imperialism is using the Geneva negotiations as pure smokescreen for their aggressive intentions. What remains of world imperialism is every day more beleaguered. The massive rebellion of the South African blacks, the overthrow of Numeiri, and the liquidation of the Cambodian counter-revolution are examples of the total incapacity of world imperialism to determine history. It is the presence, example and activity of the Soviet Union, as the centre of the Workers States, which sustains and stimulates these historic events.

All this process is fundamental to the undermining of capitalist power in Britain. The miners' revolutionary strike has centralised the opposition of the masses to capitalism and whatever the many problems for the miners and their families, the imprisoned and the dismissed, the outcome of the struggle has elevated the political understanding and opened the way for much more profound discussions on the way forward for Britain.

No sooner was the strike over than Scargill was visiting the Soviet Union and a new group of miners also went there. The most resolute sectors of the miners in Kent and Yorkshire continue to maintain their militant positions, but without damaging the relations with the rest of the miners. The women have reaffirmed their committees and their preparation for the new struggles to come. In effect the strike continues in new forms. It is also clear that the strike has developed the united front of the proletariat with the petit bourgeois masses engaged in the anti-missile movement. All this prepares the conditions for the fall of Thatcher whose policies are reduced to total brutality and blindness. The tenor of these policies is that of people whose perspectives are not those of electoral advantage but the preparation of war and the attempt to rally the forces of reactionaries throughout the world.

Thatcher's trip to Asia is an attempt to develop the front of imperialists and reactionaries against progress. She has to denounce the British masses in the context of the struggle of world revolution versus world reaction.

The statements of Thatcher show the element of insanity at work in world imperialism. They are declarations similar in character to the world of the Shah of Iran, full of imaginary 'triumphs' and delirious successes. Such a tour is an expression of the coming fall of world imperialism, because it exhibits the fantasy life of a small clique remote from reality.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION.

The struggle of the teachers' union shows the elevated combativity of sectors now entering into profound conflict with the character of capitalism which makes hypocritical noises about educational changes and, at the same time, follows a policy of reducing what education exists for the population, and trying to destroy sectors of the youth through unemployment. At the same time it is necessary for the teachers to raise a much more profound discussion about the character of education at this stage. Josephs has tried to appear to be an agent of educational progress. The teachers should debate this on the basis of education in a world where capitalism is the enemy of human progress, and show how education has to be related to the needs of the population and not the limited requirements of a capitalism geared to war. Thus education is a social and political issue not a discussion about education in abstraction from the concrete problems of life under capitalism and the need for social transformations. The fact that the miners' union, through McGahey, expressed their concern for education to the NUT shows the advance

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

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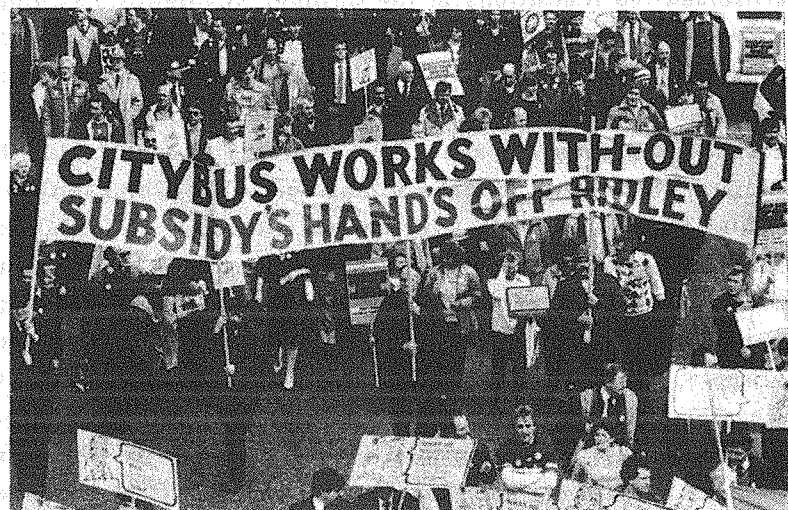
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of the policies of the anti-capitalist united front.

THE NEED TO DISCUSS 'WHERE IS BRITAIN GOING?'

In all the experience of the miners' strike and the preceding process in the Labour Party, the problem of leadership and programme has emerged with redoubled force. The workers' movement in Britain in its historic development elaborated on by Lenin, Trotsky and Posadas, has been heavily bureaucratized and dominated by careerist objectives rather than the objective needs of the workers to liquidate capitalism. The TUC showed the result of this in its clear wish to save capitalism at any cost during the miners' strike. At the same time, the conditions in the world render such leaderships superfluous. As capitalism has nothing to offer, the functionaries have less and less ability to contain the population and reproduce new bureaucratic layers. The miners' strike has greatly weakened all the traditional 'consensus' structure in Britain and, at the same time, posed the need for a much more elevated Labour left. In the absence of a coherent left the old apparatuses still try to manipulate and contain the process. Thus the Labour Party presents a very contradictory face. On the one hand, Kincock gained the leadership on the basis of the anti-nuclear arms programme. Yet the apparatus will try to use the increase in support for the Labour Party on the basis of the miners' strike for an electoral policy conciliatory to capitalism in economic programme. This policy is designed to gain the support of sectors of capitalism who feel blockaded by the Thatcher policy of de-industrialisation and support of the multinationals - as seen in the most recent Labour Party 'alternative' policy statement.



London demonstration to defend public transport.

There is no talk of an economy for the benefit of the people, but primarily the concern is to help the manufacturing sector by an investment bank and government aid to industry in research, etc. No discussion over re-nationalisation, not even capital controls. It is part of the electoral policy of winning the 'middle' ground and gaining support of bourgeois sectors.

It is necessary for the forces of the left in the Labour Party to continue the discussion against the mentality of the electoral apparatus who, in effect, are saying that there is no solution to unemployment in the 'realities' of the market economy which we 'accept'. In effect, the present policy of the Labour Party sustains bourgeois sectors against the big monopolies but gives no perspective for a Socialist solution. It is necessary to elevate the discussion on the lack of perspectives for capitalism, that within the terms of the system even supporting the middle and smaller industrial capitalists there is no capitalist solution which can solve any of the problems in depth. The statified

economy has proved itself historically. The Soviet Union is even short of manpower. Automation is introduced, and all benefit. Under capitalism automation means impoverishment, loss of jobs, poverty and the contraction of the market. Essentially, the miners' strike was against the capitalist system, and it is necessary to propose the alternative Socialist programme. The anti-nuclear programme of the Labour Party demands the removal of the Yankee bases and the elimination of British nuclear weapons. This is profoundly anti-capitalist. Capitalism will resist with all its force the removal of the missiles, and thus it is necessary to overcome the contradiction between the anti-missiles policy and the very limited programme of social 'reform' in the latest Labour Party text. The policy of finishing with the missiles has to be accompanied with its social logic - workers' control in industry, statification of all the principle industries, reorganisation of the nationalised utilities on the basis of an economy for the benefit of the population; expropriation of the banks, abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Socialist Republic, popular committees to decide prices, a planning of public works in housing, transport, education etc., to overcome the problem of unemployment. Capitalism will resist all this, but the period of reformist and 'third ways' is closed - which does not exclude points of agreement with bourgeois sectors. The orientation of Scargill towards the Soviet Union expresses

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THE DISCUSSION ON CHINA IN THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

J. POSADAS

2 1 81

The lack of theoretical formation of the Communist parties is expressed in the fact that today they still discuss the Cultural Revolution in China in itself and not the results. They do not discuss the process nor the programmatic conception of the Workers State. For the Communists the stage of the construction of the Workers State does not exist; for them one goes from capitalism and advances 'gradually' in a form which the capitalists do not grasp. It is a conception which reduces the problem of the economy to the will of a person and not as a problem of the conception of history.

We were the only ones who, at the same time that we criticised the limitations of the Cultural Revolution in China, showing that it had no historic perspective, defended it. We posed that in a Workers State a Cultural Revolution is not in question, but it showed that the Chinese Revolution wanted to advance and does not know how, and thus it sought via the Cultural Revolution to make a progress. The Chinese Communist Party was made with cadres without a solid Marxist base. They were cadres who came from the war and who were thus led to the leadership of the Party. Among the Bolsheviks the formation of the cadres was different; for example, Trotsky. He was a theoretical leader and practical organiser of the Party, besides being the military leader. That is to say, he had an intelligent human quality which the Chinese leaders did not have. Hence, Trotsky is at the level of Marx, Engels and Lenin, because they had such qualities. He had the quality which developed in the Russia of that time.

The Chinese leadership of the epoch of the Cultural Revolution created this process, trying to win historic time, but had no Party — and this absence was reflected throughout the process. The Cultural Revolution was a fight within the leadership. Hence we put as an example Mao Tse Tung in the centre, Chou en Lai to the right, and Lin Paio to the left. But Chou en Lai was not of the right outside Communism, as he had a series of good proposals, but he did not understand the problem. Chou en Lai saw a weak Party, an immense mass without culture and without preparation, and did not understand the need for a Party. But there are very beautiful elements in the life of Chou en Lai which come from a dedicated Communist, including when he participated in France in the Communist movement. The best cadres of the Chinese Communist Party are those who were in France: Mao, Chiao and Lin Paio.

The principle problem of the construction of China is that the leadership of the Party did not know how to compensate for the lack of

cred all the most conscious leaderships, fundamentally of the Communist parties in Europe. As a consequence, these had to develop under a Stalinist orientation, leadership and structure, which distorted the sense of Marxism and developed national interest. At the same time, it imposed on all, and the new Workers States were subject to the hand of the Soviet bureaucracy led by Stalin. This was the first great conflict of Stalin with the other Workers States. The USSR could not be a guardian of the others to prevent them developing; when this necessity was expressed it was the death of Stalin. He was an impediment to the development of the USSR, of the very bureaucratic apparatus which he had created. Solzhenitsin and other writers and poets like him are an expression of the most elevated apparatus created by Stalin, but it clashed now with the historic path of the USSR which could not live enclosed, had to extend itself, otherwise it would die.

In its historic depth Stalin was killed by the inexorable progress of history. In the figurative sense one could say that the bullets and the fingers that pressed the revolver could have been done by human beings, but they were the bullets of history. It was necessary to eliminate Stalin; as it was a bureaucratic apparatus, it took the form of death. It was not an elimination through political struggle, through political discussion which was necessary to make, to leave experiences for the world. It was the struggle of a bureaucratic apparatus which displaced an old bureaucratic apparatus which was now of no use. From that the rest follows.

The Chinese leaders who lived through this stage were the ones who received in a very overwhelming form the pressure of the Soviet bureaucratic apparatus. The latter feared that China would de-

velop; feared that within its development, political experiences would occur which might influence the Soviet Union. Hence the policy of Stalin of wanting to dominate the Chinese policy and economy to impede an independent development. After the war the Soviet leadership, Stalin, pressured the Chinese leadership and Mao Tse Tung to accept a compromise with Chiang Kai Shek.

The Chinese were opposed to making a government shared with the bourgeoisie. Stalin did the same with Tito. He wanted to make him accept the king. Hence the Stalinist bureaucracy broke first and immediately with Tito, and later with China when they withdrew all this help, all the technicians etc. This created in China the basis for leaders like Deng Xiao Ping which affirmed the nationalist tendency with a conception of a state standing between capitalism and the Workers State. This intention means to defend the Workers State with a bourgeois policy and, in this tendency, it is the bourgeois policy which wins. But the bourgeois policy cannot construct a Workers State; the Workers State eliminates bourgeois policy.

It is necessary to reaffirm the Cultural Revolution even when criticising it. The conclusion of the Cultural Revolution was to impel the revolution in China. In our texts of that time we criticised the big letter posters for example. We did not joke at them, but posed that it was absurd in a Workers State to have the need for a wall to make a protest. It is possible to use a wall, as we said previously, as a form of communication. It is form of communication, but not as a clandestine means of expounding a thought. It is the Party which must discuss and after, yes, to put on the wall something for all the population. This can be done today itself, like putting a cartoon on the wall to announce policy

and programme, placed with this aim and not as a means of Party polemic.

The problem of the policy of the present counter-revolutionary Chinese leadership develops in a direction which cannot last. The world is not going in the direction of this Chinese leadership. The decisive proof is Stalin. He had more power than ten Chinas together and Stalin ended, because he did not correspond to the necessity of history. While this Chinese leadership tries to confine China to a nationalist sentiment with quite a lot of bourgeois influence of national interests, the world is going towards Communism. The most backward state in the world, along-side China itself: Hong Kong, is going to rise up and make a Workers State. That is to say, the conditions do not exist for this leadership to prevail. They cannot provide a norm for history.

Partly the attitude of the Soviets is that of waiting on this process, but it is an error not to intervene more. The Soviets do not do it, because they have a bureaucratic apparatus which fears to shake this Chinese leadership, lest they themselves are shaken also. This is the reality of a process which shows the lack of a Marxist formation. Mao Tse Tung had the Marxist intention of developing the Party and of making a Workers State, but in competition with and at the same time defending himself from Stalin, and after from the bureaucratic apparatus when it was represented by Krushchev after the death of Stalin.

The process as it is in China indicates the lack in time of a co-ordination between the maturation of the objective process of the crisis of capitalism and of the influence of the USSR throughout the world, including the capitalist countries which wins the intellectuals, the scientists and the working class, and the lack of preparation in time of the Communist parties with the Marxist conception. They are the Com-

Communist parties which come from the epoch of Stalin. The outlook is not strictly that of Stalin — they have more advanced views — but the body of the Communist parties is still that of Stalin. The Communist parties did not discuss these problems. We do. And for this we have the security that every movement which may be against Marxist progress of history has no possibility of development, because they do not correspond to the human intelligence which now develops, nor to the material and military relations which now exist.

The Soviet Union in order to exist has to develop itself; to do that it has to impel the revolution throughout the world. The present Chinese leadership has to develop itself, has to block and contain the revolution, and to desire that capitalism may be prosperous and that it may make war against the USSR.

The lack of Marxist preparation leads the Communist leaderships like that of China to nationalism, because, when they interpret, organise and programme, they have to do it in a concrete form if they are not Marxists; they have to do it in the nationalism close to Marxism. In the case of China in the nationalism of a very backward and suppressed country, then it approximates to Marxism. But it is not that it has any value or that it forms part of Marxist thought; nationalism approximates to Marxism because it is based on the defence against the exploiters to develop the country.

The policy of Deng Xiao Ping and of all his current is a line which is based on an illusion, product of a dream, of a process which does not exist; the dream then gives them the illusion that they can make use of capitalism and of the USSR to contain

the revolution and develop themselves. It is a dream of the Chinese magician. It shows the lack of Marxist preparation and the consequence of the stage of Stalin, who created Communist leaderships. In Europe there are still many Communist leaderships of the epoch of Stalin; for example, in Poland where half of the leadership comes from the epoch of Stalin. Although it may not be Stalinian now, the political, programmatic and social conception of the process is Stalinist; that is to say, to make a policy on the basis of agreements, and combinations of stimulating individual interest and of programming for individual interest. They believe that with this it is possible to make a better economy than capitalism, and that as a result people will be attracted. This conception is false. The Soviet Union won authority in history by not eating two days per week because it had nothing, while capitalism chucked food

out. The result is that the Soviet Union had twenty sons and capitalism loses its sons.

The Communist parties must discuss these aspects. Above all, because the Chinese economy passed from the leadership of Mao Tse Tung to Deng Xiao Ping. China had Mao, Liu Shao Shi, Chen Lai — that is, to a series of currents in a short period. Of all these currents the one which programmed the economy in China, the one which most of all pushed the country forward was the force which made the communes. The 'communes' were the forces which developed and gave a powerful economic and social impulse to China.

The error of the 'great leap forward' was one of accountability. Such an error of accountability was shown in that the base of this was not that it was a mistake in numbers, but a mistake in the conception of thought. The leading layer in China was

hastening to overcome the Soviets so as not to depend on them. This was the basis of such plans and errors. They were errors which showed the fragility of this leadership but not criminal interests. When the other tendency developed, represented today by

Deng Xiao Ping and killed Lin Biao, it already indicated the development of an assassin leadership the same as Stalin. The death of Lin Biao corresponds to the assassination of Bukharin in the USSR.

The objective development of the Workers States is uncontrollable. It can be delayed or slowed down but cannot be impeded, because the Workers States are a necessity of the progress of history. It is like science; it is possible to kill

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Imperialist policy fails in the Middle East

The Israeli retreat from Lebanon is an expression of the favourable world balance of social forces. The Israelis are not 'withdrawing' from Lebanon but are, as their Yankee masters were before them, being thrown out. The Israelis are, as they have always been, nothing more than the cats-paw of Yankee imperialism. Israel was created, and has remained, a Yankee base in the Middle East. The Israelis and Yankee imperialism have been defeated in the Lebanon by the Palestinian and Lebanese masses who based themselves on the world balance of forces. To talk of the world balance of forces takes nothing away from the courage, confidence and consciousness of the Lebanese and Palestinian masses, but they are firmly based on the determining factor which is a world balance of forces favourable to the advance to Socialism.

Lebanon is a defeat, a real debacle for imperialism. Yankee imperialism previously, and now Israel, have been expelled; the internal support for imperialism, the Phalangists, are fragmenting — divided between those who are no more than agents of imperialism and those who follow a national interest. Syrian intervention grows and the intervention of Syria means, in an indirect form, the intervention of the Soviet Union.

Conditions are now ripe for a more direct programmatic and

political intervention of the Soviets in the Middle East. It is necessary for the Workers States to intervene directly in the Middle East to support the advance of the revolution.

The assassin activity of the Israeli forces in Lebanon is the face of imperialism in its last days. The system of private property demonstrates that it has no other solution to any problem but killing. In Lebanon the Israelis have perpetrated daily murders of the population, arrests and torture by the Israeli secret police, 'Shin Bet', and, most recently, the taking of 1,000 Lebanese hostages into Israel. The destruction of people's houses is a common action of the Israelis, who act like the Nazi Gestapo at its worst. The population of Lebanon has been subject to a policy of terrorism by the Israelis, but to no effect. It is the Israelis who have to leave. This is the nature of imperialism today, the cornered rat making its last stand. It is worth noting that those who condemn the Soviet intervention in support of progress in Afghanistan have had very little to say about the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and their terrorism against the Lebanese people. The Lebanese masses have no illusions that the enemy they face is not Israel but Yankee imperialism. When a bomb exploded in a Shi'ite suburb of Beirut, killing 80 people and injuring 200 more, banners appeared saying that it was 'made in the USA'. Imperialism is not only assassinating the masses, it is a

policy — and they use it as a means of solving their own internal differences. This is a general world policy of imperialism, the only one it has. They not only killed a CBS television crew, but they are killing each other. When we hear of assassinations by 'Shadowy Islamic organisations', we can be sure that the hand of the CIA is in it.

The events in Sudan are an additional blow to Yankee imperialism, which is being expelled from the whole of the Middle East. The overthrow of Nimeiri was the result of an uprising of the Sudanese masses which rejected him because of his links with imperialism. The demonstrations of the Sudanese masses were all against imperialism and Nimeiri as its agent. They are opposed to Yankee imperialism and all that it represents. No doubt the Sudanese army chief, Swareddahab, took power in order to prevent further advances by the masses who would have expropriated important sectors of private property — particularly imperialist investment — in the Sudan. However, whatever his intentions, he will not be able to maintain a pro-imperialist regime. Swareddahab may want Nimeiri's regime without Nimeiri, but the Sudanese masses are not going to allow it; and neither is the world balance of forces. Yankee imperialism will not help him, as they have been incapable of helping the Israelis in Lebanon, in any effective way.

Correction RF353, Page 2, Column 3, Paragraph 2.

Incomplete sentence — it should read:

'It was developed in a whole stage of Patriotic Sentiments!

The events in Lebanon and the overthrow of Nimeiri are both expressions of a world balance of forces favourable to the advance of Socialism. Clearly, conditions are ripe for an anti-imperialist United Front in the Middle East. There is, from one end of the Middle East to the other, from Algeria to Yemen, Revolutionary States — countries like Libya, and the masses of Lebanon, Egypt and Israel, too — confronting, in one form or another, imperialism. There is an urgent necessity for a United Front of the anti-imperialist and progressive forces in the Middle East, with a programme of social transformation linked socially, politically and

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to strength. The process of the political revolution is taking place in the Soviet Union without bloody confrontation, as was analysed by Cde Posadas.

Yankee imperialism, in the incident of the Boeing plane — a dirty manoeuvre of theirs — was seeking to test the speed of Soviet reply to provocations. The Yanks were shot out of the skies and any future incursions will be met with even more rapid reply. The case of the Soviet missile over Finland and the shooting of the Yankee spy in East Germany are warnings to the Yanks — as was Ustinov's comment over the disappearance of the United States in

economically with the Workers States. The Soviet Union is making diplomatic advances and strengthening its links with the masses, but there is now the necessity, and the possibility, for the Soviet Union to intervene much more directly. Conditions are favourable for the Soviet Union to intervene in the advance to a United Front of anti-imperialist forces which would have a Socialist perspective. Indeed, it is by no means too advanced to open up now a perspective of a United Socialist Soviet States of the Middle East that would include the Israeli masses.

case of an attack on the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union and its triumph over the nazis are leaps in human history. They are the triumphs of human intelligence and reason against the insanity of capitalist social relations. Nothing can remove this experience from history. We record with infinite emotion the heroic conduct of the Soviet masses in the confrontation with the capitalist barbarism of the nazis, and salute the total resolution of the Soviet Union which prepares with serenity for the final encounter with imperialism — the last throes of a demented social regime seeking to impede the triumph of world Communism.

all the scientists but the basis of science develops others. It develops others in superior conditions, of relations of human love and human objectivity. Then science has centres of stimulus — which is human love — and of objectives to achieve for humanity as a species, superior to previous objectives, because the progress of these relations is an objective necessity. This is not determined by the interest of the leadership but of objective necessities. In the epoch of Stalin this necessity confronted many difficult features — beginning with the leadership of the Party but also difficult relations in the world. There was only one Workers State and the development of the revolutionary process was slow. But the revolutionary process was prepared, and very well; because four years of war led to the revolution, and if there had not been a previous preparation the revolution would not have developed. If the population had lived in individual anguish, individual interest in the individual economic, sexual interest of love of the parent and child, this preparation could not have occurred. Why did the war break out and the victor was the world revolution? Because people thought about this and the vanguard had as point of support the USSR, and as development and base the masses of the world who lived the process of the USSR but could not show it. But the war allowed them to show it.

Today the process is a hundred times superior. Hence the calculations which the present Chinese leadership make are interested, stupid calculations because they are based on individual interest, individual egoism extended to national egoism based on their subjective aspiration, not on the analysis of history. This Chinese leadership has no future.

The development of the Workers State is an objective necessity of the life, of the economy, of science, of art, of technology and of human relations. It is a necessity for progress and now there is the maturity to do it. Maturity is expressed in that, before

finishing the war before 1948, there were twelve countries in revolutionary process. In this sense the most important guerrilla forces against the nazis was not the Italian, it was the Polish, the Czechoslovak and the German resistance which ended in the Workers State. In Italy the guerrilla movement ended in power to capitalism; in Poland they made the Workers State. Hence it is necessary to speak of the social conclusion of the guerrilla: the Italian guerrilla movement was a movement with a bourgeois programme which gave power to the bourgeoisie, which was opposed to another sector of the bourgeoisie. But in Poland with immense suffering, the Poles made a Workers State and the Communist Party was a small fraction, but it expressed the aspirations of the Polish people and supported itself on the Soviet Union.

Even with delay, history establishes the road of truth which means the necessary experience, policy and programme for the objective development of the human race. Capitalism had a Dreyfus process which was a centre of agitation for many years as a demonstration that truth and justice would prevail. There is a much more important process than Dreyfus, which is that of Trotsky — and the capitalists and the Communists do not give it importance. The process of Trotsky means a discussion on the norms for a new society. However, it is capitalism and the bureaucracy of the Workers States and of the Communist parties who ignore them. Even so, continuously Trotsky comes to light. Beginning through literature, his books are those which are sold very widely throughout the world, even considering that a part of what he wrote is not applicable organisationally today; but, yes, they form the marxist dialectic.

Time and again, when people want to seek points of elevated comparison, Trotsky is referred to.

All these developments, like that of China, forms of advance and retreat, are determined by the lack of leadership. The process of history is linked to advance but there is no leadership. In the ab-

sense of leadership every type of obstacle appears in the big parties, and in the small.

Every class of degeneration of perversion and of mistaken policy appears through the smallness of the Party. In feeling itself to be small, the Party thinks as a small Party, it does not think in the name of humanity for humanity. This is the difference between ourselves and all the small parties. We think in the name of humanity and with the capacity to know how to think in the name of humanity. Hence our texts are not those of a group, of a fraction; they are texts of a world leadership; and hence we weigh throughout the world including in China.

We have the body placed in our Party but we walk with legs which are determined by our world thought, and not of this Party. This is our strength. It is a small team which makes this task, and which lets us have and apply such a conception, because history is like this. History is so because it has not been able to provide the continuity of Lenin. But, as Lenin was a necessity of history, although they might have wanted to throw him out a thousand times, all the works of Lenin remain in the Soviet Union and were not thrown out, nor were they thrown out of the world. Lenin was necessary. We are necessary. We do not have the capacity of Lenin, but we are his disciples.

This is a stage in which all the tactic of Lenin cannot be applied, but the fundamentals which form the tactic can be applied. With such fundamentals, it is necessary to elaborate another tactic which corresponds to this stage. The fundamentals of the Permanent Revolution are to be applied today, not in the stage of Trotsky; it is necessary to apply the fundamentals, not the organisational conclusions.

The activity to construct better leaderships in this moment is difficult because of the war preparations. It is the end of two systems: the system of capitalism and the system of the leadership of the Communist parties. The Communist parties have an insufficient preparation, and they are limited in receiving experiences because there is an apparatus which smashes, which impedes thinking which is logically Stalinist. The conduct, the attitude and the conception of the policy is Stalinist; that is to say, is based on the egoism of a layer. This is the depth of Stalinism. Thus they utilise all the means to kill those who place this layer at risk. The present leaders cannot employ the methods of Stalin to assassinate and to kill, but they assassinate politically, individually, eliminating cadres which is one of the forms of assassination. It is not necessary to kill to eliminate

someone. What certain Communist leaders do eliminates people and leads to the cadres with the preoccupation to think as egoists, as individuals. Others are attracted for sexual interest, and this annuls intellectual and political life. But, in general, in the Communist leaders it is the interest of the apparatus: there are others with interest of control or interest in money which determines their conduct in the Party. All this leads to separating people from the whole of ideas.

The present Chinese leadership wants to perpetrate a swindle in history, and it cannot be done. There is no other Dreyfus process, there is no other Trotsky process, nor another assassinated Trotsky. It is enough to look at Italy in order to see what capitalism has to do to make capitalism live: killing each other, not the Communists. Before, they killed the Communists, now they kill each other. They have to do it in the name of the anti-capitalist struggle, with the name of the Red Brigades.

The fact that the world received the trial in Peking without being intimidated shows that now the conditions do not exist for Moscow trials against the Bolshevik leadership.

J. POSADAS 2.1.81.

(1) Dreyfus — French Jewish officer, condemned for espionage in 1894. Rehabilitated in 1906 after a campaign against the General Staff.

WE SALUTE THE 40th ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEFEAT OF THE NAZIS AND THE AFFIRMATION OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WORKERS STATES LED BY THE SOVIET UNION

This year is the fortieth anniversary of the triumph of the Soviet Union and the Workers States and the world revolution over the nazis. Essentially this was the continuation of the triumph of October 1917. The names of the great battles, Moscow, Stalingrad, Kursk, and the final confrontation in Berlin echoed around the world, affirming the superiority of the Workers State over all the vast resources and preparations of the nazis. Private property suffered a catastrophic blow. The Soviet masses, in the face of a murderous enemy capable of every cruelty, held and finally smashed the nazi hordes. We salute this anniversary with all our Communist passion, knowing that world imperialism is seeking to reverse the clock of history and to eliminate the Soviet Union from the face of the earth in the same way as the nazis. It is

a vain hope. Human intelligence will prevail whatever the rain of missiles that Yankee imperialism and its stooges seek to unleash.

It is not possible to expect the imbeciles of imperialism to learn anything. Their brains are addled by the excessive doses of the drug of private property. The idiots who run the armies and big corporations of capitalism seek to delude themselves about the capacity of the Soviet Union. They talk interminable rubbish about Soviet lack of knowledge in 'high technology', about the 'national' problems, about the 'stagnation' in the economy. They even invent fantasies about Gorbachev, just as they did about Andropov. Yet, as Gromyko said, they have large telescopes aimed at the Soviet Political Bureau, but as they are totally blind they cannot see any-

thing and have to make things up as they go along. They deceive themselves in the same way that Hitler did — but with infinitely less justification. Hitler completely underestimated the capacity of the Soviet masses and the resilience of the statified economy to contain his plans; but, at the least, he could see the disastrous effects of the Stalinist bureaucracy on the functioning of the Soviet Union and the latter was also alone. Today the Soviet Union and the Workers States go from strength

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the new tendency on the Labour left. Collectivised property versus the dictatorship of imperialism.

12.4.85.

The world balance of forces decides the failure of capitalist policies

- Reagans visit, a defeat of imperialism

The defeat of fascism in Europe 40 years ago, by the Soviet Union primarily, was a historic defeat for world capitalism. All the attempts by Reagan, Thatcher and other leading sectors of the bourgeoisie to ignore the anniversary of the defeat of fascism has not prevented the masses of the world reliving this fundamental historic experience. The intention of the nazis, 40 years ago, was to destroy the Soviet Union and - as Gorbachov said in his anniversary speech in Moscow - world capitalism, either openly or covertly, colluded with nazism in this intention. What other intention could Hitler have had, other than to destroy the Soviet Union, when the nazis killed 20 million of the Soviet people, rendered 25 million homeless, smashed 2,000 towns, 100,000 farms and 30,000 factories?

Capitalism was only prevented from forming an open alliance with the nazis against the Soviet Union by the opposition of the masses, by the working class in the capitalist countries. Of course, the inherent competition within capitalism had a part in this, but fundamentally capitalism was unable to confront the masses in their own countries and the Soviet Union directly. The depth of the defeat suffered forty years ago by world capitalism lies in the fact that this experience confirmed that the structure of the Soviet Workers State, created by the Russian working class and their Soviets, under the leadership of Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolshevik Party in 1917, remained intact despite the rise of Stalin and the bureaucracy.

The statement by Gorbachov that capitalism colluded with Hitler in the nazi invasion of

the Soviet Union is important, because he is not simply referring to a historic event. What Gorbachov is analysing is, in fact, the nature of capitalism. War is inherent in the capitalist system and imperialism prepares the war against the Soviet Union today. The difference between now and forty years ago is that the Soviet Union and the current leadership are fully aware of the fact, are not fooled by Reagan's talks of peace, and are fully prepared to confront the war. Gorbachov is also saying that there is no fundamental difference between the nazis and imperialism today. Indeed, Daniel Ortega the Nicaraguan leader, drew the parallel between the actions and intentions of the nazis and those of Yankee imperialism towards Nicaragua and the Central American masses. There is no difference!

What difference is there between the nazis and the semi-fascist regime in South Africa?

The intentions of the South African regime are exactly the same as those of the nazis in that they want to impose a dictatorship of private property on the masses and are prepared to murder as many people as necessary for that end. What has changed in the last forty years is the world balance of social forces, and that balance is determined by the fact that the Soviet Union survived the Second World War. In South Africa today, on the basis of this world balance, the masses mobilise against the regime, the trade unions mobilise, and there is a virtual state of dual power in many of the African Townships today. The South African masses can see and draw confidence from the intervention, in support of progress, of Cuba in Angola, and they know that without the Soviet Union there would be no Cuba.

This fortieth anniversary of the defeat of fascism has been

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MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL, 1985. INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

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used by the masses to confirm the natural alliance which exists between the working class and the Workers States. Nothing could prevent a delegation of British ex-servicemen from attending the celebrations in Moscow and visiting the Tomb of Lenin. This natural alliance was also confirmed and extended by the relations which existed between the Soviet Union and the British miners during the strike. In contrast, the visit of Reagan to Europe has been, from the point of view of imperialism, a disaster. The left walked out of the European Parliament in protest, and this 'parliament' went very close to passing a resolution condemning the counter-revolutionary actions of Yankee imperialism in Central America; the left walked out of the Portuguese Parliament in protest also. In Spain, Portugal and capitalist Germany there were demonstrations of protest against Reagan and the

war preparations of imperialism. If the Socialist, Communist and trade union leaderships in Europe had called for a co-ordinated mobilisation, the response of the European masses would have been massive. On top of this, Reagan's visit to honour the nazis killed during the war caused an outcry among the Yankee bourgeoisie, who themselves reacted to the protests and outrage of the American masses. Such a visit was natural for Reagan, who went to salute his friends and mourn the fact that they lost, and that history does not allow him to act as they did. This is the world balance of forces: the world masses salute the role of the Soviet Union and condemn the representative of Yankee imperialism!
FASCISM IS A FACET OF CAPITALISM.

It was perfectly natural for Reagan to salute the nazi war

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Nicaraguan troops prepare against the Yankee counter-revolutionaries.

THE NEED TO DISCUSS THE MONARCHY AND THE OBJECTIVE OF A SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

British imperialism is extremely feeble and its ruling class is now engaged historically in a final effort in the class struggle before it falls. The Thatcher regime is the crudest example in Western Europe of a capitalism which has no capacity to maintain its dominion save by violence and total reliance on the inability of the workers' leaderships to develop a policy against it. When the great idiot Thatcher talks of a 'go getting society' this is for a society where not even the pretence of social justice is

maintained, but everything is reduced to greater profit for fewer people. Thatcherism has no scientific, cultural or artistic capacity whatsoever. It is the policy of the rats against the wall of history with nasty bites but fading strength.

In all this it is necessary to raise the question of the need to dispose of the monarchy. In the epoch of imperialism, capitalism in Britain has tried to give greater and greater prominence to the

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MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL, 1985. INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

TO THE WORKERS, PEASANTS, STUDENTS

**TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STATES, AND REVOLUTIONARY
MOVEMENTS**

**TO THE COMMUNIST AND REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD
TO ALL THE EXPLOITED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD**

**TO THE INTELLECTUALS, ANTI-IMPERIALIST SOLDIERS,
THE PETIT BOURGEOISIE**

TO THE WOMEN, CHILDREN, THE ELDERLY

On this Centenary of the original First of May in 1886, 140 years after the Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels, humanity has buried the capitalist system in its mind. It is engaged in the final struggle to gain the infinite joy of living harmoniously with nature and the Universe. The terminal crisis of the capitalist system means that capitalism will not progress ever again, but will meet its end in history in the final settlement of accounts; in the encounter of the capitalist system with the progress of the Workers States (Socialist Countries).

There are no more cycles for capitalism, neither for its development, nor for its function which are both antagonistic with the progress and very existence of humanity. Capitalism has demonstrated that it has no right to continue. More than ever before, there is a concentration of objective purity of the human being and its social relation with nature and the cosmos. This present phase in the history of humanity is the one when every evolution in the cultural, scientific or political planes is determined and conditioned by the fact that this is the final bringing down of what is left of the capitalist system. It takes on this orientation, in form and in content, because humanity has present in mind that the capitalist system is unnecessary and antagonistic to the development and existence of humanity itself.

In this stage, movements arise in the struggle for the progress of humanity to bring about the harmonisation of humans with nature and the right to live. Even people who come from contradictory backgrounds, like the Ecologists (the Greens in Germany), or like the anti-imperialist military movements, advance in this progress of humanity as a whole. These people have lost faith in the bourgeois class structure tied up to imperialism. They advance — even without complete clarity — on the road of Socialist transformations. They are scientists, artists, sports-people who do not operate in the spirit of keeping capitalism going but as part of the conscious progress of history. For them to ensure life and progress, they see the need to bring down imperialism and capitalism. The latter has embarked upon a destruction of hundreds and millions of humans — and of nature itself. Capitalism does not do it just through the atomic weapons and war, but with environmental pollution that devastates whole lands, erodes lands, destroys seas and forests, and makes towns ghettos of sub-standard living. Those who fight this are layers of society already conscious that a few more decades of capitalism would spell liquidation for the environment and the destruction of humanity as a kind. Capitalism has no interest in any of them, in the harmonious development of humanity, because it takes account of it only as far as to exploit and make it submit to itself.

We recall the martyrs of Chicago in 1886, the struggle of the proletariat of the United States, as part of human necessity, as part of the concentrated and mature progress of humanity in the development of the world Socialist revolution.

There is also the role the Soviet Union plays, and the Workers States. Revolution spreads in the young Revolutionary States of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. There is Nicaragua, Burkina Fasso (formerly Upper Volta), Greece; and all these are indissolubly united to the maturing of the masses in the 'developed' countries, in the anti-capitalist

struggle, in conscious and concentrated forms. The British miners' strike expressed this, and the Bolivian miners continued it in the historic sense, against the dictatorship of the capitalist system and to put an end to it.

Therefore this is the stage of the end of the chains on thought for progress and more significant integration into social life. This, in turn, determines existence today, existence that surrounds this first of May and which it commemorates. This way the historic continuity of human thought is being united more firmly to the life of the masses.

There is no other way of recording this First of May — no other way but through the socio-historic world reality. What decides in that reality is consciousness and not existence. The means are now in existence, and they develop the creative force to struggle for Socialism, get rid of the obstacles in the way to the social historic progress of humanity.

**THE PROGRESS OF THE USSR
AND THE FALL OF
IMPERIALISM.**

Capitalism in its superior and most concentrated form, Yankee imperialism, lives a life of final agony. All the struggles of the masses of the world, from the most 'backward' countries — in the concepts of development according to capitalism, like Burkina Fasso or Bolivia — to the most mature and developed countries, like the great miners' strike in the heart of British imperialism or the struggle for the 35-hour week in Germany, have one single historic point of support: the existence of the Workers States and fundamentally the USSR. What qualifies this stage of history is the rise of relations whereby it is not the backward parts of this process, it is not the most limited aspects — like bureaucracy in the Workers States including the Soviet Union — that decides. It is the historic function and most elevated structure reached by humanity that decide. That is to say, it is the Workers States that decide. This brings out the most elevated content of human relations, in the most backward countries particularly. What decides today is human progress as a kind — this is a thought already developed by Comrade Posadas.

Against the grain of history, against its necessity, capitalism fails in its war policy and plans. A small people like Nicaragua confronts head-on the military, technological and economic — might of imperialism and still manages not only to go forward but to impose further progress, a feat which is not just of that place but of the whole of humanity.

In the last four years the USSR has undergone four internal commotions of considerable importance, for it lost three leaders. Those that assumed and had the determination to assume the leadership of the Workers State were the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in a situation of permanent process of regeneration in the USSR and the other Workers States — even when that process

was not advancing quite so much. But, contrary to what happens in capitalism, the change of individuals affected none of the progress of the USSR and even the conscious maturing and advance of a part of the leadership remained unaffected. Besides, historic forces and capacity highlighted in the Workers States do not stem just from the interior power of the Workers State — military, economic and technological — but from the unbreakable relation between the Workers State and the world Socialist revolution. This is a relation of the first stages of revolution — war — revolution. It forms part of the preparation to make the dialectical leap over the 'atomic charco' — the atomic war that is — imperialism prepares, and from then the Communist reconstruction of humanity.

Humanity thinks and acts as a kind. For all the sinister intentions and plans of the capitalist system in using individualism, in all its attempts to crush the mind of humanity, it has failed against the collective surge for progress and conscious struggle to lay the bases for further stages in the construction of Communism.

None of the 'star wars' plans of Reagan or the installation of any MX1, Pershing or Cruise in Europe has managed to paralyse the world Socialist revolution or the Workers States — and even less the USSR. It is not weapons that decide in this phase of history, closing phase as it is for capitalism, a phase that opens up a new cycle in the history of humanity: the liquidation of the system of private property. This liquidation was started in 1917 with the Russian Revolution, Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks; and the fact that it took place forms part of the fact that it was a necessity already organised, already perceived as natural for the progress of humanity; and now it spreads to the entire planet.

Seeing that their natural ally (Yankee imperialism) confronts them, beset by regional and national interests, the crisis of the national bourgeoisies becomes immensely inflamed in form and content. It is the case with the so-called bourgeoisies like those in Europe and Japan. But also the so-called 'Third World' bourgeoisies. The latter, without having been able to accomplish much development for themselves have remained dependent on the centre — or centres — of imperialism. Today

they are dragged to the ground by the fall of capitalism itself, and this translates itself into huge External Debts and Mortgages which preclude for them any solution within the confines of capitalism. As regards the European bourgeoisies, they both need to compete commercially with Yankee imperialism and to support themselves on it militarily. They realise that they are no more than cannon fodder for the atomic war which the Yankees prepare against the Workers States and the USSR.

In its final agony, capitalism cannot generate any important economic, cultural or scientific progress. Hence, the crisis inside the central apparatus of imperialism is quite immense. It means that the inter-capitalist contradictions — national and international — are each time greater. It means

that imperialism has to keep the full arsenal of its military might hanging over a country like Nicaragua — like yesterday in Vietnam — and Nicaragua defies it not only with the quality of its weapons but mainly with its social-historical capacity, a base from which is being born, and is growing, a superior and necessary human society. Hence, as in all progress, the struggle of the proletariat for the eight hour day (in the past), that for the right to work, from 1886 onwards, from the First International of Marx and Engels, is united to the deep harmony in the reality of today. This is a stage in which — over 180 years — humanity has produced a Beethoven who expressed in music all the harmony and security which are needed in the struggle for progress.

In this Manifesto of the First of May, our Trotskyist Posadist IV International seeks to bring out all the progress and show how the final settlement of accounts demands the most elevated, the most mature that decides the course of progress: and that is the construction of a revolutionary leadership. This will be done in the very course of the struggle, in all the ways and means humanity will use to develop. Even with transitory setbacks, like in the Chinese Workers State or in the possible appearance of other bureaucracies in other Workers States — even then it is already impossible for any current in the Workers States opposed to the general line of history to stabilise itself. The general line of

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IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The British Miners' strike gained support amongst the British masses and on a world scale because it was seen as an anti-capitalist movement. The whole country was mobilised, including a manority of Labour Party activists. The Labour left played an honourable part in supporting the miners on the level of solidarity, in collecting money and giving material support. What it failed to do was to extend the miners' strike into a thorough anti-capitalist movement of the working class and the popular masses. In other words, this Labour left was unable to act as a national political leadership for one of the most important mobilisations of the British working class. Of course, it was not to be expected that either the Labour Party or trade union leadership would have the will or interest to act as such a political leadership, but it was right to expect something more from the Labour left. The Labour left's failure to act as a prepared national political leadership resulted from the fact that it does not have a scientific method of thinking, nor is it organised as a consistent tendency in the Labour Party.

Another aspect of the general abstract and liberal thinking of the Labour left is the question of 'black sections'. Certainly, women and black people suffer additional exploitation and discrimination under capitalism. No doubt the attitude of the Labour apparatus towards black people and women is the same as that of the system of private property. The Labour Party has a bourgeois structure and the same mentality as capitalism. This mentality should be opposed and denounced, but 'black sections' solve no problems. The attitude of racial and sexual discrimination result from the system of private property and will not be eliminated until society is transformed. Also, to advocate a division of the Labour Party into different sectors on the basis of colour or sex tends to weaken the Labour Party as a political centre. The struggle for Socialism, and Socialism itself is indivisible, and there is not going to be a 'black' Socialism or a female (or male) Socialism, or a Socialism for youth. The task is to transform society, and this task requires a unified political centre and leadership. A secondary aspect of the fight for 'black sections' in the Labour Party is the hope that if 'black people' have their own organisation within the Labour Party more black people will note Labour. Reality, of course, is that the 'black vote' does not exist. Black people vote along class lines, according to interest. What will attract votes to Labour is the Labour Party being seen to be an effective political leadership in the anti-capitalist struggle.

Of course, the Labour apparatus as it stands will never become Socialist and can never be the Party necessary for the struggle for Socialism. It is a bourgeois apparatus and will remain so. The new and necessary political leadership will arise from a development of the Labour left. At this moment, there is a large and growing general left in the Labour Party, but its growth is stunted by the fact that it is trapped within the Labour apparatus. This structure of the Labour Party is little more than a vote-getting machine. It is not an instrument for the development of political thinking, of ideas, or programme. In order to advance, therefore, the Labour left has to organise itself as a consistent tendency within the Labour Party. It has to organise its own political life, discussions and publications. This does not mean to

become isolated or to function as some sort of debating society. This internal political life as a tendency has to go hand-in-hand with discussions in the workers' and popular areas, in factories and schools, and acting as a political leadership in the day-to-day struggles of the masses.

The major aspect in the development of a consistent Labour left is to understand the world. Britain cannot be abstracted from the world process and the world process of humanity's progress, and progress is determined by the existence and development of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. There is a world confrontation between the two social systems - capitalism and the Workers States - which characterises this stage of history. The Labour left has to understand, in order to advance, to organise itself as a tendency, the role of the Workers State as a transition to Socialism. A very brief transition in the future, no doubt, but still a necessary transition. There is also the necessity for the Labour left to adopt the scientific method of thinking, which is Marxism. The miners' strike was a prelude to other and more widespread anti-capitalist mobilisations. These will need a national political leadership, and such a leadership will result from the organisation of a consistent Marxist tendency in the Labour Party.

monarchy as a means of domesticating conflicts in the ruling class to give a semblance of unity in front of the population. Despite its increasingly incongruous existence in a world of scientific progress, imperialism holds on to the monarchy for dear life. It is necessary to raise a discussion in the Labour Party and the trade unions on the need to terminate with the monarchy and work for a Socialist republic.

The existence of a monarchy is a sign of great social backwardness, a mark of immense conservatism and fear of social change. The capitalist press and television drone on about technological progress, avant garde art, the changes in fashion, etc., but the monarchy they dare not discuss.

Capitalism uses the monarchy to give the impression of a serene social order which can always settle its disputes. But the conditions of class collaboration which gave the British monarchy an apparent justification are falling, and a discussion over the monarchy poses a threat to capitalism. For one thing, the monarchy has nothing to do with even the minimum 'democracy' capitalism talks about. Every thing about the monarchy is alien to the interests of the masses; it represents in its own way the total parasitism of the capitalist social order. Privilege, power, luxury, for people of no social value whatsoever. Out with it!

The forces of the left in the Labour Party must develop a systematic discussion and repudiation of the monarchy, incorporate it within their programmes, discuss and influence the less certain sectors in the Labour Party. It is necessary to ask quite simply: why the monarchy? And what is to take its place, the republic? And what sort of a republic? A Socialist republic!

A myth is put about to influence the electoralist preoccupations of the Labour Party that an attack on the monarchy could be dangerous electorally. On the contrary, such an attack would attract many people who see the nature of this facade for capitalism and its capitalist interests.

In the phase of the decay of capitalism the monarchy will come under attack even if at this moment there is little sign of a systematic one. The disputes within capitalism become more severe. A recent example of this was the upset over Princess Michael and the SS father. Clearly, everyone knew of the nazi connection and the attempt to 'cleanse' SS lineage was a grotesque failure. The father was a vicious nazi, of the Frei corps origin, and anxious to fight the Soviets in 1944. The denazification programme was a farce. But why this attack now? Fundamentally, the monarchy can no longer conceal the inner disputes within capitalism. In the Thatcher regime the extremity of the situation makes it clear that the monarchy has no independence of the system, and

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dead, because they repeat the same class and interests. The leadership of the workers' movement could have drawn this conclusion and stimulated much more widespread mobilisations against imperialism and its war preparations. In general, the leadership of the British Labour movement failed to use this anniversary to any great effect.

It was a very good opportunity to have shown that there is no basic difference between Thatcher and Hitler, in their intentions. The policy of Thatcher is to strengthen the state apparatus against the masses. This is what the law to give greater powers to the police against pickets and demonstrations is all about. It is simply a way of legalising the brutal actions of the police against the miners. The intention of the law on ballots for trade union political funds is an attempt to render the trade unions virtually impotent, in the same way as they were under

fascism in Spain and Portugal. The attacks on local bourgeoisie are equally an attempt to impose a dictatorship of the state over the less central sectors of the bourgeoisie. Thatcher has no other policy but the preparation for war; and little interest, therefore, in the electoral prospects of the Tory Party.

This is Thatcher's intention, but the world balance of forces determines that even sectors of the bourgeoisie object to being pushed into a war which they know they will lose, just as surely as the nazis lost. Even worse, from their point of view, the war will mean - as the Second World War meant - an advance of the revolution. Thus, the more Thatcher prepares for war, the deeper the internal crisis of British capitalism becomes. There is now a crisis in the Tory Party and government, in which sectors of the Tories try to defend local gov-

ernment, in which the 'cabinet' publically fights over how much to cut into the Social Services, and in which the Scottish Tories are in open revolt against rates. Also the results of the local elections have been disastrous for the Tories, and would have been worse if there had been elections in strong Labour areas like London.

The continued strikes of the school teachers is an aspect of the social crisis of capitalism, because, in a previous period, the teachers would have been - like the Church - part of the social base of the capitalist system. Today they mobilise in opposition to the system, and in a militant way on a trade union level. The limitation of the teachers' action is that they propose no alternative educational system. Indeed, the gulf between the consciousness and militancy of the masses who mobilise for the transformation of society, and the Labour and

trade union leadership, grows increasingly wider. Thus, when the school children strike against unemployment they were denounced by both Kinnock and Willis. In fact, the leaders of both the Labour Party and of the TUC put themselves in a position of supporting the capitalist system and opposing those who fight for the progress of society.

The Labour left has to draw conclusions from this 40th Anniversary of the defeat of fascism, about the reality of the world. Even Healey, who is a representative of the bourgeoisie

in the Labour Party, had to appear at the celebrations in Moscow and to pay tribute to the role of the Soviet Union. The Labour left has to draw the conclusion that fascism is a product of capitalism and that capitalism cannot be voted out of office.

it has to be overthrown. In this process, the natural ally of humanity, the instrument for the progress of humanity is the Soviet Union and the other Workers States.

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THE NEED FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE MONARCHY

goes along with Reagan, NATO and war preparations against humanity. It is this impotence of the monarchy and its association with the supreme viciousness of the capitalist system which has prompted this attack. The Labour left have not intervened on it, and seen that this can be used to discuss what use is this monarchy which even has direct links with the nazis, and then, on another

occasion, speaks about democracy? Heffers intervention was very naive. The issue is not one of persons but of what prompts the attack. It arises because even sectors of the bourgeoisie see that the monarchy is associated with the most reactionary sectors of capitalism and is incapable of resolving anything.

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MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY

history goes in the direction of the liquidation of all forms of oppression and repression - be it by capitalism or bureaucracy.

There is the war between Iran and Iraq in the Middle East, but this has not meant a retreat of the revolutionary progress of the Arabic masses. The struggle of the Palestinians becomes every day more united to the necessity of the Israeli masses themselves. In the whole of Africa there are revolutionary movements and the development of new Revolutionary States which mature and advance, ending all the obstacles in the way of human intelligence, the main one being the capitalist system.

The crisis of the Communist and Socialist parties in Europe and Latin America forms part of this deep process of political maturation of the world Socialist revolution. They are parties that did not prepare themselves consciously for this stage, and they had to undergo a crisis - different in the case of the Communists - to produce tendencies and currents which will understand the function of the USSR and of the Socialist system in this stage of history. At the same time, the concentrated progress of the USSR and of the world revolution helps them to mature and become the workers'

parties fit for this stage of history.

TO SUSTAIN THE CONQUESTS ALREADY GAINED ONE MUST BRING DOWN THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

Today, the crisis of capitalism has reached such a depth that to maintain any demand - trade union, economic, the right to work for the masses - one has to develop not just trade union struggles - or struggles for a demand - but superior forms of organisation and distribution. This stage of consciousness generates a process, starting with struggles for demands but which rapidly turns into a struggle against the capitalist system, taking on most elevated forms of class struggle, like the right to work of the British miners. Then the struggle, in turn, finds around itself the maturity necessary - and this is why the British miners became a world centre for life and progress. They mobilised millions all over the world. They isolated British imperialism and affected the internal policies even of the United States, where there were thousands of instances of direct support and solidarity. Finally, they impelled the process of Partial Regeneration in the Workers States: in the Soviet Workers State; and the masses of the Soviet Union participated in giving support to the British miners.

It is only when there are conditions mature for Socialism that such concentrated forms arise and extend throughout the world where they unify. So, Britain - USSR - Bolivia - Nicaragua - El Salvador are unified even without the existence of an organised world leadership to do so. But this is what humanity has in the head.

We call on all the class and revolutionary leaderships of the world to discuss this final stage of the capitalist system. We call on the Communists and Socialist parties of the whole world to discuss the proximity of the atomic war which imperialism is preparing - and to discuss how

best to prepare and allow the best conditions for humanity. We call for the development of national and world-wide revolutionary processes as the sole means by which one can disarm the chain of atomic destruction by imperialism; and, at the same time, increase the actual struggle against hunger, against under-nourishment, the illnesses, the lack of means to study, the lack of houses, of schools, of hospitals.

We call on the USSR and the Workers States to support and develop in a conscious form their role in history; developing in the

Workers States themselves huge movements of the Soviet trade unions - as they did in support of the British miners - and of the Communist Party. To make calls for a huge anti-imperialism world united front, where the Ecologists, the Nationalists, the Anti-imperialists are included, to confront the atomic war plans of Yankee imperialism.

We call on the Communist parties and the Communist world vanguard to impel the central task of humanity - which is to bring down the capitalist system. To defend the Soviet Union, Cuba, Nicaragua, and all the revolutionary movements and States. All this must be done as part and parcel of the struggle to defend the needs of the masses. It is a matter of supporting the instruments created by history - instruments which allow, in turn, to prosecute the struggles in each country without remaining enclosed inside national problems, the smallness of the lack of means, or the confines of the movements for partial demands.

process of the revolution in a direct manner. The Bolivian miners made, just afterwards, Soviet form of organisms which they built in their twenty days in La Paz. They acted with all the security that stems from feeling that they are part of the whole of humanity and not just one category of workers or a sector of the population. The progress inside the USSR and the ramifications in the world revolution are the consequences of this inter-related and very mature process of humanity.

These are necessary conclusions to draw on this First of May, and we call for them to be taken up.

VIVA THE COMMUNIST PROGRESS OF HUMANITY THAT BRINGS INTO ONE COMMON SINGLE SENTIMENT THE SENSE OF BEING A HUMAN KIND, AS PART OF NATURE AND THE UNIVERSE.

VIVA OUR MASTERS - MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, TROTSKY, POSADAS.

VIVA COMMUNISM!

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

APRIL 1985

The British working class, through the support it gave to the British miners, linked itself to the Workers States and to the

* 'Charco' means in Spanish a narrow and very deep mud puddle

For an organised marxist left in the Labour Party

-Meetings and demonstrations to discuss social transformations

The latest declarations of Gorbachev against bureaucratic inefficiency and corruption in the Soviet economy, with open condemnation of specific ministers and ministries, continues the process of eliminating the most backward sectors of the bureaucracy and stimulating, even if as yet somewhat limited politically, the intervention of the Soviet masses in the government of the country. This proceeds with the confrontation with Yankee imperialism, the continuous denunciation of the falsity of imperialism which is actively preparing war behind the smokescreen of the negotiations in Geneva. The Soviet leadership speaks in tones of confidence with the belief that Marxist, Communist ideas are superior to capitalism, and that the Workers States can attract humanity in the struggle against the criminal plans of world imperialism. While the Soviet Union is pre-occupied with the elevation of social relations and with the improvement of the conditions of life for the Soviet people, Yankee imperialism goes in the opposite direction. This was most brutally shown in the recent bombing in Philadelphia. There, a group of black critics of capitalist mismanagement were bombed, ten people were burnt to death, hundreds made homeless, and the Attorney General of the USA said it was a very good example and should be emulated elsewhere. It is clear what the gangsters who rule the United States mean by 'human rights' - the right of imperialism to kill people indiscriminately. Concretely it shows they feel isolated in the USA itself, but this sinister outrage shows the mentality prepared to use nuclear weapons at any time against the Workers States, against the masses of the United States, against anyone who rejects imperialism. Bourgeois public opinion passes over this event, while weeping over the dissident Sakharov.

The contrast between the two social systems is more and more to the disadvantage of the imperialists. The Soviet Workers State weighs more and more in the consciousness of humanity as the force which decides history. Even when humanity lacks the most necessary elevated leadership on the international and national planes, none the less the Soviet Union is the centre of human attention and the firm and progressive declarations of the Soviet leaders impart security to humanity. Without doubt humanity is not immune to the tragedy of the appalling starvation in Africa caused directly by the lack of interest of capitalism in developing this continent; but humanity knows that, despite all the brutality and barbarism of the imperialists, that system is sinking fast and has little time to continue historically. It is this structure of the world, we reiterate, which decides the process in all countries. Britain is part of this.

So weak is Yankee imperialism, it has to go through a series of elaborate performances to confront Nicaragua. Without the Soviet Union, Nicaragua would have been liquidated.

The policies of Thatcherism have failed. This is not to say that capitalism has not inflicted great suffering on the masses of Britain, but Thatcher came in to solve the problems of capitalism and to crush resistance, to inaugurate a 'new order'. A police state of sorts has been erected but, in reality, the capitalist system is weaker than it was. A disintegration has occurred within capitalism. Large sectors of capitalism feel defeatist. The Thatcher clique is quite clearly a group working in the interests of high finance and the multi-nationals, which has no

interest in developing Britain but solely in concentrating capital in fewer and fewer hands and collaborating with Yankee imperialism in the preparation of war against the Workers States. The Malvinas war was a high point in this policy, but in reality it has led nowhere. The masses of the world and Latin America have not been intimidated and, in the miners' strike, British imperialism had to rely on the ineffectiveness of the Labour Party and trade union leadership to contain the miners. Apart from its repressive apparatus capitalism cannot rely on social support. The Thatcher policy has no perspective, it moves from day to day. Dismantling the 'welfare state', accelerating the fast reactor nuclear stations - as much for military as civil purposes - and privatisation are planks of the Thatcher programme, and have led to uproar including in the capitalist camp, without providing stability for capitalism.

The teachers strike shows the immense potential of struggle against the system. It is a commentary on the incapacity of Thatcher to break opposition.

In all this process the element which hinders the initiatives and weight of the masses against capitalism is the lack of leadership in the Labour Party and the Unions. Logically this should be a period of incessant concentrated mass mobilisations which could provoke directly and immediately the fall of this failed government. But the Labour Party apparatus, in fear and trembling of ideas, hopes to continue to survive on the game of electoral advantage. The left in the Labour Party similarly remains unorganised and without coherent and organised positions. It tends to remain within national preoccupa-

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tions, a mentality which no longer corresponds to the process of today. The principle need remains that of grasping that the Soviet Union is the historic centre of humanity. It is this which is undermining capitalism as a social system. It is not the Labour Party which is the effective opponent of British imperialism but the existence of the Soviet Union, which turns the balance of world relations against capitalism. That is why policy cannot be determined by electoral pre-occupations. Capitalism, as a world system, is falling. If the vision is confined to the details of Britain, social glaucoma is the result. That is why it has been absurd for the T&GWU to defer to bourgeois opinion over trade union elections. Proletarian democracy can certainly be improved in the Union, but, deferring to the canons of formal bourgeois democracy which capitalism itself ignores, is a grotesque limitation. Bourgeois democracy is simply the bourgeoisie in power.

It is fundamental that the Labour left grasp the significance of the miners' strike. Even now Scargill is concerned to re-organise the activity of the miners. This is only possible because of the link with the Workers States. The advance of the Soviet Union is provoking all manner of crises in the Communist parties of the world and has led to the latest crisis in the British

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The triumph of PASOK

The return of PASOK to government in Greece is a decisive reaffirmation of the forces for social change in Greece. PASOK lost two per cent on its previous vote and the bourgeois parties gained a little from disaffected petit bourgeoisie, but the overwhelming balance of forces shows the immense possibilities for Socialist transformation in Greece. In both rural and urban centres, the PASOK and the Communists maintain the absolute social support to extend and deepen the reforms made already by PASOK.

Papandreou has made some changes that benefit the masses from social reforms, including the development of forms of agricultural co-operatives to equalisation of rights between the sexes, civil marriage, etc. He has re-affirmed the need for the Yankee bases to be terminated in 1988. At the same time, the Presidency has been reduced in character, leaving in this way a government with

fewer constitutional impediments.

PASOK has coasted along successfully on the basis of making concessions to the masses, but, at the same time, not falling out very much with the bourgeoisie. Greece has joined the EEC, not a gain for the masses and no fundamental changes have been made to the capitalist nature of the economy. The Greek masses will expect more as the result of these elections. As the Greek bourgeoisie is very weak, Papandreou has been enabled to play a balancing role, to encourage and in part to respond to the masses but, at the same time, apart from the constitutional crisis not to confront profoundly the bourgeoisie.

In the second period of office the problems demanding a Socialist solution will increase. The total incapacity to develop the world economy and the crushing of the weak-

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THE PROCESS OF THE FORMATION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS

Extracts

Science advances with every new Workers State, science advances enormously, and, in order to use and develop science, private property has to be eliminated. The existence of private property impedes the development of science, whose essential basis is that it tends towards the unity of the world. Private property impedes this.

Culture and science are limited by the existence of private property. Hence, while humanity advances with discoveries and the production of instruments to measure time and distance, to understand nature and the relations of nature with society, capitalist society goes backwards.

Capitalist war is the most appalling backwardness in history, and today, in order to survive, the capitalist system has to make society retreat because objective science is of no interest to it and actually goes against capitalist interest. Capitalism is interested in science applied to commerce, production and war, which is a limitation. Capitalism wants science to produce more destructive power and to provoke more damage for war. But the objectivity of science is against it. For example, now it is not a question of measuring navigational distances for a ship or an aeroplane, or finding the temperature and the changes and the relation of air with velocity, on this planet. The question now is measurements relating to other planets. How to get in contact? undoubtedly, it is necessary to resolve the problems of the earth first of all; but, while it is resolving the problems of the earth human intelligence, expressed through Marxism, already shows that it has the security to resolve all the problems of the earth, and foresees communication with the cosmos.

A Soviet astronaut, who spoke in Greece on the 60th anniversary, was asked by journalists, 'Do you believe that there is life on some other planet?', and he answered, 'Certainly I believe that there is life on the planets, and on some it is superior to us. We have still not been able to communicate with it.' He said this in the meeting of the Soviet Union's 60th anniversary, speaking securely and very well. When he finished 40,000 people at the meeting shouted, 'Soviet Union, Soviet Union'.

All the progress, from Gutenberg to Marx, is concentrated in the Workers State, but it has not

We are re-publishing extracts from an article of Cde Posadas on Britain because its analysis remains completely valid for the process as it develops now in Britain and the relations between Britain and the world. The Thatcher regime is part of the fall of a system in putrefaction. The Labour left is developing in the historic conditions for the liquidation of Imperialism because the Workers States are advancing in anti-capitalist policies.

developed because there is a bureaucracy. But it can be seen that humanity has lost none of the progress that it has made and achieved.

All that is meant by progress for humanity is in the Workers State. It is the social forms which determine the development or progress. In the Soviet Union there is an enormous progress through the structure of the regime of property and production. But there is still no social structure which allows this progress to develop sufficiently. Hence it is limited.

But all intelligence and knowledge is expressed there.

Every superior regime, every regime which negates the contradiction between those who produce and those who consume, develops human intelligence and afterwards it is intelligence which determines the economy and society.

The conclusions which we draw are scientific conclusions. One cannot measure the past without analysing and making a balance of the limitation of the historic capacity of capitalism and the inexhaustible, limitless condition of initiative of the human progress of the Workers State. The capitalist system makes every type of progress: economic, scientific and military for the benefit of private interest. Thus the levels of progress, which capitalism developed and develops in relation to the feudal regime, were concentrated in the interest of those who had power. Thus it limited the conditions, the possibilities and the need for the extension of scientific and cultural, economic and military knowledge. At the same time, history shows how war and the preparation of war has been the essential instrument, along with the development of the economy, for the expansion of capitalism. It was not only a regime of production which was superior to feudalism, but also of social organisation, so that this superior form of production could develop and progress in competition with the other capitalists of the world. War was also the instrument for this. It was as important as the development of the economy, technology and science.

Compared to the Workers States, we see in a very simple way that capitalism, in order to develop, developed into imperialism. It passed from free trade and free competition to the concentration of property, capital and production in all its forms; that is, to develop the economy it passed to the organisation of superior forms compared to individual forms of private property because it entered into crisis with the needs of the population. This was when monopoly and trusts developed, and the multinationals. But all this, which was a progress in socially necessary labour time, was an immense retreat in relation to human needs.

Military capacity was developed to accompany this process which was developed by the capitalists of the whole world as the essential instrument for world competition within the capitalist system. Compare that with the Workers State which, even with the bureaucratic stage of Stalin and after, developed the most audacious action with the minimum economic, military and material means. Without economic resources or material forces, with the will, the understanding and the elevation of consciousness of the Bolshevik Party, the Workers State unified the country without war - a country divided by a mass of idioms and ethnic groupings. It rapidly settled nomads scattered all over northern Russia and Mongolia. The tribes of Ethiopia and Korea, which also contained nomadic tribes and, moreover, with immense racial historic antagonisms, were unified rapidly by the Workers State.

We have analysed so as to make a historic comparison of historic regimes and how humanity progressed. In capitalism, and before capitalism in feudal society, Copernicus, Galileo and Giordano Bruno, like Newton and before Newton, also developed science in astronomy and in the understanding of the relation of the movements of the earth, the sun and the moon. This was a means of giving security to society, of where we are and how we utilise nature consciously. Capitalism thus had to base itself on Copernicus, Bruno and Newton, and had to kill half of Britain to develop capitalism.

The Workers State, even with Stalin, did not do 1% of the killings of capitalism. This means that, for the progress of the Workers State, it was not possible to kill everyone in conflict with the bureaucracy. But, to maintain the Workers State, it was necessary to maintain the working class, to maintain the development and the weight of the working class. Under Stalin the weight of the working class was not expressed in the Soviet Union, but had an influence on a world scale - something which capitalism was not able to do. These are two very precise conclusions of different social regimes, expressed at the level of production and human relations.

The capitalist system, organised the greatest fleet in history up to the Workers State - that is, British imperialism's fleet - but it did not succeed in conquering or attracting the support of any others who were not part of British capitalism; while the Workers of the Soviet Union have not increased their culture much - it has increased a great deal no doubt, but much less than is possible in a Workers State - but intelligence has increased. Intelligence and culture are not synonymous. It is possible to be very intelligent and not have much culture; it is possible to be very cultivated but have little intelligence, as in the capitalist system. Capitalism cannot have intelligence because its function in history is not necessary. Thus it has capacity but not intelligence. Intelligence is measured by working as a function of progress in history, above all in human sentiments, in the relations of human love. Even without culture, this allows the inclination towards the logical need of the progress of history, that is opposition to war, exploitation, imposition, and to the development of forms which elevate human collective life. The most complete form is Socialism, which will not be just co-existence but the natural form of living. The rest - co-existence - is the consequence of the level of social relations, determined by private property.

We have seen the scientific capacity of British imperialism. It was not only military capacity.

When British imperialism organised its naval capacity - because on land the French were stronger - when they developed their great naval strength, it showed a very developed level of intelligence

and scientific ability. In Britain they developed a number of scientists and inventions, from the steamer to the discovery of electricity and the use of all forms of electricity; that is, they had not only naval but scientific capacity in physics and chemistry, but less in philosophy. Britain had Shakespeare, a result and continuator of industrial and social changes. It was not by chance that Britain found people capable of making a great navy. To make a great navy requires very elevated historical relations and social capacity. At the same time it is necessary to see that Britain was the first great industrial power, and this was not only due to the navy but was established through other conditions. The navy was a point of support.

This is the form in which the progress of humanity developed. But we compare Cromwell, and later Nelson, with the resolution of the first revolution - the decision, resolution and also the limitation - with the profundity of the British revolution. The 1640 revolution indicated there was a very great scientific and social development. Thus Britain possessed the conditions for a great development. The social leadership was not capable of developing it.

Thus it must be seen that this analysis is not an historic comparison but an understanding of the limitation of the regimes of private property and also of the bureaucracy, and every bureaucratic apparatus - including the Labour Party.

All regimes in history answer to a need of economic progress and have a certain justification, because they develop the economy. But, if the regime does not develop or advance the economy, it is only a regime of oppression and its duration is very short. That is, it does not answer the necessity of history. Then it is necessary to see that British imperialism has developed not only naval capacity, but also internal production, because British imperialism was the first great industrial producer. It is necessary to see and to compare British imperialism of this stage, the great development of

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THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF COMRADE POSADAS

It is four years since Cde Posadas died. All the historical process, as it unfolds, completely verifies his analysis and foresight. On the one hand, the total and complete crisis of the capitalist system and its brutal deeneration into the criminal pre-occupation to destroy the Workers States and crush humanity, and, on the other, the rapid advance of the Workers States, mainly the Soviet Union and its development of a leadership closer to the needs of humanity than in the past and unafraid of confronting capitalism for the final encounter. The analysis of Partial Regeneration made by Cde Posadas on the basis of texts of Trotsky has proved to be the only scientific analysis of the process in the Soviet Union, the process of the peaceful political revolution and the intimate connection between the process of regeneration in the Soviet Union and the preparation of the war. At the same time, in the course of the Sino Soviet conflict, Cde Posadas analysed the origins of all this in Stalinism with the conclusion that, whatever the conflicts between the leaderships of the Workers States, there could be no war because of the nature of these States.

The contribution of Cde Posadas has been inestimable in continuing the work of Trotsky into this stage of history and so developing Marxism and preventing it becoming simply a mechanistic reproduction of past ideas, as in the case of the old Trotskyists. Cde Posadas - at the same time as insisting that Marxists must intervene in the struggle as it exists, characterised the epoch and the world as ready for Communism. That is, Communism is not just a distant perspective but one which corresponds to the needs and capacities of humanity now. Thus the tasks of the epoch of liquidating capitalism merge with the tasks of constructing Communism. We live in an epoch when consciousness determines the economy, not the other way about.

With these ideas Cde Posadas was very concerned towards the end of his life to elaborate a history of humanity to show the necessity of Communism, showing how mankind was never dominated by pure economic pre-occupations, although the

exploiter classes, particularly capitalism, try to reduce humanity to slaves of economic advance. The progress of humanity dominates this stage, not the limitations of class society. Past and future merge in complete continuity.

Now Imperialism is preparing war, as Cde Posadas analysed, in the worst condition. The leaderships of Imperialism are tormented with divisions and doubts. They try to smash humanity to the ground, but it is they who fall into the abyss of defeat and incapacity. As in the Pennsylvania incident, they try to smash their own people such is the mindless criminality of Imperialism. But Imperialism has already lost in the minds and hearts of humanity. Whatever the brutal terrorism that Imperialism seeks to develop, or the callous indifference to the millions who starve all over the world, humanity - guided by the Workers States - feels triumph within itself with the capacity to confront anything. Cde Posadas embodied and represented this spirit of triumph. The publication and diffusion of his ideas are the means of accelerating and deepening the triumph of humanity to construct Communism.

ON THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA J. POSADAS.

This document of the Social Democrats is, in many aspects, superior to the position of the European Social Democrats because it takes account of the fact that the world has to change. They require that the social democratic experience does not work, the Socialist experience is very limited, but for them the Soviet experience is no good because the dictatorship of the proletariat is inconvenient. They refer to Marx and Engels and to Lenin, saying that there are many things which can be applied but that Latin America is another phenomenon, another history. This is their view.

They are seeking to make a Social Democracy which is not integrated with capitalism, seeking to differentiate themselves from it, and they do not achieve this because then they would have to fall into a Marxist policy. On the other hand, they do not have examples to apply from the Marxist point of view. Also they defend themselves from Cuba and do not attack it, but say that they do not want to act as the Cubans. But neither do they attack the Soviet Union. It is interesting because this text is aimed at a current opposed to the present situation and which says, 'Things cannot continue like this', and is forming in literature, politics and science. It is this which was expressed in a distant way in the Argentinian author, J.L. Borges.

It is necessary to read more on all this process, because it is necessary to follow these currents, the attitude of the German Social Democracy and the Social Democracy of Austria and some Latin Americans. They are those who have an interest in defending themselves from the Yanks and from the Soviets, and to see how they can find a way to advance. It indicates the crisis of capitalism because this was not a meeting to sustain capitalism, but one of criticism of contemporary society and how to change it without falling into Communism.

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What is clear and conclusive is to see that the present situation in the Labour Party, of the dominion of the bureaucratic apparatus, is transitory. This is part of the relation of world forces in which, as a relation of world forces, it is necessary to see the erroneous conduct and policy of the alliance with capitalism which the Communist parties pushed forward, the weakness of the Communist parties, including that of Britain; and the absence of an organised opposition of importance, the corruption and disintegration of the old Trotskyist movement.

In Britain, the standard of living of the masses has declined with the environmental

The Swedish Social Democrats also support this movement and they are among those to the left of the Social Democrats. They accept many Communist principles. They have the conception of the Social Democratic leadership but in the economy they accept many principles which are Communist - such as the statification of the key industries to make a type of self-management. All these currents develop in front of the fall of capitalism and the lack of sufficient authority of the Workers States, in particular in Latin America. Brasil in a few years will have a current like this which is going to be called 'autonomous' but which is not going to be capitalist because there is nowhere to support themselves in capitalism.

This phenomenon also indicates the disorganisation of all the movements which sustain capitalism, the lack of intermediate circles or layers which defend the capitalist government and the Yanks. Everyone in one way or another criticises the Yanks because they feel oppressed that they cannot develop by themselves, and thus they want to seek another solution; and they find another solution because they see that the revolution advances. This indicates that capitalism has less and less strength. All this has to be seen so that our sections may intervene.

There is an immense perspective in this process, and this is partly expressed by the scientists of Ecuador, Colombia, Brasil, Venezuela and of Bolivia. The progress of the revolution is expressed also in these Social Democrats because they create new wings, new intermediaries which do not last, but they are created because the necessary policy of the Communist parties was not available in time.

J. POSADAS 7 March 1981

Relates to a text on the Social Democracy in Latin America published by the Centre of Democratic Studies of Latin America (Costa Rica).

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J. POSADAS

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Communist Party, whose leadership is now submerged in liberalism and eurocommunism. This cannot help but elevate the left in the Labour Party and, at the same time, greater understanding of the Soviet Union would provide a greater audacity to intervene outside the apparatus of the Labour Party which seeks to contain the left within a parliamentary and electoral functioning. 14 6 85

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er economies by the larger, make Greece especially vulnerable. Inflation is high and unemployment poised to increase. Greece in reality would be far better oriented towards COMECON, and certainly the relations with the Workers States have increased. Greece demands a wholesale restructuring. The system of communications is completely inadequate for a progressive economy. Greece has to be developed, and the obvious geographical convenience shows a way forward with the Workers States such as Bulgaria etc. in the vicinity.

However, in order to do this the PASOK leadership will have to address itself to preparing campaigns which have mass support and mobilisation on a regular basis not just on the basis of a big meeting and that's it. PASOK of itself has no experience of being a real mass party, with discussions conducted on a mass basis. It is used to a parliamentary functioning. But, to confront and overcome the obstacles in Greece, will demand more than manoeuvres - it will require active and continuous social support.

conditions. It is not only that the telephones do not function, but the railway stations are filthy, completely neglected and disorderly. This is not only the case in Britain but also in Germany, France and North America. There is a retreat in the environmental conditions of life which is very marked. The Pakistanis and the Indians, but also the British, live in bad conditions. It is necessary also to combine discussions on the programme and the policy with concrete examples, examples that show the need for the planned structure of production and taking all the measures and examples necessary to carry this out. J. POSADAS 31.3.78.

the navy, the merchant navy and British industry, which was the first great industry, with the development of countries today like North Korea, which is a country which hardly existed. China was a country which was oppressed and invaded by all the great capitalist powers of the world, and China got rid of poverty, unemployment, hunger, floodings and drought without a great navy, but with a great army which was ideas. It had the ideas like Lenin, like those of the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions.

Thus it is necessary to measure history and to see that the ideas of this stage of history - on the basis of Marx and Lenin - are the most important material force in the whole of history because, included in the ideas, is the use of all the material strength which the capitalist system created and all the earlier regimes created from the Greeks until now. In the ideas lie the understanding, the foresight, that all the progress made by humanity was used, converted into a usufruct for the benefit of the small ruling layers. Through the ideas of Marx all this progress is concentrated in the necessity of objective economic development for the benefit of human necessity.

In a superior form, the development of the economy, science, technology and culture, the development of human intelligence - which is the Workers State - develops the rational capacity to think; which means to think objectively for human progress; not to think as a country, a nation, or a language, but objectively as a human being. This is possible because all the previous process of history leads to the development of the economy and production. But, if the Russian Revolution had not entered history in time, this process of history could not be achieved. There would have been a decomposition and a very great retreat.

It was the Russian Revolution which concentrated all the capacity and the intelligence which, in its epoch, British, French and Italian imperialism had made - i.e. all the Empires. But the intelligence in the economy, in the science of production, and in science, is limitedly objective and the development of culture is such that capitalism cannot use it. What use is all their power, the military power which is enormous, an enormous creation? All the colonies, which were the base of the development of the British Empire, are free. British imperialism is falling and the British proletariat knows and sees it.

The Soviet Union had to put up with Stalin who oppressed it, who killed all the leadership of the Revolution, killed and intimidated the Party, and intimidated the proletariat; but Stalin disappeared and the Revolution continues throughout the world - because Socialism is necessary in history. When it is necessary, history finds the way to advance. If it does not find the conscious representative, history invents it. This is a manner of speaking, because history does not invent it, but creates something until a genuine representative appears representing the needs of history.

The British proletariat forms a fundamental part of the destruction of the British Empire. The British proletariat contributed to the weakness of the British Empire. If British imperialism had been able to count upon the British proletariat, it would not have surrendered all the colonies and would have felt much stronger. But the British proletariat had no interest in defending British imperialism, and this was a very great contribution to the progress of history. It is necessary to take this into account for the next stages.

Thus it is necessary to see the character of the security at this stage of the Labour Party which does not discuss nationalisations, which is not interested in social transformations, which promises, which says...afterwards, afterwards. All the pretences of this leadership have no future in history, because they do not answer the necessity of history. They do not represent the progress of history. They do not defend the interest of the British masses. They do not have a future, just as Stalin did not have a future, just as the system does not have a future. Thus it is a problem of time.

One has to consider, as a result, that in this way - like all leaderships - it is necessary to realise that just as all the leaderships in the Workers States and the Communist parties which have tried to oppose, or have opposed, the progress of history have been smashed, so there is no possibility for British labourism or North American trade unionism preventing the elevation of the masses. They are great impediments, but they have no historic justification. The intelligence of humanity has seen that, in order to live, it is necessary to eliminate private property and to eliminate war. Humanity knows this, as do the North American masses and also the British masses.

The British masses have an advantage in that they have a tradition of a hundred and sixty years of trade unionism in which they have constantly maintained security in the aspiration of

human progress. Therefore, it is necessary to consider that the present situation of the Labour Party is not an expression of the strength of the Labour Party apparatus but of the world relations which still allow the Labour leadership to maintain its authority. This stems not only from a certain economic security - which deteriorates all the time - but from the mistakes of the Communist parties and, essentially, the errors and mistakes of the Workers States which do not present themselves before the masses and North American masses as the objective leadership of progress from every point of view. Economically and socially the masses see progress, because they see that in the Workers States they are living better, but they do not see the participation in society of the Soviet or the Chinese masses, or of the Cuban masses. They do not see them participate and thus they cannot be influenced. The masses see the superiority of the Workers State but they do not see the intervention of the Workers States' masses which should be the basis of this superiority. Then they do not see the necessity for an immediate transformation. It is the mistake of the Workers State which comes from the epoch of Stalin but, at the same time, there is no tranquility in the Labour Party or among the Labour masses.

Compared with the position five years ago, there is an increase of discussions on where is Britain going. Now it's no longer just the title of Trotsky's book. Now the tendencies and efforts of the British masses to progress, nationalising, statifying a series of enterprises like the ports and car factories are apparent. The bureaucracy has stimulated a tendency for the state to take the responsibility to pay the factory deficits to save the factory, so that statification does not take place but a subsidy for private enterprise which has failed. This was the policy of the government of the Labour bureaucracy and the trade union bureaucracy, but not of the masses. The masses will not see in this a salvation of the capitalist system, but the means of a superior relation. The effort at nationalisation of the ports was very profound, and this indicates that the British masses had a base of understanding that nationalisation is necessary. Still this understanding is limited, but there is a progress. There are a series of tendencies which discuss and speak constantly. They are not lying; it is not a manoeuvre. It is a very limited expression of the possibilities which exist.

We value the progress made through capitalism, through capitalist science or through the

science of the capitalists for the capitalists. We see it as a contribution to the progress of knowledge and of certain forms of social relation, but also the limitation of this progress. At the same time that the British created their warships for the accumulation of capital, they killed children in the factories, killed the sheep of the peasants to drive them into the factories. Thus capitalism showed an historic antagonism with progress, the historic contradictions between its own progress and the progress of humanity. Our function is to understand that this is what happened in history, but in this stage it is not the same situation. The Workers State, in order to elevate science, has to make it universal and develop society. It cannot develop science as a means of exploitation of society for profit, it has to develop it to elevate human relations.

It has been shown that Stalin, who had the most complete form of control in history and the most complete apparatus and state, was smashed by the progress of history, and in Britain the same thing will happen. There is no tradition or knowledge of the Marxist life. It does not exist in Britain. The British Empire was able to impede the penetration of Marxism in the Labour Party, but not because it was capable or through its economic power. Comparatively, Germany in 1930 was more powerful. The Communists and Socialists had half the popular vote. Then why did Hitler win? Was it through the capacity of Hitler? No, it was through the bestiality of Stalinism. In Britain the perspective of capitalism is for an ever greater deterioration in living conditions, and this creates a more receptive quantity of scientists and intellectuals. It creates the conditions for a greater diffusion of our publications and activity.

The pragmatism of British imperialism is based on the wealth of imperialism but, at the same time, on the errors and the capitulationist policy of the alliance with capitalism of Stalinism, which lasted until 1960. If in 1945 Stalin had to allow the overthrow of capitalism in ten European countries, it was because it was imposed on him, but the policy of Stalin lasted because he created the most frightful bureaucracies. A proof of this is Czechoslovakia where he created a bourgeois leadership allied with a centrist leadership; and he did this also in Poland and Hungary. These were the leaderships of Stalin. Afterwards they were liquidated by the uprisings of the masses, which showed that they wanted to eliminate the bureaucratic power allied to capitalism, but

without damaging the Workers State as the Rumanian masses have just done. If the proletariat in these countries has such a conduct, how is it possible to doubt that the British and German proletariat cannot get shot of their leaderships? It's necessary to intervene, while expecting this process. But not waiting in inactivity, but with the intervention to help the scientific thought of the process of history in which British capitalism has fewer possibilities. It has less conditions to try to maintain the disorientation of the masses and the bureaucratic apparatus. The internal crises of Labourism increase with the constant appearance of anti-capitalist tendencies. Even though they appear in a limited way, they are anti-capitalist. A consistent programme does not exist, but capitalism is constantly weakening, and this is going to continue in successive stages because British and German capitalism have no perspective for development.

British imperialism has succeeded in maintaining itself on the plane of capitalist society through the trade unions and the Labour Party, through the bureaucratic apparatus, but constantly in the trade unions and in the Labour Party there is an advance towards anti-capitalist positions and programme, and constantly a resistance to the actions of British imperialism. The appearance of groups and the development of groups is not a sporadic or circumstantial action, but expresses a need to give ideas which respond to the combative will of the masses and the youth. At the same time, it demonstrates that when this will and programme is not consistent it collapses.

... This is going to weigh in the world Communist movement and even in the British Communist Party which is one of the most backward of all the Communist parties in the world. It has no idea about anything. It does not understand its function because it has no notion of history. It has the petulance, the pride of saying, 'We are Communists, they have to come here', but the masses go past them. History goes ahead of them. Even this Communist Party cannot continue in this way. The Soviet Workers State is going to intervene because it has an interest in intervening, and the masses are going to correct it. We are seeking how to influence.

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We condemn with maximum force the execution of Comrade Mohamed Munir, leader of the Indonesian Communist Party and chairman of the SOBSI (All Indonesian Trade Union Centre). Fundamentally this is due to the pressure of Yankee and world imperialism, in front of the advance to world Communism. and specifically pressures for change within Indonesia itself. We call upon the Labour and trade union left to condemn this crime, the result of the brainless brutality of capitalism, its vain attempt to stop the progress of humanity.



YOUTH OF THE GERMAN WORKERS STATE FOR PEACE AND OPPOSING YANKEE AGGRESSION AGAINST NICARAGUA.

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEFEAT OF NAZISM

RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU

The celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism has been made throughout the world in both the capitalist countries and the Workers States with the perspective of now, the preparation of the final settlement of accounts between the capitalist system and the world system of the Workers States.

In the capitalist system the governments have ignored systematically the function of the Soviet Union, of the partisan movements, of the colonial revolution, in the defeat of nazism in 1945. Moreover, they have sustained the reconciliation of the enemies of yesterday, in the name of the superior objective of today, which is to confront the Soviet Union. Hence Reagan went to the cemetery of Bitburg where the nazis are buried, showing them as victims of the war and showing that it was an error of the capitalist world not to have united to smash the Soviet Union at that time.

But, on the side of the Workers States, of the USSR, the commemoration of the war included a meeting between the veterans of the Yankee and of the Soviet army in Torgau, in the German Workers State - where the original meeting between the two armies had been made. The American soldiers displayed a very profound feeling and fraternity towards the veterans of the Red Army. This was the sentiment and the aspirations of peace and of fraternity of the North American people towards the Soviet Union.

Hence it is important that Cde Gorbachev in the celebration of this anniversary rendered homage to all the Soviet people and to the Red Army, and not to Stalin as the bourgeois press wanted to present it. He simply mentioned Stalin as head of the Communist Party in this period, and nothing more. On the contrary, within the Soviet Union the actual function of Stalin is being discussed, the conflicts and confrontation with the leaders of the Red Army - Zhukov in particular - and how the military Communist leaders were right and not the bureaucratic apparatus represented by Stalin. Also, it is important when, in this discussion, it has been posed that the Red Army advancing in Europe was the agent of social transformations from Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary etc., leaving it open to reflection that the partisan movements in France, Italy and Greece would have been able to take power.

As Cde Posadas analysed, Stalingrad was the decisive act for the definition of the Second World War, and it was the historic drive of the Soviet people which conquered nazism in this city - even having a leadership like that of Stalin, and without having material means corresponding to those of the nazi army. The Soviet masses defended not the fatherland, but the regime of the Workers State which represented the historic progress over the capitalist system

These are all necessary discussions in the Soviet Workers State, not simply to investigate the past but to prepare, in the most elevated form, for the final settlement of accounts between the two systems. For this, there develops more and more clearly a consciousness together with the drive of an objective necessity on the part of the leadership of the USSR, that the support and development of the revolutionary movements throughout the world is an indispensable part of the preparation to confront the next war of the capitalist system. The same applies to the creative and leading participation of all the population of the Workers State. In the march in Moscow and of all the great cities for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of the movement for liberation, There was a very great participation of the population, of the old, workers, peasants and partisans who defended the Soviet Union against the nazis, and of the young who remembered this past, to prepare for the triumph of the Soviet Union today and tomorrow.

The causes and the objectives of the Second World War are indispensable to understand and to record for all the movements, in particular, who push forward the struggle for peace today in Europe against the installation of nuclear missiles, against the 'star wars' project which Yankee imperialism is developing. It was not a stupidity of Reagan towards the old nazism at Bitburg but the express-

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EDITORIAL

**ELEVATE THE CAMPAIGN FOR
AN ECONOMY TO SERVE THE
POPULATION!
CLOSE THE NUCLEAR BASES!**

The process in any one country, including Britain, responds to the world balance of forces - and this world balance is determined by the Soviet Union. The Labour left has to base its discussion on this reality. The recent changes in the Soviet leadership confirm the process of advance. Gorbachev has strengthened his team and that team has a consistent policy for the elimination of the bureaucracy in the Soviet state apparatus and confronting the world capitalist system. The promotion of Gromyko as President of the Soviet state also has its importance, because it means that once again there is a separation between the leader of the Party (CPSU) and the State. Breznev combined the two posts and, as Comrade Posadas said at the time, this is not an ideal situation; but Breznev found the necessity to combine the two posts in order to strengthen his hand in the struggle against the most backward elements of the bureaucracy. When Gorbachev now feels the confidence to allow a return to Lenin's principle of not allowing leaders to hold position in the Party and the State at the same time, it means that a phase in the anti-bureaucratic process is over. The election of Shevardnadze as Foreign Minister also confirms the process of advance because he is not only quite young but also a Party leader very much engaged in the process of eliminating the bureaucracy. His elevation, and the elimination of Romanov, are part of the advance of the Soviet leadership. All this means that the leading role of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union has been confirmed and there is no doubt that the result will be an elevation of Soviet foreign policy. In general, the current Soviet leadership has presented a firm opposition to the capitalist system on a world scale and has not been timid in denouncing capitalism for organising terrorism on a world scale and preparing the war. However, it has not provided the necessary leadership for the world Communist movement and the masses in general in this stage of history. The advances being made in the Soviet leadership now means that we can expect an elevation of Soviet foreign policy in the future.

THE UNITY AND PROGRESS OF THE WORKERS STATES.

The advances in the Soviet leadership weigh on, and give encouragement to, all the Workers States. It is the intervention of the Soviet leadership which has begun, in the last period, to produce better relations with the Chinese Workers State. The present Sino-Soviet trade discussions are important because a trade agreement between the two Workers States, on the scale envisaged, would tend to stimulate tendencies in China favourable to closer relations with the Soviet Union. Even Deng is now forced to denounce the activities of capitalist firms in the 'special zones' which Deng himself was responsible for organising to allow the intervention of capitalism in China. Well, history is not determined by the stupidity of people like Deng, and inevitably he finds that a Workers State cannot co-exist with capitalism and has to take its place in the system of the Workers States. This is reality, and the growing relationship between the two largest Workers States is of key importance to the advance of humanity. The advances made by the Soviet leadership also have their effect on other leaders of Workers States and produces the confidence to denounce capitalism and Yankee imperialism in the way in which both Ortega of Nicaragua and Castro of Cuba have done in the last days. Turn to page 2

THE BEIRUT HIJACK: A DEFEAT FOR YANKEE IMPERIALISM ENSURED BY THE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES.

The Beirut hijacking of a TWA airliner resulted in a defeat for Yankee imperialism which the world balance of forces made inevitable. There are grounds for thinking that the initial hijack was stimulated by the CIA, or at least a sector of it, but if this is true then it has acted as a 'boomerang'. The CIA has admitted publically to funding and organising terrorist groups in the Lebanon, including 'Muslim groups. This was the subject of public debate in Washington only days before the TWA hijack. Certainly the Yankee Sixth Fleet was ready to launch an attack against Lebanon, and possibly an invasion. Yankee imperialism has no consistent policy, and there are sectors in the CIA, the Pentagon and the administration constantly staging provocations in order to force Yankee imperialism to confront the Soviet Union and the world revolution, which is another way of saying: to confront humanity. What is beyond question is that the whole character of the hijacking changed from a situation of some brutality to one in which many of the 'hostages' were won to the position of the Shi'ites and supported their demands for the release of prisoners held in Israel. The most likely thing is that the original hijack was stimulated by the CIA, working through a terrorist group, and then quickly ran into a cul-de-sac. The TWA aircraft seemed to move aimlessly around the Middle East for a period, then the Shi'ite AMAL and Nahib Berri, took it over and turned it to their advantage. The final result was a defeat for Yankee imperialism because they had to concede the release of the Shi'ite prisoners held in Israel. They have not all been released yet, but clearly they will be. This release was not decided by Israel but by Yankee imperialism which, as always, issued the order. Yankee imperialism felt impotent to act openly in Lebanon. It is the world balance of forces which favours the advance of the Workers States and humanity which prevents Yankee imperialism from doing what it wants, when it wants. This is not to underestimate the courage and determination of the Shi'ite masses, but the process of history is decided by the world balance of forces (as, indeed, is the cou-

rage of the masses) and that world balance of forces is determined by the existence and advance of the Workers States. All local events, from the British miners' strike to the intervention of the Bolivian, to the actions of the Lebanese masses, form part of a world confrontation between the two social systems in the world: the Workers States and capitalism. Nothing makes sense without this understanding of reality.

It is this world balance of forces which has determined that what may well have started out as a provocation instigated by the CIA, has resulted in a defeat for Yankee imperialism. The fact is that the taking of 766 Shi'ite prisoners by the Israelis is now public knowledge, and they are forced to release them. Now, more than ever, Yankee imperialism cannot act openly in the Lebanon, and neither can the Israelis. These forces of reaction no longer have any authority and have to act clandestinely. Their creation, the South Lebanon Army (SLA), suffers desertions on a daily basis. Beyond this, imperialism acts clandestinely through CIA created terrorist groups. On the other hand, the Soviet Union's authority in the Middle East has increased considerably. It is not Assad of Syria who has gained authority, but the Soviet Union which has considerable influence on Syria. At the same time, the potential influence of the Soviet Union in the Middle East is not fully realised, because it does not have any real instruments to work through. There are few Communist parties in the Middle East of real importance, except perhaps for that of the Sudan and in Israel. This makes it very difficult for the Soviet Union to apply a consistent policy in acting as a leadership of the revolutionary forces. There are also the political limitations of the Soviet leadership itself, which has to contend with the absence of a genuine Party and all the other problems created during the Stalinist period. What the Soviet Union has to rely on now are nationalist forces which are anti-imperialist in the present stage of history: they are also in a state of disorder. The

actions taken, for example, by the Shi'ite AMAL against the Palestinians were anti revolutionary. They were the result of a narrow nationalist sentiment, and a certain fear of Israeli invasion if the Palestinians remained there. It means that the AMAL leadership does not understand the reality of the favourable world balance of forces. The methods of action adopted by the Shi'ites, such as the 'suicide bombings' are an indication of this lack of consciousness. We applaud the heroism of those involved, but such methods are not of this period of history. They are of a previous period when the advance of humanity was much less strong and certain. The objective conditions exist, on a world scale, for the final elimination of capitalism and the whole rotten system of private property. Unfortunately, the leadership for these conditions does not, as yet, exist - despite the advances made by the Soviet Union and its leadership. Nowhere is this more clearly demonstrated than in the Middle East.

However, it has to be said clearly that the Beirut hijacking resulted in a resounding defeat for Yankee imperialism. The fount of world terrorism is Yankee imperialism. It feels besieged by humanity and sees its demise in humanity's progress. It can only think in terms of killing people: this is the only policy that imperialism has. This being said, it is part of the weakness of imperialism that it cannot act openly. In the present favourable world balance of forces, humanity is not terrorised and in the case of the Beirut hijacking it was the masses, humanity, which won the hostages. The expressions of fraternity expressed by these people towards the Shi'ites - immediately after their release and before pressure was brought to bear by the Yankee administration - were quite genuine. The captain of the TWA airliner said on his release: 'We all hope and pray that they (the Shi'ites imprisoned in Israel) are reunited with their families'. This is an expression of the world balance of forces and of the social defeat of Yankee imperialism.

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The unity and progress of the system of the Workers States is in marked contrast to the way in which capitalism disintegrates before our eyes. Nowhere is this more true than in the United States, in the centre of world capitalism. The opposition by Congress to Reagan's support for South Africa is one aspect. The internal crisis over the Budget is another. Reagan is now forced to spend more than he intended on social services, and this is opposed by many Republicans in the Senate because they want to continue their policy of robbing the poor in order to spend more on war preparations. The denunciation of corruption in arms expenditure are, like all the other internal disagreements, basically disagreements amongst the ruling class over the war policy being followed by Yankee imperialism. At the same time, Yankee imperialism cannot hold its allies together in the war alliance it desires. The European bourgeoisie, for example has not supported Reagan's 'star wars' proposals because it sees them, quite rightly, as yet another attempt to give Yankee imperialism a first nuclear strike capacity against the Soviet Union. Also, they see that they are expected to shoulder a great deal of the cost, and increased expenditure on arms would make them less capable of competing with the Yanks on the world market. Anyway the European bourgeoisie cannot even agree amongst itself, and the majority disagree with Thatcher. Thatcher got no support in Europe recently because she is seen, by the leaders of European capitalism, as being Reagan's ally.

The kick in the teeth that Thatcher received in Europe was swiftly followed by another from the electorate in the Brecon by-election. This was a massive electoral defeat for the Conservative Party and Thatcher. After all, it was a Tory seat. In perspective it confirmed the fact that the Thatcher government is a minority government. In the General Election, as in Brecon, the majority voted against Thatcher - but, in the latter case, the Conservatives received rather less than the 40% they got in the General Election. Labour could have won this seat but it is not, as Kinnock says, the fault of Scargill and the NUM leadership. The miners' strike demonstrated that the masses are not frightened of the class policies of Scargill and his opposition to capitalism. It is much more likely that people who might have voted Labour, and who see the total crisis of capitalism, were deterred from doing so by Kinnock and the Labour leadership. If people want a social-democratic policy then they will vote for the SDP-Liberal Alliance. The truth is that the perspective of a Labour government trying to manage a disintegrating capitalist system is supremely unattractive. Kinnock says very little about Labour's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament and the removal of Yankee bases, but many supporters of the Alliance oppose nuclear weapons - the majority, in fact - and they could be won for Labour.

THE MINERS WON A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL VICTORY.

The miners, in the course of their strike, organised the majority of the population, workers and other sectors, against Thatcher and the capitalist system. In general, the Labour left has not understood the significance of the miners' strike. This is because they saw it simply as a struggle to wrest some concessions from capitalism. In part, this was because the leadership of the NUM did not widen its policy to include not just mining but the whole economy and society. The Labour left has still not seen that the miners won a considerable victory on the political and social level. The miners' strike was not an end in itself but a phase of the advance of the class struggle in this country. All the organisation created by the miners' strike - the women's committees, the local support groups, the organisations at the base of trade unions and local Labour parties - still remains, as does the desire of the masses to confront the capitalist system.

What was lacking in the miners' strike, and is still missing, is a comprehensive programme and policy for the transformation of society, and the Labour left does not provide it. In order to advance this left has to free itself from the Labour apparatus, not to remain confined to struggles within the bourgeois apparatus, in local Councils, Parliament and even the House of Lords. It has to elevate its discussion and actions on the basis of the class positions held by the leadership of the NUM. It has to broaden that discussion so that it is not confined to Labour Party meetings but involves the whole population.

Above all, the Labour left has to look at the reality of the world. Capitalism is in total crisis and cannot concede reforms. It is the Workers States that advance and provide the path for the progress of humanity. There is no 'third road' to Socialism, and the Workers State is a necessary stage in the advance to Socialism. The crisis in both the Spanish and French Socialist parties currently is the product of their failure in government. All the old social-democratic policies are now discredited. The Labour left have to look at the Soviet Union not as a society which is better than capitalism in some respects, but as the pattern for a new society which has already solved the problems which capitalism deepens daily. It has to follow the example of the NUM and its relationship with the Soviet Union. The fact that twenty militants have been sent to the trade union school in Moscow is an indication of the way in which the NUM prepares for the next phase of the anti-capitalist struggle.

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tion that Yankee imperialism is preparing to do the equivalent of nazism today. It has to be seen very clearly that, while the Soviet Union and the Workers States want and necessitate peace in order to live, the capitalist system and its principle leader, Yankee imperialism, need war.

European Bureau 1.6.1985.

the role of cinema in history

J. POSADAS

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS
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ON SCIENCE, SCIENTISTS AND HUMAN PROGRESS [EXTRACTS] J. POSADAS.

The most important aspect when we interpret these scientific articles or discoveries is to see the significance that they have in relation to what exists today. The concern of these investigators(*) of the brain constantly elevates the resolution of the human being to go beyond the technical means which he has and the means which the social relation gives him. If he is animated to see much further and to project himself to live more than a thousand years from now — because this is the depth of the question — it is because of the existence of the Workers States. The Workers State gives a confidence of stability to human beings in the relation with the earth, nature and the cosmos. It gives them security, a perspective, impels and organises them to seek a superior relation with the cosmos and nature, not to seek medicines but a superior relation. This is now in process.

There is already a very large sector of scientists who are not Marxists by declaration but soon will discover that between them and Marx there is an identity, and are going to declare on the question as to whether they are Marxists: 'I may not have known it, but this is as Marx has said'.

The most powerful and uncontrollable base of the impulses which these scientists receive comes from the Soviet Union, but also from San Salvador. The scientist, the intellectual, the petit bourgeoisie see a country which has nothing and which is organised without anything for a social, superior collective relation. Before in El Salvador there was not the possibility of having this relation, there was no Party, studying or education. They have 85% illiterates. They proceed from this to seek — and where now they can, they do it — a level like that of the USSR.

The progress of science is not identical to art but fulfils a function similar to art. Art and science advance when the development of social struggles and progress advances. Although the art may not be revolutionary, it is an expression of the capacity of the human being to do what nature does. In producing it, the human being feels identified with nature; the artist does not necessarily know it, but he works as a function of this. So that this may be possible, there must be a social development which transforms social relations in a logical form. The logic is determined by the level which people have. They see it is absurd that people die of hunger, that millions of tons of food are thrown away or spent in war, which is an incalculable cost for humanity.

People see all this; see also that the Workers States prepare for war but also impel all the countries of the world to terminate with war. Capitalism makes countries retreat

for them to have the money to make war in defence of what they have. People see this. The most backward countries — like El Salvador, Mozambique, Angola and Ethiopia — leap to progress with the support of the Workers States. This influences the minds of the scientist and the artist. The artist feels attracted to work by the fact which exists and expresses in his work of art the relations which it is necessary to improve and to impel. When it is a question of an epoch which is preparing historic transformations, although there may not be still a revolutionary struggle, the art of Michelangelo emerges — which was a point of support for the revolution afterwards. Michelangelo with his art is expressing human relations superior to those which existed. Why could he do it? Because there was a development of culture, of science, technology and of the economic will to progress represented in this moment by the bourgeois class.

But now there is no such situation. The artist cannot create now a Moses or a David. It is not the epoch of this. It is not possible to seek to arm and express a thought which is alive but which is going to be expressed in hundreds of years more, because now the Soviet Union exists. The existence of the Soviet Union requires immediate changes; the immediate function of overthrowing every thing. Thus, today there is no place for this previous type of creation. This is not because there is no time which is required for artistic creation, but there is no margin; the head is dominated because it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. In the epoch of Michelangelo it was not a question of overthrowing anything, but a question of the preparation of the conditions for this. It was afterwards that they overthrew the old society: it lasted another 250 years more, but they

overthrew it.

When the scientists feel stimulated and attracted to intervene, they do it because they represent limitedly the immense progress of humanity. They do not think about the factory, the multinational, but they think about ideas, projects, resolutions which correspond to what Michelangelo did, in the realisation of the Pieta, the Moses, the David or the technical works and the engineering which he did. The progress which these scientists achieve is for this, significant of the present stage. Moreover, these are scientists who come from the United States and capitalist Germany, from where people who reason should come. This is the homogeneous thought of the necessary logic of history which is distributed everywhere in art, painting, sport and science. Thus the best existing football players are of the left, especially in Europe. These players accumulate money, but when they have to speak — which is in risk from the accumulation of money — they say 'capitalism is going to hell, it is necessary to support Socialism'. For example, Crifft who is in contract to a Spanish club and who plays in a very intelligent manner, says that he is a 'Socialist'. This investigation of the brain is important. All these scientists are now preoccupied not with capitalism and the machine, but the human being. They are attracted by the human being, by the existence of the Soviet Union; even through China they are attracted with all the nature of its present counter-revolutionary leadership. These scientists see what China was like, and what it is now. They also see Java or Indonesia before and now, and see that it has in no way progressed.

The scientists say that the adult genetic constitution is not defined completely in the cell, but is constituted in the process of gestation;

We publish these analyses and commentaries of Cde Posadas as they are a reminder of his analysis that Marxism is a method that, in due course, will be incorporated in a superior understanding of the world. At the same time, Cde Posadas foresaw that in the future human creation will come from a profundity of social relations infinitely superior to those experienced by humanity now.

I had already deduced this logically. The molecular structure is in development, and in this development is creating and incorporating new elements which constitute new bodies with atomic and internal relations which we cannot know now... to interpret science in another sense to what we are doing or what partially these scientists are doing, is to create in a predetermined process which ends in a religious conception. As it is always predetermined 'it is God who lies within'. This is the formula which indicates that there is something superior to what we see and that determines.

But all this is a lie. Humanity is still in process of construction. The earth is in process of construction.

I pointed out some years ago when there was an earthquake in Italy, 'The earthquake is a protest of the earth because there is no understanding of its desire to live together with the human being. As it has no other way of speaking, it acts in this way'. I said in this epoch, 'It is not the earth which kills and destroys, but it is capitalism which kills and destroys'. Capitalism should have taken the proper methods in relation to the behaviour of the earth. It means to take these measures to achieve a relation where all these expressions, like the volcano, stop being means of destruction, to be converted into means of communication between earth and humanity. Communication through energy which expands and is immense, from there it is possible to extract energy so as to have food and go from one point to the other of the planetary system.

All these discoveries and investigations are not now to aggrandise capitalism but are scientific concerns which tend to elevate the relation of the human being with nature. These scientists are Communists in principle, although

they do not know that they are this. Communism is every action, every investigation, every resolution and every organisation which seeks harmony between all human beings, and between human beings with nature and the cosmos. Although Marx did not have this in the programme he had it included in the depth of what he was proposing: 'Communism resolves all the mystery of history and knows

that it can be resolved.' This is not resolved for itself, but for the relations with nature and through these with the cosmos. In the beginning of the programme of Marxism this was so.

In the future the Marxist method will be insufficient; But this is not because now it is mistaken,

but because a superior knowledge is going to require superior formulae. But of these new formulae, Marxism is going to be one of the bases. Also tissues will be like this, developed with this conception. From the practical point of view the tissues of any part of the body appear as independent from the head. This is relatively so because, anyway, it is linked to the head. But from the historical point of view and its results, yes, they are linked. It is the head which determines in a certain way part of the functioning of the tissue. If today it is not strictly so it is because there is still not the concern to do it. But it has been proved that touching certain points of the body eases other different zones. This means that certain points concentrate as a gravitation or solution to a series of pains, of movements, which appear without direct relation. They are vital points in which converge various internal relations. If this can be done in the body, imagine what could be done in the brain. The brain can be affected and by the human voice, with intelli-

THE BRUSSELS MASSACRE AND THE REPRESSIVE POLICIES OF CAPITALISM

The creatures who are preparing war in the ruling cliques of the Yankee ruling class, in NATO etc., have for a long time been preparing the grounds of internal repression by great talk of 'international terrorism' and the need for 'preventive action' against such terrorism. The preparations for war are being immensely accelerated by Yankee imperialism. The arrival of missiles in Europe and the discussion of the whole 'star wars option' are all pointers to the intensification of preparations against the Soviet Union and the masses of the world. At the same time, the war that is being prepared is a final encounter between two rival social systems and imperialism is immensely conscious of the fact that it has no support in the masses, that they are only an apparatus. Even if there are privileged layers of the population, the proletariat and its allies are totally against the system. Prior to the war, capitalism hopes to impose various forms of repression. As they do not have the social support of a Hitler, they are unable to develop the super repressive apparatus which he had. Their narrow social base has to find a substitute in vast surveillance and records, hordes of informers and various efforts at intimidation. A tenth of the British population is apparently on police record, a sign of the chronic fear and weakness of imperialism.

At the Brussels Stadium it was made to appear that the police were powerless to confront the 'terrible savages' of the spectators. But they did not hinder various provocative gangs with weapons from parading in front of the stadium prior to these events for the whole day in Brussels. Of course, Thatcher and the rest say there is no evidence of fascist complicity. They are hardly likely to admit to it. As with the police in Britain, the Belgian police are very active in the arrest of nuclear disarmers or demonstra-

tors against the Chilean Embassy, but a little slow with events like this. In Britain not so long ago, at a recent Millwall football match, a riot took place and the police were nowhere to be found. But, with the miners, the police were in evidence all the time.

The crowd at the stadium was not a 'raging' crowd.

The match was allowed to continue despite the appalling scenes, because a lot of money was at stake and, in any case, the carnage has its political advantages. It gives justification for more repression. The whole objective is to intimidate the population in general. The hooliganism of which they speak, in any case, apart from those present under fascist impulses, comes from layers of the population who are faced with a dead end as regards life under capitalism. The police in Britain are now examining in great detail all the faces recorded in film, so as to come down on the 'culprits'. But the chief culprit is capitalism, which the police defend. Recently there have been bombs exploding in Frankfurt and groups calling themselves 'communist' have been involved in various provocations in Belgium. All this is organised by capitalism and NATO using stooges and special agents for the task to justify all manner of 'investigations' and intimidation.

The left in the Labour Party should pronounce on all this and not accept the pious sanctimonious garbage of the capitalist press and television, whose sole preoccupation is anti-Sovietism and to confuse Marxism with terrorism (which NATO etc. itself organises). Capitalism seeks to prevent the discussion of ideas, to create an atmosphere where criticism of the established order is immediately classified as 'terrorism'.

EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH OF TOMAS BORGE, A LEADER IN THE NICARAGUAN GOVERNMENT

'In order to construct peace it is necessary to make the revolution'.

Nicaragua believes firmly that the struggle for peace in the world is the most important that the human race has waged in the whole length of its history. And that is the first step which Nicaragua has made to construct peace. To make the revolution some were surprised when we said that the revolution is the best support for peace, but it will not be difficult to understand that in front of the landlord exploitation, the voracity of the monopolies and exploiters, that peace means property of the people, that in front of disease and illiteracy

peace means health and the cure of illiteracy. Peace means eliminating the causes of war, and the principle cause of war is exploitation and injustice. The day that justice exists in Central America there will be no need to negotiate, because the reasons for war will have been eliminated. If the Nicaraguan revolution intensifies the contradictions in Central America, this is due to the architects of injustice who want to make war because for them justice is a threat to their privileges....

The Nicaraguan revolution is the qualitative, most important step for the consolidation of the historic peace in Latin America ...

They attack us cunningly and as we defend ourselves they accuse us of being militarists, and when we propose concrete steps to control what they call armaments, they accuse us of being weak and lying

The arguments with which they try to justify unjustifiable aggression have ripped off the grand clothes of imperialism

All that is the consequence of the desire for peace. But unfortunately the alternative of war continues to be present. The balance does not depend on us, but on those who irresponsibly claim to speak for the destiny of the Nicaraguans when they have already decided for ever their revolutionary destiny.

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gence, with sight, with motion. But the brain is still affected very little. The one who came closest was Marx: even so, this was limited for the future but served to prepare the conditions so that humanity finds a better form to affect the brain. Better players are going to be found, but also there are going to be better instruments.

In the future the hand and the look are going to determine movements. This is not going to be sorcery but through the relation which is going to exist with space. The element which surrounds us in apparent void, contains part of what we are: 'We come from there'. We call it space as a denomination of a relation between this and the rest, but there is no void. The atmosphere can be measured, weighed, and has an enormous force. All this is going to be able to be achieved through the development of the intelligence, because intelligence is not going to be a quality but will be the normal and indispensable form of existence. Everything is going to be reached with the intelligence and not with egoism or necessity or superficiality. The whole world will be so and the relation of the world will be the relation with the objects and things.

object does not resolve anything. It was the form which showed incapacity to reason; above all, through the egoistic limitation of the individual.

The development of science, of human intelligence eliminates the fear of the individual, but not through the persuasion of education but through superior human relations. Of all this progress which exists in the world the most important of all - which determines the course of history - is the unity between the Soviet Union: born in 1905, and which was recently clothed in 1917, because in 1905 it had no clothes to put on - and the whole of humanity. Humanity sees the security which it has been acquiring comes from the Workers States, from countries like El Salvador. It is necessary to see these scenes of the Salvadorian guerrillas with the children and the old people doing everything to collaborate with the revolution. The old people, the children, the women, feel now the security that they can construct life. Now there are no arms capable of conquering the will of humanity to lead itself. Remember the old phrase, 'Humanity is seeking to put itself in agreement with itself'.

Now all the principles of art, of science, of technology are going to be placed in agreement. Science which is valuable is not mechanics, to make cars, so as to get money out of people. But the true science is that which tends to elevate the human being to free himself from all the difficulties of social organisation and advance towards the future. This is the basis of science and hence there is a close relation between science and art, and

both are represented by politics. Politics represents all this. It is the flag which has all the colours: but the depth of the colours from which the others arise is red. Red is the emblem of liberation. Every new country which proceeds to give itself a flag seeks some place there to put a touch of red.

Red is a created colour. Humanity did not create colour but it now exists, and humanity elected red and it is the colour today of all the world. Nature created colours but it did not create the use of colours. The tones of colours can be determined by tests, but the tone expresses thoughts, sentiments, will, decision: colour and tone express this. In the flag this is not expressed so much because it is an indirect and unimportant means for representation. But in painted colour, it is particularly so with the children. Children put the accent on strong colours and seek strong colours. It is not exaggeration, brutality or lack of knowledge but through these colours they seek to make a demonstration of the strength of their security and of relations. The teachers who criticise children for this use of strong colours are mistaken.

20 1 81

(*) Referred to work by American scientists on a patient who was enabled to solve mathematical problems in spite of the fact that much of the brain was not functioning.



Lutte ouvrière

Organe du Parti ouvrier révolutionnaire trotskiste
Section belge de la IVe internationale posadiste

SUPPLEMENT AU N° 361, janv. 85

Le processus au Burkina Faso et la montée de la Révolution en Afrique

ARTICLE OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL
IN THE NATIONAL INFORMATION DAILY
CARREFOUR AFRICAIN, BURKINA-FASO.

It was some time ago that we proposed 'it is necessary to treat objects well; the objects are ourselves. I explained to comrades who treated objects badly that this impeded them thinking better. I understand the difficulties that there are, but kicking a chair or throwing an

EDITORIAL

**Extend the discussion of
the LP-TUC accord and the
programme of
social transformations**

The changes in the leadership of the Soviet Union, accompanied as they are with more and more emphasis on the role of the Party and the need to incorporate the masses more and more in the running of the economy and society, cannot be separated from the collision between the rival systems of imperialism and the Workers States and the final settlement of accounts between them. The fact that Marshal Orgakov's presence is maintained, despite removal from the top command of the Red Army, and that the whole political education of the armed forces is being deepened following the latest military changes, shows that the old bureaucratic constraints - as of Stalin's time on the Red Army - can no longer prevail. The experience of the shooting down of the Yankee spy Jumbo and the need for a more dynamic policy to confront Yankee imperialism stimulated the progressive changes in the Soviet leadership and the Red Army, and are indissolubly linked to changes in the functioning of the Soviet Union, with liberation from all the old bureaucratic restraints and conservatism. The Soviet Union has seen three changes in the Head of State, and now a complete transformation of the Political Bureau, without panic. Reagan's cancer led to rapid confirming of the temporary authority of Bush, and great pre-occupation in imperialism over the possible loss of their 'centre'. Imperialism lacks confidence in the future and in its various political teams.

Everywhere imperialism is surrounded. In the United States itself the Pentagon was surrounded by anti-nuclear demonstrators. In South Africa we see the beginning of the revolution which, essentially, is not just to throw out Apartheid but the force which sustains it - capitalism. It is a major blow at all the functioning of world capitalism, and undermines a war base of imperialism in the final encounter. In Cuba the Workers States, via Castro, gave a revolutionary orientation to the states of Latin America - repudiation of the massive debts to imperialism. And what are the initiatives of imperialism? Nothing but more massive military expenditures and CIA terrorism throughout the world. Not one political initiative of any scope or success. At the same time the Soviet Union, at a recent conference, confronted directly the Yankee delegate with the analysis that the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima were aimed at the Soviets and that their plans in the Forties and Fifties to bomb the Soviet Union are well known. Such directness is a conclusion of the Workers State. War, so long as imperialism exists, is inevitable.

FOR THE LP-TU ALLIANCE FOR
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The experience of the Workers States and the undermining of capitalism as a world system is the reason for the fragile and weakening structure of British imperialism. The crisis that arose over the Thatcher programme of upgrading the salaries of sectors of the state apparatus - civil service, army etc. - nearly brought about the fall of the government. A well organised Labour Party-Trade Union offensive with mass mobilisations could have

finished Thatcher. Even so, in the absence of this fall, the immense crisis of the system cannot be hidden. Thus the whole legislative attempt to separate the unions from the Labour Party by nullifying the political levy has failed. The alliance of Labour Party and trade unions is affirmed. Even in the recent campaign against the T&GWU - in which the union accepted the need for a re-run election (not the best political response) - resulted in a continued defeat for the right.

At the same time, the mass release of miners and the total failure of the attempt to continue repression in Scotland etc. reflects another debacle for capitalism, a weakness of the judicial and managerial apparatus. The crisis over the censorship of the film on the IRA shows the decomposition both of capitalist authority plus the massive crisis of what is basically a bourgeois apparatus. It shows that sectors well linked to capitalism reject the policy of the top layers of capitalism and tend to seek solutions not acceptable to the state. The fear of capitalism over the film, which incorporated material on Sinn Fein, also shows an influence from Sinn Fein in Britain which tends to disrupt the front of the bourgeoisie with the upper layers of the petit bourgeoisie. At the same time, the attitude of the governors of the BBC in front of the government brought out the functioning of the bourgeois state-repressive censorship, intense fear of ideas.

The announcement of an agreement of the Labour Party and the trade unions for a programme of con-

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Journalists' strike against censorship

sultation over all social problems on the return of a Labour government has created great dismay for capitalism. This agreement is very general, it passes through the functionaries of both sectors to the agreement. Moreover, the LP programme can hardly be regarded as very radical. In fact, it is clear that the proposals are intended by the apparatus to contain the pressure for radical changes. There is to be an investment bank and various capital projects to improve the infrastructure, and attempts to influence capitalism by economic summitry. In other words, an attempt to mitigate the worst excesses of capitalism without actually posing the problem of social transformations. Even so, capitalism is alarmed. They feel, especially with the presence of 'Scargillism', that the process may go beyond the usual controls of the apparatus, and even approach demands for workers control following Scargill's demand for forms of workers' management in the coal industry. It is clear that capitalism is at its wit's end. Thatcher - once referred to mistakenly by the Soviet comrades as the 'iron lady' tends more and

more to a state of vapourisation. Even she is obliged to admit that there is need for a battle of ideas to confront the Soviets - imperialism has none.

THATCHERISM - EXPRESSION
OF CAPITALIST DECAY

The forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions must base their conclusions for organisation and activity on the role of the Workers States and the favourable conditions of the world Socialist revolution. Arguments and discussions must relate to this world ambience, not be based on the immediate experiences of Britain. Neither Scargill or the Thatcher experience can be detached from the collision of social systems the Workers States versus capitalism. The experience of the BBC journalists raised many issues, about the functioning of capitalism, which cannot be modified by a greater 'democracy'. There ought to be meetings organised by the Labour Party on this issue, and not let the issue be left at the level of anti-Thatcherism, full stop.

Capitalism still seeks to impose its will. Now they have started an offensive against the railway workers and the Cheltenham workers still in trade unions. But this is inevitable given the weakness of the trade union leaderships and the necessity for capitalism to repress. Its coercive policies show only the decline of the capacity, of capitalism, to preserve united fronts within the capitalist class, with the aristocracy of labour, and with extensive layers of petitbourgeoisie. All this is failing, and in a world context favourable to Socialism. The Labour left has no basis for pessimism; on the contrary, the Thatcher experience is decisive proof that imperialism is in an irretrievable decline and there is no limit to Socialist political audacity provided there is clarity in principle and perspectives.

16.8.85

GREECE HAS VOTED FOR SOCIALISM. RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU (EXTRACTS).

The 58% of the electorate which in one way or the other represent the Socialist objective, the Communists and Socialists together in conditions of a very profound class polarisation and confrontation, is already an achieved programmatic and political conclusion which does not retreat. It is the result of a world and also local revolutionary process and of the relation between this process and the intervention of the masses which is the fundamental basis. In these elections all the parties of the centre have disappeared and already a part of these forces had gone over before the elections to the Socialists, as also important cadres and ex-ministers of the PASOK put themselves on the lists of the KKE (Greek Communist Party): which shows the polarisation of forces and the continuous elevation of the left and of the anti-imperialist and of anti-capitalist objectives which the KKE proposes with greater conclusion and firmness. On the other side, all the small parties of the bourgeoisie concentrated in their principle party, the New Democracy, to be able to overthrow electorally the Socialist government.

The Greek masses have intervened in these elections and have defeated the counter-attack of imperialism and the local reaction, defeating their plans to utilise an electoral reinforcement of the RD against the left in order to make the country retreat. All their forces failed to deceive, terrorise and repress the masses.

An important element of these elections is that everybody intervened in Greece. They intervened in Greece, but all the favourable and determining world relation of forces intervened. All the progress of the anti-capitalist struggle of the European proletariat was expressed in a concentrated form, the anti-capitalist progress of the European proletariat and the increasing resistance of the European masses to the war programme which Yankee imperialism impels with the most reactionary sectors of European capitalism. The Greek masses have seen imperialism intervene to impose on the leadership of the ND, the most reactionary sectors, a programme which corresponded to Thatcher and Kohl. They understood that it was not a question of just one more election, but of an attack of imperialism to overthrow the Socialist government utilising the favourable conditions which were created by the conciliatory policy of the leadership of PASOK, so as to block the government's independent actions which are a great problem for the war plans of imperialism. It is important to see in these elections the support which the Social Democracy in Europe gave to Papandreu and the Socialist government as part of the struggle of the currents and tendencies of all the countries of capitalist Europe against the installation of the missiles, against political and economic submission to the Yanks.

The Greek masses have again voted for Socialism directly to defend an important conquest, the Socialist government against the counter-attack of imperialism — the progressive role of the transitional stage of the Revolutionary State. In spite of the fact that this is combined with the maintaining of the function and the relations of the country with the world capitalist market, maintaining this has, in no way, reinforced the capitalist func-

tioning or programming in favour of capitalism. If this had occurred, it would have produced a strengthening of competition, of the laws of the market, of private initiative in production and export. But, on the contrary, this has supported itself on relations between states in the development of the organisation of co-operatives, in the investments and activity of the state: elements which were pointed out in Pravda days before the elections. It thus took a series of measures on wages, like the sliding scale of wages, with important social and democratic measures which will improve and raise the standard of living of the poorest sectors; above all, not because it made a better administration of the capitalist system but because it confronted it and utilised the inter-world capitalist disputes and the support given by the Workers States.

In any case, in the electoral result all the depth and maturation of the process was not expressed. The votes of the ND could have been much less, and there could have been many more votes for the KKE. The reason is not only the conditions of the bourgeois elections, which did not allow an intervention of the masses and a discussion which was much more profound, but also the political insufficiency of the leaderships of the left. Above all, the factor which confirmed the greater victory of the left is the fact that it presented itself in the elections as divided and the KKE and PASOK sought their own increase one against the other, in an internal competition, putting on one side the necessity of a common action of all the forces of the left to be able to influence new layers of the population.

In this electoral dispute, the leadership of PASOK presented itself with more decision and more objectivity in the struggle against the right, and this allowed it to win a sector of the left masses in relation to the CP. At the same time, the leadership of PASOK — seeing that there is a continuous process of going to the left, which was expressed also before the elections — sought by electoral regulation, as with the electoral law which it voted together with the right and which limited particularly

the electoral strength of the Communists, to contain the expression of all this leftist process which in an important level might lead directly to a Communist Socialist government and also to much more advanced tasks, to a process of rupture with the bourgeoisie for which it was not prepared, nor all the sectors disposed to impel them. Hence, it did not make an electoral campaign on the basis of a concrete programme which it was disposed to apply. It has hidden its intentions and in others showed itself ready to utilise its increased strength, the crisis of the right, but also the reduction of the Communist opposition to be able to continue with a policy of negotiations with world capitalism, seeking to use and prolong the need for a more profound confrontation.

The KKE entered these elections with a policy which did not help it to concentrate and transform into votes the enormous authority which it developed in all these years and which was expressed before the elections in that it won important cadres and ministers of the Socialist government. Without a profound understanding of the process which is developing in Greece, it stopped influencing through the nature of the dispute and changed positions in front of PASOK. In seeking to avoid a loss of votes to PASOK, it made an electoral campaign to criticise the leadership of PASOK saying that this collaborated with the right in a bi-partisan game, without essential differences, and that the country was not interested if PASOK won or the right, and that PASOK had given all that it could. Such criticism is not only erroneous but the masses were not in agreement. This had the result that, on one side, the right maintained the votes and, on the other, a part of the votes for the CP went to the PASOK to secure the defeat of the right, and to continue so with favourable conditions for the intervention for the socially necessary transformations.

The problems of the policy and tactic of the CP in front of an unequal and combined process where the masses seize hold of transitory historic organs to communicate its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist desire to all the country and the world, to be able to lead and attract more extended social layers when it cannot be done through the small CPs, is not only a problem of the CP of Greece, but of the majority of the CPs of Europe. It is necessary to impel a profound discussion on the policy of the CPs, above all, on the united fronts necessary in this stage of history; the struggle to confront the war which imperialism is preparing with the necessity to extend the support of the CP over the participation and intervention of

the masses of each country through mobilisations against imperialism and for economic and social conquests, democratic changes in the life of the country and to apply a programme of solution of each country of the capitalist crisis.

The truth is that the CP has not lost any strength. In the CP there is concentrated the most alive and decisive part of the Communist and worker vanguard. A sector in a particular circumstance voted for PASOK without ceasing to be Communist. If the KKE in all this period had intervened with more decision and, at the same time, with a more flexible and objective policy, it would have emerged much reinforced in these elections, because in Greece it is clear that a political and programmatic containing on the part of the leadership of PASOK could lead to an increase of the KKE from the ten per cent electorate of today to a 20-25%. It is necessary that the comrades of the KKE see and assess the fact that they can, through a discussion in the organs of the masses (which, in turn, requires a better political life and discussion within the Party to develop the argumentation and objectivity of the Communist militant), make itself rapidly a

determining factor in the formation of the necessary conditions for the united front and Communist-Socialist government, for the process, selection and formation of the necessary leadership of the country. The KKE has no need to change the orientation and the objectives. It needs a correction of policies and tactic for this stage, and the necessary cadres for this. And, as Cde Posadas analysed, as it does not have a leadership prepared scientifically nor a sufficient discussion and political life, this process of correction is made through a crisis of growth. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie are passing through a crisis of decomposition.

Greece is entering a stage where it is necessary to respond to the most important problems of the economy like the external debt, unemployment and the profound capitalist crisis. It is important that the Socialist leadership is ready to confront them. But, at the same time, it is without an homogeneous policy, without programme and firm objectives ... at the same time it is necessary to measure the weight and the influence of the Soviets in the progress of Greece, that they seek to intervene with more decision in this stage, seeing with some caution the manoeuvres of Papandreu, but, at the same time, seeing the depth and maturity of the objective situation in Greece ...

Greece is passing through a series of important events without the left having a necessary leadership, and even so it is the left which has won. This shows the maturation and the intelligence of the masses who do not stay passive but ask, in every way, to intervene to formulate opinions, criteria, and to learn to impel their leaderships to an action which is going to develop with the strength necessary to apply an anti-capitalist programme for the development of the country. To impel a programme of development for all the countries, it is necessary to

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THE SOCIAL ORIGIN OF MADNESS IN THIS STAGE OF HISTORY.

J. POSADAS

Madness in people who come from the worker camp is the pressure of social life, of the concern to feed the family and of family disputes, of moral problems. Capitalism is the force which breaks people up, destroys without any moral feeling, imposes certain norms on the workers' family, and from there arise the problems which lead to madness.

But, in capitalism, it is the ambition of power, the collapse and decline of capitalist power of a class which lives only to enrich itself and exploit, which produces the effect which leads to madness. The greatest percentage of madmen are capitalist. The heart diseases and attacks are madness expressed in the form of death. There people die before they go mad. Instead of affecting the head and leading to madness, their hearts are affected and they die in another way. The heart and the brain are most sensitive receptacles, then the stomach, and more distantly the lungs and the kidneys.

Capitalism receives all the effects of the capitalist life: ambition, arrogance, power — and this affects the organism. If capitalist power was in development, there would not be so many deaths from heart attacks or mental problems. There is a great collapse and a collision develops between the morality of life and the capitalist morality which leads to madness or death through heart attacks and stomach disorders. Many more people die from heart attacks, through brain problems, than through madness. But the

deaths are an aspect of madness which does not reach the stage of madness as they die before madness sets in. Their life goes towards madness; the capitalist system is madness.

To make war today is a madness, when people with the minimum level of culture put themselves in agreement. But the capitalists make war to resolve whom they are going to smash and to make disappear in order to hold new markets where to sell. This situation is an enormous social pressure. The capitalist now loses historic social strength. He sees that the working class, the Workers States advance; sees that capitalism loses influence, power, and this increases the pressure over the heart, the head and the stomach — which in their origin are almost all nervous illnesses which many times lead to death.

In the working class the problems of madness are produced by the tremendous problems which they have to resolve with ten children, or they cannot get them enough to eat. Hence by admiration for Chaplin where, in one of his films, when he is in the police he has to arrest some one but sees that he has many children. But you are a father of all these! Then he gives him a medal. Instead of arresting him for theft, he decorates him.

Madness is a social sickness of the capitalist system.

In the working class it comes about through family economic reasons; the great social pressure under which it lives. But, even so, in the working class this phenomenon

is of less and less importance because it lives the triumph of the working class throughout the world, and is resolving the problems as a ruling class. This gives it a social function and a perspective which eliminates other concerns. Thus, with the concern for wages, work and the family, all these problems are included in this perspective, and this does not produce pressure over the heart, the head or the stomach. In the bourgeoisie it is the reverse.

It is not hunger in itself which produces madness, but the mental pressure which hunger produces, and then produces what Chaplin showed in the 'Gold Rush', a delirium without hallucination — because the victim wants something and sees it — a very advanced stage of delirium which can lead to madness. But here is a very clear reason: the great pressure of necessity which when satisfied ceases.

There are countries such as Ethiopia and South Yemen which advance from nothing, from tribes to being Socialist. This determines that base of the problem which eliminates madness and heart and mental diseases. These disappear for peoples and increase for capitalists. Even if problems of relation exist in the backward peasant zones of Italy and other countries, in so far as the tradition of struggle and trade union life involves all the family, the problems between parents and children are resolved, and they unite in trade union struggle. The conflicts which exist in worker families come from previous relations, an insuffi-

ciency of means, but are absorbed and eliminated in the common fight against capitalism and for human progress.

The poor family, like the Calabrese family of the south of Italy, struggle as a whole against capitalism; thus, every one is identified in the struggle. The son or daughter understands the deficiencies of the father and does not blame him for what cannot be done, and the parent does not blame the son for not understanding or accepting. Thus the family is converted into an organising sector of revolutionary thought. There madness does not operate, nor the bases for developing madness. But, in capitalism, it is not like this. Every capitalist is a lunatic in potential. This is not an exaggeration.

Some, in capitalism, foresee the general madness of capitalism, of disintegration (including of the monetary system, that is the suppression of the gold basis) which leads to war. Part of European capitalism sees that war is coming, foresees the catastrophe of the capitalist world, and that in the war 'we shall all die'. This time they feel that they are not going to be untouched, all the world is going to be affected. The proletariat does not have the objective of killing, the triumph is going to be to say to the capitalists that they can go on living and see how better life is compared with the one they had. If they want to die let them die of shame!

The Soviets have made the richest, most beautiful experiences of re-education. After the Revolution of 1917 they made colonies with criminals where they eliminated prisons, and in the USSR in 1917 there were plenty of reasons to be criminal. There was frightful poverty. They

won thousands and thousands of arrested men, assembled all the prisoners in colonies in prisons with open doors, and said to them: 'You have committed such and such acts and require a process of regeneration. We cannot attend to all this because we have to deal with the economy, but you have to do this and this and this. Hardly five per cent persisted in crime, the rest regenerated immediately. After, under Stalin they returned to the previous practice. The same was done in China, with the elimination of the prostitutes. The capitalist, the financier, the General who only believes in medals are difficult to win, although some can be won. For example, the Chinese after the revolution won a great number of Generals, the same as the Bolsheviks.

The progress of civilisation which is advancing towards Socialism overwhelms the capitalist mentality; thus it gives to the bourgeoisie the sensation of disaster. They feel lost in life because they only live with the obsession of power, in feeling that the superior power advances, they feel put on one side. This is the basis of madness.

J. POSADAS 24.6.74

From page 2

accompany it with a social programme which is not convenient for capitalism, and a policy which tends to elevate the intervention of the masses. This is the objective norm of the process which develops throughout the world and every event verifies it.' (J. POSADAS, 6.6.80)

We call upon the Workers States, above all the USSR, to intervene more directly and decisively in the discussion which is developing in Greece, supporting the Communists and the Socialists with proposals on how the country progresses, with political opinions and ideas for the formation of the necessary united front of Communists and Socialists for a left government

on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme which supports itself on the intervention of the masses. As Cde Posadas analysed, the future of Greece is not tranquility or stagnation, but the intensification of the confrontation with imperialism and the development of the class struggles for the progress of the country. It is necessary to prepare the movement for this process.

EB 5.6.85
Posadist IV International.



Young Workers demonstrate for higher wages.

THE CRISIS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION

The changes in the Soviet Union are in the direction of correcting it and affirming the role of the Communist Party in policy as a priority over diplomacy with world capitalism. The Soviet Union becomes increasingly the world leadership of all the anti-capitalist struggles. The Soviet Union, by simply removing corrupt technocrats, bureaucrats, people who seek personal gain, progresses endlessly. It becomes plain for everyone to see that it is the sort of social organisation apt to progress, whilst capitalism still has to be overthrown. The Soviet leadership does not use fully the authority this gives it, and neither does it wholly understand it. But it is undergoing clearances, and this makes it increasingly apt to be the leadership of humanity.

In Communist parties like that in Britain this has the effect of proving that Lenin was right, Marxism was correct, and the taking of power by means of force was necessary to build the new society. The CPGB, built on the basis of parliamentary and pacifist illusions, suffer all the more from the evidence provided by the Soviet Union. On top of this, the Soviet Union creates by its very progress a world balance of forces favourable to advance against capitalism. The miners' strike was not led in Britain by some remarkable and particularly unique force: it was the result of the world balance of forces; it shook the NUM and the trade union apparatus, and brought out to light the need to get rid of all manner of collaborators with capitalism.

In this stage of the preparation of the final settlement of accounts with capitalism, the world proletariat prepares to extend the Workers States which are already a large part of humanity. The British proletariat seeks the nationalised and planned economy, and it takes its lead from the Soviet Union. It is not by accident that twenty 'militant' miners are going to the USSR, sent by the NUM. The links between the British vanguard and the Soviet Union are powerful already, and by-pass the CPGB entirely. The emergence of someone like Scargill outside the CPGB and more conscious than it, shows that Communism is not in crisis; only the old apparatus of the CPGB, built in the era of Stalin, is.

Many Communists in the world and in Britain never accepted eurocommunism, but it weakened the Communist Party so much that the abandonment of Lenin and Marx became a norm in Britain. The CPGB then was made a prey of the trade union apparatuses where those in charge are 'lieutenants of the capitalist system', in the words of Lenin. The emergence of someone like Carter in the Communist Party,

and 'Marxism Never', are the proof of this. These sectors represent the total capitulation of a Communist Party to the trade union bureaucracy and aristocracy of labour — meaning that they became a breeding ground of collaborators with capitalism, to pervert the class struggle in the name of Communism. The abandonment of Lenin, Marx and the adoption of the 'British Road to Socialism' (as opposed to the violent, revolutionary road to Socialism), all have the same significance: the abandonment of the idea that power has to be taken — taken by force — and that the Soviet Union is the country that did it.

The crisis in the CPGB is compounded by the fact that there is no clarity on this issue in the world Communist movement, and that the Soviet Union — as far as one knows — has made no analysis of the 'British Road to Socialism'. The idea of the British road to Socialism means that, to one degree or another, all the Communist Party is permeated by the idea that Britain is particular, that it does not follow the rules of the class struggle, that a peaceful non-antagonistic arrangement can be arrived at with the class enemy. In fact, it must be said that there is no British road to Socialism, that Britain is the theatre of the greatest antagonistic preparation of capitalism against humanity, and that the Communists must change policy and return to Marxism.

Even though the Soviet Union and the other Workers States do not make this analysis and do not formulate criticisms to rectify the CPGB, they advance; this stimulates the rise of capable and conscious leaders in the proletariat of all the capitalist countries. Humanity is preparing for the final settlement of accounts through its traditional organisms: in Britain, they are the trade unions and the Labour Party. Communism is the only

answer for Britain, as for anywhere, and it grows in those centres. New forces are emerging, thrown up not by the British proletariat so much as by the world proletariat, i.e. the Soviet Union. The British proletariat — as Comrade Posadas analysed for the whole of Europe — does not need to be a huge or decisive force in any country. The force today is the Soviet Union. It makes places like Ethiopia, where there is no proletariat, take the proletarian programme via an army — an army! — which came from the Negus!

The importance of the proletariat does not lie in how many workers there are, in their being replaced or not by technology. The proletariat is the programme that has constructed the Soviet Union. That programme is a conquest of the consciousness of humanity today, regardless of how many British industrial workers remain. It is this which the Communist Party must uphold and it is its role: to impel Labour to Communism. Proletariat today means: nationalisation, planning of the economy, the intervention of the masses in the leadership of society. This is the Soviet Union. The miners' strike was the result of the confidence the Soviet Union instils in Britain. The renewed crisis in the CPGB after the strike is a consequence of such powerful advances and ties with the Workers States, outside of — and against — the apparatus of the CPGB.

The British proletariat is not in Labour to support the corruption of the Labour leadership and submission to capitalism. It is in Labour to construct Socialism, and the Communist Party must help it in this. There is a task for the Communists in Britain — they are not annulled or rendered unnecessary because of the centralisation around Labour. It is the abandonment of Marxism that renders them ineffectual. They must learn to develop Communism outside themselves, in the centre that decides historically, without dissolving into the Labour Party; maintaining the right to remain Communists. At a certain stage it may be possible for the Communists to enter Labour, but this could only be done with the full right of tendency — the right to publish, to maintain Marxism. We are not for the dissolution of

A soviet experience with dolphins

Off the coast of Alaska recently about two thousand dolphins were shut in a mass of giant ice blocks. They had pursued a swarm of fish and were cut off in their return to the sea, and the prospect was one of a mass dying. The local Soviet authorities were informed and these turned to the Ministry of Fishing with an appeal for measures to save them. The ice-breaker 'Moscow' was sent out. After the Soviet sailors had broken up the immensely thick ice, some dolphins approached and it was necessary to make clear that the sailors wished to help them. The dolphins needed over four days to be convinced of these intentions and also in order to get used to the great noise of the ship's machinery. But communication succeeded, especially through the music which came from the loud speaker. They knew that the dolphins, like many other highly developed animals, and even plants, are very sensitive to music.

The operation was a complete success, and the Polar dolphins followed the ice-breaker on their way to freedom. This is a notable experience, and shows the amicable relation which the Workers State seeks to establish with nature and animal life. Yankee scientists have also devoted much study to dolphins, but the other side of this investigation has been the vile pre-occupation to turn dolphins to another weapon of the Navy — in this case, creating animal torpedoes, or to exploit their abilities in aquariums for money. In the Soviet experience, the most complete solidarity with the animal kingdom was expressed.

Meanwhile Yankee agents blow up the Greenpeace ship (Greenpeace recently sent a telegram of congratulations to the Soviet government). The logic of imperialism is to make humanity an endangered species, whereas the Workers State works for the complete unification of human, natural and cosmic life.

ON VAN GOGH

The paintings of van Gogh indicate a tortured life — not fortunate — as a result of a very elevated sentiment in a clash with people. But, at the same time, the sentiment of bitterness or of great oppression of the sentiments does not determine a figure or a form of pessimism, or individualism, all, when they do not understand but the conjuncture of a very good sensation of nature, of colour, of combination and of harmony. If he had painted in his works desolated sentiments, these would give a sensation of desolation, and it is not so.

The painting 'The Cafe' shows the affection for people for poor people who go to the bar to take refuge. It does not show arrogant types, does not show the cafe with important people, but shows the cafe of the popular area, the poor cafe — one of these people has a most

human look: an old man full of life. He is very old, but not decrepit. van Gogh does not show people beaten down by life. Other painters, even being good painters and of the left, create paintings which show an immense collapse which is their being smashed down. Above what is happening in the world, they become depressed and paint accordingly. A painting of Van Gogh of Spring has no people, but one does not feel solitude. People are present and they can be imagined. But, in Pissaro — a good person — there is solitude. In some paintings there is hardly any one but very distant and small, while the windows and houses are big and the trees without leaves. But the chairs of van Gogh have life, transmit the feeling of Van Gogh.

J. POSADAS 1 March 1960

the Communist Party but its continued existence depends on its correcting itself and returning to Marxism.

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EDITORIAL

The Trade Unions must develop their anti capitalist political function.

Gorbachev's proposal for a reciprocal reduction in long range missiles between the USSR and the USA, and its rejection by Yankee imperialism, has served to highlight the nature of the two world social systems. It has shown that the USSR and the system of the Workers States (Socialist countries) have an interest in peace and progress, and that capitalism has no other interest but war. It is precisely because imperialism has no interest but war and war preparations - and this is the nature of the system - that it cannot make any counter-proposals to the Soviets. It can only reject the Soviet proposals. The Workers State has a very direct interest in reducing arms expenditure in order to develop the economy. The USSR, for example, has a really revolutionary perspective for the development of its economy, for the extensive use of science and technology in the interests of the population. Imperialism, on the other hand, has a very direct interest in maintaining arms expenditure at the highest possible level. In the first place, it has no other perspective but war, and, in the second place, arms production is the most profitable sector in the capitalist economy. About the only area in which it expands. Gorbachev's proposal on arms reductions has emphasised the essential differences between the two systems, and this will not be lost on the mass of humanity.

The whole preoccupation of Yankee imperialism is dedicated to war preparations and maintaining its war alliance. And it does this in the most difficult conditions. The Soviet proposals have widened the divisions between Yankee imperialism and its allies. Thus, when Reagan proposes a meeting with his allies to discuss his meeting with Gorbachev, the French and British refuse to attend. The French bourgeoisie maintains its 'independent' line, which means to ignore the demands of Yankee imperialism and, thereby, to disrupt NATO. The British decided to meet a joint Jordanian/PLO delegation at the moment when the Yanks are attacking the PLO. Of course, British imperialism is trying to weigh on the most bourgeois and conciliatory elements in the PLO, but its policy does not coincide with that of the Yanks. This is a particular blow at the Yanks, because the British are their closest allies. The closer imperialism comes to launching the war, the more they need a unified war alliance and, in reality, the more it finds control slipping from its grasp. So, to maintain the momentum of war preparations,

Workers of the world, unite!

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BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)

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NO TO IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION AGAINST BURKINA FASO (UPPER VOLTA).

FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE COMMITTEES OF THE REVOLUTION!

Since the military coup in August 1983 which installed a revolutionary government in Burkina Faso that country has been a source of progress for the whole region. It is one which shares with the rest of West Africa various conditions of backwardness economically and surrounded by the pressures of imperialism. But the original coup showed that in this stage of history the most backward countries can, through the consciousness of the world process, make immense leaps beyond the immediate level of the prevailing economic conditions

The forces of reaction ob-

serve the danger in Burkina Faso as Yankee imperialism sees the danger of Nicaragua and persistently attempts to undermine the country. On May 31 an attempt was made to organise a counter-revolutionary coup via explosions in Blindados and in Bobo Diulasso, economic capital in the west of Burkina. This was met with an immense popular mobilisation which rapidly decomposed the counter-revolutionaries. The Committees of Revolutionary Defence were rapidly organised and all the strategic points in the capital Ouagadougou occupied. This shows the great revolutionary force which exists while, at the same time, the government - pressured by economic necessities - is under pressure from the IMF and world imperialism

who seek to contain and blackmail it through discussion of loans and investments etc.

An aspect which the capitalist press, and partly the Communist movement, has kept silent about is that on his return from the Ivory Coast, Sankara the leader of Burkina Faso, declared that there are imperialist preparations of aggression against Burkina on the part of those who invaded Grenada. That is to say, he directly denounced the Yanks who were totally involved in the attempted counter-revolutionary coup. The problem of developing the revolutionary Party as an instrument of construction of Socialism is being broached increasingly with

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they engage themselves in a series of terrorist acts, provocations and acts of war. This is why, despite denials, they supported the bombing, by the Israelis, of the PLO headquarters in Tunis. It was an action of war which the Israelis would not have launched without the permission of the Yanks. This is why the CIA organises and stimulates terrorist groups on a world scale. And this is why imperialism hijacked an Egyptian airliner and deployed armed fighter aircraft in the airspace of various countries.

This hi-jacking of the Egyptian airliner was an act of war. By this means the Yankees hope to threaten the Soviet Union and to draw together the imperialist war alliance. By this act, in particular, the Yanks are saying to their allies that the war is not negotiable, and that they it is who decide when it will be launched. Of course, history does not allow imperialism to do what it likes, when it likes, but this does not stop Yankee imperialism from making its intentions quite clear.

THE SOVIET INTERVENTION.

Therefore, the Gorbachev proposals both deepen the divisions in the imperialist camp and demonstrate to the world masses that the Workers State is dedicated, by its nature, to peace and the progress of humanity. It is an important initiative on the part of the Soviet leadership, but it is essentially limited. The clear demonstration that the Workers State is the path of progress has provoked a crisis in all the workers' parties and trade unions in the capitalist countries that based themselves on the 'third road'. There is crisis in all the Communist and Socialist parties and, not least, as is demonstrated in this year's Conference, in the British Labour Party. These parties and trade unions are incapable of giving a coherent leadership to the movement for social transformation and against the imperialist war preparations which is so powerful in the capitalist countries. It is now necessary and possible that the Soviet Union intervenes to provide such a political leadership,

that it proposes a programme - the programme of the Workers State to transform society in the capitalist countries. Diplomatic interventions and proposals for disarmament have their place, but they are not enough.

The demonstrable economic, social and cultural superiority of the Workers States hastens the decomposition of capitalism. This decomposition is expressed in the riots in this country in Handsworth and Tottenham and, on another level, in capitalist Germany, in Frankfurt and Hamburg. No doubt criminal elements took advantage of the riots but, at depth, they expressed the utter rejection by a stratum of youth of capitalism which offers it nothing but repression, unemployment and racial discrimination. It is a disordered process, an explosion, because there is no leadership to give it programme or direction. And the Labour left, on the annual conference showing, is incapable at this

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The role of the youth of the world today is to utilise the capacity and optimism to develop in society the most harmonious relations – those of Socialism.

Youth is only a stage in the maturing of the human being. But it contains two fundamental elements of existence which do not repeat themselves in the present forms of social life: the innocence which continues from childhood combined with the impulse and optimism which come from the capacity which the young person has in reproducing and extending human life.

This maturing of the human being is hampered by the life which capitalist society imposes which neutralises the innocence of youth and destroys its optimism in forcing it to struggle for economic power for property imposed by force and not by reason. This society is antagonistic to the normal objective development of human existence; it goes against nature.

This World Festival of Youth represents objectively the force, the joy and the purity of human relations, the immense social progress, economic, social scientific and cultural progress of the USSR and the other Workers States which are on the road of breaking all the chains impeding human progress. In the face of capitalist society, which is in its final decadence, the youth of the Posadist IV International consider that it is necessary to take this World Festival not only as a meeting place of the youth of the world where peace, love and friendship meet, but also as a centre of intervention and of struggle.

We must struggle against exploitation, poverty, atomic death to prevent millions of children dying in the so-called 'third world'; also in the bastions of imperialism – the United States or Britain – against the effects of drugs, degeneration (as that which led to the massacre in the Brussels Stadium), or of every other form of perversion to which a decadent society leads and which cannot offer any perspective of progress to humanity.

At the same time as the optimism and resolution we must have full consciousness that our Festival is occurring in a very difficult stage in the history of the world, in which one class is disappearing and must give way to a better organisation of humanity.

Capitalism can no longer in this stage of its agony produce great musicians or other artists because the system of private property is already completely corroded by its own contradictions and antagonisms. We are no longer in an epoch of resistance or of the development of the bourgeois and industrial revolution. We must discuss and take a position on this problem in this Festival. These are the problems which touch humanity. To struggle for culture is also to rise up as a single body against the atomic bases of imperialism, to hinder new bases

LETTER OF THE YOUNG POSADISTS TO THE WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH IN MOSCOW (EXTRACTS).

The leaflet was widely distributed by the Posadist team who participated in the Festival and its many meetings, particularly with the Komsomol.



On July 28 in Moscow youth and students held a mass rally "For peace, the prevention of nuclear war and for disarmament."

being installed, to struggle for the self-determination of peoples and for their right to develop, to support their peoples in their struggle against imperialism, against the capitalist system.

The young Posadists express their solidarity with the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle throughout the entire world. We support also all the countries which construct the bases of Socialism. We are in solidarity with the youth and the people of Angola, Ethiopia, Birkinia Faso and Nicaragua. We are in solidarity with the youth of Afghanistan which struggles with the fraternal aid of the Soviet Union for the Socialist progress of its country against the old feudal castes corrupted and allied with imperialism. We consider that our Festival must unite with the joy of our encounter exchanges of experience of culture, of fraternal human sentiments, the discussion of the reality which we must live as protagonists of historic changes.

The youth of the world present in this Festival cannot in any case and whatever their political, religious or cultural formation, remain outside this world process, nor refuse to see that we realise this Festival in the first Workers State of the world, in the country where for the first time in history society has eliminated the regime of private property. It is in the Soviet Union that all humanity has been able for the first time to organise in a single will the forces of history, concentrating human progress. Our Festival is an integral part of the historic continuity of this past, of the present and of the future. As Cde Posadas said: 'Communism is already installed in the conscience of humanity' – and the

youth, with its optimism, its force, its assurance, is a fundamental part of the leadership in construction.

All the obscurantist and retrograde forces of society based on classes seek to break the natural structure of the youth. They create and stimulate cultural and scientific disorder. All the world campaigns for drugs, pornography, the sects of all sorts that are based on the degradation of the human being, have not come by chance any more than the encouragement that imperialism gives to individualism, to chauvinism, to the confrontation between different groups.

However, the youth in its immense majority does not participate in these manifestations organised by the capitalist system. The struggle to smash the capitalist system, to finish with the inequality of classes, unifies the young and the old, the children and the adults. It creates a relation of unification and makes appear a new form of human being which will develop in the future when the class struggle will no longer exist, and where the age differences will mark simply a stage of human development, where the only difficulties will be those of learning the necessary forces and capacities to be free and to develop. In the same way, there no longer exists the man/woman problem, but the problem is to construct the necessary harmony between human beings, to finish with a divided society, divided into classes, and to construct the superior society: that of Socialism.

Capitalism speaks of the problem of youth. But we ask: what is the problem of youth? Is it a question of its lack of optimism, of confidence, of

CHARACTER OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP.

2.1.81.

J. POSADAS

The underlying fact of the policies of the present counter-revolutionary Chinese leadership is that it is creating a situation which cannot last for very much longer. The world is not going in the direction of their aspirations. Stalin had more power than ten countries like China put together. This did not prevent his liquidation because he did not coincide with the process of history. This present Chinese leadership is in a similar position because it tries to confine China within nationalist sentiments mixed with a fair amount of national bourgeois interests – which are going counter to the process in the whole world. The world is going to Communism. The most backward countries in the world, such as places like Hong Kong which is geographically part of China, are ripe for the time when they will rise to construct the Workers State. The conditions for this present Chinese leadership to win can't exist. It cannot call the tune of history!

The attitude of the Soviets is one of waiting for things to sort themselves out in China. But it is an error of the Soviets not to intervene more than they do in China. The reason that they don't intervene, more than they do, is their own bureaucratic apparatus which fears that it will be broken if the Soviets start shaking this present Chinese set-up. True, such an action will undoubtedly shake the Soviet bureaucracy. This shows all the lack in Marxist formation.

Mao Tse Tung had the Marxist intention of developing China and turning it into a Workers State, but he tried to do it in competition with the USSR and that isolated him from the Soviet Union whilst he continued to maintain the same distance even when Stalin had gone.

The current process in China shows a complete absence of co-ordination – in time – between the deepening capitalist crisis, the growth of Soviet world influence even in the intellectuals, scientists and workers of the capitalist countries, and the lack of preparation of the Communist parties with a Marxist conception. All the Communist parties are like a body whose head is not strictly speaking that of Stalin because already they have more advanced ideas than him, but whose organism is still what it was under Stalin. These problems have not been put in discussion in the Communist parties, but we do. This is why we are so convinced that no movement which goes against the Marxist progress of history can possibly develop. None of these movements can possibly develop because they do not correspond to the level of intelligence now reached by humanity and neither do they correspond to the material and military relations already established. In order to exist the Soviet Union has to develop; it has to stimulate revolution in the world. The present Chinese leadership, on the contrary, in order to develop has to stop revolutions and hope for capitalism to prosper, and to destroy the USSR in war.

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War, Peace and the function of the Socialist Countries

A Selection of Articles 1963-81

J. POSADAS

Published in August 1985

strength to develop life? Certainly not. The real problem of youth is that it does not see a perspective in a society where the university or technological studies result in a lack of employment or savage exploitation by the capitalist system. The so-called violence of the stadiums, such as was shown in Belgium and in the other countries, only represents a small sector of the youth who have been smashed by capitalist society and who are launched in a sort of social suicide in destroying every form of sentiment and of respect for human life. But Nicaragua, Cuba, and all the other revolutionary experiences show that the immense majority of the youth are, on the contrary, won socially by the construction of new forms of human relations...

The struggle for peace and for harmony which we propose to this World Festival of Youth

is based on the fact that humanity seeks to put itself in agreement with itself and in achieving this now. Capitalism is in the dustbin of history. To the youth of today falls the task of burying it. We count on that for our optimism, our purity and fraternity, and on our confidence in the possibility of constructing a better society on the ruins of the capitalist system... It is in organising a vast world united front of youth for progress towards Socialism that our Festival will have been not only a centre of fraternal and cultural relations of the youth, but also a centre of revolutionary relations which unite us to our relations and our future. We feel also that the achievement of this Festival, with such an objective, is a conscious pledge from Soviet youth and that of the other Workers States which are in the course of constructing Socialism.

RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE SOVIET UNION

The appointment of Gorbachev to the post of General Secretary of the CPSU and the measures which he has taken are the expression of the progress which is developing in the Soviet Union. This is not the result of an individual more capable than the others, but that the present leadership represented by Gorbachev expresses a character closer to the internal progress of the Workers State and, at the same time, the world is favourable to Socialism. On the other hand, the form in which this change was made — and the elevation of Gorbachev — shows an elevation on the internal relations of the leadership of the CPSU. It was not an election that was the product of conspiracies or fractional internal struggles, but the result of the maturing of the Workers State which allowed an homogeneous and harmonious decision.

This does not mean that there is no discussion and struggle, but the resolution shows that there is an agreement in the depth in all the leadership, and this shows one of the most important and profound changes in the Soviet political leadership — that is to say, it accepts changes consciously and works more in accordance with the need for the development of Socialism. The triumph of the Soviet Union in the Second World War and after the elimination of Stalin and Stalinism, has generated an enormous progress of the Workers State and of its relation with the world revolutionary process. This process was analysed by Cde Posadas, showing that the change in the relations of world forces favourable to the revolution has liquidated the historic bases of the existence of the bureaucracy as a political power in the Workers State. This has made possible the development of a new layer of cadres and leaders who, even without having the revolutionary Marxist formation, have a very superior security in the Workers State. Besides this layer made its career in the Party now, not under Stalin. Gorbachev forms part of this process. It is a new generation which has a superior Communist security; that is to say, better confidence in the regime of the Workers State; and hence they seek to develop methods of leadership much closer to the Soviet people. At the same time, they feel more secure and convinced of the need to support the anti-imperialist struggle and the anti-capitalist struggle in the world.

These sectors of the leadership of the Party, of the army, have seen the superiority of the USSR in the Second World War and, above all, the social capacity of the Workers State which was the determining factor. They see the new Workers States which were constructed in Europe and the world and, like them even with important limitations, develop and consolidate while the capitalist world passes from one crisis to another to the final total crisis of this stage. Thus this process of elevation and of changes in the Soviet leadership did not begin now nor ends with Gorbachev. From the death of Stalin Soviet leaderships have to proceed allowing a more adequate policy, more adapted to the need of the Workers State to expand and, as a result, to confront the capitalist system, abandoning the policy of conciliation of the epoch of Stalin. It has not gone from conciliation to a revolutionary policy, but develops a permanent process of political revolution in a non-violent form which Cde Posadas called *Partial Regeneration*. This process in this stage reaches a more elevated level, a better phase. But its structural characteristics have not changed.

The Workers State has elevated its internal relations from every point of view in culture, in science, in sport, and in art. The Soviet people have shown to the world that they work as representatives of a superior social regime and aim at the masses of the world, commu-

nicating this security, as the Soviet masses expressed this in the Second World War and have continued to do so. For all this world activity which is realised in the USSR is a tribune of the Soviet people to communicate socially superior relations, as in the case of the Moscow Olympics or in the recent World Festival of Youth. Both in the Olympics and the Festival of Youth the participation of the most elevated aspects of humanity was possible. All the people who advance socially were able to intervene, some for the first time. Even the young Italian Communists, with all their confusions and errors, have been able to speak and pose their criticisms to the Soviets. This shows the function which objectively the Soviet Union fulfils as an essential instrument of human progress. It is the tribune, the means, the concrete experience, the material support of all the peoples which develop socially and humanly from the masses of Nicaragua to the black masses of South Africa. The Soviet Workers State is the instrument through which the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America can pass from nothing to the construction of Socialism and, in consequence, can intervene for the first time in history. This is what the Italian Young Communists must understand, which does not mean to stop discussing or making criticisms which are necessary. Besides, the important criticisms and corrections (most profound to the functioning of the Workers State) are being made by the Soviet leadership itself: which goes much further than all the proposals of the Communist parties.

It is necessary to consider that this structure which exists in the USSR forces its leadership to elevate in order to be able to represent it. It is not possible to think that — while all the aspects of life in the USSR progress — science, culture, sport, art and the economy elevate; this is not expressed in politics. It has to be expressed, it

is a logical necessity of the development of the Workers State that the political leadership should be more and more the expression and representative of the social relations of the Workers State, because the base of the regime — that is to say, stultified property, monopoly of external trade, and centralised planning of the economy — create the relations which are going to allow the elimination of the social class contradictions which, in the capitalist regime, lead to social antagonism. In a Workers State it can happen for a short time that a leadership may be contradictory with the objectives of the social and economic structure, but in progressing the Workers State has to eliminate this contradiction.

The system of the Workers States requires a leadership which corresponds to its necessity for expansion. The USSR, in order to extend itself, must develop the social and economic forces which it represents, hence it has to reproduce the Workers State. But this world activity requires policy and programme, intelligence and, as a result, Party and leadership. Even where they intervene militarily the Soviets afterwards try to elevate the country socially, as they are doing in Afghanistan, or as Vietnam or Cambodia are doing.

In this sense, the changes which Gorbachev is making are part of this process. The USSR is the centre of the world historical process. It is the pillar of progress as Cde Posadas defined it. Gorbachev is not a reformist of the Workers State but the most conscious leader of the historic function which the USSR has, and, as a consequence, seeks to develop the forces which the old bureaucratic apparatus impedes. Hence the centre of the means of the Soviet leadership are to develop the leading function of the Party in all the aspects of life of the country, as much in government as in the army. At the same time,

it elevates the political functioning of the Party, eliminating the bureaucratic sectors educated in the conception of agreement with bureaucratic interests of not confronting or changing anything.

In the Soviet Workers State, the most profound form of developing the democratic functioning is through the progress of the Party which is the instrument which develops the intervention of the masses and is the most effective form which discusses, controls, develops, resolves and applies; the Party is the instrument which develops the capacity of leadership of the masses. It is for this reason that they have changed almost half of the intermediate cadres of the leadership and of the Central Committee. The renovation has continued which began in the stage of Breznev and accelerated with Andropov. At the regional level they have changed more than a third of the leaders, and Gorbachev poses constantly the principle of conduct for the leaders which in reality comes from Lenin and the Bolsheviks: 'to live according to what they say'. This forms part of a struggle against the most backward sectors which, based on arrogance of power, maintain a conduct apart from the Party of material advantages and privileges.

It is a process of adjustment of the functioning of the Workers State and of the development of the experiences that now form part of developing a stage of progress towards Socialism, overcoming the stage still of the Workers State. That is to say, they combine the stages of correction of the bureaucratic functioning with the tasks which now are of a superior stage of life that include activities which are part of the construction of Socialism.

In the stage of the war which Yankee imperialism is preparing desperately against the Workers States, it is necessary that the Soviet leadership elevates the intervention of the Workers State

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the attempt to control the power apparatus. In the governmental apparatus 'ministerial committees' have been established as forms to control ministers. The ministers are left primarily with problems of application rather than decision, and the CRD have the final control over decision and application. This requires clearly an elevation of

experience, but in the process this will be acquired on the basis of a firmly constituted Party. Much of the tenuous economy is still in private hands, but the social process at this stage is determining. A state corporation has been formed to control petroleum and oil products, meaning control over BP and Shell in relation to prices, output etc.

PUBLICISE THE RESULTS OF THE PROCESS IN BURKINA FASO.

The process in Burkina Faso must awaken the interest and intervention of the Soviet Union, in particular. The rapid advance in Burkina has obviously awakened the fears of imperialism. There is no Workers State bordering

Burkina Faso, although the Revolutionary States of Libya and Algeria and Ethiopia are relatively nearby. Imperialism will persist in trying to liquidate Burkina Faso because it is a threat to the whole area of West Africa. Thus, Sankara in repudiating the interventions from surrounding African States such as Togo or the Ivory Coast, said 'The revolution of Burkina Faso is at the service of these peoples to help them to make the revolution'.

We appeal to the leaders of the Soviet Union, to the Communist and Socialist parties, to sustain the revolution in Burkina Faso, to publicise the results of the revolution, and not to allow the criminal efforts of imperialism to destabilise and liquidate the Communist progress of the revolution.

Pour l'unité du mouvement communiste et révolutionnaire mondial !

Le capitalisme, c'est la mort
Le socialisme, c'est la Vie !
J. POSADAS

Lutte Communiste

GRUPE QUATRIÈME INTERNATIONALE POSADISTE - BURKINA FASO -

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EDITORIAL

LE COMLOT TENTE PAR L'IMPERIALISME ET
LA REACTION REGIONALE, ET LA NECESSITE
DE L'APROFONDISSEMENT DE LA REVOLUTION

The IV International Posadist Group has been established in Burkina Faso and its organ, 'Lutte Communiste', is regularly appearing.

in the world, and weighs with the example of internal relations before the masses of the world. This was the effect of the Moscow Olympics and was the effect of the Festival of Youth — even with the concealing by the world capitalist press — which reached the masses of the world and won all the honest leaderships that participated there.

In whatever activity which occurs in the Soviet Union, the Soviet people intervene as a fundamental factor which, with its elevated human conduct, its objective fraternal Communist relation, influences and wins all who participate, a human relation which now incorporated in its people and in the consciousness of the masses of the world is lived and made to live in the Soviet Union. But there is the difference that the masses of the world cannot practice it daily, because they live under the capitalist system. Only the Workers States can allow such an intervention, but when activities of this nature are made, it is because there is a leadership which is elevating its understanding of this function of the USSR as a public instrument of the progress of humanity, as world centre of the struggle against the capitalist system and the war which it is preparing.

The Posadist IV International salutes the activity of the Soviet leadership, of the Communist cadres of the CPSU, of the Red Army and the Soviet people, which in the World Festival of Youth — as before in the Moscow Olympics — has given a guide to humanity, of security in the Socialist progress of humanity. Humanity needs this activity which the Workers State organises to develop the experiences which allow the development of social, cultural and scientific progress to discuss these experiences. The capitalist system is exhausted. It can create nothing, but there is an absence of world co-ordination of the experiences of anti-capitalist progress in which the Workers States are the centre and fundamental in this is the Soviet Union. It is for this reason that all these activities made in the Workers States — like the meetings organised by Cuba over the external debt in Latin America — have had a very profound political and social effect. All the leaderships who do not understand this relation remain paralysed and at the margin of the historic process. But the Soviet Union can influence infinitely

more the currents and sectors, including from the bourgeois camp. It is through activities such as these world meetings, where all the tendencies can intervene who want progress, which is going to develop much more the authority and influence of the Workers State in the world, including particularly the masses of the United States.

We call for meetings where the Soviet Workers State and the other Workers States, Cuban and Vietnamese, appeal for a discussion with all the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist tendencies or progressive tendencies in general on the experiences which have been made, including the changes which have been promoted within the Workers States. Let the USSR make world meetings to discuss the cleansings which are being made, showing that they are not the product of the mistakes of the Workers States but part of the necessary tasks that come from the construction of the Workers State towards Socialism, and that they are a consequence of a previous stage from the last leadership. All humanity is learning together with the Soviet leaders to function and elevate the Communist functioning of the Party and its leadership. This is a new stage of the development of the intervention of the Workers State through the structure, a level attained in the development, above all, of the USSR which cannot allow any retreats. The whole world has seen that a people which intervenes as they have intervened in the Olympics, as now in this Festival of Youth or like the cleansings which the leadership is openly promoting without hiding the errors, and discussing the mistakes, has no interest in oppressing another country. It is for this reason that there is not, nor could be, any movement against the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan. The Italian Communist comrades have to learn to see this. The USSR is not the property of Gorbachev nor of the leadership of the CPSU, but an instrument of humanity of which its leaders form part. This is the necessary understanding to grasp the process in the Soviet Union and its relation with the world. This was the process analysed by Cde Posadas, who could not participate physically in this progress but is present and alive in the triumph of humanity which has been the achievement of the Festival of Youth in Moscow and the progress of the intervention of the Soviet leadership.

29.8.85

ON THE NEED FOR A PROGRAMME FOR A LEFT LABOUR GOVERNMENT.

The decision of both the TUC and Labour Party Annual Conferences that a future Labour Government should fully re-imburse the NUM for the money taken from it by the Government during the coal strike, is important. It is a measure of the way in which the internal balance of forces inside the party and trade unions favours the left: a distant echo of the world balance of forces which favours the progress of humanity.

However, this decision has implications more profound than simply a Conference victory for the left. This demand on the part of the NUM raises the whole question of the character of a future Labour Government. What the NUM leadership has done — without developing the argument — is to demand that a future Labour government disregards bourgeois legality and takes class positions. It is clear that the resolution was not an end in itself but a means of raising a discussion. The left in both the Labour Party and the trade unions should now develop this discussion. It should be the starting point of a discussion to formulate a class, anti-capitalist programme for a future Labour Government.

In their support for Kinnock the bourgeoisie is preparing a leadership and programme for a Labour Government. The bourgeoisie is not confident that a Conservative Government will be returned. This is why it seeks to push Kinnock into adopting policies which favour capitalism. The Labour and trade union left have to respond to this discussion. In this one instance the NUM is asking a Labour Government to adopt the policy which would favour the working class and the masses. Now is the time for the Labour left to open the discussion on a programme which would be anti-capitalist and in favour of the working class, the masses and the progress of the country.

It is not a question that can be dealt with on the basis of abstraction or of specialisation. The

Labour left has to base itself on scientific principles and look at the experiences made by Socialist governments in other European countries. There is a real necessity for a discussion; for example, on the experience of the Socialist government in France. The programme of the Socialist/Communist Government of Mitterrand was originally rather more radical than that proposed by this year's Labour Party Conference for a future Labour Government. It was more radical but, at base, it was a reformist programme. Although Mitterrand carried out certain measures of nationalising the Banks, in the main the intention was reform, to 'reflate' the capitalist economy. In the early days, certain basic gains were made by the French masses under the Mitterrand Government. Since the government did not really control the economy, these gains were quickly taken back by capitalism and Mitterrand instituted an austerity programme — which meant making the masses pay for the crisis of capitalism. In turn, this meant that the government lost the support of the masses and of the working class in particular. The Communists then left the government. This weakened Mitterrand, who found it even more difficult to resist the pressure and demands of the bourgeoisie. In this condition, Mitterrand was less able to resist pressures by the bourgeoisie to actually get rid of him. The sinking of 'Rainbow Warrior' in Auckland Harbour was a measure by the French Secret Service to further discredit Mitterrand and was a sort of 'Watergate' in that sense.

A Labour Government, elected on the sort of programme of this year's annual conference, would suffer a similar fate. Anyway, it is not at all certain that Labour would receive a majority in the country on such a programme. It would be very difficult for the electorate to see the difference between the 'Alliance' and Labour. The Labour left has to look at the reality of the situation, which is that the capitalist system is beyond reform. It is not a question of will but of

the fact that the general crisis of capitalism, exacerbated by the enormous expenditures on war preparations, leaves no margin for concessions to the masses. If a Labour Government simply managed the capitalist system it would end up with a policy not very far removed from that of Thatcher, and suffer the same fate as Mitterrand.

The leadership of the NUM have posed the question, and it is now the responsibility of the Labour left to develop the discussion. The first basic fact is that capitalism and private property cannot advance humanity. The only basis for economic and social advance has to be a nationalised, centrally planned economy, under workers' control. There is, therefore, no substitute for the nationalisation of major industries, the land, Banks, and financial institutions, without compensation and under workers' control. This has to be the bedrock of a programme for a left Labour Government. Beyond this, the most important question has to be workers' and popular control of all aspects of society. Once again, the proposal by the Labour Party Conference for trade union rights in the army raises a series of questions. It raises the question of workers' and popular control; certainly bourgeois democracy is in a state of collapse and it is not the job of the Labour left to look for the means to hold it together. What the Labour left has to propose is not to defend Local Councils (local democracy, as they call it) but to propose measures of popular control.

The victory of the NUM at the TUC and Labour Party conferences will be quite limited if the Labour and trade union left does not carry this discussion forward. We propose that the widest possible discussion is instituted in the workers' areas, in the work places, in schools and universities, to formulate a programme for the progress of the country and for a future left Labour government.

Leaderships, such as the present one in China, go towards nationalism because they lack Marxist preparation. They interpret, organise and plan according to concrete nationalist ways rather than Marxist ones. In a country as oppressed and backwards as China was nationalism comes close to Marxism. This is not because it has anything to do with Marxism, or that it forms part of Marxist thought; it is because, in such countries, any progress has to take place within a struggle with imperialism. Nationalism seems like Marxism because a struggle has to be waged against the exploiters in order to develop the country.

J. POSADAS

moment of doing so. The decomposition of capitalist social authority shows itself, on another level, in the strike of the head-teachers. Previously, head-teachers were 'establishment figures', pillars of capitalist society, and now they act against the system. This is part of the decomposition of capitalism.

THE TRADE UNION ROLE.

The Labour Party Annual Conference took place in these conditions. The left showed itself to be of considerable weight and power. It was able to over-ride the Kinnock leadership and pass important resolutions, like that in favour of trade unions in the army, for a national minimum wage, and

for the reimbursement of the NUM. What the left did not provide was any sort of leadership for the demands of growing sectors of the population for social transformations. In particular, the economic proposals were aimed at regulating capitalism without confronting it. It is totally inadequate to the obvious situation in which capitalism is seen to be incapable of developing the economy or society.

However, the left is powerful. It has all the force of the world balance of social forces. This is why the bourgeoisie had to invent a new Kinnock. Of course, they hope for a tame Prime Minister if Labour is elected to government, but, above all, they need some means of confronting the growing

left in the Labour Party. They need Kinnock to confront the growing influence of trade unions like the NUM on the Labour left. And it was the NUM that made the running in this year's Labour Conference.

The NUM and the miners' strike have had an immense influence, as have the teachers who have maintained their strike for the last year. There is a need for a political leadership but, in its absence, the trade unions have to play a political role. There is no reason why unions like the NUM should confine themselves to purely 'trade union' considerations. The teachers could go beyond a legitimate concern for the education system and

raise a discussion on the development of society in general. The NUM could go beyond its concern to defend the mines and raise a discussion on the development of the economy at the service of the population. The movement for social transformations does not wait for an 'ideal' leadership to appear, and the trade unions must play the role of political leadership for the movement while seeking to stimulate the formation of a consistent, anti-capitalist tendency in the Labour Party.

11/10/85

EDITORIAL

THE LABOUR LEFT MUST ORGANISE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS WHICH RESPOND TO THE MOBILISATIONS OF THE MASSES

The programme of the Conservative government, recently announced, is the continuation of the same class policies. Future elections are not being prepared for by capitalism in the 'normal' conditions of consensus. They are being prepared for in the conditions of the confrontation between the two class blocs: imperialism versus the forces of Socialism. The privatisation of gas, the strengthening of police powers, reduction of social services, and attempts to 'control' teachers, are all part of the policies of social repression in front of problems which capitalism has no interest in solving. Thus capitalism does not make electoral preparation a centre, rather it is the augmentation of the wealth of the big financial sectors, the war contractors, and the strengthening of the forces of repression which is the priority. Financial speculation is a fever point — and missiles. Parliamentary government is more and more a facade. If they lose an election, they seek to maintain essential power.

Recent documents have made it clear that, in the event of war, Yankee troops would assume power in Britain.

Even the monarchy cannot feel detached from all this process. The Crown prince gives some property to the impoverished feeling that the monarchy is in danger of losing its role in the process that is coming.

The negotiations at Geneva bring out all the incapacity of imperialism. Of themselves they do not express all the immense revolutionary strength of the Soviet Union, but they do make clear that even on the diplomatic plane the Soviet Union has the initiative. The Yanks are seeking to impose the Star Wars conception on NATO whatever the opposition, and already Cruise missiles are being imposed on Belgium and the Netherlands. The conditions have not changed since the last set of negotiations, but the masses see that the Soviet Union has an objective interest in negotiation while the Yanks have none, and seek to use such negotiations purely for effect and the need to appear to want peace. At the time of a division in the camp of capitalism intensity, Mitterand was prepared to discuss with Gorbachev, and now both France and Britain are prepared to discuss with the Soviet Union, separately from the Yanks. Finally, it is true the Yanks will decide, but in the face of decentralisation and rejection.

THE SOVIET UNION IS THE CENTRE OF WORLD HISTORY.

As the historic process continues the Workers States, particularly the Soviet Union, augment in authority. A vast political and technological revolution is developing there and the emphasis lies on the massive expansion of Socialist democracy. Under western capitalism what little democracy exists is eroded away by police powers and the social repression of unemployment and deteriorating social conditions. But the Soviet Union gives a perspective to the masses who, see a collectivised economy superior in every way to the imbecilities of capitalism. For example, British capitalism is immensely disappointed when the Yanks deny them a war contract and give it to the French. Arms contracts are a principle lever of the capitalist economy — whereas the Soviet Union is transforming Siberia and opening up a new world, and arms expenditures are a vast waste of resources.

For the workers' leaderships in this country there is a condition of uninterrupted crisis. The new miners' union is not a success for capitalism; on the contrary, it is objectively part of the expulsion of the right from the Labour movement. This is a protracted process and still incomplete, but more and more the pro-capitalist sectors find themselves on the defensive in front of a growing left — even if that left is not unified. The traditional apparatuses continue, but in conditions they cannot govern. Certainly they are passive in front of unemployment and some even accept the capitalist position that, as the working class of the traditional industries are in decline, then it is necessary to practise a new 'unionism' which is left undefined but is close to negating the function of the unions. But these are regimes of crisis, because they cannot have a perspective of controlling the reaction of the masses in the future. The union proprietors of the electrical union, for example, cannot develop a capitalist current in the workers' movement with a future, because capitalism has no perspective for the mass of the population, including the new technical layers. Continued on page 4

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WEST GERMAN WORKERS IN MOSCOW DEMONSTRATE AGAINST WAR

THE POLISH WORKERS STATE AND THE DEFEAT OF SOLIDARNOSC

The elections for the new Polish trade unions have been an unqualified defeat for Solidarnosc, who have reacted by charges of rigged elections. The call of Solidarnosc for a boycott failed, and this means further isolation for this reactionary movement. The most recent Polish laws have confirmed the new independent unions and completes the destruction of the old trade union apparatus begun in 1980.

The original Gdansk agreement between the Polish state and the trade unions recognised the Socialist structure of Poland and of Socialist property in the means of production. Now, quite openly, the reactionaries have been obliged to come out in their appropriate clothes. Walesa had already supported Thatcher in her efforts to smash the miners' strike in Britain, and to support the right wing break-away union, and now they have completed the full open turn to counter-revolution. They call for the market economy, partial denationalisation, and the expansion of links with western capitalist enterprises.

The limited support that Solidarnosc possesses is confined to the anti-Socialist elements that the Stalinist bureaucracy allowed to continue with the help of private property in the land, and anti-Workers States elements in the Catholic Church. The more the trade unions develop in an independent way, both defending the interests of the workers against the apparatus and constructing the Workers States, the more these elements will disperse. At the same time, it is necessary that the problem of the private ownership of the land is confronted at the same time as the economic integration with the Comecon is developed. The process can only be accelerated on the basis of a far greater elevation of the Polish Communist Party. The leadership of the USSR is indispensable in this.

It is necessary that the trade unions and the Labour left draw conclusions from the rectification of the Polish Workers State and appreciate the quality of the Workers State which allows it to overcome the separate interests of apparatuses opposed to the pro-

gress of the Workers State. The people who supported Solidarnosc and who now support Eritrea against the Ethiopian government are people whose leftism is infected with capitalist thinking. Polish Solidarnosc is openly anti-Socialist and pro-capitalist. Without drawing conclusions from this experience it is impossible for the Labour left to comprehend the nature of the Workers States or their role in world history, but remain confined to the orbit of bourgeois conceptions of democracy divorced from historic realities. Many confused the original movement of the Polish masses to improve the Workers State with the reactionary dreams of sectors of the leadership who hoped to use it for their own ends. It is necessary for the Labour left and the trade unions to make a balance of the Polish experience.

POLAND AND THE WORLD PROCESS

EXTRACTS. J. POSADAS.

Continued on page 3

AFGHANISTAN, THE USSR, PROGRESS AND THE MEANING OF DEMOCRACY.

J. POSADAS. 31.12.79.

We re-publish extracts from the analysis of Cde Posadas over Afghanistan because the war that is waged there by imperialism is designed to prevent the progress of Afghanistan. Recently that country held elections for local councils which open the way to greater popular control in the economy. Illiteracy and tribal backwardness is being overcome. The democracy of Soviet intervention is social progress. The democracy of Yankee imperialism is drugs, assassination, and the blowing up of schools and hospitals.

The democracy of capitalism says that it allows freedom so that people can decide, but it is the ruling class which decides, not the people. It is different when — as in Nicaragua — the people intervene, led by an anti-capitalist political leadership. It is not possible to make an abstraction of 'let the people decide'. In Afghanistan the intervention of the Soviet troops contributes to elevating the conditions of life of this country and the eliminating of sectors who want to repress and assassinate the Afghan people.

The Yanks are occupying militarily Puerto Rico. Why don't the

Yanks leave Puerto Rico? All those who protest about the Soviet intervention, why don't they make a campaign against the Yankee occupation of Puerto Rico? Why not demand the expulsion of imperialism from the zones which it occupies and which do not belong to it? For example, all the zone of the South East of the United States was Mexican, and the British (imperialists) still have colonies in Latin America. Attention should be given to this. This is useful to the domination of Yankee capitalist 'democracy', to assassinate people.

There 'democracy' is a name, because 'democracy' does not exist.

Democracy is not the right to vote or elect. It is the right to live, to progress, to elevate the conditions of life and to be able to seek the means for this. If it is necessary to enter a country to elevate it, it is not an occupation; it is not a retreat nor an invasion, but a technical, scientific and cultural means to elevate the country. What has to be proposed at the same time is the development of Soviet democracy in the country concerned.

This conception of democracy also applies to Afghanistan. Democracy is an instrument of the progress of history. To respect democratic rights of a country when this, at the same time, serves as an instrument for reaction and to attack the Soviet Union, is not democratic, is not to defend historic rights necessary to the progress of life, but to respect a power which is going to make the rights of life retreat. Thus the interpretation and the application of democratic conclusions is determined by the necessity of the

progress of history, whether in Afghanistan or any other country.

All these authors, whether of Trotskyist origin, Communist or Socialist, who furiously attack the Soviet Union because it invades a country or because it prevents the right of this country to develop, do not say what right is in question. In Afghanistan feudalism exists. When they say that the people must speak it is a lying distortion. What people? Nowhere does the people decide, outside revolutions, because electoral representation is a deceit and a lie. In the elections a proportion intervene who may be twenty per cent of the population — which is bourgeois, who have nothing to do with progress. For example, in Britain, the Conservatives won relying on twenty per cent of votes from people who have nothing to do with life nor with history, nor with culture nor art, nor anything else — and these include the Queen and all her family.

All the great possessors of money, proprietors of the banks, of industry and commerce, have nothing to do with anything. They have no idea about anything. They have no knowledge or culture, but nevertheless they intervene. There are seventy, eighty or ninety year-olds who have nothing more to do than to collect the interest on their money. These people vote, but on the basis of what do they vote?

All these champions of democracy or liberty, what democracy or liberty do they defend? Democracy is an instrument of the progress of history, and the history is the class struggle, and the class struggle is the Workers States versus the capitalist system. It is on the basis of these relations that it is necessary to define the function of democracy.

If we demand democracy in the capitalist system it is because democratic rights and democratic necessity are to impel the class struggle towards a Workers State. Democratic rights are not an abstraction, but an instrument of the progress of history. That the

peoples decide is a lie. There is not a single people which can decide through its own will, because they do not have the means. Children of eight work in India, in Latin America and even in Europe. They vote when they are eighteen, but at eight they work. So they say that the children do not have the consciousness to vote; but to be exploited, yes, the children have a use. If the children voted they would do so in accordance with their function in the economy. The person of eighty who collects the profits has a consciousness, yes; a capitalist one! There is a whole mystification about democracy, in which the groups of Trotskyist origin share when they say that the people have to decide. What people? In Afghanistan, it was not 'the people' who decided before.

Recently now, with the support of the Soviet troops, the people can decide because it can animate itself to go against the landowners, who were the ones supported by Amin (the overthrown government), by imperialism, by Socialist parties and movements of Socialist origin, but not by the population of Afghanistan.

For example, Afghanistan is under feudalism. To progress the Soviets have no other remedy than to do this, and not to defend the frontiers of the USSR only, but to make Afghanistan advance and also to defend the frontiers of the USSR, which is the instrument of the progress of history. Hence there is not one anti-Soviet mass movement, not one. Neither could the Yanks make one. All these left movements who propose the abstract defence of democracy represent intellectual circles of state employees, of functionaries, who live incarcerated in themselves and not in contact with the progress of the struggles and their significance. They do not see that in Afghanistan — even with Soviet intervention — this tends to eliminate feudalism and impel the Workers State. It is on this basis, then, that it is necessary to support the democratic Soviet demands of Afghanistan, but also supporting this present situation and the Soviet intervention which is a necessary instrument.

THE OPENING STAGES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The immense struggles of the masses of South Africa against the fascist regime of big business and the international bankers, represented especially by the principle capitalist powers of the United States, Britain, West Germany and France, demonstrates the weight of the world Socialist revolution led by the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. Without the encouragement of this process the masses would have been enslaved completely by the vicious weight of repression and murder. The excrescences who rule capitalism, having been responsible for massive violence then, say that it is impossible to negotiate with the ANC because they believe in violence! The force of this revolution is yet another example of the fact, as Cde Posadas has argued, that the world is ready for Communism. There is no rational reason for the continuation of the present capitalist mode of production.

South Africa is one of the main bases for imperialism in its preparations to attempt to throw back the advance of the world revolution. When Reagan or Thatcher speak of their rejection of Apartheid this is total hypocrisy. As the principle capitalist corporations control South Africa it is plain that a change of policy could have been enforced years ago if it had suited world capitalism. Support in practice for Apartheid is no different from supporting Pinochet or maintaining Israel. It is only the overwhelming world pressure against Apartheid that

forces imperialism to pretend concern.

At the same time, such is the depth of the crisis in South Africa that imperialism has no real viable solution to offer to limit the crisis. They know very well that even a profound change in Apartheid is not going to alter the problem of social revolution in South Africa. Apartheid is simply a fascist type of repression, a brutal class repression; and, even if modified, cannot alter the logic of the class struggle. The necessity of the black masses, as elsewhere in Africa, is to liquidate capitalism because the latter cannot satisfy the basic requirements of social and cultural life.

Thus, as elsewhere, there are some degrees of difference among the Yanks. Just as some sectors support the bombing of Tunis by the Zionist gangsters while others may think that is going too far, so some sectors see no other way than to let Botha kill and repress in preference to worse evils following forms of conciliation. They are hoping for differences to emerge in the ANC so as to make deals over Apartheid and avoid an uninterrupted struggle going towards social revolution. Some sectors in South African capitalism, who want to develop South Africa internally somewhat more, without staying in the circuit of mining and banking, and who seek a wider industrial development, have directly contacted the ANC to see if any parley is possible.

South African capitalism has reached whatever level it can reach within the terms of the system. Clearly a planned Socialist system of the economy would develop both industry and agriculture much more than at present, and be a real basis to develop the backward economies of the rest of Africa. But South Africa has no interest in this because it has no interest in facilitating the progress of countries such as Angola or Mozambique who have elected the collective economy or have taken measures approaching it. Thus the majority of South African trade is with the wealthy capitalist countries. The oppression of the black masses is a built-in restriction on the expansion of the internal market. It is a variant of what was called 'SS capitalism' of Nazi Germany at the end of the war.

The recent Commonwealth Conference achieved little against South Africa. All that can be said is that Thatcher was forced to concede in accepting some minimal form of penalising South Africa, but in reality it showed that imperialism will do nothing serious against South Africa. They cannot conceivably go along with the dismantling of one of their principle bases against Communism. But the crisis will continue in the Commonwealth against imperialism. At the same time that the white exploiters attack the masses of South Africa, they also attack Angola. It is necessary to see that this struggle in South Africa is intimately linked to the

final encounter. Imperialism is endangered if South Africa were to take a more 'liberal' path, just as Israel would be useless if obliged to limit its hostility to the Arab revolution. Imperialism is faced with a situation it cannot control.

The extent and depth of the struggle in South Africa makes it a sort of 1905 revolution and one in which a leadership will be constructed. There will be stages and phases in the struggle and it will be closely related to the tempo of the international process. The black

masses have shown with the powerful intervention of the black proletariat that it is prepared to fight the regime to the finish. There is no intermediate black capitalist perspective, nor indeed of a liberal white capitalist solution, whatever transitions may occur before the final downfall of South African capitalism.

In the course of the process the Soviets will be obliged to intervene more. Without their support regimes like Angola and Mozambique would have collapsed in the face of the

THE GOVERNMENT OF APRA, THE UNITED LEFT AND THE REANIMATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE IN PERU.

In Peru a profound process of the reanimation of the revolutionary state is taking place. This process began with the anti-imperialist nationalist movement of Velasco Alvarado in 1968 and remained, partly in the economic measures which the later governments until 1975 could not throw back completely. Fundamentally this process remained within the objective consciousness of the immense majority of the population of the country which repudiated the governments of Morales Bermudez — which made the coup against Velasco. The government of Belaunde Terry was then elected in 1980, with 46% of the votes, and he had presented himself — as was analysed by J. Posadas — with a programme which did not go against the process of advance achieved by anti-imperialist nationalism. But it did not apply the programme at all, and this led to a total collapse of Belaunde with hardly 5% of the vote in 1985.

But the historically most important basis of this stage is the progress of the United Left which expressed not a conglomerate of parties, but a political and social class and revolutionary current, the Communist Party and pro-Chinese Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), which continued the anti-imperialist nationalism of the Velasco military movement, with the support of the left forces, without party, the trade unions and the General Confederation of Labour (CGTP), and of the Posadists. The 25% elector-

ate of the IU is the revolutionary support of the masses which is united to the 53% electoral support of APRA which attracts extensive support of the poor petit bourgeoisie, of the peasantry and of the agro-industrial sectors of the sugar co-operatives which the Velasco government took from the oligarchy and gave to the peasants. Especially in the north of Peru it has the support of a sector of the bourgeoisie with national interests, which sees that in their commercial dispute with imperialism and the banking bourgeoisie, linked directly to the Yankee monopolies, it is outside every possibility of survival. The sectors which J. Posadas defined in 1977 sought an alliance with the masses because they had an interest, transitional though it is, in developing the internal market and freeing itself from the financial, commercial and industrial monopoly of the multi-nationals.

When the President of Peru, Alan Garcia Perez, the triumphant candidate of APRA with 53% of the votes, said 'We will pay only with a maximum of 10% of our exports to meet the external debt of Peru because our principle debt is to the people which is 160 years behindhand', this refers not only to reforms on the surface of the capitalist system but to the structures themselves of Peru — that is, of capitalism, of the forms of production and distribution, the form in which surplus value is produced, and how this is used in the develop-

ment of the country. They do not propose the liquidation of private property as a whole nor eliminating the social base of production of profit, but the forms and the methods of the distribution of the same, so that it may produce at once a form of national development in the agrarian sector and in industry to create an economy with a lesser level of internal inequality and greater consumer capacity by the population, work etc.

It is in these aspects that a sector of the national bourgeoisie supports and stimulates this Aprista government in Peru. But it is the same experience which, in one way or another, Alfonsín in Argentina, Sanguinetti in Uruguay, Sarney in Brasil and Betancourt in Colombia are trying to develop. This process, which was foreseen and analysed very profoundly by J. Posadas almost ten years ago, has only a short stage of duration in the limits and margins of the capitalist system from which it does not break. The fundamental base is that neither in Peru nor in the other countries of Latin America, has the possibility within the capitalist system to compete with Yankee imperialism and the developed countries of capitalism, because their rhythm and cost of production is infinitely higher and, as Posadas analysed, when they can produce a hundred commodities in the United States in Peru they could produce one, at the same time and cost. This, in the terms of the capitalist system, is

the essential basis of the crisis of all these countries, of the inflation with recession and of the increase of unemployment, poverty etc., and from the logic of dumping with which the North American, British and German heavy industry smashes the national bourgeoisie in its costs of production, and hence the debt mounts.

This article does not have as an objective to make an extensive analysis over the Peruvian process, but it is important to see that this very aggressive intention of the government of Alan Garcia will have a multiplying effect on the internal development of the revolutionary state of Peru, which has remained latent but alive in the masses since 1968, and also from much before with all the trade union and political fight of the Peruvian masses in which they developed mass organisations as important as the Mining Federation (grouping almost 35 thousand miners) which made a resolution in 1965 on the struggle for the Federation of the Socialist Republic of Latin America. In the elections of 1962, for the first time in Latin American, the ELECTORAL CLASS FRONT of the trade unions and the POR (T-POSADIST) with the Socialist Party was proposed. It is necessary to unite these experiences with the Marxist Mayor of Lima, A. Barrientes, and the 39% electorate in the municipal elections of 1983.

The president, Alan Garcia, said in his interventions

that the left represents 80% of the valid electorate of the country, and he is the expression of this situation. The right remains outside all representation with an electoral weight of only 15%. The possibility of the right is to win time and wait on the political contradictions of the APRA government to strike from within. Imperialism will seek to reinforce its policy of economic pressure which is the most possible because on the plane of the armed forces there is a nationalist current which has lasted, and now is stimulated, in the confrontation with the bordering countries of Ecuador and Chile. But fundamentally imperialism will work within a sector of the government itself and of the Aprista party which is, so far as the measures which stimulate the Workers State are applied, will clash with the interests and links with capitalism.

The political discussion and proposals around the external debt which the Peruvian government has made corresponds to the security which exists in a whole layer of social democratic and Socialist leaders who, moving within the present objective solution towards the Workers State, see as a natural ally the Workers States and the processes which develop in the so-called third world. It corresponds to the process of Asia and Africa in which countries there is nothing to sustain them but their historic dignity and right to social progress to confront world capitalism and imperialism.

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This process of political revolution has experienced uprisings but not of armed confrontations with the Workers State. This stage of the political revolution was necessary and had to be accomplished to show to the others that it is possible to develop the country without the need of armed uprisings.

But these trade union uprisings, although being partial and developing in the sectors of least importance, show that in many other Workers States the same uprisings can occur without attaining the level of armed insurrection or armed confrontation.

Poland shows that the Workers State has no need of insurrection, that the changes, the transformations or the radical

exclusion of leaders, can be done without a process of revolutionary changes. The movement which has occurred is not a revolution. It has sought to elevate the functioning of the Party and not to exclude it. The process of political revolution, which means the transformation of the leadership, is in process of taking place in the USSR and not in Poland. It is from the Soviet Union that the process has begun, and it now reaches Poland — which shows the unity of the revolution.

The process in Poland is not a struggle among cliques but a struggle having a profound historic sense. It has not yet developed to more elevated levels but is in process of doing so. However, the plans of the economy, of production and

control of the economy, have not been touched. They have yet to make a selection of leaders. The Communist workers of Poland, members of the Party and trade union leaders, or of cells or having a Party life, have developed there the confidence in the method of Marxist reasoning. Even if they are wrong on a great many things, they try to follow a Marxist reasoning and the leadership of the Party accepts such a principle, although in a limited way. This is an historic event! It is not a question of guns but of reasoning. Poland is not a small country, and it has a greater importance than Bulgaria and Hungary, as much on the economic plane as on the social, political or military. The Polish army is one of the most disci-

plined and capable in history..

...80% of the land in Poland is in private hands, of which 20 — 25% is in properties of twenty hectares — which means considerable wealth in Poland. But, in spite of all this economic base of the private economy, capitalism has no point of support to confront the Workers State, for these small proprietors render account themselves of the progress which they have made in the Workers State, whereas they had nothing in the previous regime. They measure that, in as much as they cannot perpetuate and reproduce themselves through new properties, in effect their children are Communists.

J. Posadas

fascist bombardments from the South African assassins. It is not just a question of more support for the armed struggle, but a much more continuous political explanation and intervention. It can be argued that the Soviets already have immense obligations elsewhere, but it is not just a question of resources but of entering into the problems of the various countries, problems of tribalism and the need for economic federations. This in itself will involve the Soviet leadership in the need for more elevated political interventions.

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From there, it is important to see that it is not a question of a confrontation of antagonistic positions, that of the Peruvian government over the external debt and the correct intervention of Fidel Castro in the conference of Havana. There is a lack of security on the part of Garcia of Peru, whereas the Cuban Workers State comes from the social and political structure of the direct relation with the USSR and the Workers States. These governments like Alan Garcia receive all the contradiction resulting from the profound revolutionary historic development, and the absence of a constructed conscious legitimate and mature leadership of the process.

The Peruvian government, in order to apply the programme of the profound changes which the development of nationalist, popular and Socialist government promised, will naturally have to support itself on the masses. The attitude of the trade unions, the left parties, and in general, of the population is one of conscious support for the struggle which is being waged against corruption, the drugs traffic, the terrorism of the right (open or appearing as 'leftist'). The measures of development of various industries—protecting national industry, such as the re-opening of the statified factories of the fish-canning industry (closed by the bankers of the previous government) — are going to find support and have the support of the masses. But the central problems of Peru are not only a reactivation of production but relations with the world capitalist market; we see Venezuela, which re-financed its external debt

yielding in great part to imperialist pressure, and now sees itself cornered even with the agreement which has been reached, in that the lowering of the oil price means another haemorrhage and the external debt rendered even more unpayable. Fundamentally this comes from the Yankee market which is the buyer of 80% of its petroleum. The same situation is posed to Argentina with the grain and meat etc. The natural market of these countries — as was posed by J. Posadas — was and is with themselves in inter-regional exchange and sub-regional (eliminating imperialism) on the basis of a Federation of Popular Latin American Republics, and in trade with the Workers States. The latter, through its function of progress and an economy not dependent on the world capitalist system, can help the development of these countries with technology, technical facilities and the purchase of national products.

The perspectives and possibilities of the government of Alan Garcia lie in the planned development of the revolutionary state, in a plan of statification and production in which the masses find work and can develop the infinite contained social forces. These are now developing in the committees and all the forms of organisation which are arising and which recall the committees of Defence of the Revolution (CDR) of the nationalist military movement of Velasco. It was the dissolution of these by decree of Velasco which was the beginning of his own fall, yielding to the pressure of the military right of Peru.

The irreversible process of history developing in Peru is a new phase in the continuation of the revolutionary state. The forms do not determine, but they are a reference to see the dynamics and the expressions of the uneven and combined development of this epoch, the possibility of continuing this link in the direct unity and relation with the world, and especially of Latin America. Without the Cuban Workers State, Socialist and revolutionary Nicaragua, without the Workers State and the USSR, such processes as are re-taken in Peru would not exist. History is not today determined by the world crisis of the capitalist system in abstraction, but this crisis is linked to the existence of the Socialist countries, the central part of the world Socialist revolution.

For this reason the process in Peru, which now stimulates and feeds other processes in Latin America and the world to go much further, is itself sustained by the world and there lies the solution. To remain confined to Peru will be suicide for the government of Alan Garcia, and this will seek naturally to ally with and be linked to the world to sustain itself internally. The need to survive means the social, political, economic and revolutionary relation with the world, because Peru is part of it and of its progress to Socialism.

L.A. Bureau 26.8.85

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The Labour left still lacks homogeneity and is divided into various fluctuating groups, none of which are based on clear class principle and none of which seek to develop a deeper life on the basis of contact with the masses. Sectors of this amorphous left frequently gave anti-Soviet positions and can lend themselves to policies against Ethiopia and support Eritrea, which thrives on the support of world reaction.

In spite of a multiplicity of obstacles the masses have shown an enormous will to intervene. When there is an opportunity, there is a decided intervention whatever the leadership and however much that leadership is insufficient. Thus, in the last period, there have been major demonstrations over Apartheid, the anti-nuclear movement, and in support of the teachers. The left that exists in the unions and the Labour Party supports such movements, but is passively unable to raise the level of perspectives because it itself tends to limitations in world understanding and submission to the apparatuses. It has no Marxist conception, or has a distorted view of Marxism due to the decomposition of the old Trotskyists and the Communist Party. This crisis of the Labour Party is part of the crisis of all the Socialist parties where there is the preparation for fundamental changes of approach, the need to abandon bourgeois thinking and adopt class Marxist principles. The Labour left can only act as a leader of the diverse mobilisation of the masses if it acts on a class basis, with a programme of social transformations, the perspective of the Workers State for Britain. Frequently left publications may see partial aspects of the crisis but not in the world structure of the final encounter and the historic role of the Workers State.

Imperialism is more and more unable to contain the forces of disintegration. The trial in Cyprus showed the brutal efforts to contain tendencies which no longer accept the authority of imperialism. The fact that all this came to light is a reflection, at the same time, of the weakness of the system which cannot conceal its true nature. The Labour left has to make a synthesis of these experiences to see that it is possible to go beyond the LP and TU apparatuses. Above all, it has to develop a life of discussion, of publications which invite a discussion, and not be submitted only to the arenas of closed factions but be based on the mobilisations of the masses.

8.11.85

NEWS OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

URUGUAY: INAUGURATION OF THE POR LOCALE IN MONTEVIDEO.

On the sixth July, the Posadist comrades of Uruguay inaugurated their public locale. In this meeting, comrades of all the tendencies participated. A member of the CC of the Socialist Party, militants and leaders of the sections of the Communist Party, and other members of Frente Amplio all expressed their fraternal participation.

Messages of solidarity were sent to the inauguration by IDI (Left Independants), the '99 sector of the Frente Amplio, founded by Michelini, the ARO (Easx Revolutionary movement) and the tendency of Senator Rodriguez Camusso. The comrades also received messages from the President of the Frente Amplio, General Liber Seregni, and of the Political Secretary, Oscar A. Bottinelli.

In the name of the leadership of the Party, comrades Milte Radiccioni, Olga Scarabini and Raoul Campanella, recalled the memory of Cde J. Posadas, saluted the masses of the world, the Soviet Union and all the Socialist countries which develop the progress of humanity through the construction of Socialism, and the masses of Uruguay, the extended Frente Amplio and the parties which compose it, the progressive sectors and the tendencies of the Blanco and Colorado parties — and the workers centre, PIT-CNT, and all the trade unions whose heroic struggles have led to the fall of the dictatorship and the present advance of the struggle to expel imperialism and impose social transformations to come out of the crisis of the capitalist system.

EDITORIAL

The Labour Left must base itself on the world process to progress.

The Geneva Summit between Gorbachov and Reagan was a success for the Soviet Union. It was shown to be, on a world scale, dedicated to human advance and scientific investigation as opposed to imperialism, which was only interested in maintaining its war preparations. The Soviet Union is perfectly entitled to use diplomatic methods to confront imperialism and it obviously used this 'Summit' to drive the wedge between Yankee imperialism and the European bourgeoisie even deeper. However, the diplomatic plane is essentially limited, and there is obviously a limit to how far it is possible to exploit the divisions between the various sections of world capitalism. The Dutch government, despite the opposition of the majority of the Dutch people and its own internal divisions, has agreed to the installation of Yankee missiles. Capitalism of course, will defend itself to the death against its historic enemy, the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States, and the only means it now has is war. Therefore, in the end, it will always submit to Yankee imperialism and its war plans. On another level there is also the danger that, in seeking to act diplomatically, the illusion is created for the masses of the capitalist countries that the war, the final confrontation between the forces of human progress and the system of private property, can be avoided. If such an illusion is created it tends to divert attention from the necessity to take every measure to disrupt the war preparations of imperialism. It is true that the Soviet leadership does not itself suffer from such illusions; indeed, Gorbachov quoted Lenin's dictum that 'capitalism is war', and made it clear to the Supreme Soviet that imperialism was preparing for war despite anything that might have been said in Geneva. The fact remains, however, that the Soviet Union has to give a political leadership to the masses of the capitalist countries and to the 'peace movement', and this cannot be done with secret diplomacy. Gorbachov did speak with leaders of the peace movement in Geneva, and sent a letter to CND's conference in this country - which had its effect in influencing CND to differentiate between the two world systems in favour of the Soviet Union - but such means are limited in their effect. What is needed is a much more open discussion, both in the Soviet Union and outside, on the reality of this phase of history in which human progress confronts private property in the form of the two world social systems. There is no profit in, nor necessity for, secret diplomacy.

IMPERIALISM PREPARES FOR WAR.

The fact that the 'Summit' actually took place was something of a defeat for the Yankees, as it emphasised all its internal decomposition. The diplomatic contact with the Soviet Union is the policy of one faction of the imperialist apparatus, and it is violently opposed by another. Thus, immediately after Geneva, the 'hard' imperialist faction launched the terrorist provocation of hi-jacking an Egyptian airliner to Malta and the assassination of most of the passengers. Subsequent events have made it clear that this provocation was organised by Yankee imperialism, or at least by a faction of it. Even the Yankee press is reporting this involvement of Yankee imperialism. This provocation was intended to create the conditions for war in one of the most volatile parts of the world, the Middle East, using Egypt as it uses Israel. Even before Geneva, Weinberger published a letter denouncing the 'Summit' and the Soviet Union. Now McFarlane, generally considered to be most in favour of negotiations with the Soviets, has been replaced by Admiral Poindexter who organised the previous hi-jacking of an Egyptian airliner by the Yankee military. There is a constant and violent struggle inside the apparatus of Yankee imperialism which is part of its decomposition. It takes this form because, whilst imperialism - as a system - is preparing for war it cannot decide when and where, because historic conditions do not allow it. They have no overall plan but simply a struggle over tactic, with both factions, and the many splinters, preparing for war.

For all the limitations of the Soviet leadership in both internal and external policies - limitations which arise from a previous stage of history - the nature and progress of the Soviet Union, as the most mature Workers State, cannot be hidden. The new Soviet plan is dedicated to progress in the same way that Gorbachov proposed joint exploitation of space at Geneva. This plan, on the economic and social planes, is dedicated to human progress. It proposes that the technological advance in the economy is dedicated to raising the living standards of the Soviet people, and that they have a much greater control over the economy. Indeed, measures of workers' management in enterprises have already been instituted. On top of this, the Soviet Union is increasing its support for the world revolution. Robert Mugabe praised the Soviet Union during his recent visit to Moscow

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DEMONSTRATIONS FOR PEACE - MOSCOW.

THE THATCHER-FITZGERALD AGREEMENT.

The deal between the Thatcher government and the Fine Gael government of Fitzgerald is a complete fraud as regards the solution of the problems of Ireland. Imperialism is ultimately seeking a Southern Ireland brought within the orbit of NATO. The apparent consultations with the Southern bourgeois Republic on security have to be seen as part of this wider perspective. In this they are prepared to jettison the Unionists, whose local preoccupations do not correspond with the wider perspectives of imperialism.

It is a policy which has nothing to offer the masses of Ireland North or South, and the support given to this agreement by the Labour Party is criminal and conciliatory to the sinister objectives of this putrefying government. So Thatcher is to be attacked over unemployment but welcomed over Ireland! It is

imbecilic and shows that the Labour Party apparatus has no interest in the Socialist perspectives for Ireland or the rest of the British Isles. Their position has logic - against the miners, against the blacks, and against the masses of Ireland. So the criminals who attacked Argentina and treat miners as criminals are all right on Ireland! But the policies of British imperialism have an organic unity and if they allow the fawning representatives of the craven bourgeoisie of the Republic to work in a Joint Commission in Belfast, it is because it suits their class perspectives.

The bourgeoisie of the South are prepared to connive with British imperialism because they seek a mutual protection with British imperialism against their own masses. More and more the government of British imperialism and the Irish Republic are em-

barked on policies which suppress the masses, and neither has any perspective of solving any of their social problems. Unemployment and deteriorating social conditions are rife in both countries.

At the same time, as part of the maturing of the world advance to Socialism, the forces of the IRA, of Sinn Fein, are advancing beyond purely nationalist to Socialist objectives, towards policies of social transformations. Thus the troops of British imperialism in the North are an essential part of the efforts of the Irish bourgeoisie to contain the resistance of the masses. The SDLP in the North welcomes the agreement because they see the possibilities of a better life for conciliatory functionaries in the new regime, participation in capitalism.

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THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE MOST ELEVATED FORM OF DEMOCRACY FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

J. POSADAS.

Proletarian dictatorship means the most complete freedom of discussion, the most complete freedom of investigation verification and historic comparison. Science is based on the verification of experience. The basis of science is experience. But experience, without the instrument which allows it to function, decays. The experience needs the instrument. One thing is the experience in physical science, in chemistry, archaeology and medicine etc., and another is the science of the revolution. Those which develop in established entities or which, in developing, require investigation, such as medicine or the natural sciences, have a limited scope, they don't include the interest of the human beings in a direct form. Revolutionary science is in the interest of human beings directly. Consequently it develops with all the changes, the vacillations, the undulations of the social struggles, of the classes and the sectors of the classes.

The mere fact of the existence of Stalinism indicates that, there, proletarian dictatorship does not exist because there is no freedom of discussion in the Party, not empirical freedom but the necessary discussion organised and prepared for the progress of the revolution, to learn, to elevate revolutionary culture, to promote the interest of each member who reads, studies, asks, discusses. If there is an excess of questioning and discussion, if all the time one yields by devoting oneself to discussions and not to working, then the Party corrects this. It does not eliminate the desire, the inclination to investigate, the scientific verification and comparison of the experiences, but it orientates an organised activity which may be useful to instruct the Party.

On the other hand, the proletarian dictatorship is not the negation, of inquiry, discussion, experience, comparison; but, on the contrary, it is the organisation which allows this to be done. Proletarian dictatorship and Stalinism are opposed - proletarian dictatorship tries to eliminate all oppression and all injustice, all differentiation and inequality. Thus it promotes discussion, experience, so that the whole Party intervenes. Stalinism defends a layer and has to impede discussion, drawing conclusions from experience, making historic comparisons, verifications which investigate through Marxism, which develop through Marxism and development of Marxism. The proletarian dictatorship itself does this, because it does not signify the power of a few, of a camarilla, of a bureaucratic layer; but the power of the working class, in the name of the working class, for the construction of Socialism, to prevent capitalism from re-taking power. The condition to do this is the most ample freedom of discussion, not any discussion but the one which is necessary for the development of the ideas, of the experience, of the class struggle, and which stimulates the class struggle on a world scale, the struggle for power on a world scale. There is no comparison between proletarian dictatorship and Stalinism, it is the opposite. Trotsky explained all this in 'The Third International after Lenin'.

Proletarian dictatorship is not the imposition of a small number of the Party which impedes discussion, thought, reasoning, making comparisons, experiment. It is the organisation which regulates the life of the country by orientating, by judging, comparing, analysing,

experimenting and working through Socialist measures. But this requires the most ample freedom of thought. The most ample freedom of thought does not mean that everyone does what he wants, because all will do what is necessary for Socialism. The Party educates so that this may be achieved, by considering that it will not be done all at once. Then the Party must educate. The first and unique experience was the Russian Revolution. Since then there have been no others because all the others were not proletarian dictatorships. They were simply governments in the hands of Stalinism or of small sectors which developed economic measures which were against capitalism but were beneficial to the bureaucracy. This judged, controlled and impeded the developments of a self-critical sentiment.

Lenin said: 'The essential condition of the proletarian dictatorship is the most ample freedom of criticism'. By functioning well, the Party does not make any random criticism. What is done is what is necessary. If the Party is the proletarian Party it will not occur to any member to criticise in a senseless manner or make an objection, experience, investigation, which is not necessary. There is no code on what to ask. It is the Marxist education which determines what is of interest. It is the education of the revolutionary pre-occupation.

As the only experience which has taken place is the Russian Revolution - and it was short, only seven years - humanity hasn't had the experience of the proletarian dictatorship. On the contrary, it has the evil experience and example of Stalinism. Then the workers' movement, trade union and

political, can assume that these years of Stalin, and this function in the Workers States directed by Stalinism, these are proletarian dictatorship. It is the reverse. Trotsky says in 'The Revolution Betrayed', in 'The Third International after Lenin', in 'Stalin' and 'My Life': in the most difficult stages of the Russian Revolution one discussed honestly. There was nothing to eat, there were no bullets for the weapons, they were besieged, and there were the anarchists who were making a counter-revolution in Kronstadt - their objective was not counter-revolutionary but they made the counter-revolution. The Bolsheviks prohibited factions. And Trotsky says: but discussion is an element of reasoning and of experience which cannot be substituted for. It was prohibited. It was not made in an organic form, but it continued anyway and no Bolshevik impeded it. Discussion was contained in order to orientate towards the essential preoccupation - which was the necessity to defend themselves against Makhno and the allies, who on all sides surrounded the Soviet Union. Even so, the experiences were discussed integrally.

In the Soviet Union, 'proletarian art' was discussed or revolutionary art, the 'proletarian army' or the revolutionary army. The tendency, which was like elements of anarchism and ultra-leftism, proposed 'proletarian art'. Lenin and Trotsky were opposed. There is no 'proletarian art'. There is revolutionary art. The proletariat is not a class which has a future; it disappears. All art indicates the future: otherwise it is a decoration. For art to be revolutionary it must serve the revolution, but not in the name of the proletariat, but in the name of

human progress - because it is not a class that will always exist but that will disappear with the advance of the revolution. Then art cannot be made which will perish with it. It must be art which represents the historic process. Kollontai represented this 'proletarian art' current.

The partisans of the 'proletarian army' wished to make an army of the proletarians because the proletarians are the most consistent and the most secure. But they won Generals, Officers of the Czar. And the military conception is not proletarian. It is a military conception as a consequence of the development of society. In this developed the military art, the form of the army and the objective of the army. The objective of the Soviet army was not proletarian. It was not to take power so that the proletariat could establish its power, but to eliminate that power. It could not be a proletarian army. It is an army composed of proletarians, which gave the example of abnegation and dignity, which among other things won over a considerable number of Czarist Generals who a week earlier killed peasants. When the Bolsheviks won them they defended the Soviet Union; also the Chinese won over Generals. These were transitory discussion, passing, which indicated at this stage the petit bourgeois elements which felt radical and ultra-revolutionary, more revolutionary than the Party. Lenin and Trotsky discussed that this was senseless. It is not right that they are more revolutionary because they ask for a 'proletarian army'. What objective has the army? The army is defined by the objective. Its composition can differ. What is impor-

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WAR, PEACE, AND THE FUNCTION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

J. POSADAS

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It is not possible to divorce this 'agreement' over Northern Ireland from the steady increase of police powers and repressive measures in Britain. The rebellions in Brixton, Handsworth and Toxteth reflect the profound social tensions developing in Britain. Imperialism has no solution to these problems, and as it is preparing in any case for war against the Soviet Union and the forces of Communism, it is not really alarmed at this situation. On the contrary, it is quite capable of provoking incidents so as to justify more repression. The agreement with Fitzgerald is simply incorporating and centralising the forces of repression throughout the British Isles, and if the Unionists object, too bad! The more disturbances the better for imperialism; all the more reason to repress, kill and imprison. This is not to say that imperialism can achieve its objectives

- it cannot, because there is no means to have to reduce the masses of Britain and Ireland. But, to accept this agreement as one step to limit violence, is arrant hypocrisy, it is to extend and multiply it. The regime of Thatcher is one of frame up and brutality. Capitalism framed a whole group of innocent persons over the Birmingham bombings, and for the Labour Party apparatus to countenance this agreement shows its real nature - a Stalinist apparatus of flexible spines.

The Labour left must expose this phoney agreement and argue for discussions on a programme for social transformations in Britain and Ireland, with the perspective of a United Socialist Ireland in federation with a Socialist Britain.

THE FORCES OF THE LEFT ADVANCE IN BRAZIL.

The failure of the military dictatorship in Brazil, foreseen in the writings of J. Posadas, exemplifies the failure of capitalism to develop Brazil and the development of forces which seek an independent class solution. The regime of Sarney is part of a whole series of experiences in Latin America Alfonsin being yet another in Argentina, where the bourgeoisie essentially have lost their initiative and the result is governments which seek, in part, to conciliate with the masses because capitalism has no clear perspective in which to develop.

The military dictatorship and its brutal fascist methods were part and parcel of the famous 'economic miracle'. Sectors most linked with international finance thought to develop Brazil at lightning speed with the advantage of a merciless repression to crush any resistance. All this was a form of historic adventurism by sectors of capitalism who thought it possible to ignore time and place and create a new

Brasil. For a decade between 1970-80 the economy reached a level of ten per cent growth. But it was all built on sand. Even if some industries did undergo a remarkable development, such as automobile or chemical, the result was not the solution to the problems of Brazil but their profound aggravation. The mass of the peasantry remain poor, millions live below subsistence level, and the country is burdened with huge foreign debts which swallow vast sums in interest payments.

The whole experience has clearly exemplified what J. Posadas constantly analysed, that capitalism in Latin America has failed completely. It is not in the historic conditions to build the type of capitalist structure which developed at an earlier stage in Britain, Germany or the United States. The older capitalist states are equipped with solid technological superiority and in conditions of intensified competition there is no way in which Brazil or other such countries can find a

capitalist solution to its problems.

In the latest municipal elections in Brazil the loosely confederate bourgeois coalition (PMDB) has shown a tendency to fragment, with the Liberals (PFL) doing badly while, on the left, the workers' party won twenty per cent of the votes in Sao Paulo and gained in the centre west and the north east - an area of great poverty. This means an extension of its social base. The other social democratic party, the PDT of Brizola, gained support in Rio de Janeiro and Porto

Alegro. The need for a united front of all the left forces on a programme of social transformations is central for Brazil. No army in Latin America has any possibility of the type of role played in the previous period but the development of left nationalist sectors in the Brazilian army will be incorporated in the advances of the left, and will receive influence from the profound progress in other Latin American countries such as Bolivia and Peru.

THE LIVERPOOL CRISIS AND THE NEED FOR AN ORGANISED MARXIST CURRENT IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The struggle of the Liverpool Council, as part of the struggle of many other Councils - against the Tory government's cuts - expresses conditions of a great lack of leadership. It is not a defeat but an experience in finding the means to build the links between the Labour left, the Trade Unions, and the population. However, it is a failure in the sense that resistance to the government was conducted without the means of success, and this must lead to a re-appraisal in the Labour left of programme, policy and tactics. The local Councils are organisms of the bourgeois state. It is correct to struggle there, but with the clear notion that it is not an instrument for the advance of the interests of the masses, and that, therefore, the struggle does not consist in getting Labour Councillors in places of leadership on the Councils so much as using the Councils as forums for a political campaign to prepare organisms of the masses, based on the factories, the Labour Party and the Trade Unions.

It is true that the Militant Tendency have played a large role in the events in Liverpool. It is true that they have confined their policies to struggle for the leadership of the Local Council, in the same way as they do in the Labour Party. This led them to enter apparatuses inside which they could not win and had to fight those on their left, and finally ended up being party to mass sackings of workers and mortgaging Council properties. The masses seek the leadership and programme to remove the government. Those who do not have a global anti-capitalist strategy, and confine themselves to Local Councils, do not inspire confidence in the masses, and the masses do not follow them.

The fact that Local Councils have become incapable of the least reform forms part of the total agony of the capitalist system. Any improvement in the economy and society for the benefit of the masses will have to be achieved outside the Local Councils, and against their resistance or powerlessness. The policy of confining the struggle against the government to Local Councils leads Labour leaders and Councillors to follow exactly the same policies as the Liberals and the Tories: namely, increases in rates, cuts, and huge borrowing from banks. Such struggles in Local Councils express the illusions of the Labour left in the capitalist state power, and its blindness regarding the Workers States which have done away with capitalism and showed how to do it.

However, the Militant Tendency is not the only one to be involved and we are dealing here with the Labour left in general - which, up to recently, supported or acquiesced in the policy of 'no rates, no cuts' in Local Councils. As a matter of fact, the policy of the Liverpool Council has been the sheer application of the resolution of the last Labour Party Conference. To accuse Militant, therefore, is a blind alley and does not address the problem posed by the massive cuts by the Tory government. Moreover, it is 'letting down' those who have been true to their words, and this is bound to inspire even less the masses.

A better conclusion will have to be drawn by the left: for instance, with a little more support the Liverpool Council might have obtained more from the government. It is not true that nothing can be done, and the struggle in the Local Councils should be given up altogether. What has to be done is to explain that the Councils are tools of the state; it is useless to fight for posts and positions in there, unless the posts are for a political campaign up and down the country, to organise a permanent anti-capitalist tendency of the Trade Unions, the Labour Party and workers' organisations.

It is true that Kinnock is the same as before, but the miserable alignment of the Labour leadership with the Tories renders every local struggle almost impracticable, if it is not absolutely concerted and devised to obtain maximum support among the population. As it stands, the Labour left does not have the national organisation required to elaborate the correct tactics, and it does not have the perspective that the state has to be confronted if any progress is going to be made.

It is not incorrect to struggle in the Local Councils. But, for instance, there would have been a greater political gain for Labour if, during the miners' strike, the Local Councils had been used to forge permanent organisms of United Front Labour/Miners Union/Trade Unions that would have started a permanent functioning outside the life of the Local Councils. They could have continued a struggle for the release of the jailed miners, and eventually built a permanent structure for the defence of the right to strike and to life. Such organisms would - at length - develop an authority in the population, allowing a genuine life in the masses of discussion and debate; and this is a pre-condition for an advance against capitalism.

What Liverpool proves is that there is less than ever any possibility of success locally in a fight against government policies. This discussion is about how to go to Socialism; and the Workers States - being the way one does it - are the fundamental centre and example.

SONG AND THE NICARAGUAN REVOLUTION

J. POSADAS

The strength of the revolutionary songs of Nicaragua is that they are a means of communication of the revolution. When the song succeeds in being co-ordinated with the objectives of the revolution, it is because the latter has a great intellectual and cultural force even if it does not have a party, nor sufficient military means. But the revolution has the conviction that all is possible.

These songs express also, to a certain extent, an ingenuous attitude on the part of the Nicaraguan revolution. It is logical because there is no party, trade union nor important weight of the proletariat in this country. The murderous dictatorship of the Somoza government ruled for more than fifty years, almost without interruption, and no trade union was allowed. It is logical that the song reflects this situation.

But what counts and determines the quality of these songs is the will to smash the imperialist bourgeois power and to transform society. The songs do not develop a programme of social transformations, but they say that they want to do as in Vietnam. These revolutions are small in relation to the economic and political importance of these countries, but they adopt the programme of great revolutions.

The existence of the revolutionary song is very significant. It shows a certain level of the revolution, of social relations and of culture. Revolutions in Africa have not created songs like those in Latin America, where there is a great historical tradition. The latter was based on the struggles against the Spanish invader, the Portuguese, and

consequently against British and American imperialism. But the greatest guerrilla movement arose at the moment of the Spanish and British occupations. The bourgeoisie in Latin America are the original of these same Spaniards who wished to break from Spanish monarchy and afterwards fought against the British monarchy. It is from these times that the great tradition of songs comes, and there exist an infinity of of them.

Every revolution is accompanied by songs during its development and up to its triumph. When songs precede and accompany revolutions they are the expression of a very great assurance. The song is there to affirm the assurance of victory, even when the political understanding and the material means, the arms, are limited. They do not reflect simply joy, but also optimism and the confidence in victory. They are an integral part of the victories of revolution.

Every revolution creates poetries and songs which show their cultural elevation. The revolution is not a struggle to resolve the problems of the economy but of the life of humanity; it is this which gives the inspiration to sing. The songs of Nicaragua show the heroism of the mother, of the children, of the women, of the old people, who do not let themselves be smashed and continue to struggle until the end.

The songs of the Nicaraguan revolution are superior in all respects to those which have appeared in bourgeois revolutions. These songs which were good in their epoch were all impregnated with egoistic class

sentiments; freedom, that was to say, to have power against others. On the contrary, the children of Nicaragua say and sing, 'They can kill our father and mother but we are going to win. We are going to eliminate the forces that prevent people having what they need'. A people as small and as poor as that of Nicaragua finds the way to create songs. They do not sing to say that they want food, that they want more things, but to say that they want justice: that is, the elimination of the oppression of people, of inequalities; the right to live, to eat, to study. The songs do not speak explicitly of study or of culture, but they have this sense. This is why they almost all speak of the function of the children of Nicaragua.

This is what we have defined, saying that 'the child of Nicaragua is the defender of humanity'. People do not sing any more, only in order to satisfy their ears. They sing as a means of impelling intelligence. The words and the music of the songs of Nicaragua are prepared in the struggle and the will of people as the child, the 'defender of humanity', expresses in himself. That is already a song.

27.7.1980 J. POSADAS

(This article refers to the songs on the cassette of the PANCASIN group and the singers, Lois Enrique Mejia and Carlos Mejia Godoy).

Viva the return of SALYUT 7!

THE FAILURE OF THE NATIONAL BOURGEOISIE.

J. POSADAS.

18.3.76

This analysis of Cde Posadas provides the basis by which to understand the present evolution in the Argentina in which the old Peronist bureaucracy is in process of isolation and decomposition. This is allowing the development of currents which seek a genuine independent workers' movement geared to social transformations and not submission to the national bourgeoisie.

The most important aspect in analysing the causes of the military coup in Argentina is the fall, the liquidation of the Peronist regime — not of the Peronist base — which shows the failure of the national bourgeoisie and its alliance with international capital and imperialism. It failed in its intention even in making a policy of recognition and agreements with the Workers States, as over Cuba. Even doing this it has no future. All the existing tendencies of the workers' movement which depend on this policy are annulled and liquidated.

History teaches that the national bourgeoisie can begin a movement and take the masses along, but from there to advance the masses must seek to transform it into a revolutionary movement. The policy in these cases still consists then in impelling the masses to free themselves from the limitations of the national bourgeoisie. In this process it is possible to gain a sector of the petit bourgeoisie and of the peasants to break the front with the bourgeoisie or the co-ordination of this with the army. The political forces which support in the army are different and a sector can be won.

The Peronist movement was not accompanied by a class policy because the base was clipped and contained. It was the bourgeois apparatus linked to the top financial circles which made the policy. The national bourgeoisie allowed the policy of 'neighbourliness' and agreement

with the Workers States, and the recognition of Cuba, but tied up the workers' movement. In the first stage of Peron (1946-51) it sought the support of the workers' movement and had to make a series of concessions and accept others that the movement imposed. But this agreement, this co-ordination was transitory and could not last. At the same time it was necessary to feel that this movement of the bourgeoisie put into motion the working class and weakened the power of the bourgeoisie and, as a consequence, of the national bourgeoisie including the Argentinian. The mistake of the Communists and Socialists was not to have understood this movement in time, which prevented them collaborating in the development of the revolutionary tendencies within the Peronist movement — which there were and are.

This military coup shows the failure of the national bourgeoisie which ended in a fascist policy of daily assassinations, of the three 'A's' in the elimination of the right to strike, and the establishment of a camouflaged assassination policy. It was not death by decree, but they killed without the decree. This experience shows the failure of the national bourgeoisie. This indicates that every movement — and the movement of the national bourgeoisie — has to be taken as a movement which mobilises the masses and which enters into contradiction with imperialism: mobilising the masses allows the influence

of the masses to advance on the class terrain. It shows that the bourgeoisie cannot fulfil even the bourgeois democratic revolution. It is clear and decisive. These are the conclusions of Trotsky made in 1905 and were expressed in the Russian Revolution. The national bourgeoisie cannot make the democratic revolution because it clashes with its own interest. In Italy the bourgeoisie does not have to make the bourgeois democratic revolution, it has to defend bourgeois democracy and has no further interest.

The national bourgeoisie has been incapable of finding a current which might sustain it. It was evident that the movement of the national bourgeoisie led by Peron would end either in the development of the independent workers' movement or of reaction through the army, because it does not have its own leadership.

At the same time that the Peronist government fell Peron was liquidated and the last stage was pure assassination. The workers' movement advanced in understanding, in class security, and the Peronist movement developed and organised tendencies and currents seeking to express the class needs; the Montoneros, the 'authentic', the technologists. There was a real discussion in the Peronist base — not in the Peronist top apparatus — which expressed the necessity of a Socialist solution to the nationalist bourgeois process headed by Peron. This movement exists and remains. But a mass movement does not remain. Reactionary bands of assassins arise, among whom there were three A's, assassin bands of the leadership of the CGT, assassins of the workers' movement. The workers' movement overcame all this, creating leaderships against the bureaucracy, and this arose through the vitality of the workers' movement and through the influence of the course of the Socialist revolution, particularly of the Cuban revolution.

The experience which remains is that the national bourgeoisie now has no margin, but movements freeing themselves from Peronism have opportunity. The problem is to have a programme which allows one to show that

got a military art. The military art came from the bourgeoisie. It was necessary to adapt it to proletarian ends, which is different. This Lenin and Trotsky did. It is like saying 'a proletarian medicine', or a 'proletarian physics'.

We take the literature, the culture and the science which humanity has made — and the bourgeoisie utilised it, deformed it, stifled it, but it is formed by humanity — to be utilised for an end by the proletariat. This gives it the breadth, the scope of the final objective. Then it is utilised better. But this is not a peculiar and particular aspect of the proletariat. The proletariat is not a class which aims to continue, but which negates itself in negating capitalism.

J. POSADAS

15.2.75

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for its support, both moral and material, to those 'in our region that struggle for their freedom and human rights' against the apartheid regime'. The Soviet Union is actually increasing its aid, including military aid, to Zimbabwe at the moment when South Africa is threatening to invade it. This is how the Soviet Union is intervening on a world scale.

In contrast, capitalism has little interest or ability to advance human progress. In Mexico and Colombia, thousands of people died in earthquakes because capitalism did not take advantage of early warnings to protect people, or to rescue them afterwards. Yankee imperialism dominates the economies of these countries — who owe billions of dollars — but nothing is done to save lives. Tashkent, in the Soviet Union, suffered an enormous earthquake recently but few were injured or killed, because measures had been taken to protect them. In this country the murder and abuse of children increases month by month. We hear nothing of the kind from the Workers States because it does not exist. This is the difference in nature between the two systems. British and Yankee imperialism lavish untold finances on weapons, but they abandon UNESCO which, for all its limitations, is an organisation dedicated to scientific and cultural advance.

British capitalism is a prime example of the decomposition of the system of private property. The frauds coming to light in the City of London — like the Johnson Matthey affair — are symptoms of an economy which is now dedicated to either financial swindles — legal and illegal — and the production of weapons. On the industrial level, British capitalism advances not at all. This results in the state being dominated by a small clique London is now a world financial centre for swindles.

A small clique controls, and under it the structure of the system decomposes. This Church of England report on 'the inner city' is a denunciation of capitalism today. The Church — an organism of the state — reacts in this way because it feels irrelevant because the capitalist ruling clique is aware that religion can no longer be 'the opium of the people' and turns instead to open repression. The new Public Order Act of Parliament is an expression of this. Also, of course, the Church reacts to the pressure of a bourgeois sector which feels that everything is collapsing. The Unionists of Northern Ireland are being pushed out in the interests of an agreement between British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie which was initiated by Yankee imperialism and is designed to bring the Irish Republic into NATO.

A COHERENT MARXIST TENDENCY

The Labour leadership supported the 'Anglo-Irish Agreement' which is to support the extension of NATO and imperialism's war preparations. This Labourite leadership is not just mistaken or timid, but supporters of the capitalist system. And this latest example is only one of a long line. The Labour masses have given their verdict on this leadership in the Tyne-Bridge by-election by abstaining massively (only 28% voted). Labour gained a little in percentage of the vote — the Tories lost to the Alliance, which is about right in the present situation, but the majority abstained. This is not surprising when they see Kinnock and Co. opposing the Labour left which, however mistakenly in the political sense, tries to improve the standard of life in Liverpool. This means that a Labour victory in a future election is not by any means automatic. A great deal will depend on how the Labour left advances politically and programmatically in the interim.

The abstentions at the by-election do not mean defeatism or apathy on the part of the masses. If this was the case, the Teachers would not have maintained their struggle to defend and advance the education system for so long. They base themselves on the spirit of optimism and will for progress which the masses have and which comes from the favourable world balance of forces. The conclusion which the Labour left have to base themselves on is that capitalism decomposes and humanity advances through the Workers States. It is, therefore, not possible to advance on the basis of the crumbling structure of capitalism, which is what the Liverpool events show. It is not simply a problem of 'Militant', because the whole Labour left has the same policy. Events prove that neither the apparatus of the capitalist state, local or national, nor the Labour Party and Trade Union apparatus are instruments for social transformation. The Labour left has to organise itself as a coherent Marxist tendency in the Labour Party, but free of the apparatus. It has to stimulate now an organism of the masses based on demands for social transformations. In order to do this it has to understand the nature and role, as the path of Socialism, of the Soviet Union and the Workers States as they are today.

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tant about the army is the objective, the direction, and the programme. Consequently, its composition is determined by the objective, the programme and, to achieve it, the leadership. For this the 'proletarian army' is not made. It is a proposal from petit bourgeois tendencies, which today correspond to the leftist groups. And, on an historic level, they manifest insecurity in the historic purpose of power to win over other layers of the population. It was a substitution of one class power by another power in order to maintain the continuity of the class power, when the objective of the proletariat is to eliminate classes.

Concretely, what function did the 'proletarian army' have? To confront Czarism and the Entente. The military art is not of the proletariat. The proletariat has not

the road of development of the country is the Cuban path: to statify, to plan and to develop the economy, joined to the democratic and full intervention of the population. This is the conclusion which has to be drawn.